At the expense of children

A study of how orphanage tourism drives child trafficking and how it affects the children.

Author: Josefin Ljungblom
Supervisor: Heiko Fritz

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I dedicate this thesis to the youth of the future, in hope that the world will reach closer to positive peace, at least to the extent that children are not exploited because of adults' power of judgment.
Abstract

This study raises the issue of the trafficking of children in favor of voluntourism and orphanage tourism. The phenomenon of tourists who engage in volunteer work during a holiday has increased into a considerable form of tourism and turned in to a profitable business. This thesis is questioning what factors triggers children to be trafficked and sexual exploited within the phenomenon of orphanage tourism and voluntourism. To conclusion of this thesis will question how the phenomenon affects the children.

This study is an abductive, qualitative desk-study with a thematic text analysis. The analysis is based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step model where themes are constructed from the findings. The elements that the children within this phenomenon are affected by were categorized into these themes. The themes were afterwards analyzed individually in order to create a holistic picture of how they impact children.

The empirical data are all from secondary and tertiary sources out of both academia and media. The findings have been analyzed with the theoretical framework of Johan Galtung and his definition of presence of violence. Galtung’s concept of structural violence has been applied to analyze what drives children to be trafficked- and sexually exploited in connection to orphanage tourism, as well as how this effected the children.

The thesis suggests that the main factor, which fuels children to be trafficked in this context, is the demand for accessible children. Orphanage tourism has become a profitable business and a loophole for the corrupt to gain money on socially vulnerable families. This by presenting them to tourist who pay money in good faith and dedicate time from their vacation in belief that they are doing good.

The thesis addresses how structural violence is present and how it contributes to the phenomenon of orphanage tourism to keep operating by trafficking children in favor of it. It is also shown that psychological stress within various dimensions, which the children are exposed to, lower their actual realization from the potential. The exploitation they live under leaves the children in a disempowered position, without control of their social condition, which is argued to make a significant difference between their potential life expectancy and actual life expectancy.

Key words: Child trafficking, Voluntourism, Orphanage tourism, Structural violence, Cambodia, psychological stress
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECPAT:</td>
<td>The acronym stands for: End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>CST</td>
<td>Child Sex Tourism</td>
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<td>MOSVY</td>
<td>Ministry of Social Affairs, Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation, Cambodia</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNCEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children's Fund</td>
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<td>UNCRC</td>
<td>United Nation- The Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<tr>
<td>TIP</td>
<td>Trafficking in Persons</td>
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List of abbreviations organisations

This is a list of abbreviations of organizations and formal documentations that will be used throughout the text. This is in order to make the text as fluent as possible.


ILO: International Labour Office. (2009). *TRAINING MANUAL TO FIGHT TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN FOR LABOUR, SEXUAL AND OTHER FORMS OF EXPLOITATION.* Textbook 2: Action against child trafficking at policy and outreach levels


RICD: Research In Child Development: Theoretical, Empirical and Practical Rationale.


UNICEF 2011: Concern Prompts Cambodian Investigation of Orphanages

1. Introduction

Orphanage tourism is a phenomenon in developing countries, which has increased into a considerable form of tourism (Guiney 2012:14). Raymond and Hall (2008:531) argue that the amount of participants within short-term volunteer program concerning children has dramatically increased over the past years. This spectacular increase is mainly due to the easy access to the volunteer program for tourists i.e. there is no need to plan the volunteering in advance due to low requirements in terms of previous experience or time commitment. Wearing (2011:1) defines the common term of volunteer tourism applicable for those who, for any reason, participate in volunteer work during a holiday. However, Raymond and Hall (2008) highlight that even though the participation in these programs often may be out of good will it should not be excluded that volunteer tourism contributes to negative impacts.

1.1 Background

"Voluntourism" is presented by previous research more likely to appear in the Global South as a result of economic disparity than in the developed world (Guiney 2012 and Tepelus 2008). According to Tepelus (2008:104) Asia is the center of sexual exploitation of children due to a culture of prostitution, which is interlinked with local customs. UNICEF (2009.b) presents that over 30 percent of sex "workers" in Southeast Asia are children, between the ages of 12-17. Despite the uncertain characteristic of this business, UNICEF has appreciated the numbers of child victims for sexual exploitation to over one million annually. However, children are being exploited and trafficked for lucrative businesses such as benefit fraud, forced marriage, domestic servitude, forced labor in factories or agriculture and criminal activity (NSPCC, 2015).

The phenomenon of child trafficking is complex due to various aspects. Exploitation of oneself, such as prostitution or even a relationship with minors is far from illegal in all countries. However, it is illegal if a tourist engages in any kind of exploitation of a minor. This can in some cases be tried in court in the home country of the offender. It is seen as a clear violation against human rights under international legislation (UNWTO 2004). Such an act would violate the UN convention for the Rights of the child, the facultative protocol of the sale of children, prostitution and pornography (Tepelus 2008:103).
The phenomenon of child trafficking is complex for the reason that it is a debate confused with other related themes involved such as human trafficking, illegal migration and illegal labor etc. Tepelus (2008:102) notes that it was not until recently the topic sexual exploitation of children was associated with sex tourism. The increased victims of child sex tourism calls for a deeper understanding of these issues.

The Greater Mekong sub-region is the world’s fastest growing tourism destination (Guiney 2012:10). Within previous research of voluntourism, Cambodia is central in the debate and therefore the major focus of these thesis. Within Cambodia, the tourist industry has come to be the second largest contributor to the national economy (ibid:11). The orphanage tourism of Cambodia has become a multimillion dollar industry contributing to the national economy and it has been discussed that rather than helping children, it ends up damaging their livelihood and enables exploitation (ibid). It has been highlighted from various perspectives that child sex tourism may have increased alongside with increased orphanage tourism and voluntourism. This has had a negative impact on the society and it hinder responsible tourism approaches (Tepelus 2008:100). In 2005 it was presented that 22 percent of all tourists traveling to Cambodia came for sex (Guiney 2012:13) at the same time we know that orphanages gain profit of having ”walk-ins” for visitors at any time of the day or one can lend a child for outings (ibid:11 and Al Jazeera 2012).

The issue of children being exploited in the orphanage tourism industry has been increasingly raised jointly with the question whether voluntourism has become a loophole for the corrupt. The business is to attract volunteers and visitors who pay for the opportunity to do something good (Guttentag 2009:544). Since voluntourism has become such a lucrative business are leading the orphanages in need of a constant supply of orphans (Guiney 2012:12). UNICEF reported in 2011, that three out of every four children in the Greater Mekong sub-region have at least one living parent (Carmichael 2011).

The phenomenon is extremely complicated but although it has been proved problematic, one cannot help but wonder who possesses the liability for the children to be trafficked in practice? Who possesses the responsibility for the children to not be exploited? Is the issue of poverty the only driving factor that has caused that children are being trafficked as previous
studies implies or is it other vital factors that fuels the act of child trafficking? What typology of violence is present in this matter? And last but not least how does this affect the children? After all, this phenomenon is about the children.

1.3 Research objective

The purpose of this study is to examine child trafficking in relation to voluntourism in Cambodia. This will be analyzed using Galtung’s concept of structural violence as theoretical framework. By doing so, the intention is to contribute to an understanding of the most significant factor to why children in Cambodia are vulnerable for trafficking. As well identify where the liability and responsibility for these children primary lies.

1.4 Research question

The research questions are therefore;

I) What drives child trafficking and sexual exploitation in the context of orphanage tourism?

II) How does orphanage tourism affect the children?
1.5 **Theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the epistemological discussion of Johan Galtung’s theory about presence of violence. Galtung explains violence as... "*When the potential is higher than the actual is by definition avoidable and when it is avoidable then violence is present*" (Galtung 1969:169). This definition states that violence is present and lies close to the purpose of this thesis. It makes a good fit for the analysis since it adheres to the epistemological foundation.

1.6 **Methodology**

This thesis is conducted as an abductive qualitative desk-study with a thematic text analysis, which is based on Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-step model. By analyzing the finding using the thematic system, the six-step model assist to structure the analysis. Braun and Clarke encourages to deviate from their suggestions of implementation in order for the thematic method to suit one’s own research, however this was not relevant in this study.

All empirical data is collected through official documentation in form of secondary and tertiary sources from both academic sources and media. The theory of structural violence by Johan Galtung (1969) is used as an analytical framework when analyzing the phenomenon of child trafficking in correlation to voluntourism and orphanage tourism. This is of interest to us because of the recent history of civil war in Cambodia to analyze how structural violence is manifested.

1.7 **Limitations and Delimitation**

Limitations refer to what the study is not able to reach an understanding about due to a certain method to approach to the specific phenomenon. On the other hand, delimitations concerned the deliberate choice to delimit the research to base on specific sources or scholars.

The primary limitation this study has encountered is the supply of academic literature. Since the phenomenon itself is relatively new the research of its result is not very comprehensive. Of course this is a difficult matter to measure in form of numbers. However, quantitative data
has been of significant help in order to create an understanding of the size of the business and its effects. This study has also been limited to only focus on Cambodia due to the short time-frame but also because of the lack of available data about other countries. Therefore there was not an option to do a comparative analysis between nations or regions. This would have been an interesting approach to compare how the phenomenon appears and analyze similarities depending on geographical differences.

1.8 Ethical consideration

The main ethical consideration for this thesis is that the research regards such a sensitive subject such as trafficking and exploitation of children great care must be given in order to keep the dignity for the research objective. To highlight this issue within a bachelor thesis is only to emphasize a repressive patriarchy and enlighten a surrounding world.

Another ethical consideration is towards the custom of academic writing. Meaning that it is important to avoid plagiarism, present correct references as well as inform about my origin as researcher.

1.9 Analysis

The analysis is divided into two parts, each preoccupied with one research question. First the analysis addresses the first research question and assesses what the main factor is that drives child trafficking and sexual exploitation in relation to orphanage tourism. Second, this paper will analyze the second question how this phenomenon effects the children. The findings of children within orphanage tourism and voluntourism are affected by are categorized independently from one another, and four themes was labeled. These are Trafficking In Persons, disempowerment, orphanage care, and physical abuse. A common core within these four themes appeared and it was found how psychological stress was a shared outcome. Psychological stress, which consists of various elements showed, separately from the body of research, how some elements fell under the labeled themes.
These themes are analyzed through the primary definitions of structural violence and illuminate why structural violence is present.

1.10 Disposition of the thesis

The first chapter begins with a brief background presentation before presenting the research problem, objective and the two research questions that this study is based on. It also includes (de)limitations, ethical considerations as well as this presentation of the disposition of the thesis.

In the second chapter previous research is presented. It describes what the phenomenon voluntourism and orphanage tourism is. How poverty is connected to this and a presentation of previous scholars who present poverty as the main cause for children being trafficked within this matter. The second chapter includes a description of the phenomenon in relation to the tourism industry, how it has been discussed on the international agenda, as well as the relevance and contribution this study makes within Peace- and Development studies.

The third chapter includes a description of how the theoretical framework of Johan Galtung, and his theory of presence of violence was chosen. A description of the theory of structural and direct violence is also presented. Additionally, the suggestion of how to operate the concept of structural violence is presented, the operationalization is also accepted in this thesis.

The fourth is the methodological chapter including a description of the chosen research design and which method this thesis chose and why. This study is conducted as an abductive qualitative desk-study with a thematic text analysis. The analysis is structured into identifying elements which are divided into four themes. The research bias is also describes in order for the reader to get an as comprehensive understanding of me as researcher to self-decide in what extent it effected the analysis. Data interpretation and presentation is brought up and an explanation of the procedure of collecting material, as well as the validity process.
The fifth chapter presents the findings and the sixth consists of the analysis of the empirical findings discussed using the framework of Galtung’s structural violence. This is divided into two parts due to the two research questions, where the first part analyzes and processes what fuels the act of child trafficking and sexual exploitation in relation to orphanage tourism. Where the second part analyses how this phenomenon effect the children.

In turn, chapter seven includes deliberations and discussion of the analysis. Finally, chapter eight comprise conclusions remarks and an attempt to respond to the research questions.

2. Literature review

2.1 Voluntourism

Voluntourism is a billion-dollar industry around the globe (Alvin 2013) and has become a profit-making business not necessarily working for the best interest of the children. In the orphanage tourism business has become so lucrative that it has created a demand of orphans that is not disposable. Instead children are being trafficked either by force, by bribing the parents or deceiving parents to give up their children in hope for them to get a better future. In a country where the educational system is regarded as insufficient, corrupt and expensive, education for their children is enticing for many parents (Brinkley 2011). In the orphanages of Cambodia there are over 70 percent that are not in fact orphans, but have at least one living parent (WTO, ECPAT, Raymond & Hall 2008, Guiney 2012 and Carmichael 2011).

Trafficking can be both internal, as well as transnational and according to the existing international legislation, any sort of harboring for a lucrative purpose of exploitation of children to the age of 18 is a form of trafficking regardless of the incentives (UNODC, 2007). Deceiving children to be separated from their parents for the purpose of someone else’s profit is human trafficking. Furthermore, the voluntourism industry has become such a profitable business that children are not only being trafficked to fill the orphans for volunteers to take care of, but are also more than often deliberately kept soiled (Birrell 2010). Birrell argues that volunteer-
ring in this context does not help to develop a nation and that it may cause more harm than good. Since it does not require any long time commitment, the orphanages often allow walk-ins and no requirements or documentation are needed etc. This makes the process of paying fast and easy accessible. The open atmosphere makes the children very vulnerable to exploitation for not only a high circulation of new people but also for physical harm and sexual exploitation (Guiney 2012).

2.2 Poverty

When approaching this phenomenon, one reoccurring reason for children being utilized is poverty. Hasan (2007) explains that poverty is the most common shared reason for researchers that children are being trafficked. In order to avoid poverty or starvation, one might explore other options and end up in a situation difficult to escape. Within a state characterized by corruption, with close history of domestic violence, low income and educational inequality the population is vulnerable to labor market exploitation and human trafficking. When it is shown that there is an economic profit in the human trafficking market more individuals will invest in the business creating an increase of supply (Wheaton et al. 2010:121-126).

Bales (2007:19) argues that in order to combat human trafficking, world poverty has to end, corruption has to be eradicated and the world population growth has to slow down among other policies. Wheaton et al. (2010:132) means that Bales anti-trafficking policies may seem unreachable in short term, nonetheless from an economic point of view if ending human trafficking was about to happen initial steps are needed at each level of interference. Bales (2007:231) also indicate that awareness and resources are the two main tools in order to combat human trafficking, which leads us into the phenomenon of voluntourism.

At first glance voluntourism is to a great extent kindheaded people who during a vacation want to do good. Tourists pay a visit to an orphanage to play with the kids, join the programs to teach or take care of the children for a shorter period of time before returning to their holiday. It is often appealing since it does not require any previous booking, any documentation or longer commitment. In other words, people can pretty much come and go as they please (Guiney 2012:13, Guttentag 2009:537, Aljazeera 2012 and Guiney 2012:13). It is understan-
dable that such optimism inspires tourists who wish to do good to devote time during their vacation.

However, this can be related to an already existing discussed problem as Duffield explains as the West frontier; how non-intentional outcomes by "helping" indirectly imposes certain values that may not be very helpful (Duffield 2007:79). Birrell (2010) argues that the effort to help, only makes it worse when acting without examining the consequences of that action. In general the visitors do not know about the trafficking situation for the children, which they contributes to by their visit, and leave them unaware that they contributed to a much more extensive operation. Duffield argues that the future is dependent on global social structural changes that enhance people’s awareness (Duffield 2007:16). The importance of awareness and resources can be linked to the discussion of Bales (2007).

2.3 Tourism industry

Volunteer tourism is shown to have negative impacts and something that is repeatedly discussed within the issue is the lack of awareness about them. However, many travel agencies has taken action and provide their staff with education on and basis about sex tourism in order to prevent it from happening as well as disseminate information (The Code and Guttentag 2009:538). Furthermore, volunteer agencies are also working to develop prevention programmes such as guidelines, training kits, codes of conduct, etc. This is in order to provide forthcoming volunteers with information about the phenomenon. Many of these are however within voluntary, behavioral measures. Ideally Tepelus (2008:109) argues this should shift to a direction of political policy responsibility.

Tepelus (2008:111) also argues for relevant UN bodies, tourism policy makers and civil society to enhance collaboration with each other in order to tackle CST. Tepelus (ibid) claims that the UN possess the resources needed to have an improved active interaction with other
stakeholders. Awareness and resources are two recurring topics within the discussion to prohibit CST.

2.4 International agenda

The number of sexual exploited children in Cambodia during 2006 was estimated by the Cambodia’s Minister of Women’s Affairs to approximately 30,000 (ECPAT 2008:20). The fundamental right of children to be protected against commercial sexual exploitation is to be covered by UNCRC, article 34 (Tepelus 2008:103 and UNCEF 2009a). The UNCRC was the first tool to cover the international human rights for children. These tools cover civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. Human rights include three obligations to respect freedom and dignity, to protect against third parties, and to provide access to welfare. This cover basic human needs (Schutter et al. 2012) which belongs to the state by international legislation to respond.

Orphanages in Cambodia must register at MOSVY and follow their requirements in order to continue to operate. Their minimum standards include what is covered within the international standards of human rights and it also includes the three obligations belonging to the state (Guiney 2012:11). However, Guiney (ibid) explains, in contradiction orphanages who not register their business at MOSVY are not obligated to follow their minimum standards and are as well not under jurisdiction i.e these orphanages cannot be close down by MOSVY either.

2.5 Relevance of this study

Having embodied previous literature, there is already a comprehensive enough scope of questions that already have been answered of the phenomenon. Particularly since the phenomenon is sufficiently new, much focus has been on establishing what the phenomenon actually means. Much of the earlier literature has analyzed the structures contributing to the voluntourism and orphanage tourism business such as poverty, durable inequality and lack of education.
Since the discussion about the phenomenon is quite new, previous research has left very little analysis of how this actually affect the children, attachment disorder has briefly been brought up as a consequence, but it has not yet studied through the eyes of Galtung. Additionally, it is almost impossible to initiate any significant changes and to be able to measure any effects. However, the objective is aiming to contribute to a debate about development of the security of children by the phenomenon of voluntourism and orphanage tourism. My ultimate hope is to highlight and understand the situation for the children based on a structural perspective presented by previous studies. Hopefully, the application of Galtung can be the alternative perspective to analyze the development with.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theory of structural violence will be used as an analytical framework to illuminate how structural inequalities systematically deny certain peoples’ full potential to their human rights, which happens when children are being trafficked for the benefit of others. Ho (2007:5) expresses that economic inequality is a result of structural violence and many structural violence theorists characterize the global system as highly unequal. An important aspect in order to understand economic globalization, Ho argues it is important to localize the global economic structure causing structural violence (ibid:7).

3.1 Explaining the theory

The concept of Structural Violence arose from the main funder of peace research Johan Galtung and his discussion about understanding violence in order to research about peace. According to Galtung, he means with his various papers between 1964-71, that to understand and define peace in total one has to address the comprehensive meaning of violence. Galtung explains violence as such “violence is present when human beings are being influenced to that their actual somatic and mental realization are below their potential realization” (Galtung 1969:168). Meaning that violence is the avoidable gap between the potential ability to fulfill basic needs and their actual fulfillment.
Galtung defines the concept of peace in two ways; when absence of violence forms either negative or positive peace. These two distinctions are further subdivided to what comprise within each definition. As Galtung argues peace is more comprehensive and require an idea beyond the absence of direct violence. The obvious act of violence, from a perpetrator towards a receiver of the violation, is direct. Direct violence is observable and there is a concrete object that is hurt and victim is often hurt somatically. Direct violence also includes a subject who acts, a perpetrator that the act of violence can be derived back to and it is intended. If there is an absence of direct violence there is negative peace.

However, beyond what first may be consider as violence could appear in form of structures of societies, is structural. Structural violence is less overt and more manipulative, as well as hindering the influenced of realizing the real potential. It is indirect, psychological and mental in form of threats, but there does not need to be a concrete perpetrator responsible. The balance of power is monopolized by one gaining population and the power to decide over the distribution of resources is unevenly distributed (169-172). What is socially accepted however lower certain people’s somatic and mental realization below their potential. Galtung describes peace as a phenomenon beyond the absence of direct violence (negative peace) and should be seen as an absence of structural violence (positive peace) too. The last mentioned is in particular is being considered significantly more as help as analytical framework.

3.2 Operationalization

Johan Galtung (1971) presents a proposal for how to operationalize the concept of Structural Violence. Since structural violence is such an abstract notion I will rather use the operational definition of Galtung. Consequently, this thesis accepts the definition and operationalize on the basis of Galtung’s proposal Therefore will the suggestion of Galtung’s in this section be presented.

Initially, it shall be stressed to keep in mind throughout this discussion that there "are very many other very different" (Galtung 1971:73) types of structural violence. However, the most fundamental for measuring structural violence is to estimate the difference between optimal
life expectancy and the actual life expectancy (ibid:74) e.i. are there an avoidable deprivation of life present?

This avoidable deprivation can be measured by looking at lost man-years (ibid). Furthermore, to measure an average of life expectancy among the members of a community or society the question according to Galtung is "whether the average life expectancy of social groups is correlated with social position" (ibid:73) e.i. the lower social position the lower life expectancy. Thus, one can measure structural violence by studying the control of social conditions for a consolidated group.

Galtung’s idea of operationalization focuses on a measurement that helps to quantify structural violence. However, this thesis strives to address this in qualitative terms. Rather than trying to quantify any results focus is to structuring the various stress-factors that cumulate to a reduction of life expectancy of the children affected.

Consequently, the dimensions of which Galtung defines as presence of structural violence, and are relevant within this particular context are when;

i. A person influences in the extent that hir actual realization is below the potential
ii. Lacking control of one’s own social condition
iii. There are an avoidable deprivation of life

In this thesis, the children within the business of orphanage tourism in Cambodia to the age of 18 will be considered as a consolidated group, regardless of gender, age or origin. By looking at the various perspectives effecting these children individually enabled a measurement of the control of social conditions which ether meet optimal life expectancy or lowering it. This is further explained in the next chapter of Methodological framework.

4. Methodological framework

Meaning to analyze child trafficking in Cambodia within the phenomenon of orphanage tourism and aiming to identify structural violence within this aspects of which these children are
exposed to, in order to identify whether it affects the life expectancy. By approaching this phenomenon by the theory about structural violence by Johan Galtung, I wish to clarify where the responsibility for these children lies. In order to answer the objectives in a suitable way the chosen method for this is a text analysis and implements a thematic text analysis (Bryman 2011:528 & Esaiasson. et al. 2012).

4.1 Research design

Creswell (2014:4) explains qualitative research as following “Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data...”

Since this is a qualitative desk-study all collected empirical data is gathered through official documentation, based on secondary and tertiary sources (Bryman 2011:494). Because the approach is to understand a phenomenon beyond what the sources is telling the thesis is of abductive character. Danermark et al (2002:80) define an abductive study as following: “To interpret and re-contextualize individual phenomena within a conceptual framework or set of ideas.” Meaning that with the theory of Galtung, empirical findings is analyzed to enable an understanding of the phenomenon of child trafficking connected to voluntourism. The analysis observes and reviews structures to create an understanding beyond what initially may be apparent and search for understanding of underlying replies.

4.2 Method

To carry out a text analysis, one must carefully and thoroughly review what is needed of the collected empirical data. Esaiasson et al. (2012:242) states that a qualitative text analysis enables the researcher to characterize the most essential within the empirical material. A text
analysis can be performed in various ways (ibid:210) however, the most relevant for this study is to conduct a closer reading of the collected material where the primary focus is the perspective of the children.

Therefore, the study implements a thematic text analysis and is based on Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-step model. The steps are as following: familiarizing with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and producing the report (Braun & Clarke 2006:87). Braun and Clarke explain how thematic analysis as a method "for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (ibid:82). Following the six-step model makes the analysis theoretically and methodology decorous the authors says. They also point out however, how it is more or less free to deviate from their suggestion of implementation in order for the method to suit one’s own research ambitions.

4.3 Research bias

"Good qualitative research contains comment by the researchers about how their interpretation of the findings is shaped by their background, such as gender, culture, history, and socioeconomic origin.” (Creswell 2014:202).

Considering my background in the interest for children's legal issues, it is hard not to have any certain pre-understandings of the situation already before entering the research. I am born and raised in a socioeconomic wealthy household in Sweden, a western country with relatively developed aspects of the rights of children. This relates to what Gilje and Grimen (2007:175-177) discuss as the problem of double hermeneutic. The phenomenon this thesis approaching has already been interpreted by previous researchers. The reality of the children being trafficked in Cambodia is one I wish to understand, however, it is something I will never completely reach given my nature of upbringing. As with all qualitative research my individual background and epistemological assumptions will to some extent influence the analysis. With this in mind, I hope to give a fundamental explanation of my aspirations with this study in order for the reader to evaluate the analysis with my origin in mind.
One of the primary reasons for conducting this study is the horror I feel towards the fact that children are being utilized due to adult injudiciousness. Trafficking in human beings is an awful phenomenon and touches me significantly more, especially, when it’s related to children. The ultimate hope for this thesis is to illuminate the problem in a different light to contribute with an aspect to the debate in order to prevent this phenomenon to develop and more children to be trafficked.

Second, I am deeply interested in the rights of children in any possible aspect. Hence is my interpretation of academic research, articles, jurisprudence literature and other forms of information with these values. I possess a transformative worldview and share the opinions and the standpoint by Johan Galtung. Furthermore, I agree with his theoretical conviction that already has been recognized considering the choice of using his theory of structural violence as framework in this thesis.

The establishments of previous perceptions do not excuse, under any circumstances, to put aside the demand on objective and responsible research. Having my values openly being presented allows the reader to appreciate in what extent they have affected the analysis. Irrespectively, this study has been conducted with great awareness of the researcher’s role within academic research.

4.4 Data Interpretation and Presentation

First and foremost, the elements which these children are exposed to concretely in their daily life was looked after and categorized. By having bias of what to look after the collecting of data could thereafter start. Previous research about these quantitative aspects was looked after in academic context about how they have an effect of children independent of this particular phenomenon. Having the categories in mind simplified the reading of data and to find information most essential. Thereafter, these aspects could be themed and labeled as; trafficking in person, disempowerment, orphanage care and physical abuse.

By thematizing the aspects they could thereafter be put in relation to each other to see whether there was something common to them and it showed that they shared the same outcome
of psychological stress. The findings was re-read, but with psychological stress in focus and it appears that the different elements which separately from the body if research fell under the labeled themes. Thereafter the theoretical framework of Galtung could be put into practice and analyze whether structural violence is present.

4.5 Material

In the initial research phase the result where secondary sources of academic databases Ebco-host, Project Muse and OneSearch. Much literature was about what the phenomenon itself implies, by previously read material other relevant data was pursued though their reference lists. Two essential secondary contributors are Camelia M. Tepelus, 2008 and Tess Guiney, 2012. Additionally, search outside the academic debate resulted in relevant information too. Public articles were used, available from newspapers and organizations, such as The Guardian, ECPAT and Al Jazeera. Finally, to fill the knowledge gap that still remained, I turned to primary sources where documentation from UNICEF is most frequently used.

The ultimate approach, as well as, the most desirable way to collect data would have been to do the survey on researched location, in this case Cambodia. In order to collect data on place with observations and interviews as complement to written sources, mentioned above, would increase the reliability and external validity of the research. However, this was not reachable due to the short period of time as this module consists as well as financial limitations.

4.6 Validity and Reliability

This discussion is raised for this desk-study to be as objective as possible. Even though it is difficult, some would argue impossible, to attain the reader will get an insight of the considerations made along with the research process for this to be as reachable as possible. The discussion also aim to seek an understanding of the selective choices in order for the result to not differ too much if the study would be accomplished once more, by somebody else.
To measure reliability and validity in qualitative research, is more difficult than in quantitative research since these are terms related to measurement. Reliability means to create a credibility as researcher by relate to the rules and regulations that there are. Validity means to try in a fair way to give a just representation about the documents from data collections ((Bryman, 2011). Internal validity is about how the material relate to the theoretical framework. From the study one can afterwards see if there is a high versus low internal validity. This can be achieved by putting the material and the terms in relation to each other to see if it is relevant according to the study (Bryman 2011).

External validity means that the result to a high extent will be able to generalize in to other social environments (Bryman, 2011). External reliability is about the result being the same with repeated studies independent of who performs the study. Keeping in mind that structures are not static but should rather be seen as processes that are changeable, however structures of durable inequality etc. are difficult to change and the changing process is time consuming. However, I believe if another researcher in the recent future would investigate the same topic with the same aim, objective and method the result would not differ too much. High internal validity will be endeavored throughout the research process. However, even though the method seems to suit the purpose with this study it is important to be aware of that the analysis and conclusion lies entirely on me as researcher. Objectivity will be highly considered throughout the process when interpreting the material. Furthermore since the analysis follows the analytical scheme of Braun and Clarke the risk of taking any hasty conclusions or interpretations is reduced (ibid).

5. Findings

Voluntourism is an alternative tourism and to volunteer during a vacation has become popular. This thesis has presented that the phenomenon of child trafficking in relation to orphanage tourism exists. The phenomenon exists all around the globe but mostly known about in the Mekong sub-region of Southeast Asia. The phenomenon mainly consists of Westerners who travel to developing countries. In Cambodia there are a great number of orphanages in-
volved in this business, predominantly in bigger cities as the capital Phnom Penh since those attract greater numbers of tourists (Guttentag 2009).

Statistics around this phenomenon is difficult to get a hold of, however, Guttentag (ibid:538) nevertheless confirms that it has been an increase of interest since the beginning of the millennium. It has been shown that many tourists engage in volunteer work at orphanages during their vacation. This has become so popular that children are being trafficking to be placed in orphanages within the running business. The operation of orphanage tourism has become a profitable business to earn money from tourists who wishes to spend for the cause of charity. The marketing of the projects are designed thereafter, for example the experience is raised as a qualifying merit (ibid:541).

"Volunteer tourists wanted to perform work solely based on their own opinions of what was best for the host community".. ” The idea that ‘every bit helps’ may not always be accurate, because unskilled volunteers actually have the potential to impede work progress” (ibid:543)

The West frontier as Duffield explains, is that outcomes of ”helping” may have consequences that are not intended from the beginning. The operation of ”helping” can imply values, which are not actually any help (Duffield 2007:126). Some argues that the effort of ”helping” even makes matters worse if one does not fully examine what inputs are actually needed (Birrell 2010).

Young individuals are especially exposed and vulnerable which is noteworthy because many voluntourism projects involve work with children and in orphanages (Wall & Mathieson 2006:547).

Guiney (2012:10) examined the phenomenon of orphanage tourism as not only an alternative tourism form but also how this expanded into a profitable business and has converted "many orphanages from homes into tourist attractions and are reflective of poverty tourism". Countries with history of instability may depend on tourism as a vital national income, as
Cambodia for example. In Cambodia orphanage tourism is a major form of tourism (ibid:10). Orphanage tourism shows through volunteering but also visiting and performances for tourists.

"Some have visiting hours... Some orphanages host cultural performances, some every night, or for visitors giving donations.... The majority of centers take a relaxed approach to visitors, allowing 'walk-ins' at any time of day" (Guiney 2012:11)

Concerns about protecting issues have been brought up by informants, which Guiney raises as alarming. Pedophiles are a big problem in Cambodia and it is not unusual that tourists comes by to ask to lend children. Statistics from 2005 notes that almost a quarter of all tourists traveling to Cambodia came for sex in that year (ibid:12-13).

"An orphanage director, stated that he has been approached by Westerners passing his orphanage asking if it allowed sex with the children, clearly illustrating that indeed this is an issue in Cambodia" (Guiney 2012:13)

The transboundary openness in the world has resulted in a flourished tourism industry this has also led to that sex tourism increased dramatically. Sex tourism is a global issue but more significantly in some areas than in others. The debate of sex tourism results in countless questions and issues about the ethic position of the industry but to connect trafficking to sex in relation to tourism is relatively new in the debate (Tepelus :102). Codes of conduct have had little focus on human rights rather towards environmental issues for example (ibid:100). Tepelus (104) say that

"30–35 per cent of all sex workers in the Mekong sub-region of south-east Asia are between 12 and 17 years of age"... "child sex tourism is booming worldwide, Asia is at the center of child prostitution"
My research has looked at the phenomenon from various perspectives and dividing it into separate elements, which individually affect the children. The elements that were coming up most often were taken note of whereupon literature, which described the individual impacts on the children was searched for. After reading about the elements impact on the children separately from the body of research the empirical material was once again reread. Thereby concrete categories of the different elements could be assigned into themes. For example, physical abuse consists of physical violence, conscious undernourishment, absence of education and sexual exploitation. The themes were therefore constructing categories. I turned to use Using thematic analysis in psychology (2006) written by Braun and Clarke, in order to be as coherent as possible while approaching the empirical material with thematic analysis since there are various ideas of how to proceed.

As presented in earlier studies (Koettl 2009, Schutter et al. 2012, Sajjadul Hoque 2010, UNODC 2012, Eurostat 2014, Gallagher & Pearson 2010 etc.) presents how the ones most vulnerable for human trafficking are the most socially deprived and poor people. This business is taking advantage of that and the children who are being transported to orphanages in favor of orphanage tourism are from poor families, often from rural to urban areas.

"Trafficked’ children, meaning children and young people forcibly or deceitfully transported for the profit of others and deprived of the means to escape” (Grugel 2013:22).

It became clear that children living in orphanages are very vulnerable compared to other groups of children in society. The most fundamental aspect shown is responsible adults that have a stable relation to the child. Children missing out of the experience of stable life with responsible adults in early childhood suffer great delay in social, emotional and mental skills (RICD:2-3).

"In the face of a contemporary emphasis on skill building and academic readiness, some scholars have made the case that early care and education facilities should also promote social and emotional development because it is important in its own right and because it facilitates cognitive development” (RICD:13).
6.1 Analysis

6.1.1 The contributing factors

In the literature review in the beginning of the thesis it was presented how previous researchers explain poverty as the most fundamental reason for child trafficking to appear. This study has questioned what the main factors are that fuels the act of child trafficking in relation to orphanage tourism.

As far as we know, there is never justification for exploitation of others for self-gaining. There are numerous studies (Koettl 2009, Schutter et al. 2012, Sajjadul Hoque 2010, UNODC 2012, Eurostat 2014 to mention a few) that indicate and show that people in poverty, who are most socially deprived, also are the ones most vulnerable for human trafficking. People within a social vulnerable position do what it takes to change, with hope to enhance, one’s situation. Thereby, people within socially deprived positions, such as poverty, have an increased risk to end up being exploited. However, there is a perpetrator, whom ever it may be or out of what cause, trafficking others by virtue to their vulnerable position. Meaning that for previous researchers to put poverty as main reason is legitimated and with the contribution of Galtung one can also estimate that there is other groups taking advantage of this situation of vulnerability.

By looking at the part of which these children within orphanage tourism and voluntourism are trafficked, in relation to the theoretical framework of Galtung the initial thought about this was the fragmentation of families and the exposed situation they face afterwards. The children that are being abandoned by their guardians or parents who are in fact exposed to a(another) type of structural violence. They do not control their social conditions under which they are separated from their children. The fact that the children separates from their families, as Ruhfus show (Cambodia’s Orphanage Business 2012: 4 minutes) the majority of parents think they give their children better prerequisites by giving them away. There are also reports of traffickers giving a symbolic amount of money to the families of which they have trafficked their children as signs of goodwill (Wheaton et al. 2010:124). It is less important whether
the parents choose to give up their children in faith of a better future for them or are forced to do so, irrespectively it indicates how the parents are to leave their children in someone else's care left with no much choice.

This also demonstrates quite well the fact how this business reaches out to poor families, in other words to the most vulnerable, disempowered and easily deceived ones. Even if it is structurally inculcated and has become socially accepted it can be no disclosure of the fact that it affects the children, enter psychological stress and thereby lower their life expectancy. The children are being brought into a livelihood excluded from the decision-making and are given no opportunities to change their situation. They may be told that this are the best alternative within a society marked of poverty and recent history of civil war. But, how are they to know the best alternative for themselves when they are given no options. According to Galtung example of structural violence the manipulative act of influenceing someone (the children) to not see other options for themselves, which hinders the individual to raise to their potential e.i. making their actual realization lower than their potential (Galtung 1969:170-71).

The chain consists of very many links, which all in the end contributes to the business to keep operating. First there are the parents who are giving away their children, second there are the managers of orphanages and their owners who traffic children for their business, and third there are the ones recruiting volunteers, fourth the tourists who put money in the business and pay their visit, fifth are the offenders who sexually abuse or buy services from children. Six are the charging agencies. Last to mention but as involved is the surrounding world (both on governmental and individual level) which does not see anything, does not act nor react.

Since this is all about structures there is nobody to directly place the responsibility on. Because whose responsibility is it? At first one may think that it is the guardians who have the primary responsibility for their own children. However, as shown above they are most undoubtedly also hit by structural violence. By approaching the picture the focus becomes much more abstract and even more relevant to question.
6.2 Analyze

The dimensions of which Galtung defines when structural violence is present, and are relevant within this particular context are when;

i. A person influences in the extent that hir actual realization is below the potential
ii. Lacking control of one’s own social condition
iii. There are an avoidable deprivation of life

This part seeks to explain a general understanding of how these aspects effect life expectancy of children within orphanage tourism and voluntourism. Of course it can be exceptions from these generalizations, i.e. guardians other than parental can be far more positive for a child than to stay in parental care. However this is not pursued, instead general features will be identified that can appear among children with similar conditions in upbringing. The three above mentioned definitions of when structural violence is present could be said to be criteria’s for when it may conclude that the children are victims of structural violence.

Every fifth child suffers from some kind of mental disorder around the globe. It has been clarified that 40 percent of all children in need of mental health care do not get the treatment they need. Lassi et al. (2010:787) argues that as soon as 2020 childhood neuropsychiatry disorder will have increased by 50 percent and it is calculated to be the most common of disabilities among children. Psychological vulnerability is very difficult to deal with and more than often it would require professional help from a third party. Since this illness tend to not be taken care of, at least in a very small extent in the global south, it may somewhat result to become structural features for particular social groups. As Lassi et al. (2010:788) raise, these social factors creates a vicious circle since implications will follow the children into adulthood and the parental mental health in turn affect their children, meaning that the next generation are being influenced by the earlier.

Children around the world possess severe global inequality, which is particularly visible when looking at how upbringing conditions are for these children i.e. in comparison with
mine. Structural violence may portray different images such as starving children, diseases and poverty (Ho 2007:3). Since poverty is already mentioned and described as the main factor of many previous researcher of the phenomenon it was of great interest to look at this phenomenon with the perspective of structural violence.

After categorizing the findings of what children within orphanage tourism and voluntourism are affected by, independently from one another, four themes were labeled. These are trafficking in person, disempowerment, orphanage care, and physical abuse. Soon, there appeared a common core within the four themes. It showed that in various ways that were independent from each other, a sort of psychological stress is a result. Furthermore when reading into the quantitative aspect of psychological stress different elements appeared which separately from the body of research fell under the labeled themes. This will further be discussed under each theme.

6.2.1 Trafficking In Person

As already mentioned children within this business are more than often recruited (trafficked) from their homes and separated from their parents to meet the demand for orphans in the orphanages. Human trafficking is modern day slavery and it is grounded in systematic issues as Mace et al. (2012:336) explain as "significant disadvantages in terms of poverty, education and employment". Sangalis (2011:436) argues that post-traumatic stress is a very common consequence when people fall victim of human trafficking and may outlet throughout depression, nightmares, panic attack etc. leaving them unable to pursue remedies as a result of their physical and psychological ordeal they have suffered (Sangalis 2011:413). Galtung (1969:169) refers to structural violence as somebody (or a group) is being hurt psychologically. Although it is the opposite to somebody being hit somatically it strikes the victim and violence is present in both cases.

Depending on the extent of physical, psychological or sexual violence the victim for human trafficking have suffered it should be provided suitable practical services on individual level due to health, pregnancy or any special needs (Eurostat 2014:62 and COM 2012 and Gallag-
her & Pearson 2010:88). This has been estimated as necessary for victims to ultimately recover. Within the EU, the approach to work with victims of human trafficking is well advanced and is prioritized within the union. Within the EU, the member states and their governments are responsible to accommodate victims of human trafficking and meet the needs individually (Eurostat 2014 and COM 2012). The union and the governments of member states have a developed collaboration in this area.

6.2.2 Disempowerment

Disempowerment is used as the definition by lack of access to decide over one’s own destiny and future. It is here used for the vulnerability of children to not access control to their social conditions (mostly feminine since women globally are far more disempowered than men). Mace et al. (2012:338) mean that the most fundamental to address the disempowerment of women and children is to focus on approaches to raise awareness aiming to increase quality of life and empower the disempowered. They also argue for the need of greater awareness about the phenomenon (ibid:336).

Grugel (2013:24) explains how delivering and reproductive rights for girls would generate an opportunity for a better quality of life. It would be a direct contribution to improve their mental health, which in return empower them. The rights for girls to attend school should also be raised here, since disempowering women maintain by the lack of societal rights such as attending school, reproductive rights and rights over their sexuality. This lack of societal rights do as well increase the risk to be exploited since vulnerable characteristics such as low social position, physical weakness, psychological distress, actualization attract perpetrators (Lutya & Lanier 2012:561).

Galtung (1969:170) means that a recipient of manipulative behavior is influenced to choose what is in favor of the practitioner, their perpetrator, this is an act of structural violence. Even
if it may at first look like the influenced is acting out of free will this is a result of the aim to hinder the influenced of realizing hir real potential. In context, it is when traffickers create a life, which put the victims close to them. Power and inequality effects the free will to make decisions in benefit for the one in power or simply to not see other options for themselves (Lutya & Lanier 2012:654). Early experience of social- and emotional care giving promotes social and emotional development which in turn facilitates cognitive development (RICD: 13), which excludes within this business and results in easy manipulation of the free will.

Marginalized children are in increased risk zone for negative sequels. Greeson et al. (2015:1) is claiming that social support in relation to exploration of one’s identity is needed in upbringing of children. They separate autonomous-selves and heteronomous-related selves and mean that both of these needs have to be met for children to be completely fulfilled e.i. life expectancy to be ultimate (Greeson et al. 2015:2). Children with a tendency of psychological distress syndrome need a social support but also professional units of support, if a mentally distressed child does not get the support from varying units of support Greeson et al. (2015:3) asserts that the support is not being completed.

6.2.3 Orphanage care

Attachment theory emphasizes that (appropriate) early experience of social- and emotional care giving is crucial for later domains of development such as social, emotional and mental abilities. The foundation is responsible adults who are stable in the child’s life. It is seen how these social, emotional and mental skills are in great delay among children lacking this experience (RICD:2-3). This is also shown in the documentary Cambodia’s Orphanage Business (2012) where reporter Rhufus from Al Jazeera can present how many of the children are suffering from so called attachment disorder.

The theory of structural violence presents how an uneven balance of power can result in physical differences between groups. There are an avoidable deprivation of life but which is not avoidable due to the uneven distribution of resources, and the uneven power to decide over the distribution of them (Galtung 1969:170-71). This results in uneven opportunities for the
individual to rise to hir fullest potential and creates a destiny for the consolidated group to be the one in less favor in the social rang of durable inequality.

Children living in orphanages have been documented to be the most vulnerable of all groups of children in society. They may be exposed to social networks or to activities inappropriate, as may even be dangerous, for them (Lassi et al. 2010:661). Orphans show an abnormal early stress since many of them live under conditions of neglect, are exposed to various kind of abuse and living in some sort of fear (ibid:788). Research has also discern much higher frequencies of extreme behavior among orphans compared to children being brought up by their parents (RICD:1).

Durable inequality (Tilly 2000) also appears within research of orphans in comparison to children brought up by their parents. Orphans tend to delay in general development (RICD:3). Physical differences has also been distinguished and show that orphans in general tend to be smaller in height, weight and both head and chest circumference (ibid:3). Other exceptionnel behavior also distinguished to be generally quantifiable among orphans are inability for attachment, injudiciousness, over activity, distractibility and a shift from early passivity to later aggressive behavior (ibid:5).

6.2.4 **Physical abuse**

As physical abuse in itself affects a child's psychological well-being this section urge to emphasize to whether the children within the studied phenomenon are subject to physical abuse. As presented in literature review (point 2), children are deliberately kept squalid since it generates a larger income if the children look in greater need of help. Galtung (1969:172) argues that violence is present when the body is hindered to develop throughout its potential due to a livelihood consisting of lack of nutrition or proper care, nor proper beds and moth-eaten clothes. Additionally, the children often work in the orphanages experience direct physical violence in form of strikes and sexual exploitation. When it is put in system that some are excluded from the decisions concerning them, and are not allowed in the decisions concerning the distribution of resources. Victims lose their control of their own social conditions
and the avoidable deprivation of life is not being avoided, or deliberately is kept, from a structural violence point of view it can be concluded that the children are hit and hurt of violence.

The fact that the children are being exposed to strangers, coming and going with short term notice and periods, whatever they do to them is a form of abuse itself. Rufus explains (2012:15 minutes) by their visit at some of the orphanages around Phnom Phen that many of the children show signs on attachment disorder. Which is, as she explains, that the children crave attention and approach physically but pull away when it is given to them. It demonstrates signs on both physical and physiological abuse.

7. Discussion

If not for the demand, there would be no reason to satisfy this. Well aware that this is a very simplified explanation of the calculation of how organization’s operates, however I dare to do so since the discussion is about human lives and values. Even if this phenomenon is as widespread and established as it is, the discussion should be taken as far back as to the fact that there are adults who require accessibility of children for their own personal use. Along with the discussion throughout this study it has been found how the industry of orphanage tourism has made it more accessible for those that intend to exploit children.

This discussion does not argue for all orphanages in Cambodia to stop operate or quit receiving volunteers, because one cannot help but bring up what would happen to the children if this business took a U-turn (Guiney 2012:14). This phenomenon requires a structural change which is both difficult and time consuming. Rather it is rised and emphasized the importance of security. It has been shown that life-changing events have drastic effects on people’s mind (Durkheim 1897). The work of Emile Durkheim explained how people react in various social contexts. His discussion about anomic suicide is a striking example of a sense of hopelessness which accompanies by drastic changes that disrupt social structures which the individual do not have space to adapt. Therefore a drastic change within this matter is not the answer. Maybe it is not right to argue for the operation to completely end either.
But, this discussion also must be raised since there are important components that do need a
dramatic change. There is need for a dramatic improvement in safety regarding the physical
vulnerability of the children. The concrete exploitation of children has to end along with the
accessibility for people intending to utilize them for personal purposes, since it is to a very
great extent a violation to the fundaments of human rights. Following a dramatic improve-
ment in safety a next step shall be to work against the recruitment of short-period volunteers.
To empower the socially deprived groups in society, in order for them to never feel the need
to give up their children, there has to be an enhanced collaborative work between traveling
companies, volunteer agencies, suitable governmental units and operating orphanages.

However, it cannot be said to many times that the most important thing within this situation,
that still persist within this very moment is to protect the children of those who physically
abuse them. To sexually exploit someone, even worse a helpless child, is among the worst
forms of abuse that one can be exposed to. Not enough that this discussion consider minors,
the minors discussed are being taken away their rights of their sexuality and they are being
forced to activities of the most intimate and horrible kind one can become a victim of (ILO
2009).

8. Conclusions Remarks

Based on the analysis it is possible to attempt to answer the research questions which was i.
*What drives child trafficking and sexual exploitation in the context of orphanage tourism?*
and ii. *How does orphanage tourism affect the children?*

The analysis has shown clearly how complex this phenomenon really is. There are many
factors contributing to that the phenomenon is able to keep operating. Considering the first
research question the analysis has concluded with the help of the theory of Galtung that the
fact that the families are hit by structural violence makes the children vulnerable for traffic-
king. The families are left with no other choice than to leave their children in somebody else's
care, in many cases in hope for a better future for the child. Throughout the findings this
study has also shown that there is a demand for accessibility of children. As (Duffield
2007:79 & 126) explains as the West-frontier, people (often from the West) spend time and
money to do good, the non-intentional outcome of this "help" instead put the children even more vulnerable for people whose intention is to exploit them for personal purposes.

This study has shown that the business of orphanage tourism has various negative impacts on the children being trafficked, which was the second research question. The main result effecting these children, when observing this with structural violence in mind, are physiological stress and physical abuse. It has been demonstrated from the perspective of Galtung’s structural violence how durable inequality not only has a psychological effect but also physical due to the structural differences in livelihood in comparison to other children in society.

The evolution of social media being in rapid development we tend to talk about a global civil society more than a national civil society. This is in favor for the preventative-work towards trafficking and sexual exploitation of children. The theoretical framework of Galtung and his discussion about presence of structural violence has been a huge help throughout this study to approach a closer understanding of the phenomenon. Consequently it may be beneficial for the discussion if this perspective got more attention in the global civil society, in order to evaluate the surrounding world even if direct violence, as in the Cambodian case civil war, no longer exists.

Attitudes and beliefs about the value of children and their place is in need to be changed, it takes long time for new social norms to establish and even longer for the change to appear visible in people’s lives. However, the fact that this phenomenon is being addressed and discussed hopefully will affect the system. Thus, Cambodia does not show any signs for any real structural change as regard this matter, since the phenomenon has been estimated to increase rather than decrease. Therefore a question for future research is: **whether we can expect any change away from these circumstances in the near future?**
8. References


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