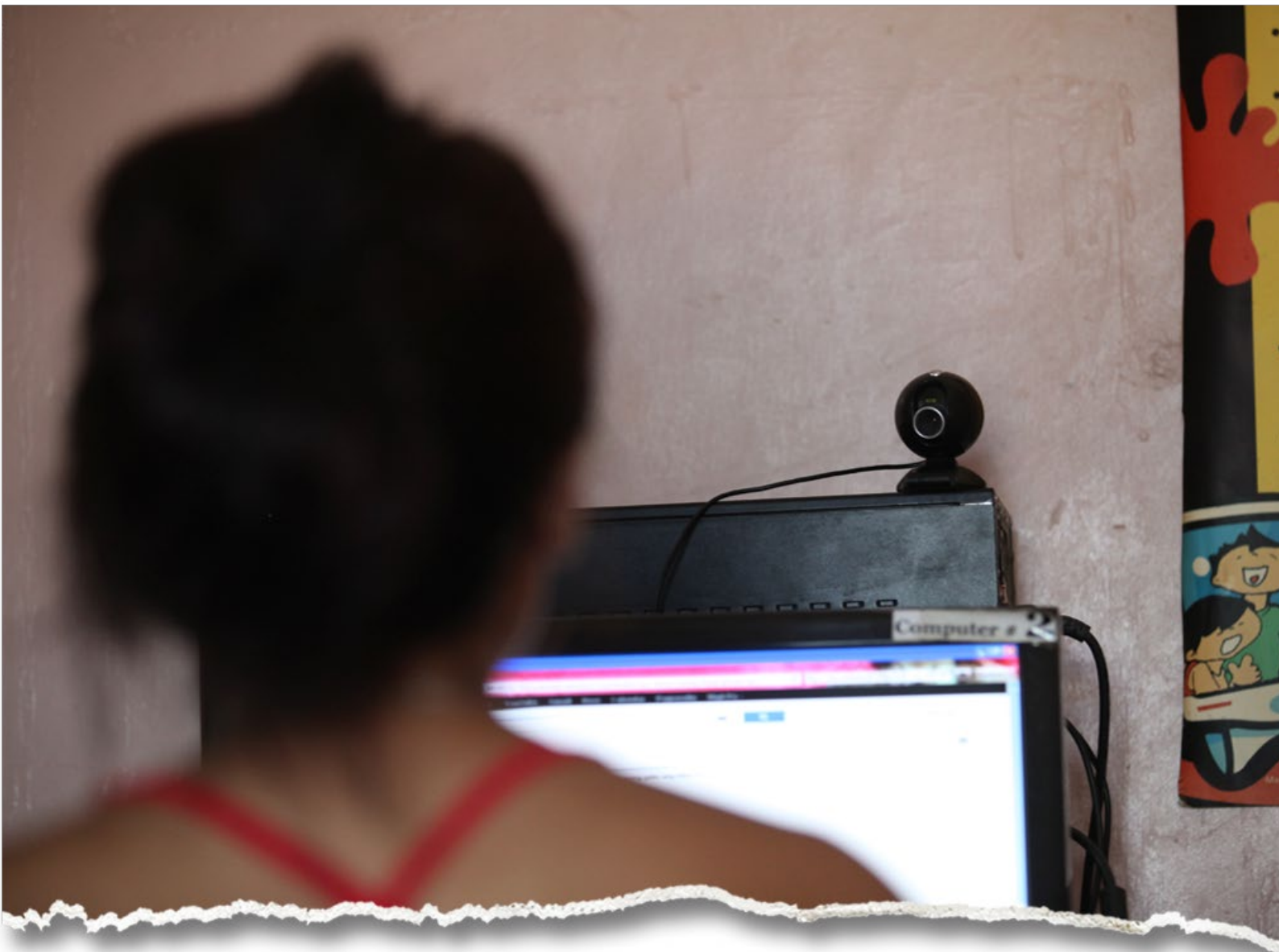


terre des hommes
stops child exploitation



FULLSCREEN ON VIEW

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

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ABOUT TERRE DES HOMMES NETHERLANDS

Terre des Hommes Netherlands is a development organization dedicated to children; it is named after a book by the famous French writer and World War II pilot Antoine de Saint Exupéry – author of “The Little Prince”. Even before this book was published, he wrote “Terre des Hommes” (Earth of Mankind) in which he called upon ‘the people of the earth’ to take their responsibilities seriously and to show solidarity. He said: *“There is no third world. There is one world for which we’re all responsible.”*

Founded in 1966 by dedicated volunteers, now supports some 220 local project partners in 15 countries and provides emergency aid in an additional three countries (Haiti, Burkina Faso and Lebanon). Regional offices in Bangalore India (South Asia), Jakarta Indonesia (South East Asia), Nairobi Kenya (East Africa) and Cochabamba Bolivia (South America) are charged with the responsibility of monitoring, overseeing, reviewing and evaluating projects that are initiated and implemented by local partner organizations.

The United Nation’s Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is the cornerstone of all projects and programs. This Convention represents the recognition by the international community that, not only do children deserve to be protected but that they have a right to be so. These rights have been enshrined in this almost universally accepted treaty and have subsequently been incorporated in national legislation in an overwhelming majority of the world’s nations.

Terre des Hommes Netherlands is a member of the Terre des Hommes International Federation (TdHIF), based in Geneva Switzerland. Other Terre des Hommes member organizations are found in Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain and Switzerland (comprising three organizations in Basel, Geneva and Lausanne). The TdHIF seeks to ensure coordination among the Terre des Hommes Netherlands’ organizations and representation at an international and European level. The TdHIF holds a consultative status with the United Nations, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Council of Europe.

The main theme of Terre des Hommes’ work centers on the issue of child exploitation, the most serious violation of the rights of the child. Increasing numbers of children fall victim of human trafficking, prostitution or hazardous forms of child labour as defined by the ILO’s 1999 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (ILO Convention 182). Terre des Hommes Netherlands strives to prevent child exploitation, removes children from exploitative situations and ensures that they may develop in a secure, healthy and supportive environment. The organization invests in education, training and capacity enhancement, in raising awareness among children, youngsters and adults and – given that poverty is one of the main factors contributing to child exploitation – Terre des Hommes Netherlands offers parents the opportunity to increase their income by providing access to savings and credit schemes. To seek justice for the victims, Terre des Hommes Netherlands encourages children and their

families to report abuse and child exploitation cases, offers legal aid and social protection, trains and assists police, public prosecution offices and justice departments. Victims can also count on Terre des Hommes Netherlands and partners for assistance during police investigation and legal proceedings.

To advocate and promote the rights of children, Terre des Hommes Netherlands organizes public and media campaigns to raise awareness, conducts research into the scale and nature of abuse and exploitation as well as lobbying for attention and change. The organization follows and seeks to influence policy makers on local, national and international levels to adopt, ratify, maintain and enforce legislation to prevent child exploitation and to protect victims of such practices.

Terre des Hommes Netherlands always works together with local project partners. These partners are familiar with the situation 'on the ground' and know the best ways of reaching out and helping the children concerned.

In the Philippines Terre des Hommes Netherlands works closely with local organizations in order to fight the exploitation of children. One of the organizations is Bidlisiw Foundation, a local NGO situated in Cebu City, the Philippines, with 20 years of experience as a social welfare and development agency. Another partner organization is the Centre for the Prevention & Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse (CPTCSA), a non-profit, non-governmental child focused institution working towards a safe world for children free from sexual abuse and exploitation. The Children's Legal Bureau (CLB) provides legal services for cases involving children and among others, strives to improve the prosecution of child sex tourists. Fellowship for Organizing Endeavours (FORGE) has, amongst others, programs for prostituted women and children. ECPAT Philippines combats the sexual exploitation of children through extensive lobbying for reform in legislation and policy.

The above mentioned partner organizations have all played an essential role in the execution of this research project, for which Terre des Hommes Netherlands thanks them greatly.

1. INTRODUCTION

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

In child prostitution 'hotspots', like Cebu City in the Philippines, various forms of commercial child exploitation shifted from offline to online, making child abuse material more accessible and more anonymously consumable for a larger number of offenders around the world. Terre des Hommes Netherlands' project partners reported a shift in child prostitution from the streets, bars, restaurants and other public places to hidden venues where children are engaged in sexual interactions with foreigners through webcams. Those children are not only exposed to and engaged in activities that are illegal, they also fall under the radars of organizations involved in helping these children. Furthermore, parents become harder to reach because of the in-house nature of the activities.

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

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

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

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

This research report consists of three main chapters: firstly an overview of the research methodology and theoretical framework, secondly a chapter on the characteristics of webcam child sex tourism in the Philippines and thirdly the report then presents an extensive analysis of the psychosocial consequences of this practice for the victims.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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

2.1 Research on nature and extent of webcam child sex tourism

As part of the research into the nature and extent of webcam child sex tourism in the Philippines preliminary data were gathered on incidences and cases of webcam child sex tourism from news reports and other online sources. Based on aggregate information from these sources, five geographical areas were selected as research focus areas. These are Angeles City and Taguig City in Luzon; and Cebu City, and the municipalities of Cordova and Dalaguete in the Visayas.

From these five areas, individual cases of victims of webcam child sex tourism were explored and documented. A total of 44 cases have been investigated for this study, which include fifteen cases in Angeles City, thirteen cases in Cordova, seven cases in Taguig City, six cases in Cebu City and the remaining three cases in Dalaguete.



Interview with the mother of one victim in Malabanas, Angeles City

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

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

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

2.2 Research into the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism

To determine the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism, 48 children in the province of Cebu were interviewed about their lives, their experiences, their feelings and thoughts concerning their activities, and about the psychosocial difficulties they encounter. To put their answers into perspective in terms of living conditions and social backgrounds the main group of interest, children who have worked in webcam child sex tourism, was compared with a control group of children who were from the same neighbourhoods, but who were not involved in sexually exploitative situations. This way, the possibility that the exhibited symptoms were caused by their living conditions or cultural backgrounds was eliminated.

The initial research aim was also to compare results of children who were involved in webcam child sex tourism with the results of children who work in prostitution. This comparison would then generate a sense of understanding as to how webcam child sex tourism and its psychosocial consequences relate to child prostitution. In reality however, it became clear during the research that this was a challenge as all children included in the webcam child sex tourism group in the research area had also been into prostitution or still were. Furthermore, some of the children from the prostituted group had some experience with webcam child sex tourism. Therefore, it was difficult to make a comparison between these two groups, as they seemed to be overlapping. The psychosocial symptoms exhibited by the children from these two groups are therefore expected to overlap.

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

2.2.1 Background interviewed children

Twenty of the interviewed children are from Cebu City (Silangan – Barangay Tejero, Palma – Barangay San Roque, Villagonzalo – Barangay Tinago, Arrelano – Barangay San Roque, Escanio - Barangay Tinago), 23 are from Mandaue (Barangay Looc, Tingub, Mantuyong, Guizo an Tipolo) and four are from Lapu-Lapu (Barangay Canjulao, Sudtonggan - Barangay Basak). All interviewed children receive support from Terre des Hommes Netherlands' project partners Bidlisiw Foundation or FORGE. In agreement with the two partner organizations, only children between the ages of 12 and 18 were interviewed, since the children that came in contact with the organizations were rarely under 12.

An equal amount of male and female children were interviewed, it is known that in Cebu both sexes are equally represented in child prostitution. Although numbers on the distribution of sexes within webcam child sex tourism are not yet present, the assumption in this research is that this is also equal.

Three different groups

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

- Webcam group: this group consists of sixteen children who are currently involved in webcam child sex tourism. The original aim was to assemble a group of children who were solely involved in webcam child sex tourism. During the research period it became clear though, that all children involved in these activities were (or had been) also involved in prostitution. This group contains eight girls and eight boys.
- Prostituted group: this group consists of sixteen children who are currently involved in prostitution. During the research it became clear that some of the participants in this group were also involved in webcam child sex tourism. This group contains of eight girls and eight boys.
- Control group: this group consists of children who are from the same neighbourhoods as the children from the webcam and prostituted group, but who are not involved in any form of sexual exploitation. This group also consist of eight girls and eight boys.

2.2.2 The interview

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

Nature of the interviews

The interviews started with the essential building of a solid and confidential relationship between the interviewer and the child. Due to the delicate nature of topics about to follow, the child had to feel safe enough to tell his/her story. During this phase, questions were asked about the area the child lives in, the school he goes to, leisure activities and friends. When the interviewer had the feeling the child was comfortably at ease, they continued the rest of the interview.

The first part of the interview covered the following topics¹ : antecedent factors (demographic characteristics, information about school, family, friends and leisure activities, experience of other types of maltreatment or abuse); abuse related factors (how the child got involved in webcam child sex tourism, his or her experiences in the matter, type of customers, payment and thoughts and feelings of the child about his activities); post-disclosure factors (whether people around the child know about his activities, and their expected reactions).

The second part of the interview consisted of a structured questionnaire, exploring the different psychosocial consequences expected to emerge². The 61-items questionnaire covered nine scales: 1) Feelings of isolation; 2) Depression; 3) Posttraumatic stress; 4) Locus of control; 5) Self-esteem & self-worth; 6) Sexualized behaviour; 7) Aggression/hostility; 8) Anxiety; 9) Self-destructive behaviour. A four point Likert scale³ was used: 1 = Never experienced; 2 = Seldom experienced; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Often experienced.

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

¹ For a rationale of the chosen topics, see section 2.3 on 'theoretical framework of psychosocial consequences'.

² Idem.

³ A psychometric scale commonly involved in research that employs questionnaires, named after the psychologist Rensis Likert.

⁴ Cronbach's α is a coefficient of internal consistency, commonly used as an estimate of the reliability of a psychometric test for a sample of examinees.

Private and quiet space

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

The interviewers

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

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

Ethical guidelines

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

Translation

The translation of the interview questions from English to Visayan was made by Dr. G. Glarino of the San Carlos University, department of Psychology. Subsequently, a back-translation from Visayan into English was made by the executive director of the Bidlisiw Foundation, Mrs L. Ganapin. Both translators were native Visayan speakers with excellent skills in the English language. The two versions of the English questionnaire were compared and deviations were discussed between the researcher and members of the Bidlisiw Foundation⁵.

⁵ All the translations were constructed following the rules stated in the article of Brislin (1970).

2.3 Theoretical framework psychosocial consequences

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

2.3.1 Consequences of child sexual abuse

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

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

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

2.3.2 Consequences of child pornography

The National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children (2005; quoted by Rogers, 2008) has documented the effects of child pornography on its victims. Because children are sexually abused in the process of creating pornographic images, they can incur physical injuries such as genital bruising, cuts, lacerations

and sexually transmitted diseases. The children may suffer psychological injuries including depression, anger, withdrawal, low self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness. These feelings may be expressed in flashbacks, nightmares and other indicia of post-traumatic stress syndrome. They often engage in self-destructive behaviour including substance abuse, prostitution and suicide.

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

According to a report by Worthley and Smallbone (2006) the vast majority of children who appear in child pornography have not been abducted or physically forced to participate. In most cases they knew the producer — it might even be a parent — and they were manipulated into taking part by more subtle means. Referring to when the abuse was taking place, victims described the physical pain (e.g., around the genitals), accompanying somatic symptoms (such as headaches, loss of appetite, and sleeplessness), and feelings of psychological distress (emotional isolation, anxiety, and fear). However, most of them also felt a pressure to cooperate with the offender and to keep the offense a secret, often because of a mixture of loyalty and fear towards the offender and a sense of shame about their own behaviour. In later years, the victims reported that initial feelings of shame and anxiety did not fade but intensified to feelings of deep despair, worthlessness, and hopelessness. Many of them had a distorted view of sexuality, in particular establishing and maintaining a healthy emotional and sexual relationship appeared to be difficult.

2.3.3 Consequences of child prostitution

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

2.3.4 Traumagenic dynamics

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

- **Traumatic sexualisation:** this dynamic refers to a process in which a child's sexuality is shaped in an inappropriate and dysfunctional way as a result of sexual abuse. This can happen in various ways, for example when inappropriate sexual behaviour is repeatedly reinforced by an offender. By the exchange of affection, attention, privileges and gifts for sexual behaviour, the child learns to use sexual behaviour as a strategy for manipulating others to satisfy a variety of developmentally appropriate needs.
- **Betrayal:** through this dynamic, children discover that someone on whom they were vitally dependent has caused them harm. This may occur in a variety of ways in a molestation experience, for example when a child comes to realize that a trusted person has manipulated him/her through lies or misrepresentations about moral standards. Children can experience betrayal not only towards offenders, but also towards family members who failed to protect them from the abuse or whose attitudes towards them have altered after disclosure of the abuse.
- **Powerlessness:** this dynamic refers to the process in which the child's will and sense of efficacy is continually disregarded. Many aspects of experiencing sexual abuse contribute to this dynamic, starting with the invasion of the child's personal space (for example its body) against the child's will. This powerlessness is reinforced when children see their attempts to stop the abuse fail or when they realize how conditions of dependency have trapped them in the situation.
- **Stigmatization:** this refers to the negative connotations (e.g., badness, shame, and guilt) that become incorporated into the child's self-image, under the influence of the offender, the child's surroundings, or the society the child lives in. This feeling of stigmatization is reinforced when, after disclosure, people react with shock or hysteria or blame the child for what has happened.

Factors influencing the dynamics that play a role in the traumagenic effect of child sexual victimization are displayed in Figure 1.

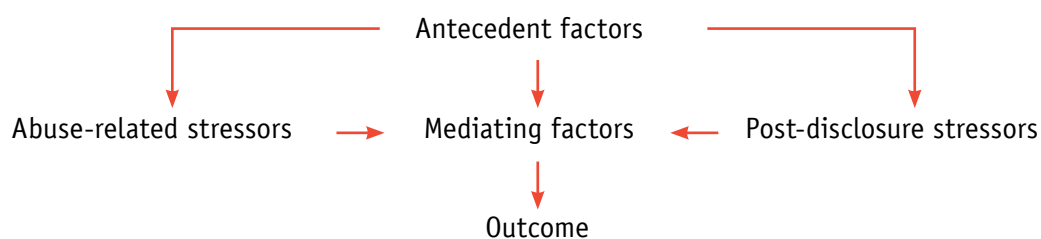


Figure 1. A conceptual model of the psychopathology of child sexual abuse (Nurcombe et al., 2000)

Antecedent factors that could influence the outcome are demographic characteristics of the children (age, gender, family size, and family construction), socio-economic status, and support system of child, experience of other types of maltreatment or abuse. As noted by Beichtman et al. (1991), the severity of the abuse is of influence on the severity of the symptoms. Therefore, the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism are expected to depend on the severity of the webcam performances (for example: what sexual acts was the child forced to do?; who were involved?; how long has the situation been going on and how much force was used?). These are abuse related stressors. Post-disclosure stressors comprise the reactions of the family, friends and the surrounding of the child, after the behaviour was discovered. This framework is important because it brings into assessment the role of society, culture, family and other community factors.

It seems likely that, to some extent, a comparison can be made between victims of webcam child sex tourism and children who have been otherwise sexually harmed. The dynamics that play a role in causing the trauma in sexually victimized children are expected to be more or less comparable. However, these dynamics are different with every single case of abuse. The framework provided by the traumagenic dynamics shall also be used in this study to compare the underlying dynamics that play a role in the traumagenic effect of different types of webcam child sex tourism.

3. WEBCAM CHILD SEX TOURISM: A NEW PHENOMENON IN CONTEXT

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

3.1 Increase in Internet access in Asia and the Philippines

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

Similar to other countries in the world, internet usage rates in the Philippines have increased dramatically in the past decade. In 2005, only 5,4% of the Philippine population accessed the Internet. By 2010 that percentage had gone up to 29%, according to data provided by the United Nations (UNdata). A news article in the Asian Correspondent in 2011 estimated that 33.6 million people in the Philippines use the Internet of which at least 21 million use Facebook (Cruz, 2011). However, along with the development of new technologies and the growth of the Internet and Internet usage comes the opportunity for proliferation of online child sexual exploitation which, in turn, presents significant challenges to detection, enforcement and prosecution of such offences.

3.2 Two sides to Filipino norms and values

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

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

Family above all

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

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

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

Virility

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

Saving face

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

Hospitality

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

Faith and religion

The Filipinos put a deep trust in God and the Roman Catholic Church. In a place regularly devastated by typhoons, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and other natural disasters, people turn to the Supreme God (*Bathala*) for something bigger than the unconquerable nature. Consequently, the blind trust in God has also brought about the negative *bahala na* (literally, in God's hands) attitude, which engenders resignation to fate, inaction and a false sense of security in the face of hardships.

As a result, the Catholic Church is very influential in Cebu. Local church leaders spearhead the pro-life campaign in the country. It has many followers, including politicians, who are against contraception and sexual health services for women.

3.3 Cebu province: stark economic growth as opposed to widespread poverty

Thanks to a booming tourism industry and the big harbour of Cebu City, the province of Cebu is one of the most economically developed provinces in the Philippines. This economic growth has attracted many people seeking employment. Many of them settle in urban poor communities in the three highly urbanized cities of the province: Cebu City, Mandaue and Lapu Lapu. With a population of 4.167.353 as of 2010 census, Cebu is the fifth most populous province out of 80 provinces in the country.

The majority of the populace are poor however. In fact, the province ranks first among the 80 provinces in the Philippines when it comes to the amount of poor families. National government agencies roughly put the number of people in Cebu City living in the slums, also called 'squatters' or 'informal settlers', at 35%. The children of these squatter families are at risk of becoming sexually exploited. Families live in extreme poverty, with often not enough money to feed all the children, let alone send them to school. Their housing is poor, made of light materials such as bamboo, wood, hard board and canvas, and roofs are made of corrugated iron or coconut leaves. They lack adequate access to basic services such as water supply, electricity, health and sanitation services. These areas are under constant threat of fire due to the illegal tapping of electricity as well as flooding.

3.3.1 Cebu City

Cebu City is the capital city of the province of Cebu. It is the second most populous metropolitan area in the Philippines after Metro Manila. The geographical characteristics of Cebu City have contributed to its strong economic development. Its proximity to many islands, beaches, diving locations and heritage sites, and the presence of world-class hotels and resorts, attract many foreign and local tourists. From 2008 to 2010, close to two million foreign tourists and three million local tourists visited Cebu (National Statistics Coordinating Board). Cebu City is also the country's main domestic shipping port and is home to the majority of the domestic shipping companies. Hence, it has become the shipping and tourist gateway to Central and Southern Philippines.

3.3.2 Municipality of Cordova

The Municipality of Cordova is a municipality situated on an island and is separated from mainland Cebu by the Cebu Channel. Fishing is the major economic activity in the area, with the majority of the population dependent on fishing for livelihood. Other economic activities include stone extracting, shell gleaning and gathering, and working as a tricycle driver. Due to the lack of direct access to Cebu City and the nearby touristic Bohol Province, the number of investments coming into Cordova is low. Only two trading centres exist within the municipality, the public market and the market in Barangay Pilipog where fishers sell their catch. The population in Cordova is young and with a large potential labour force: more than 60% of the population is in the working age category. Due to the lack of economic opportunities, more than 40% of the population falls below the poverty threshold.

3.4 Sexual exploitation of children in Cebu

In Cebu City alone, around 7,617 children and youngsters, aged 5 to 25, are being sexually exploited. 56.8% of them are under the age of 18 (NSO & ILO, 2009). Most children are involved in prostitution without interference of a middleman or pimp. These 'self-employed' sex workers contract their customers strolling around at night, near the harbour, construction sites, by the side of the road, in popular hangouts and in 'videoke' (video-karaoke) venues. Once they have exchanged phone numbers with their customers they meet up using text messages.



Their customers are mostly local men: taxi drivers, construction workers and men working on ships. They exploit these children on a short-time basis (around 15 to 30 minutes per service) for a shockingly low pay of 20 to 500 Philippine Peso (between \$ 0.50 and \$ 11.50). The sex usually takes place inside the taxi, or in a dark corner on a piece of carton or plastic. These men engage in sexual activity with the children because they are cheaper, more readily available, and "fresher".

Adult prostitutes prefer working in bars and establishments where business is steady and relatively safer, and where customers have more money (Garcia, 2012).

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

3.5 Webcam child sex tourism

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

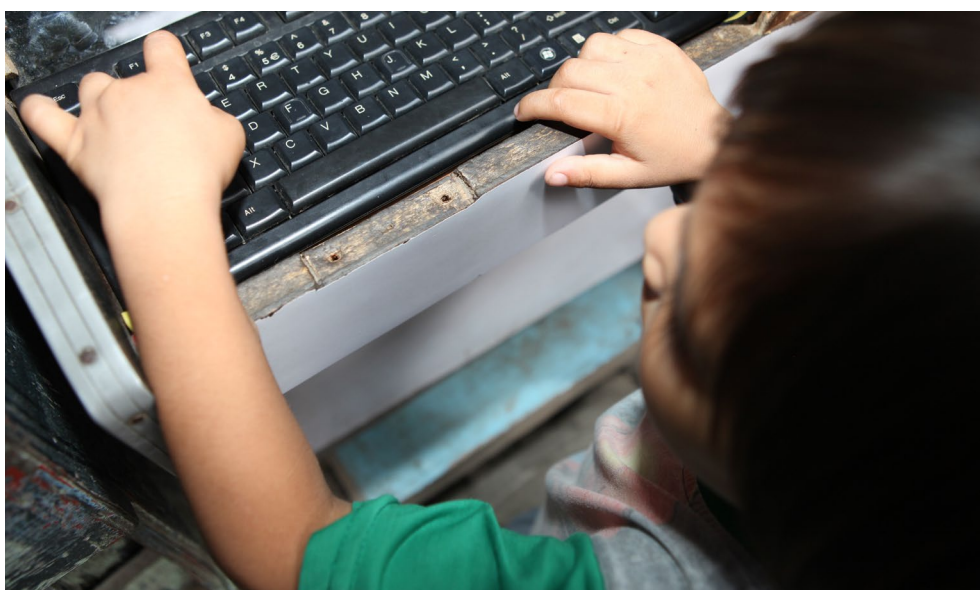
Webcam child sex tourism is often classified as a 'hands-off' crime, which indicates that no physical contact takes place between the victim and the perpetrator, i.e. the viewer of the webcam sex performance. This classification is misleading, because in the case of webcam child sex tourism, live abuse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

Relatively little is known about the nature and scope of the problem. Terre des Hommes Netherlands however estimates that tens of thousands of children are working in webcam child sex tourism in the Philippines. This estimation is based on the finding of the Peoples Recovery Empowerment Development Assistance Foundation (PREDA) that approximately 25% of the children rescued by PREDA from situations of exploitation had been victimized at least once through webcam child sex tourism (Terre des Hommes Netherlands, 2013).

3.5.1 Profile of the victims

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

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



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

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

The regular customers of the webcam shows are western men, who are regarded by Filipinos as very wealthy and thus superior. Filipinos in general look up to Caucasians and seem to be blind to their ill intentions. Having a foreigner as a friend or a boyfriend gives Filipino girls and women financial security and status within the community. In some cases the foreigner really becomes the 'boyfriend' of the child. This means they will have regular chat and webcam sex sessions. In those cases the foreigner will provide

the family with money, for example pay for the child's tuition fees or pay for a new roof over the house. Sometimes the foreign perpetrator will come to the Philippines to visit the child. This was the case with one third of the children interviewed in this research. In these cases, the foreigner usually takes the child, sometimes accompanied by the parents or friends, out for dinner or shopping. Afterwards, the child goes with the foreigner to his hotel or apartment. Parents are usually not opposed to their child having a foreign 'boyfriend'.

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

In some cases, the children were scared to meet their chat partners by themselves, so they took a friend or family member with them. Rosita (14): *"I went with a friend to meet her chat mate. He was an American. We went to the hotel. He let us eat at Jollibee and paid us 1000 Php [\$23 USD] each"*. One foreigner visited the house of another interviewed child and met his parents. After seeing the house, he gave them \$400 USD to fix it up. The family is very supportive of this foreign friend, and keeps asking when he is coming back to visit them.

3.5.2 Show-show and apmar

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

3.5.3 Different ways to get involved

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

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

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

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

Other times, children are lured into the trade by a complete stranger offering them employment or a way to earn easy money. The stranger initiates contact with a victim through the Internet, using social networking sites like Facebook or Yahoo! messenger, or through text messages or calls to victims' mobile phones. The children are promised expensive gifts, good food, shopping allowance and even payment for educational expenses. Because the recruiters are complete strangers, they provide instructions to victims on where they are supposed to meet or how they are supposed to travel to another area. Victims are sent money by the recruiters to spend on transportation. Even when victims abhor the type of work they are made to do, they find that they have no choice due to their economic necessity. Those victims who try to refuse are either forced to work in webcam child sex tourism or locked up.

CASE STUDY ① : Melody and Bart

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



House of one of the victims in the Melody and Bart case

3.5.4 The show

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

The shows range from showing one’s upper body or genitals and dancing naked in front of the camera to masturbating, inserting sex-toys or eggplants. The shows are performed by one child or more children interacting together. If more than one child is involved in the show, they can be asked to ‘perform’ on each other, using their hands, mouth or toys. Sometimes shows involve adults sexually abusing children in front of the camera. Even cases involving bestiality are known. Whatever fetish the viewer seems to have, the operators and children will cater for. Mostly, the viewers are interested in children between the age of 10 and 18. However, extreme cases like shows involving a 3-month old baby do occur. Overall, it seems that the younger a child is, the more a foreigner will pay. However, this doesn’t mean that this industry is limited to children. Usually the female operators will also do these shows, if they can find customers.

3.5.5 Payment of the victims

The amount of money that Philippine children earn with webcam sex shows varies, depending on the length of the show, the number and ages of children involved and the sexual acts performed in the show. Most victims report to receive between 500 and 2000 Php (between \$11.50 and \$46 USD) per show, but some victims reported they didn’t receive any payment at all, either because the foreigner failed to keep his promise to transfer money, or because they did a show in the hope that the foreigner would become his or her boyfriend. When the child is recruited to do a show by a middleman, he or she usually only receives around 200 Php (\$ 4.60 USD). The money is transferred through Western Union, or Cebuana L’huillier, a local money-transferring agency.

3.5.6 The operators

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

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

3.5.7 Three models of webcam child sex tourism operational structures

Webcam child sex tourism takes place in a range of scenarios, which vary in operational structure and scale. Terre des Hommes Netherlands has identified three main categories of webcam child sex tourism operations: individual operations, family-run operations, and larger-scale, more organized operations called “dens.” Individual and family-run operations comprise what is referred to in the Philippines as a “cottage industry”, which is rapidly spreading in impoverished neighbourhoods all over the country.

Individual operations

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

Usually these children find out about webcam child sex tourism by themselves, through peers or through adults. In the neighbourhoods these children live in, there are a lot of ‘peso-computers’. The computer turns on for 5 minutes once a peso coin is inserted in the slot. These ‘peso-peso’ Internet cafés are open all night and usually do not have an owner guarding the place. At night, when people are sleeping, the children can perform webcam sex shows freely there, sometimes shielded from the street by a blanket. In other cases, children go to Internet cafés that have a private room. Although this was recently made illegal, they are still present.

Most children that are individually involved in webcam sex operations, without the interference of an adult operator, find it hard to collect the money for their ‘services’. Sometimes they don’t receive payment because they don’t check for a cash lodgement into the Western Union account beforehand. The young age of the children, their lack of experience with Western Union payments and sometimes poor English language skills are all obstacles to them receiving money from their customers. If the payment does succeed however, it is generally higher than what the children are used to earning with prostitution.

CASE STUDY 2 : Jun-Jun and his American boyfriend

Jun-Jun⁶ is 15 years old. He lives with both his parents and his two younger siblings in a small house in the slums of Cebu City. His parents fight all day. They fight about money and about the gambling problems of his mother. When his father comes home from working at the pier, there is no food on the table because Jun-Jun's mother has spent all the money on gambling. Jun-Jun's father is an alcoholic and when he is drunk he becomes violent toward his wife and children. Sometimes Jun-Jun wishes he still lived with his gay uncle, like he did when he was 5 years old and his parents temporarily broke up. His uncle would dress him up as a girl and put make-up on him. Since then, Jun-Jun has enjoyed dressing like a girl. People call him a "ladyboy."

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

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

Family-run operations

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

⁶ Not his real name

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

Neighbouring children, who are from very poor families, can be easily enticed with money and gadgets to join the show. Their parents will pretend they don't know that their children are involved in these shows, but in reality they are often aware of the activities of their child. They will usually not admit it but they urgently need the money the child brings in. Parents are shocked at first, but look the other way and appease their conscience by thinking it is not harmful for their child and not as bad as prostitution.

Payments for family-run webcam child sex tourism operations are on average higher than the payments individually performing children receive. The operator receives between 2,500 and 5,000 Php (\$57 USD to \$114 USD) per show, depending on the content of the show and what the viewer is willing to pay. For Philippine standards this is an enormous amount of money, given that informal settlers have an average monthly income of 6,125 Php (\$140 USD). The child performing the show usually only gets 50 to 300 Php (about \$1 USD to \$6 USD). The rest of the money will go to the operator, who are as earlier said often the parents of the child.

CASE STUDY 3 : Maria performs all night to pay the debts of her mother

13-year-old Maria⁷ lives with her parents in a slum area of Ibabao, located in the Cordova District. Her father was a fisherman, but fell ill years ago, and can no longer work. Her parents struggled to make ends meet. Her mother had an informal job selling goods in a local market, but she did not make enough money to support the family. The alcoholism and gambling of Maria's father made their financial situation even worse. Sometimes Maria's parents do not have enough money to buy food. The neighbours used to be poor as well, just like Maria's family. But now their house is made of concrete instead of corrugated metal and recently they added a second story to their home. Nobody in the neighbourhood talks about it, but everybody knows that they are making money with webcam sex shows.

⁷ Not her real name

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

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

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

CASE STUDY 4 : A family affair

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

"I apologize to my children. My husband and I regret doing this to them. We did this because we're poor," said the 33-year-old mother in an interview at the NBI office. The woman said she and her husband turned to webcam child sex tourism, receiving dollar payments, after they stopped working in a factory in Mandaue City. *"This is our*

only source of income,” said the father, who said they took up the same enterprise many of their neighbours were also doing.

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

Webcam child sex tourism “dens”

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



Alleged cybersex den in Angeles City

CASE STUDY 5 : Working behind the webcam instead of the counter

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

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

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

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

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE PSYCHOSOCIAL EFFECTS

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

4.1 Demographic characteristics

During interviews with the three sets of children (those individually involved, those involved in prostitution and those from the control group), first of all data on demographic characteristics were gathered. These demographic characteristics are displayed below and briefly explained, to illustrate the three research groups and how they differ from each other.

The results are in Table 1 and 2 are showing the following characteristics:

- Age (the discrete age of the child at the time of interviewing) (Table 1)
- Grade (the highest attained grade in Philippine formal education, at time of interview. Coding used in this study is: Elementary school grade 1 to 6 = code 1 to 6, Secondary education/High school year 1 to 4 = code 7 to 10, College year 1 to 4 = code 11 to 14) (Table 1)
- Years behind on education (the difference in years between the current grade of the child, and the grade that would be suitable for the age of the child) (Table 1)
- Currently enrolled in formal education (Table 1)
- Currently enrolled in Alternative Learning Sessions for out of school Youth (Table 1)
- Sibling (the number of siblings the child has, himself included) (Table 1)
- Birth order (the rank of birth order of the child) (Table 1)
- Distribution of school-going children (Table 2)

	Webcam N=16 M	Prostituted N=16 M	Control N=16 M	Total N=48 M
Age	16.12*	16.12*	14.00	15.42
Grade	7.00	6.8	7.50	7.10
Yrs. Behind	4.13*	4.31*	1.63	3.35
Siblings	4.81	5.25	5.50	5.19
Birth order	2.64	3.13	3.45	3.09

* = Significantly different from control group

Table 1. Means of the demographic characteristics

Enrolment (N)	Webcam %	Prostituted %	Control %	Total %
In school (48)	62.5%*	43.75%*	93.75%	66.66%
In ALS (16)	66.66%	44.43%	0%	43.75%

* = Significantly different from control group

Table 2. Distribution of school attending children

4.1.1 Age

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

4.1.2 School

The mean highest attained grade did not differ between the groups (Table 1). On average, the highest attained grade was 7 (first year of high school). However, this could have been influenced by the higher mean age in the webcam group and the prostituted group, compared to the control group. When the model was controlled for age, it became clear that there is indeed a group difference in highest grade attained. A significant negative correlation is found, indicating that the children from the webcam and prostituted group were older when they attained a certain grade than the children from the control group.

When we look at the number of years the children deviate from the grade that is regular for their age (Yrs behind, Table 1), it becomes clear that the children from the webcam group and the prostituted group are significantly more years behind on their education than children from their neighbourhoods who are not involved in sex work, respectively 4.13 and 4.31 years, compared to 1.63 years.

The percentage of children who had currently enrolled, differed among the groups (see Table 2). The children from the webcam group and the prostituted group were less likely to go to school than the children from the control group (of the webcam group and prostituted group, respectively 62.5% and 43.75% went to school, compared to 93.75% of the control group). Only one child of the control group did not go to school. She had already graduated from high school and decided to wait before she started college. Some of the children that did not enrol in formal education participated in Alternative Learning

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

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

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

4.1.3 Family composition

The number of siblings did not differ between the groups, and neither did the birth order of the children. Based on the Filipino value of family-centeredness, it was theorized that children from the prostituted and webcam group were more likely to come from bigger families and more likely to be the first-born. Based on this value, the needs of the families come first, even before the child's own needs. Therefore, children who are first-born are sometimes expected to make sacrifices in life in order to help the family. It was rationalized that larger families would have more need for extra money, because of the larger demand for food and higher education costs. This would probably mean that one child, presumably the eldest, had to contribute to the family income. Family size and birth order were therefore expected to be related to whether a child was involved in sex work. In this sample however,

these expectations were not confirmed. This theory is not necessarily incorrect. The used methods were possibly not precise enough to detect a spurious correlation like that. To detect this possible relationship, contribution variables like family income, number of family members contributing to the income and number of family members depending on the income could be studied. This was not possible however during the current research due to time constraint and a different research focus.

Looking at the family composition shows that 53.1% of the children involved in prostitution and/or webcam child sex tourism come from broken homes, compared to 12.5% of the children from the control group. Of those children from broken homes, 31.6% are living with a single parent, 31.6% are living with relatives, 15.8% are living with a parent and a stepparent, 10.5% are living without guardians, 5.3% are living with non-relatives and 5.3% are living with in-laws (See Figure 2).

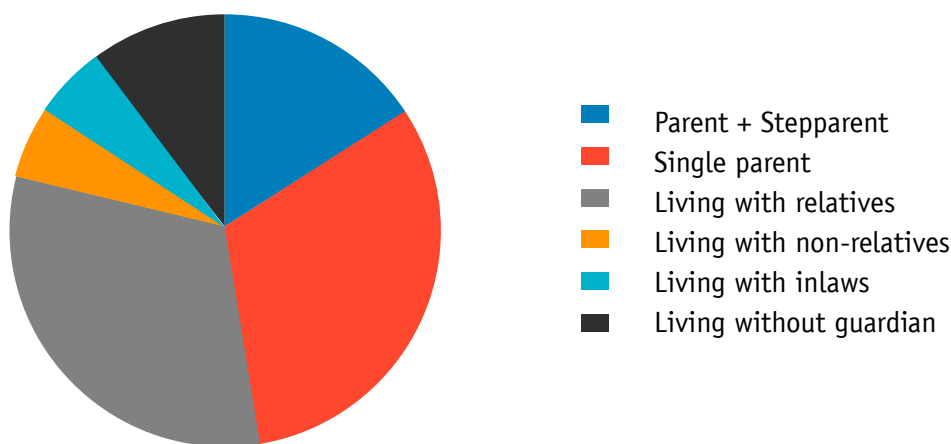


Figure 2. Living condition of children from broken homes

As 18-year old Paco narrates about his family situation: *“When I was still very young, my mother left my father and three siblings in Manila and moved to Cebu with me. If you ask me about my father, I haven’t seen him since I was a child. After some time, my mother moved in with another man and there was no room for me. She left me with my grandmother when I was eight years old. We do see each other because she is still in Cebu City. She got addicted to drugs and lives as a beggar. Of course it hurts because I am her child. But me and my grandmother, we are getting by on our own.”*

The difference in family situations between the children involved in sex work and the children not involved, is really striking. It seems that coming from a broken family puts a child at risk of turning to prostitution or webcam child sex tourism. This is also emphasized by Beichtman et al. (1991). In his review on the consequences of child abuse he notes that children who have suffered abuse are more likely to come from problematic families. A reason for this could be that children who do not grow up with two loving

parents might be more fragile. Especially when the child is left by his parents, he could suffer from lower self-esteem and self-worth, which might contribute to the wrong choices in life. Additionally, a child learns about relationships from his parents. When parents have a troubled relationship, this sets a bad example for the child. When the child’s mother goes from husband to husband and has children with several different men, this might give a message to her daughter about her worth as a woman.

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

4.1.4 Occupation of the parents

No significant differences were found in the occupation of the parents, between the three groups: 33% of the fathers and 18.8% of the mothers were formally employed. 10.4% of the fathers and 31.3% of the mothers were informally employed. 12.5% of the fathers had a temporary job. 18.8% of the fathers were unemployed, versus 29.2% of the mothers.

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

Table. 3 Occupation parents

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

4.1.5 Problems in the family

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.6 Physical and emotional abuse

The interviews further uncovered that it is quite common for parents (in all three groups) to use extremely harsh methods to discipline their children, even to the point of physical abuse.⁸ Approximately half of the children reported severe corporal and emotional punishments that seemed excessive even for Philippine standards. They experienced being choked, bound, forced to eat hot chillies and severe beatings (bamboo, a broomstick, a hanger, a cooking pot). These beatings would sometimes be so bad that the children displayed severe bruises, lash marks or bleedings. Eduardo, a 12-year old boy from the control group: *“When my father punished me, I had to kneel on a one-peso coin that had been heated. I still have the mark on my knee.”* 15-year old Potot tells the interviewer: *“I was nearly beaten to death. My father is pretty scary when he beats somebody. It’s like you will sooner meet death.”*

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

4.2 Experiences with webcam child sex tourism

Eight girls and eight boys were interviewed about their experiences with webcam sex. These children were all individually involved in the webcam operations, without the interference of a third person (for characteristics see paragraph on ‘individual operations’ in chapter 3).

⁸ This is supported by research done by Save the Children Sweden (2005) on physical and emotional punishment in South-east Asia. They found that parents in the Philippines discipline and punish their children through the use of corporal or physical punishment in the following forms: spanking with hand, pinching, hitting with an object, twisting the child’s ear, pulling the hair, slapping the face or head, confinement in a sack, or shaking.

4.2.1 How the children view their activities

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Reaction of surrounding of the child

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

4.2.3 Psychosocial consequences

Shown in Table 4 are the mean scores per item of the six reliable scales of the Psychosocial Symptoms Questionnaire and their significant differences (for the statistical specifics and elaborated tables, see Appendix 1). No significant differences were found between the webcam sex group and the prostituted group. This is no surprise, because it became clear during the research period that the children who individually engage in webcam sex were often also involved in prostitution and some of the participants from the prostituted group also had some involvement with webcam sex.

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

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

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

* = Significantly higher score than control group

Table 4. Mean scores per item

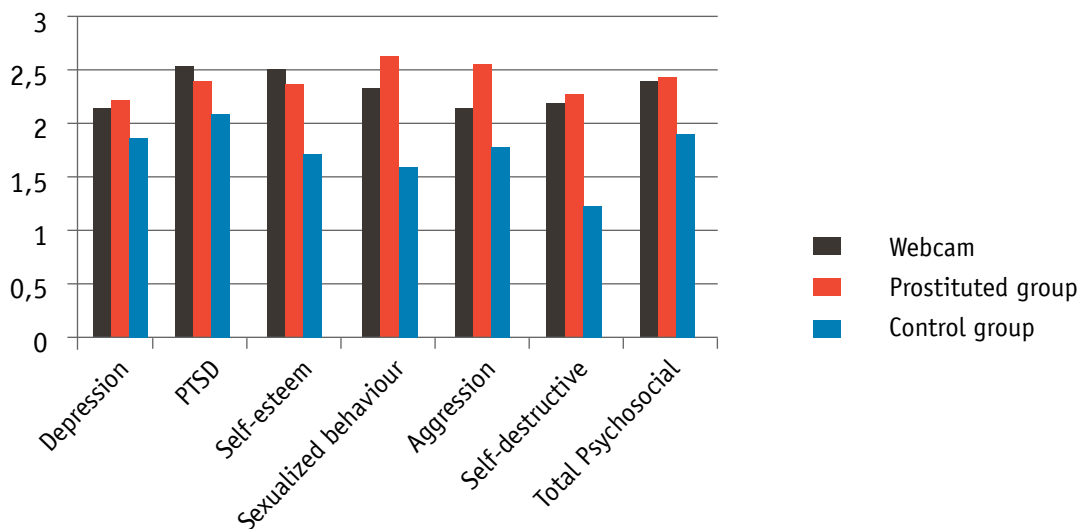


Figure 3. Mean scores, compared between the three groups

4.2.4 The webcam sex group versus the control group

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

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

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

The higher score of the webcam sex group on the Self-destructive Behaviour scale indicates that children from this group are more often inclined to exhibit behaviour that is unhealthy and harmful than their peers. They more often report using alcohol or drugs to relax and escape from their problems, even to the

extent of neglecting school, work, family or friends. Additionally, they more often indicate being part of a gang or having run away from home.

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

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

4.2.5 The prostituted group versus the control group

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

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

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

4.2.6 The separate items

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

4.3 Psychosocial consequences of family-run webcam operations

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

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

4.3.1 The influence of parents

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

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

In the shelters where the girls are accommodated⁹ after a police raid on a family-run webcam sex operation, the girls have to cope with several difficulties. Due to feelings of shame after their (family) secret has come

⁹ Unfortunately there are only long-term shelters available for girls, rescued boys are released and sent back home after a period of two weeks

out, these girls start to develop a low self-esteem. They become shy and aloof and they do not want to talk with people, especially not about what has happened to them. They will withdraw from their surroundings and feel isolated.

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

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

In the shelters, Mrs Droulliard has seen a lot of girls with symptoms of depression. They display a strong separation anxiety, craving for the affection of their parents or anyone else. On the other hand, they push others away by acting out, behaving very ‘wild’, misbehaving and starting fights. According to Mrs Droulliard, separation anxiety is especially apparent with these children, because they often come from dysfunctional families: *“It is not uncommon that there has been battering within these families. There is often no open communication and the parents just leave the children alone without any affection”*. This may lead to an insecure ambivalent attachment style, resulting in distress and/or anger upon separation from the caregiver.

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

4.3.2 Sexualized behaviour

Based on the information from key informants, children involved in family-run webcam sex operations tend to exhibit sexualized behaviour. The sexual behaviour the child had been displaying on camera was reinforced by the encouragements of the parents and by the money they received for it. This results in a distorted view of their own sexuality and sexuality in general. These children are likely to adopt the

idea that sexuality and money are intertwined. They lack the belief that their body is theirs alone and that sexuality is something sacred and intimate. Especially when webcam sex shows took place within the family, this distortion is likely to appear. *“The boundaries of the family are completely broken. The mother was masturbating her own child, and the brother was acting out sexual acts with his sisters”*, explained Gonato, psychologist at the Pink Centre for women and children of the Vicente Sotto Memorial Medical Center.

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

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

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

4.4 Methodological shortcomings

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

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

During the course of the research it was decided to supplement the data obtained by interviews with the children with information on the effect of home-based webcam sex in order to fill the gap of information on the damaging effects of merely webcam sex. It proved impossible however to interview children who had been involved in this form of webcam sex, and therefore information was retrieved from key informants who were knowledgeable on this topic.

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

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

5. CONCLUSION

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

Webcam child sex tourism occurs when adults offer payment or other rewards to view and direct live streaming video footage of children in another country performing sexual acts. It is a combination of child pornography and child prostitution. Webcam child sex tourism is illegal and often classified as a 'hands-off' crime: no physical contact takes place between the victim and the perpetrator, i.e. the viewer of the webcam sex performance. This classification is misleading however because live abuse in front of the webcam often does take place. In many cases a third party is also involved in the sex acts, like a parent or sibling, and the set-up of the operation itself often involves a "middle man". The term furthermore suggests that the lack of physical contact between perpetrator and victim should make it less harmful. On the contrary: this preliminary report shows that webcam child sex tourism has severe and long-term effects on the victims. Children and parents become involved in webcam child sex tourism because it is their only way to survive. The trade will buy them milk and rice for their family members, and perhaps building materials for the shacks they inhabit.

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

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

Our research indicates that children engaged in webcam child sex tourism are less likely to go to school, and show a significant educational delay compared to children from the same social circumstances, yet not involved in sex work. The child sex workers are on average more than four years behind on their studies, which is three times more than the other children. Furthermore, children involved in prostitution and/or webcam sex are over four times more likely to come from broken homes than children not involved in sex work. It seems that coming from a broken family puts a child at a bigger risk of turning to prostitution or webcam sex. Coming from a broken family can make a child more vulnerable to the influence of others and it may provide the children with insufficient role models regarding healthy interpersonal and intimate relationships. Financial problems are most prominent in families from children involved in webcam sex, along with substance abuse and other addictions like gambling. Apart from emotional abuse and neglect, children from broken homes experience harsh disciplinary measures by their parents. They report having being choked, bound, forced to eat hot chilies and receiving beatings to the point where they suffered severe bruises, lash marks or bleedings. Looking for some safety and security, these children turn to their peers on the streets. Often they get involved with gangs and come into contact with drugs, alcohol and sex work. Teen pregnancies prevail, and young parents are likely to follow the same path as their parents, creating a cycle that is hard to break.

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

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

Children involved in webcam sex clearly suffer from psychosocial distress, presumably caused by their activities. In comparison with children living under equal circumstances yet not involved in sex work, they exhibit many more symptoms of post-traumatic stress: being nervous and jumpy, suffering from low self-esteem and low self-worth resulting in feelings of worthlessness, contamination and not deserving to live. They often feel ashamed and guilty about the things they had done. They show symptoms of sexualized behaviour, using their sexuality to get something they want, flirting more than their peers, dressing in sexy clothes and daydreaming about sex. They exhibit self-destructive

behaviour, like using alcohol or drugs to relax and escape from their problems. They develop a distorted view of their own sexuality and sexuality in general. They adopt the idea that sexuality and money are intertwined. They are not convinced that their body is theirs alone and that sexuality is something sacred and intimate. Children involved at a young age are susceptible to abuse later in life.

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

FINAL NOTE

Further research on this topic is recommended to identify with more precision the damaging effects of webcam child sex tourism exclusively on children. This preliminary research endeavours to lay the groundwork for this, but a causal effect between involvement in webcam child sex tourism and these symptoms can only be established through longitudinal research. Furthermore, this research was aimed specifically at the phenomenon of webcam child sex tourism within the context of the Philippines. Presumably, NGOs working in other (development) countries could benefit tremendously from research on the ability to generalise these findings to children in other cultures.

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

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KEY INFORMANTS FOR RESEARCH ON PSYCHOSOCIAL CONSEQUENCES ¹⁰

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

¹⁰ Key-informants in the research carried out by psychologist Guusje Havenaar

ABBREVIATIONS

ALS	Alternative Learning Sessions
APA	American Psychiatric Association
CLB	Children’s Legal Bureau
CPTCSA	Center for the Prevention & Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
DSWS	Department of Social Welfare Services
FORGE	Fellowship of Organizing Endeavors
IJM	International Justice Mission
ILO	International Labour Organization
NBI	National Bureau of Investigation
NSCB	National Statistics Coordinating Board
NSO	National Statistics Office
Php	Philippine Peso

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I would like to dedicate this report to all the children that have participated in the research. They were very brave to open up to us and share all their stories, thoughts and feelings. I am impressed by their strength and resilience, and by the way they are able to enjoy life, with all its obstacles.

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APPENDIX I: STATISTICS

Participant demographics

The demographic characteristics of the participants were tested on normality and on equal distribution across groups (see Table 1). All demographic variables (Age, Grade, Number of siblings, Birth order) violated the assumption of normal distribution, tested with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Tests of Normality. Distribution across groups is therefore tested with the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test of independent samples. Post hoc two Mann-Whitney tests are carried out (Cyber vs. Control, Prostituted vs. Control), to specify the nature of the results. To control for the inflation of type-I error a Bonferroni correction is conducted ($\alpha = .05 / \text{number of comparisons}$), resulting in a α -level of .025.

A significant difference between groups is found for distribution of Age ($H(2) = 12.981, p = .002$). Post hoc testing shows a significant higher age in both the Cyber group and the Prostituted group vs. the Control group (respectively $U = 47.500, p = .002$; $U = 46.000, p = .002$).

A significant difference between groups is found for distribution of Years behind on studies ($H(2) = 11.723, p = .003$). Post hoc testing shows a significant higher age in both the Cyber group and the Prostituted group vs. the Control group (respectively $U = 60.000, p = .009$; $U = 41.500, p = .001$). With a linear regression, no significant correlation was found between Grade and Participant group. However, when controlled for age, a significant negative correlation was found. A Chi-squared test showed that the percentage of children who were currently enrolled in school, differed among the groups ($\chi^2(2) = 9.188, p = .01$). Specification showed that both the Cyber group and the Prostituted group have a significant larger percentage of non-school going children (respectively $\chi^2(1) = 4.571, p = .033$; $\chi^2(1) = 9.309, p = .002$). No significant difference was found between the Cyber group and the Prostituted group.

	Cyber N=16 M (SD) Md	Prostituted N=16 M (SD) Md	Control N=16 M (SD) Md	Total N=48 M (SD) Md
Age	16.12 (1.71) 17*	16.12 (1.36) 16*	14.00 (1.75) 13	15.42 (1.88) 15.5
Grade	7.00 (1.55) 7	6.8 (3.05) 7	7.50 (2.76) 7.5	7.10 (2.50) 7
Yrs. Behind	4.13 (0.49) 4	4.31 (0.81) 3.5	1.63 (0.51) 1	3.35 (0.39) 3
Siblings	4.81 (2.61) 4	5.25 (2.05) 5	5.50 (3.01) 5	5.19 (2.55) 5
Birth order	2.64 (1.69) 2	3.13 (2.31) 2	3.45 (2.97) 3	3.09 (2.36) 2

* = Significantly different from Control group, with $p = .001$

Table 1. Mean, Standard Deviation and Median of the demographic characteristics.

Enrolment (N)	Cyber yes/no	Prostitution yes/no	Control yes/no	Total yes/no
In school (48)	10/6*	7/9*	15/1	32/16
In ALS (16)	4/2	5/4	0/1	9/7

* = Significantly different from control group

Table 2. Distribution of school going vs. not school going children.

Tests statistics of the 6 reliable scales

Assumption of normality

The Kolmogorov-Smirnova Tests of Normality was performed, per dependent variables and per group, to see whether the variables met the criteria of the General Linear Model. As shown in Table 8, the variables Self-destructive behaviour, Aggression and the Total sum score were not normally distributed. Additionally, the Control group of variable Depression was not normally distributed. Transformation of these variables resulted in a normal distribution of the Total score (log-transformation), Depression (inverse transformation) and Aggression (inverse transformation). Transforming did not bring an improvement on in normality to the variable Self-destructive behaviour. The transformed data of the variables Total score, Depression and Aggression shall be used in the further analysis. All normally distributed data will be analysed using a Multivariate General Linear Model. Post hoc, Fisher's test of least significant difference (LSD) will be performed to specify the direction of the results. The not normally distributed variable Self-destructive behaviour will be analysed using the non-parametric Kruskal- Wallis test for independent samples. To specify the nature of the results, two Mann-Withney tests will be carried out (Cyber vs. Control, Prostituted vs. Control). To control for the inflation of type-I error a Bonferroni correction is conducted ($\alpha = .05 / \text{number of comparisons}$), resulting in a α -level of .025.

Original Variables	Total df=48		Cyber df=16		Prostituted df=16		Control df=16	
	Statistic	p	Statistic	p	Statistic	p	Statistic	p
Depression	,116	,114	,11	,200	,210	,057	,246	,011*
PTSD	,127	,051	,158	,200	,182	,165	,180	,172
Self-esteem	,108	,200	,150	,200	,091	,200	,211	,054
Sexualized behaviour	,108	,200	,146	,200	,177	,197	,125	,200
Aggression	,165	,002*	,185	,148	,150	,200	,233	,020*
Self-destructive	,163	,003*	,162	,200	,162	,200	,407	,000*
Total	,133	,034*	,165	,200	,158	,200	,186	,142
Transformed variables								
Inverse Depression	,095	,200	,151	,200	,194	,111	,196	,100
Inverse Aggression	,122	,071	,160	,200	,146	,200	,135	,200
Log Total	,113	,165	,158	,200	,142	,200	,175	,200

* Rejection of the null-hypothesis of normal distribution

Table 3. Kolmogorov-Smirnova Tests of Normality, statistics and significance level.

Test Statistics: General Linear Model, Multivariate.

Using a Multivariate General Linear Model, significant between-group effects were found for all 6 variables (Depression: $F(2) = 3,665$, $p = ,034$; PTSD: $F(2) = 3,375$, $p = ,043$; Self-esteem: $F(2) = 9,554$, $p < ,001$; Sexualized Behaviour: $F(2) = 12,905$, $p < ,001$; Aggression: $F(2) = 6,091$, $p = ,005$; Total: $F(2) = 11,835$, $p < ,001$ (For the descriptives, see Table 4)

Fisher's test of least significant difference (LSD) is performed post hoc, to determine the specifics of the effect per variable. For Depression, the Prostituted group scored significantly higher than the Control group ($p = ,011$). For Posttraumatic Stress, the Webcam child sex tourism group scored significantly higher than the Control group ($p = ,015$). For Self-esteem, both the Webcam child sex tourism group and the Prostituted group scored significantly higher than the Control group (respectively $p < ,001$; $p = ,001$). For Sexualized behaviour, both the Webcam child sex tourism group and the Prostituted group scored significantly higher than the Control group (respectively $p = ,001$; $p < ,001$). For Aggression, the Prostituted group scored significantly higher than the Control group ($p = ,001$). A non-significant trend was found between the Webcam child sex tourism group and the Control group ($p = ,077$).

A non-significant trend was found between the Webcam child sex tourism group and the Control group for Depression and Aggression, respectively $p = ,077$ and $p = ,073$. Between the Prostituted group and

the Control group a non-significant trend was found for PTSD ($p = .087$). These non-significant trends show that the Control group had slightly lower scores on these scales, but these lower scores did not result in significant differences. This might be an indication of a type-II error, which is not unimaginable due to the small sample size of this research. Further research on this matter will clarify whether or not children who are involved in webcam child sex tourism experience more symptoms of depression and aggression than children from their neighbourhood who are not involved in sex work. Further research is also necessary to clarify whether children who are working in prostitution experience more symptoms of posttraumatic stress, than neighbouring children.

Tests Statistics: Non parametric test

Using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test for Independent samples, a significant effect was found for Self-destructive behaviour ($H(2) = 16,466, p < .001$). A Mann-Whitney test was performed post hoc to specify this effect. Both the Cyber group and the Prostituted group had a significant higher score than the Control group, respectively $U = 39,500, p < .001$; $U = 34,500, p < .001$.

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

	Cyber M (SD) N = 16	Prostituted M (SD) N = 16	Control M (SD) N = 16
Depression	2,13 (.432)	2,23 (.408)**	1,88 (.360)
PTSD	2,53 (.619)***	2,40 (.363)	2,10 (.392)
Self-esteem	2,51 (.658)*	2,38 (.487)**	1,74 (.429)
Sexualized behaviour	2,35 (.647)**	2,63 (.539)*	1,61 (.425)
Aggression	2,15 (.729)	2,56 (.735)**	1,79 (.683)
Self-destructive	2,21 (.891)*	2,29 (.844)*	1,23 (.394)
Total Psychosocial	2,40 (.474)*	2,45 (.342)*	1,91 (.241)

* = Significantly higher than control group, with $p < .000$

** = Significantly higher than control group, with $p < .01$

*** = Significantly higher than control group, with $p < .05$

Table 4. Mean score and Standard Deviation, per Item.

Test statistics of the independent items of the 3 unreliable scales.

Assumption of Normality & test statistics

All items violated the assumption of normality. Transforming the data did not result in normality for any of the items. Therefore the items shall be analysed using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test for independent samples. To clarify the direction of the results, two Mann-Withney tests will be carried out (Cyber vs. Control, Prostituted vs. Control). To control for the inflation of type-I error a Bonferroni correction is conducted ($\alpha = .05 / \text{number of comparisons}$), resulting in a α -level of .025.

None of the independently analyzed items showed significant differences between the three groups. The Mann-Withney test, using the Bonferoni-corrected .25 significance level, showed no significant differences between the any of the items for the Cyber group vs. the Control group, or for the Prostituted group vs. the Control group. This implicates that the children from these neighbourhoods who are not involved in any form of sex work, do not differ in their answers on these questions from the children from the same neighbourhoods who are involved in prostitution and/or in cyber pornography.

	Cyber M (SD)	Prostituted M (SD)	Control M (SD)
1.1 I can count on friends for help and support	2.81 (.55)	2.71 (.23)	2.31 (.24)
1.2 I can count on adults for help and support	2.38 (.29)	2.50 (.30)	2.56 (.27)
1.3 There's nobody I can go to if I need help	2.19 (.25)	1.81 (.25)	1.75 (.21)
1.4 I feel like I cannot trust most people	2.69 (.24)	2.44 (.23)	2.44 (.23)

No significant differences were found between the three groups, with $p = .025$

Table 5. Means and Standard Deviations of the separate items of scale 1. Feelings of Isolation.

	Cyber M (SD)	Prostituted M (SD)	Control M (SD)
4.1 When something bad happens to me, it is because I have bad luck.	2.44 (.258)	2.00 (.274)	1.69 (.564)
4.2 If I try hard enough, I can accomplish things I want to accomplish.	3.38 (.221)	3.44 (.182)	3.25 (.233)
4.3 I know that nothing I do will make a difference, so it would be a waste of time to try.	2.31 (.270)	2.31 (1.98)	2.06 (.295)

No significant differences were found between the three groups, with $p = .025$.

Table 6. Means and Standard Deviations of the separate items of scale 4. Locus of Control

	Cyber M (SD)	Prostituted M (SD)	Control M (SD)
8.1 I get really frightened for no reason at all.	2.63 (.256)	2.88 (.272)	2.25 (.266)
8.2 I am afraid to be alone in the house.	2.13 (.272)	2.44 (.288)	2.75 (.281)
8.3 People tell me that I worry too much.	2.13 (.272)	2.50 (.289)	1.69 (.198)
8.4 I am scared to deal with people.	2.19 (.277)	2.25 (.233)	1.88 (.239)
8.5 I am shy.	2.69 (.237)	.238 (2.56)	2.81 (.262)

No significant differences were found between the three groups, with $p = .025$.

Table 7. Means and Standard Deviations of the separate items of scale 8. Anxiety

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

Psychosocial Symptoms Questionnaire

The next part of the interview is different from the part before. In this part I will read out a statement, about how you could feel. You can tell me how often you feel this way. You can choose from four answers: 1 = Never; 2 = Seldom; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Often

Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Just give the answer that comes to mind, and don't think about it for too long.

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

1. Feelings of isolation and difficulty in trusting others	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
1.1. I can count on friends for help and support	1	2	3	4
1.2. I can count on adults for help and support	1	2	3	4
1.3. There's nobody I can go to if I need help	1	2	3	4
1.4. I feel like I cannot trust most people	1	2	3	4

2. Depression	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
2.1. I sleep very well	1	2	3	4
2.2. I have lots of energy	1	2	3	4
2.3. I enjoy my food	1	2	3	4
2.4. I enjoy the things I do as much as I used to	1	2	3	4
2.5. I am easily cheered up	1	2	3	4
2.6. I feel like crying	1	2	3	4
2.7. I feel like running away	1	2	3	4
2.8. I think life is not worth living	1	2	3	4
2.9. I have horrible dreams, nightmares	1	2	3	4
2.10. I feel very lonely	1	2	3	4
2.11. I am seriously thinking about killing or hurting myself	1	2	3	4
2.12. My mind wanders and I cannot concentrate	1	2	3	4
2.13. All I can see ahead are bad things, not good things	1	2	3	4

3. PTSD	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
3.1. I think about bad things that have happened	1	2	3	4
3.2. I try to forget about bad things that have happened	1	2	3	4
3.3. I avoid reminders of bad things that have happened	1	2	3	4
3.4. I am on the lookout for bad things that might happen	1	2	3	4
3.5. I am nervous or jumpy	1	2	3	4
3.6. I feel strange or different than other kids	1	2	3	4
3.7. I feel like there is something wrong with me	1	2	3	4

4. Locus of control	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
4.1. When something bad happens to me, it's because I have bad luck	1	2	3	4
4.2. If I try hard enough, I can accomplish things I want to accomplish	1	2	3	4
4.3. I know that nothing I do will make a difference, so it would be a waste of time to try	1	2	3	4

5. Self-esteem & self-worth	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
5.1. I call myself names in my head	1	2	3	4
5.2. I feel guilty about things I have done	1	2	3	4
5.3. I feel contaminated	1	2	3	4
5.4. Sometimes I feel that I don't deserve to live	1	2	3	4
5.5. I like myself most of the time	1	2	3	4
5.6. I feel ashamed about things I have done	1	2	3	4
5.7. Not many things about me make me proud or happy	1	2	3	4
5.8. I feel that I am no good, or worthless	1	2	3	4
5.9. There are things about myself I hide from others	1	2	3	4

6. Sexualized behaviour	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
6.1. I have gotten into trouble because of my sexual behaviour	1	2	3	4
6.2. I have tried to get something I wanted by acting sexy	1	2	3	4
6.3. I flirt more than my peers	1	2	3	4
6.4. I like to dress in "sexy" clothes	1	2	3	4
6.5. I avoid physical contact with others	1	2	3	4
6.6. I am uncomfortable acting sexy	1	2	3	4
6.7. I think sex is dirty	1	2	3	4
6.8. I daydream about sex	1	2	3	4
6.9. People are interested in me because I act seductively	1	2	3	4

7. Aggression/hostility	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
7.1. I won't back away from a fight	1	2	3	4
7.2. I get into physical fights	1	2	3	4
7.3. I start fights just to get my anger out	1	2	3	4
7.4. I work hard to win arguments	1	2	3	4
7.5. I have a quick temper	1	2	3	4

8. Anxiety	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
8.1. I get really frightened for no reason at all	1	2	3	4
8.2. I am afraid to be alone in the house	1	2	3	4
8.3. People tell me that I worry too much	1	2	3	4
8.4. I am scared to deal with people	1	2	3	4
8.5. I am shy	1	2	3	4

9. Self-destructive behaviour	Nev	Sel	Som	Oft
9.1. I have tried to relax by drinking, smoking, using drugs, eating too much or gambling	1	2	3	4
9.2. I have neglected my friends or family because of my use of alcohol or drugs	1	2	3	4
9.3. I have missed school or work because of my use of alcohol or drugs	1	2	3	4
9.4. When I haven't had a drink/taken drugs/gambled for some time, I feel a terrible urge to do so	1	2	3	4
9.5. I have been part of a gang	1	2	3	4
9.6. I have run away from home, or tried to	1	2	3	4