

MEDIA DISCOURSE ON CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Commercialising the Victim in Southeast Asian Tourism

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the ways in which child victims of sexual abuse are portrayed in international news magazines within the context of the sex tourism in Southeast Asia. The position they occupy is one of the most vulnerable in their societies and within the global community. The stories of their abuse evoke strong emotions from the readers contributed to the fact that ideologies of childhood, racism, and sex are central to our understanding of the problem. It is a phenomenon which is universally condemned, but it is also one that is treated with predictable elements in the depictions and sensationalised in the media. The starting point is to examine the phenomenon through a literature review on the topic and where the child fits in with the larger phenomenon of sex tourism and prostitution. The child is further explored to determine how the child prostitute is negotiated in popular discourse through the framework of objectification and how children are constructed into an objectified group. A publications survey assists in identifying the context and circumstances in the reporting of children revealing that children are often dehumanised, commoditised at the same time that they are pitied and their suffering is agonised over. There exists a multiplicity of discourses which appear in media reporting of child sexual abuse; however, three prominent discourses were uncovered which are central in understanding the creation of this objectified group. They are the discourse of commerce, the discourse of fear and the discourse of victimhood. Discourse analysis of the sample shows a variation of these interconnected discourses holding power to create this objectified group. The negotiation of this voiceless group is accomplished by the actors, both well-meaning and not well-meaning. These discursive structures are the foundation that discussion of the subject takes place in addition to the fact that these discursive formations give power to the people who speak on the children's behalf. The results of this thesis include a more comprehensive understanding on the ways we speak on the behalf of child abuse victims as well as reflections on potential research directions for the future.

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CHAPTER ONE

Sex Commerce and the Child in Southeast Asia

1.1 Introduction

Children have very little or no voice in the international sphere and less so from the South and when in a vulnerable position in society, such as child prostitutes. They are typically portrayed as powerless, even of their own destinies, disease carriers and threats to law and order. They act as stereotypical sensationalized media items and non-governmental organization (NGO) targets. The phenomenon of prostitution within the sex tourism industry is simplified and represented in stereotypical dichotomies, when in fact the reasons, motives and conditions are multiple. It is a phenomena 'constantly growing and never under control' making it an ideal topic for news media. Child abuse in any form is never justified, but what are the reasons for it being such a sensationalized news item and portrayed with such predictability? What elements in reporting position the child as an 'object' to be explored, saved and pitied? And ultimately, what are the discourses that underlie the creation and reinforcement of this power differential in the sphere of child sex abuse?

Child sexual exploitation is presented as a human rights violation according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989; an intolerable form of labour in the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1999; and defined as 'the lost innocence' in literature from End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT). It is internationally recognized as one of the most severe forms of abuse, but it is in media messages that appear to represent condemnation can be deconstructed to reveal support systems of global inequality and latent acceptance of them. This thesis is an analysis in the ways in which the media reports about the problem of child sexual abuse in the sex tourism industry of South East Asia. But more specifically, how do media depict the exploited child into roles of silence and victimhood, while at the same time presenting it as a commercial undertaking. It is an attempt to explore the possible implications that this has on the children, or the 'objects' we have created for other actors to control and exploit?

In attempting to answer those questions many authors have challenged many of the assumptions

we hold about childhood and our reaction to their abuse. I state unequivocally that it has not been the aim to discredit any non-governmental organization or any effort, which is concerned about child welfare, nor is it to discount or condone the suffering and exploitation that many children and adults face daily in the vulnerable positions they are in. Rather, it has been my intention to explore the sensitive issues, so in turn we may be able to better the position of the abused children living in our global society.

1.2 Exploitation Defined

The term Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (henceforth 'CSEC') encompasses a wide range of reported occurrences of the sexual exploitation of and sale and traffic of children for sexual purposes including prostitution, pornography, marriage broking, sex tourism, cultural practices such as *devadasi*¹, adoption and fostering older children, sexual abuse in institutional settings and sexual abuse of domestic servants. The term implies that the child is not only sexually abused but that there is a profit arising from the transaction, where the child is considered to be a sexual and commercial object. The most widely agreed upon international convention of all time, the Convention of the Rights of the Child (1990), has enshrined this concept in Articles 34 and 35. Sex tourism has been argued as the most institutionalised forms of abuse and is the concept which shall be the focus in this thesis.

Although child prostitution is not limited to the Southeast Asian region, the key for any discussion on commercial sexual exploitation of children in sex tourism will begin there, namely in Thailand. The phenomenon rose to the Western consciousness in the early 1990's through the work of a non-profit organization called End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) based in Bangkok. They are responsible for two influential books, *The Child and the Tourist* (O'Grady 1992) and *The Rape of the Innocent* (O'Grady 1994), which set the tone and boundaries for the discussion and turned it into an issue of international concerns and influenced the public and political discourse on CSEC (Black 1995, Montgomery 2001). Rarely is an article is found on child sexual exploitation in Western news that does not make reference to ECPAT activities or literature.

¹ Devadasi is a religious practice still found in some Hindu communities, especially in southern India, in which young girls are "married" to a deity or a temple. They are offered to upper-caste men for sexual intercourse for a price.

The subject of prostitution has been written about academically for decades so there is no shortage of information. However the term sex tourism has more recently been the subject of research among academics and the research into children in prostitution has been quite slim. Most of the literature relating to sex tourism has been in the context of studies on women in prostitution. One significant study focusing on child prostitutes involved in a sex tourist resort in Thailand in the work of Montgomery in *Modern Day Babylon?* (2001) and O'Connell Davidson *Children in the Sex Trade* (2005). Another major source of information on the subject of children in prostitution is the work of international organisations and nongovernmental organisation working in the field of child issues such as migration, human rights and poverty. Therefore the literature review consists of these sources (academic, governmental and international agency) in order to achieve a most balanced perspective.

In the literature of child rights organisations CSEC has been described as a 'modern form of slavery', 'abuse of the most grave kind' one of the great human rights issues of the 21st century. CSEC is a sensitive topic because of the fact that it involves the sexual abuse of children, but in terms of the phenomenon it is of key importance to note that child exploitation does not operate in a vacuum separated from the adult world as the media and some NGOs portray it (O'Connell Davidson 2005, Kempadoo 1998). Children are being exploited within the adult world of sex tourism and even the United Nations falls into this pattern of equating the entire sex tourism phenomenon with the exploitation of children in its documentation and treaty work and thereby skewing the phenomenon we are talking about (Kempadoo & Ghuma 1999:295). Maggie Black (1995) also stated that most of media coverage of 'sex tourism' and 'child sexual exploitation' is hyperbolic and misinformed; in that although there is a connection between the two, not all sex tourism operations involve child exploitation. It is therefore necessary to give description and context to the commercial sex industry as a whole as it operates in Southeast Asia and where children fit into it for constructive analysis of the phenomenon.

1.3 The Variations of Prostitution

The international debates surrounding prostitution commonly argue in the simplified terms of forced versus free-choice distinction. By simplifying into binaries, the discussion becomes problematic because it obscures the complexity of the phenomenon (Kempadoo 1998).

Prostitution is not a homogeneous phenomenon; it exists in multiple forms and locations; whether that involving children or adults. It has been referred to as a hierarchy appearing in complex forms. In Southeast Asia, where prostitution is illegal in most countries, they operate under the disguise of multiple facades, such as “hotels, teahouses, beer bars, discos, coffee shops, cocktail lounges, pubs, massage parlours, beauty salons, barber shops, truck stops and cattle markets” (Sittirak 1998). Jobs are performed under the titles, hostess, waitress, masseuse and bartender etc. Most commercial sex work done by Thais in Thailand does not typically involve streetwalking, beatings by pimps, violence with deviant customers or trafficking (Rende Taylor 2005), but rather it is a highly complex system. Migrants from neighbouring countries also form a large portion of prostitutes, whose working conditions are more volatile.

Phongpaichit (1998) uncovers that sex workers can be roughly divided into four categories depending on the underlying motives which causes them to enter the market and under which conditions they operate. The first group includes those under some form of restraint. They may be sold into the trade by their parents, or trapped by agents, or simply locked into a brothel. It is this group which most often caters to local customers and usually paid poorly. Commercial sex work done in low-end brothels usually involves little or no choice about conditions, which are usually hazardous. This is where trafficking victims are usually taken and without legal immigration status are made more vulnerable. Migrant children from China, Cambodia and Myanmar are often found in this marginalized category (Caouette 2001). The second group are those under heavy obligations to support dependents, whether their own children or younger siblings, or sick parents. The third group includes women who are young, attractive and entrepreneurial and who have chosen to enter because of the financial incentives. They are mainly found in the higher end markets and view prostitution as a profession or are operating as ‘freelancers’. Many entrepreneurial women of this category acquire a ‘sugar daddy’ that is

generous in payments or become *mia noi*² for wealthy men. The fourth group consists of part-timers, the semi-professionals, either students or factory workers in order to supplement their income. This group expanded in the 1990s partly due to the AIDS scare when some clients preferred sex workers not in the traditional spheres. The term 'compensated dating' has become a trend that was first reported in Japan, but has been observed in other Asian cities where schoolgirls and boys prostitute in order to afford commodities that would be normally too expensive. In addition the concept of 'open-ended prostitution' has been used (Phillips & Dann 1998) to describe ambiguous relationships between male and female Asian sex workers, which involve long-term relationships and affection and forms of companionship as well as economic support. In the case of child prostitution, the relationship outlined by Montgomery (2001) also took the form of long-term exchanges of the client turning into the economic provider of the community for exchange of access to children during their visits.

Prostitution that caters to foreigners has many forms as well. The phenomenon of sexual services available around military bases for military personnel (Truong 1990) has been well documented, and the phenomenon has been referred to as 'military tourism' in many of the peacekeeping locations. In the early 1990's allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeeping personnel started coming in from the former missions to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo in the Balkans and to Cambodia and Timor-Leste in the early and late 1990's and to West Africa in 2002 and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2004. The Machel report (1997) documents a rapid rise in child prostitution associated with the arrival of peacekeepers.

Prostitution connected with tourism is the most institutionalised and most lucrative. The sector has been organised into a formally operating brothel sector, but the informal prostitution sector has also emerged. For this market there are bars and brothels but also freelancers, working independently where foreign tourists and businessmen frequent. Therefore sex tourism offers a variety of ways for sexual gratification from the straightforward cash for sex available in brothels, or picking up a woman/teenager in the local tourist bar or through romantic arrangements. The variety of venues and contexts also allows to choose the sexual 'object', whether female

² The practise of taking a minor wife or wives refers to a common practise of wealthy men, where they become an 'unofficial' wife who they support financially in return for fidelity. For men this is said to be a marker of social status.

adult/teenager/child, or transvestite, man or boy. Although children are working in all the above-mentioned sectors, they most often is at the lowest end of the hierarchy; lowest pay; with the least power to negotiate; and subjected to the most dangerous conditions. Although rising to mainstream consciousness and the introduction of the term CSEC, child abuse and child molestation are not a new phenomenon. Places where prostitution has existed, we now classify that there also exists child prostitution. Just as long as adult pornography and adult cybersex have existed, they have also been producing child pornography and child cybersex. It has been noted by many authors that wherever we find adults working in abusive and dangerous conditions, there, we also find children working alongside them. As O'Connell Davidson (2005:34) points out, "an underage prostitute is not forced into prostitution or subject to work in these practices *because* she is underage nor will she be released when she turns 18". It is an industry that prizes youth and social vulnerability and therefore, does not exclude children.

1.4 Child Exploitation in Perspective

The most recent U.S. report estimates that between 600,000 and 800,000 people are trafficked across international borders each year, and that internal slavery means the figure far surpasses a million. The report states that as many as half of the victims are children and minors. Many countries have challenged the report as misleading and politically charged, for the State Department does not publish its methodology. This is just one example of the exaggerated figures and top-end estimates through strong rhetoric made by different organizations. Admittedly, it is easy to boost figures and exaggerate the climate in which illegal or semi-legal activity occurs, simply because it is such activity is next to impossible to document and usually requires 'informants' (Phongpaichit 1998, Lin Lim 1998). In the case of child prostitutes no sex establishment will admit their existence, so activities are usually informed guesses by NGOs and social workers. ECPAT also now admits that the lack of a reliable means of determining the number of children who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation, and lack of baseline studies make tracking increases and decreases "almost impossible" (ECPAT 2002:21). It also admits that what may seem to be an increase in numbers may only be increased willingness to report of CSEC.

In addition to the problematic of estimation, definitions and concepts are often used interchangeably, and differing phenomena, such as sex slavery, prostitution, sex trafficking, sex

tourism are used synonymously. It is easier to boost figures when different forms of abuse are simplified into one term. This glazes reality and assists in fundraising purposes and some would argue underlying political agendas. Even if this the case and with the understanding of impossibility of precise figures, they can still give indication of the scope of the involvement of children and how integral they are to the issue of prostitution and the amount of pressure the international organizations are pushing for this issue. Some of the most quoted more accepted estimates from United Nations agencies include:

- § UNICEF believes that one million children enter the multi-billion dollar commercial sex trade globally every year³
- § The number of child prostitutes now constitutes one third of sex workers plying their trade in some countries of the Mekong sub region⁴
- § Surveys indicate that 30 to 35 per cent of all sex workers in Cambodia are children between ages of 12 and 17 years of age⁵
- § The Thai government estimates there are 12,000 to 18,000 child prostitutes in Thailand⁶
- § About 60 per cent of 71,281 registered prostitutes in Indonesia are between 15 and 20 years of age⁷

Despite the problematic with estimations and the lack of reliable means to measure it, the sexual exploitation of children in the sphere of commercial sex industry is nevertheless indisputable and evidence of the phenomenon can be found on a global scale.

1.5 Historical Development of the Sex Sector

Thailand has gained the reputation of being the ideal destination for commercial sex in Asia, because of the availability and visibility of its commercial sex industry. The historical background

³ Question and Answer about the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, ECPAT 2002, p. 21.

⁴ United Nations ESCAP (2000) Sexually Abused and Sexually Exploited Children and Youth in Cambodia: An Assessment of their Health Needs and Available Services, New York, UN Doc. ST/ESCAP/2073.

⁵ Lin Lim (1998), "Child Prostitution" in Lin Lim ed., *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Basis for Prostitution in Southeast Asia*, International Labour Office Geneva, p. 173.

⁶ Bangkok Post, 3 August 1999.

⁷ UNICEF Issues Brief (1999), Child Protection Section, New York.

and ideological basis is discussed with focus on Thailand and its Theravada Buddhism as it unravels underlying ideology of the regional focus of this thesis. It is also the well-documented by academics and international organizations and there are similar trends and underlying patterns that affect the region as a whole. The birth of sex tourism centers and in this example Thailand can be explained through the evolution theory presented by Harrison (1992) with indigenous prostitution as the first stage. This phase is characterized by customs of concubinage and bonded prostitution within the patriarchal nature typical of the society. In the case of Thailand, prostitution was legal and taxable during the Ayuddhya period (1350-1767) and flourished under King Rama I until King Rama V as male-dominated migration increased from China (Truong 1990, Lim 1998). Until the turn of the 18th Century the Law of the Three Seals allowed men to buy females in financial difficulties to become wives of a third category. The first category was parental-consent wives and the second being women who wed married men to become minor wives (*mia noi*). King Rama V tried to bring European customs to Thai society, abolished slavery of third category. As a consequence this caused many women to enter prostitution to support themselves. This new phenomena developed into highly sophisticated forms of brothels and they were legal under the Sexual-Related Diseases Control Act at that time. Both owners and prostitutes were taxed by the state and it became apart of social structure of that time.

The second phase is that of economic colonialism and militarization which lead to prostitution being formalized as a mechanism of dominance and a means of meeting the sexual needs of occupied forces. The occupied cultures acceptance of prostitution has been used as a justification for military or economic enforced prostitution in many places. In the case of Thailand the Vietnam War was the major contributing factor in the growth of prostitution for foreigners in Thailand during the 1960s. Instead of collapsing by the withdrawal of US troops in the mid-1970s, the sex and service industries were sustained by tourist clientele. While local prostitution was already well-established, the “US military invested considerable funds and expertise in making the sex industry a more efficient process” (Mensendiek 1997). The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, U.S and Thai militaries, the United Nations and Western donor nations have contributed to the promotion of tourism in Thailand as an effort to help with development. In 1975 a group of World Bank experts helped plan a mass tourism plan which was based around the sex industry. It was announced the plan was to promote the well-being of the

economy. Many politicians discretely ignored the fact, because they took the view that once the economy grew, prostitution would become less of a problem, just as in Japan and other more developed countries (Pasuk 1982). In the case of the Philippines there is no record of prostitution in pre-Spanish times, but by the nineteenth century, prostitution was an occupation for women in Manila. The additional Philippine-American war in 1899 and subsequent American rule lead to the further entrenchment of prostitution and increased poverty. Following with the Korean and Viet Nam Wars, provided large number of men posted in the United States military bases and the concept of 'rest and relaxation' (R&R) resorts to cater to them. This marks the beginnings economic dependency of host societies on selling of sexual services as economic development.

The final institutionalization of prostitution occurs with the substitution of international tourists replaced the leaving of the occupation forces. This created a formalized mechanism for receiving foreign exchange and furthering national development. At this stage regimes encourage ideology that individuals, or women and children most often, are sexual commodities to be utilized for advancing the national economic good. Rapid economic development describes the current stage in the South-east Asian region, in which powerful forces that created the economic, political, ideological framework within which sex tourism operates.

The tourism sector is the world's largest and one if recent patterns continue will increase globally. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) estimates the Asia Pacific received 20.0% of the 152.5 million international tourists in 2005. The tourism industry has skyrocketed has become a vital contributor to the economies of the Southeast Asian region, and the sex industry is an important part of the equation which is difficult to compete with. Case studies in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines revealed that the sex business has assumed the dimensions of an industry and has contributed significantly to employment, national income and economic growth. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates the sex industry and related services to be worth from 10 to 14 per cent of Thailand's gross domestic product (Lin Lim 1998:10).

Historically, travel and prostitution have often been linked. In ruined cities of Ephesus, Babylon and Pompeii evidence of large quarters housing prostitution are visible. This long-standing relationship between sex, prostitution and tourism has been widely recognized. It was, however, due to feminist research and action around prostitution and Southeast Asia in the 1980s that "sex

tourism” was identified as a concept to refer to practices structured in the tourism industry that involve the exchange of material goods or money for sexual labour (Mies 1989, Enloe 1989, Truong 1990). This is the concept used in the CRC and since then has become defined as such among academics and journalists to denote practices that range from highly organized tour packages to incidental romantic encounters between the tourist and ‘native’, and which incorporate either men or women as the tourist and sex worker (Hall 1992, O’Connell Davidson 1996, Oppermann 1998).

Although Thailand and other South-East Asian countries are renowned for the availability of commercial sex, sex tourism exists everywhere (Opperman 1999). Predominantly tourists, men and women, travel from the economically developed world and the directional aspects of North to South are well documented. Enloe (1989) points out to succeed; sex tourism requires Third World men, women and children to be economically desperate enough to enter into prostitution.

The relationship with sex and tourism is known, but what effect does this have on children? A survey (2001-2002) conducted by Association Internationale pour le Développement le Tourisme et la Santé (AIDéTouS), a French NGO operating in the Kingdom of Cambodia, found that the introduction of tourism and the subsequent increase in foreign users of prostitution services, lowered the average entrance age into prostitution. Thus, the link between child prostitution and international tourists is an issue for further investigation.

As tourism provides significant income to the host countries, which are often struggling from weak economies or recovering from states of war, advertising travel and tourism is invested in. Thailand among other countries has been criticized from the marketing of its women in its advertisement campaigns. Organized sex tours and marketing of them has been outlawed in most countries, but the internet is a tool where advertisements of ‘prostitution holidays’ and even on the availability of sex with children under 15 years of age and children for virgin seekers are advertised.⁸

⁸ http://www.zenbuckaroo.com/zentours_cambodia:2000.htm; <http://www.erotictourism.com/newsletr.htm>;
<http://www.worldsexguide.com> retrieved November 14, 2004

1.6 Religious and Ideological Context

Buddhism is widely practised in the Southeast Asian region and the principles deriving from Buddhist thought have served to reinforce and justify gender inequality, which social forces at various points in history have given rise to. It must be highlighted that prostitution and trade in women arose from conditions without any connection to Buddhism, but they have been facilitated and consolidated by the biases inherent in Buddhist thought.

In the metaphysical case Buddhism makes an important distinction between the phenomenal world and the spiritual realm. The phenomenal world is characterized by impermanence, suffering and ignorance, whereas the spiritual world represents purity and detachment from the world. Despite variations in doctrine across the Buddhist world, there are two principles present in all interpretations and which remain consistent (Truong 1990:132). They are the concept of *karma* and *atman*. According to *karma* every human action carries with it its own value, a merit or a demerit. Reincarnation depends on a person's karma of their past lives. If the demerits outnumber merits the soul will be reincarnated in the phenomenal world for another opportunity to rise to higher states of being. The final state is 'nirvana'. *Atman* is simply the law of the transmigration of the eternal soul between the phenomenal and spiritual worlds, which is dependent on karma.

Theravada Buddhism is practised in Southeast Asian namely Thailand and Cambodia and many scholars of antiquity have suggested that its universal law was already applied in social organization, civil conduct and kingship as early as the 14th Century. Theravada is a Pali term which means 'Doctrine of the Elders' and many Theravada Buddhists view themselves as responsible for continuing to preserve the orthodox and original teaching of Buddha. Institutionalisation of Buddhism and the use its discursive elements have formed the basis for formulation of laws on polygamy and the status of women.

In order for a woman to improve her karma she must uphold her responsibility to procreate and devote herself to her household and family ties. This applies to both daughters and wives. The wife is given authority in the household, while household management is seen as a hindrance to the male and in his pursuit of detachment and attainment of spiritual goals. It is the duty of the woman to be committed to the husband, but the same respect and fidelity is not mentioned from the husband to the wife. The Lord Buddha has stated that the husband should "allow her the

authority in the household”. (Parrinder 1980:55) It is also lamented that “How difficult it is for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fullness, purity and perfection.” (Parrinder 1980:43) The five responsibilities of the wife are clearly outlined and they are “doing her duties well, being hospitable to relatives, by fidelity, by watching over his goods, and industry in all her business”. (Parrinder 1980:55)

In Buddhist thought there is no notion of sex as sin. Sex is viewed as a bodily craving and it apart of the material world of suffering. It is a source of attachment to the physical world and is therefore in contradiction to the goal of ‘non-attachment’. Women are to be looked at with “fear and contempt” and “the danger of women is located in their ‘nature’”. (Truong 1990:134) The Lord Buddha explains why women should not be ordained: “Women are full of passion; women are envious; women are stupid”. (Kabilsingh 1984:66) Prostitution arose to meet these destructive behaviours women cause and it is not considered inappropriate in a religious or social sense. Even a story in the *Jataka Tales*⁹ tells of a courtesan servicing the King and her son eventually becomes a disciple of the Lord Buddha. This example serves to legitimise the profession in the eyes of many Buddhists.

Although the Buddhist discourse shows leniency to sexual rules, there exists a clear difference along gender lines. Buddhist discourse gives males complete freedom and irresponsibility by placing sexual impurity and lust on women and by allowing polygamy. Men can blame women for their lustful actions, categorize and control them without any consequences to their karma. Any infidelity or sexual promiscuity on the part of women is deeply condemned and will result in rebirth as a woman.

The Vinaya identifies ten types of wives. Some of them include:

“Those who were bought for money, those living together voluntarily, those to be enjoyed or used occasionally, ..., those who were slaves and wives, ..., and those who were temporary or momentary wives.” (Horner 1930:43 in Truong,)

This clarifies and defines the social role of women in society. It defines women’s identities as

⁹ Jataka is a collection of folklore and mythic literature dated 300 BC and 400 AD and primarily associated with the Theravada Buddhist tradition. Although not considered to be the word of Buddha, these tales have been among the more popular and influential segments of Buddhist literature.

they relate to men, and at the same time allows non-commitment of males to the home and leniency in behaviour.

This traditional role of men is still in place. It flatters men for their promiscuity and polygamy, while women are seriously condemned for allowing more than one man to access their body. This can be seen in present day family life where the major point of conflict in marriage stems from fear of minor wives (*mia noi*), whom he would have to support. This fear leads many wives to encourage the use of prostitution services rather than have affairs or take on second wives. For 'proper' Thai women, prostitutes are also a necessity as they provide their future husbands an opportunity to gain sexual experience before they marry. For some mothers, the prostitute is an accepted social service for their sons, which protects their families from uncomfortable situations such as teenage pregnancies. (Hantrakul 1984). Even in the business community prostitutes have always been a male-bonding ritual used to cement relationships and alliances. It is interesting to note that while female sexuality is viewed as a disruptive force there is acceptance of polygamy and prostitution.

In what seems to be a contradiction between the condemnation of women's promiscuity and the acceptance of prostitution, the Theravadan school of Buddhism uses merit-making concepts to provide redemption (Truong 1986). People can gain merit when they sponsor an ordination of a monk and give gifts to monks and temples. Since common Theravadin belief emphasizes that "men are karmically superior to women, according to this schema, prostitutes rank low in merit because they are women, they come from poor families and they behave promiscuously" (Mensendiek 1997). In order to gain merit, prostitutes donate money and gifts to the temples as well as sending money back to the family. Modern Thai culture often justifies prostitution by looking at the overall merit gain; lost merit of prostitution plus gained merit of money and gifts. With these important religious responsibilities fulfilled in addition to taking care of the family and siblings by these women, they are widely accepted and equilibrium is maintained.

1.7 Motivations

The traditional role of women in Thailand can probably best help to explain how modern sex roles evolved. Generally all families are matrilineal, although there is a senior male who retains authority. It is the youngest daughter who is expected to take care of aging parents and the one who inherits the family house. Mensendiek interestingly observed “traditionally women sold food to meet household needs. Now daughters sell their bodies to meet the same needs” (1997). The statement reflects the continuance of Thai women, including prostitutes, to retain the same responsibility of previous Thai women. In line with Buddhist ideology women generally see themselves as disadvantaged and less worthy. They need money as a means of showing gratitude to their parents for raising them and they feel it is necessary to help taking care of their younger siblings by providing education and a wider range of opportunities.

In a study by Pasuk (1982) the results show that they viewed themselves as “family breadwinners”. Most of the women interviewed retained strong links with their families and providing financing, which contributed substantially to their families’ basic needs. Most of these women are not fleeing their families or rural communities, but rather it is an entrepreneurial move to help sustain their families, which have been undergoing extreme pressure from globalisation and destruction of local agriculture markets. Most of the prostitutes are able to maintain strong family ties with visits home for harvest season. This is surprising considering Thai attitudes towards women who allow more than one man to access their body. But they are allowed to do so because their accustomed position in that rural society allocated them a considerable responsibility for earning income to sustain their family’ (Hantrakul 1984). Similar findings were reported from a Participatory Action Research on the lives of migrant children from China and Myanmar who came to Thailand in search of better opportunities (Caouette 2001). In the study one 18 year-old Kayin female tells: “I came here because there is not enough food in our house for everybody. After my father passed away, all the responsibilities for taking care of my mother and two younger sisters fell on me. Because I could not earn enough money for us all, I came to work in Thailand” (Caouette 2001:39).

However, poverty alone cannot explain the reasons young women and girls become prostitutes (Kanchanachitra 1999). Although it may play a major role, there is no direct causal relationship between child prostitution and poverty (Muntarbhorn 2001, O’Connell Davidson 2005). The

reasons for entrance into the sex industry have received much attention by academics and international agencies in order to provide solutions and preventive efforts to the problem. They can be identified as both societal and familial. Rapid economic development is cited as one major cause (Guest 1994; Kaime-Atterhog et al., 1994) and for example when Thailand adopted an industrialized export-led economy, one of the consequences was that agriculture was devalued. As a consequence Thailand's national policy, with its emphasis on economic growth gave rise to materialism in Thai society at the same time. Parental desires for a better, more comfortable standard of living, often fuelled by mass media, led some parents to encourage their children into the sex industry as means for attaining their material goals. Children who did not accede to their parents' demands were regarded as ungrateful, since respect for one's parents and providing for their care are paramount socio-cultural norms, persisting even under Thailand's rapid social and economic changes (Kaime-Atterhog et al., 1994). In some rural villages in Northern Thailand, where prostitution has become an acceptable occupation parents who did not send their daughters away were regarded as foolish by their communities. Even if this is the case in some circumstances, stigma is still attached to women who do leave as the Participatory Action Research Project (PAR) in 2000-2001 reports a 28 year-old female Bamar returnee to Thailand says "Some of them come back bringing bags of gold. Don't be fooled by them-there's nothing to admire" (Caouette 2001:165). By going to work in the sex industry women are able to make more than 25 times what they would be earning working in factories or remaining in their rural villages and working their family's land. "The economic incentive is patently clear. Most of the girls come from the poorest regions of the country with large numbers of dependants. Most of them had left due to the pressures of poverty" (Pasuk 1982) as is most often the case with migrants.

The sex trade is a profitable business. In Bangkok in 2001, sex could be traded for 500 baht per service (\$11), three times the highest minimum wage level of 165 baht per day¹⁰ and in Cambodia virgins are sold for between \$150 to \$800. The latter figure represents three times the country's annual GDP per capita rate¹¹. Unfortunately despite the high wages, and often little is left to the worker, it is often a short-term survival strategy with little longer term benefits in the poverty-

¹⁰ United Nations ESCAP (2000) UN Doc. ST/ESCAP/2045, p. 5.

¹¹ Unicef. Children on the Edge: Protecting Children from Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking in East Asia and the Pacific

related problems and lack of opportunity. Trickery and deceiving has been documented especially among children with no legal status and with little or no education and ones who do not live with their parents (Ard-am and Sethaput 1994, Caouette 2001) Children with weaker family ties and less family support become targets for traffickers and recruiters into the sex trade. Intervention projects by numerous counterparts have been initiated and the incidences of trafficking of ethnic Thai children appear to be decreasing (Rende Taylor 2005). But as the sex industry is one valuing youth, and to supply the continuing demand for young women, agents increasingly seek foreign children from outside the borders, and the migrant children in the industry is a cause for concern.

Human trafficking has been defined as one of the forms of CSEC and has risen to the forefront of international policy-making mainly through the law enforcement and human rights perspectives. Essentially it is a migration issue, as people are seeking work and for better opportunities. Unskilled workers are generally more vulnerable to abusive working conditions, than skilled workers as they have more freedom to move within the framework of visas and work permits. Trafficking of children is usually equated with sex trafficking to be indentured workers in the sex trade, but trafficking mainly occurs to feed the labour markets in agriculture, construction, factories, fishing and begging in big cities. The risks of migration are well known in the communities in the PAR study, but decisions to enter prostitution or other indentured forms of labour are a survival strategy. Even in vulnerable situations and with limited choices some children and adults face, extreme determination to survive in the face of adversity that stands out. In the PAR study one boy's explained it as:

“I have no parents. They died several years ago. There is just me, my younger brother and an elder brother. ...My elder brother is addicted to drugs. He never tried to find a job, so I have to beg for food for my two brothers. Actually, I am embarrassed by having to beg, but I have no choice. If I am older, I won't beg anymore. I will try to find a job” (2001:131).

It would also be true to say children cannot be found working in the highest earnings, in the best conditions with the greatest control over their working lives. But it is important to note that not all children are forced into these conditions by adults, rather, many choose this route as a survival strategy, just as adults do. Usually when children are discovered to be working in the most

abusive and dangerous working conditions, it is usually alongside that of adults in the same conditions (O'Connell Davidson 2005:34).

In Heather Montgomery's *Modern Babylon? Prostituting Children in Thailand* (2001) that studied the lives of child prostitutes in a tourist town in Thailand found that abused children are living in a much more complicated world than those of simple dichotomies of good and evil, abused and abuser. In most cases it was survival strategies that families developed that enable them to cope with their lives, which connect the family and community together. In interviews with the children, who were prostituting themselves, they stressed the importance of their families and expressed great distress at the possibility of being separated from them. In such a deprived environment, their love and duties toward their families were a way of gaining self-esteem and one of the few things of which they could be proud. This is in complete opposite to the ways we view them and in fact, it is easy to express outrage to the community allowing this behaviour and to view the destinies of children as ruined. However, as Montgomery has shown, in the study of one community, the children saw their situation differently than ruin. She states that even though they are prostitutes, they label themselves as dutiful daughters, sons and children, who should be admired rather than patronized. This is not a reason to not intervene nor investigate further, but to comprehend that child prostitutes are not a homogeneous category facing identical problems and needing similar help. In procuring new workers into the sex trade, it is often assumed that criminal networks are operating on the large scale. In fact many young women, who go to work as prostitutes, recruit other to follow them (Pasuk 1980). As a typical case as outlined in Phonpaichit, the elder sister goes first. Once she is too old to continue working, she recruits younger relatives or neighbours into the industry in order to sustain her earnings. This pattern has been documented in national and transnational migration. Montgomery (2001) records similar patterns of older children recruiting younger siblings into the trade, in order to move higher in the community hierarchy. It is a cycle of many forms of oppression, not only of poverty, but stigma, lack of opportunities, racism and on the global front, the ones in the most silent and vulnerable positions, that may be a powerful tool for some to use in pursuing their own ends.

This simplified focus can be partly attributed to the immense amount of pressure that has been exerted through ECPAT. They have campaigned effectively to raise awareness of the issue of child prostitution, an issue that evokes widespread condemnation. It's efforts have solely focused

on the inherent 'evil' of adult-child sex and their work has been treated by other organizations with scepticism as their unilateral emphasis on child sex obscures the working conditions for adult women and men in the sex sector and to deflect attention away from the complicity of broader tourism, government and international organizations, so thereby the attention away from the other sectors of sex tourism which infringe the rights of adult sex workers. Despite this definition of sex tourism there is little recognition of international authorities and nothing that reviews global policies on the issue and the term sex tourism has come to be equated with ECPAT efforts, namely paedophile activity and not the entirety of the sex sector in Southeast Asia. The international discourse of sex tourism lies with international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which aim to control, regulate or seek to address the social impacts of tourism focusing almost exclusively on 'child prostitution' (Kempadoo and Ghuma 1999:292). The tendency to emphasize the phenomenon as extreme and brutal in the developing countries, it ignores the fact that it exists in the West. Recent research indicates that social scientists and policy makers need to look beyond poverty and economics in order to comprehend the complexity of the issues such as child labour, migration and trafficking (Rende Taylor 2005), as a global issue.

CHAPTER TWO

Building Blocks of the Object

2.1 The Demand Dilemma

*“If there were no demand, there would be no supply”.*¹²

www.stopdemand.org retrieved April 19, 2006

In efforts to combat the child sex trade as it is referred to one NGO called Stop Demand Foundation based in New Zealand campaigns to address child exploitation issues in sex tourism, trafficking and pornography by focusing on demand as apposed to the dominant focus of supply with other NGO efforts. It aims to focus on the demand side issues, which will have impact on the supply side and this argument relies on the economic theory states that if there is sufficient demand for a certain good or service, then the market system ensures this need is identified and it is supplied by certain individuals to meet that need if the financial benefits are to be had. From a sociological perspective demand is not an innate need for humans, but it is socially constructed as such. An example of this O’Connell Davidson (2005) exemplifies “Human beings are not born wishing to visit lap dance clubs, for instance, any more than they are born with specific desires to use mobile phones, play the lottery or drink coca-cola” (2005:113). Consumption is learned as a marker of identity and social status that is used to define time, important for its ritualistic and as a public show of that identity and status (Aldridge 2003). The consumption of sexual services is then a learned process that society has constructed into a 'pleasurable' experience. As a marker of identity and a form used to express individuality, it is also a "means through which to claim and display class, race and/or ethnic identity, and masculinity" (O'Connell Davidson 2005:114). It is not only a marker of masculinity, the other status markers in society also determine the demand for sex workers and their race, sex, age and ethnicity. Consumption therefore also has a hierarchical character, as it is the marker of status.

In addition the prices of goods and services have an impact on total demand as the economic

model suggests; as the price goes down consumption increases. This has been seen in the thriving sex business that has developed on the other Russian side of the border in North-eastern Finland (IAF 2001). It is not simply the case that previous demand of these services has moved location, but lower prices have increased the absolute demand. This has important implications for the child prostitution phenomenon, where the child is often located on the lowest level of the prostitution hierarchy available at the lowest prices.

The forces of supply are a condition of demand, but not the only condition to determine their reciprocal relationship. Economic disparity plays a part in the issue of prostitution in the global environment along with the 'learning to consume' patterns. Marketing efforts by corporations are key in determining the consumption choices of the public, and a part of the marketing efforts, the use of media is the medium to do so. This close association of media and marketing is an important relationship affecting Western demand and consumption choices. Since prostitution is illegal in most countries and sex with children is a serious offence, the raising awareness and the only source of information on the subject is through media reports which can have an indirect impact on consumption patterns.

2.2 The Sex User

Simplifying the phenomenon into economic theory is not sufficient. The construction of sexual Other is dependent on the attitudes towards sexuality, gender and race form key concepts in analyzing male behaviour abroad as users of prostitution services and postulating the position of children within this phenomenon. Anonymity has been cited as one of reasons many men use prostitute services in general or seek child prostitutes while abroad because the social restraints, which would normally apply, are removed. With the fear of being caught eliminated, it is far more conceivable to behave in ways inappropriate at home. It is interesting to note that men who responded to a survey by Kleiber and Wilke (1995) although majority intended to use prostitution services in the destination country, but lower percentage classified themselves as sex tourists (Oppermann 1999). Similar findings from O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1995 were that not all Western males consider their own sexual practices abroad as a form of prostitute use. Not only is there a stigma attached to the term 'sex tourist' largely recognized with child sex, but also what they do abroad is not as seen as the same behaviour at home. It has also been shown

that the majority of travellers who use prostitutes did not travel for that purpose alone, although it may be side-attraction (O'Connell Davidson 1996; Ryan and Kinder 1996).

O'Connell Davidson (1995) study of sex tourists found three types of men at a tourist resort of Pattaya in Thailand. She classified them as 'Macho Lads', 'Mr. Averages' and 'Cosmopolitan'. The Macho Lads she identified as men who generally travelled in groups and Thailand was a "kind of macho theme park with beer, motorbikes, Go-Go bars, kick boxing, live sex shows, ..., and fuck" (O'Connell Davidson, 1995:43). Mr. Averages were the average working class man from junior and middle class management who were mainly interested in few women with whom to develop an emotional and romantic relationship. The Cosmopolitan she describes as men from higher socio-economic groups, who described themselves as businessmen and the time in Thailand was for relaxation. The majority of this group denied ever using prostitution services anywhere else in the world, but with the opportunity decided to. Therefore the reasons for the phenomenon are not as straightforward as the stereotype of the sex tourist and paedophiles would lead us to believe. In order to categorize the sex users researchers have divided child sex offenders into situational and preferential abusers. The first defined by men or women who use children, simply because they are available in that circumstance and the latter in reference to those who seek children specifically. If we assume paedophilia is a medical disorder as it has been classified as, but the group of situational abusers alerts us to the possible trend of 'healthy' males using prostitution and children.

The availability or often referred to as supply of children for tourists and the highly organized networks to make them readily available provides a powerful incentive to experiment with a child sex partner. Tourists are often willing to pay high prices for children, creates a lucrative business for criminals and communities alike to send children into the trade. Literature on the phenomenon often mentions the rising fear about AIDS as a motivation for men to use children, a practise which is believed not to be as risky. The rise in the 'virgin trade' is highly profitable; and often blamed on some Asian beliefs that deflowering a virgin will bring health benefits and life-long virility. In an AIDÉTouS survey in the Kingdom of Cambodia (2002) found in half of the prostituted girls in the survey had lost their virginity to a foreigner, of this 22% were Western in the 40-45-age bracket. The Asian tourists as the only virgin seekers are not entirely accurate.

2.3 The Sexual Other

Possible gender-based arguments have arisen to support the reasons for the variances in abusers and the fact that most do not perceive their sexual practices abroad as prostitute use. The CSEC World Congress in Yokohama postulated that the traditional privileges of patriarchal society which is being slowly closed off for many Western men and the inadequacy they feel in coping with this change is a motivator for some men to use sexual services abroad. The perceived modern 'strong' (read 'Western') woman is seen as a threat to their masculinity and the need to feel this imbalance of powers is not met.

Julia O'Connell Davidson and Jacqueline Sanchez Taylor interviewed sex tourists in the Dominican Republic in 1998 and found antagonism towards Western women who were perceived to be taking over traditional male authority. One excerpt states: "Women's lib in America in the United States has killed marriage for any man who has brains...(here)they're raised different. Women's lib hasn't hit here.." (Kempadoo 1999:38). This irritability noted in these statements reflects a society which has slowly come to disbelieve the sociobiological explanation of prostitution and male sex drives. In a way to reclaim those 'rights', the control and continuing subordination of women is what many view sex tourism as. Much of male sexuality is compulsive rather than satisfying based on the need to 'prove their masculinity' in line with the ideology of Western sexuality. Central elements in the social and historical construction of sexuality have been characterized by "hostility and domination, as apposed to intimacy and physical pleasure" (O'Connell Davidson 2005). In order for domination to take place, one needs an object of sexual desire and one that can be dominated, stripped of autonomy. An object that is already dehumanised does not have power to cause any humiliation or rejection. This sexual 'object' is the prostitute, who has been created as the social Other, often even in legal structures, and has been divested of autonomy and portrayed as the 'unnatural'. However, studies have shown that there is a contradiction between this what the client wants from sexual services. There is an anomaly in prostitution because many clients "want the prostitute to be a lover who makes no claims, a "whore" who has sex for pleasure and not money, in short, a person (subject) who can be treated as an object" (O'Connell Davidson 1999:40). "It's like a taxi service...there is no feeling (1999:39) was one interviewee's complaint of the mechanical, business-like nature of

Western prostitutes as opposed to their foreign experiences as: "They are not prostitutes...They stay with you all day...They rub in the sun tan oil, bring us towels, she even washes our feet. What English tart would do that?" (1999:39). There is an access to gendered power not available in the West which they can find in the South. An analogous point of view was expressed by a child prostitute user in the study by O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1996b:12: "These little girls, ten or twelve years old, I wouldn't describe them as innocent, they're not innocent, they're fresh. They don't have the attitude of older whores...The little girls, they're not experienced. They aren't hardened, they want to please you, they don't know what to expect, you get better service from them." (O'Connell Davidson 2005:120). This is similar ideology, of finding a 'subject' that can be treated as an object that is a sought after quality for some sex tourists; an object lacking experience and possessing innocence.

The economic aspect is also of importance as foreign currency to poorer countries provides the tourist a position of economic superiority and the ability to consume in ways, which are not possible in their home countries. The 'nouveau riche' imitate life styles and sexual activities imagined to be associated with the rich and famous. O'Connell Davidson underlines the bottom-line fact that the trade in Thailand is not solely because the women are different, but because they are cheap by comparison with prices in their own countries. Her research in Costa Rica also revealed that many men did not care whom they have sexual intercourse with. It is the activity, rather than its object, which is valued (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1996). This fact has implications for the study of child prostitution, if the trend is that because it is affordable it is not morally objectionable. It is the activity that is valued, the activity in which a human is treated as an object that excites and is closely tied to the Western concept of sexuality. This activity that excites, requires an object to be a recipient of the treatment.

The desires for control and domination of the subject are touched upon in the writings of James Kincaid. He argues (1998) in *Erotic Innocence* that Western culture has created the sexualised child; our culture is structured on the two principles of child sexuality and erotic appeal. We have constructed the child as pure, innocent, soft-skinned and sweet very much in the ways we have created the desirable. This raises our awareness to another coexisting anomaly in the construction of sexuality. Even while we speak of the undeniable perversion and criminality of child sex, we are also making it more universal and inevitable by dramatising the issue.

2.4 The Racial Other

In the tourist experience the differences in customs is visible, and the differences are especially evident in sexual customs. In destinations considered portrayed as 'exotic and erotic', such as Asia, visitors are generally unable to read the cultural nuances and body language. False assumptions can often lead to rationalize their changed behaviour and sex with children is justified as 'part of the local custom'. One commonly used rationalization is sex as 'charity and development work' or that all Asian look young, so it redeems them from responsibility in investigating further.

Tourism also reinforces prejudices. Their sexual fantasies were fed off the sexual fantasy of the 'exotic other' and turned women into objects for sexual purposes. As the age of exploration has exhausted all of the geographical territories, sex tourism provides another form of conquering and colonization the South. The imagery and fantasies of 'sexual innocence, sexual domination and submissiveness' still dominate Western thought. The Western ideas of exotic holidays, pristine beaches and submissive women of Thailand make it an ideal spot. Pettman (1997) explores the sexual fantasy of the Other and states: "'Asian women' circulate globally in representations which resonate with a reproduce colonial romances and ongoing domination relations... These women are frequently constructed as sexual, available, promiscuous, or alternatively as passive, or already abused" (1997:97). She continues "receiving states are feminised, and along with women are aligned with nature, receptivity, and sexual allure and danger" (Pettman 1997:97). These pattern were identified in a study in the Caribbean where women were constructed as hypersexual, whose main role was to serve and please the visitor O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor (1999). This ritual of exaggeration, idealization and degradation are nothing new when describing the other, as Hall described in *Formations of Modernity* (1992). This behaviour of foreign clients can be explained as Bauman describes the tendency to represent other cultures as "uncivilized, coarse, uncouth and a brutal way of being, more animal than human" (Bauman, 1990:159) and thereby giving permission to behave like in the same manner without any consequences. He also states there is a tendency to develop exchange with the other only "in a controlled field and ritualised form" (Bauman, 1990:159) which the bars, brothels and internet communities offer.

Feminist theorists have commented on the macro-scale phenomenon of sex tourism in East-West distinctions such as Gaburn (1983:441) states that “at a psychological level these Nations (Third World countries) are forced into the ‘female’ role of servitude, of being ‘penetrated’ for money, often against their will; whereas the outgoing, pleasure seeking, ‘penetrating’ tourists of powerful nations are cast in the ‘male’ role”. It has also been referred to as “colonization of nature, women and the so-called Third World” (Mies 1991). The first actor is the male, colonizer, who acts as the objectifier constructed dialectically to the ‘object’, or the female and Third World. These are interesting notions as we analyse further. O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor (1999) in their studies of sex tourism in the Caribbean noted that the sexual encounter allows the tourist to attain a sense of control over his or her sexuality while reassuring of racial and/or cultural privilege. Kempadoo refers to this as the ‘racialized-sexualized bodies’ in “this platform the First World (re)creates its identity and power” (Kempadoo 27). In addition by differentiating prostitution in the “developing” countries from that of North America and Western Europe, the Third World sex workers are discursively located as victims and denied a sense of agency and subjectivity (Doezema 1998). Discursively then, the prostitute from the South is under the forces of double objectification of firstly, being an oriental and secondly, a prostitute. Already labelled as victim, how does this impact the case of child prostitution? Our stereotypical victim possesses another limiting quality, namely that of childhood status.

2.5 The Child

The ‘child’ and ‘childhood’ concepts have still not produced consensus as to their definitive meanings. This has been a historical problem as well as a present one and we struggle to ‘fit’ this social category compatibly into our particular visions of social life. There are a few assumptions, which are consistent in all approaches to childhood (Jenks 1992). First is that we accept that the child is different (from an adult) and secondly there is a desire to place that ‘difference’ into the universal adult world.

The United Nations has tried to formulate a definitive difference of the child based on the age of political majority; ‘the child’ according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Article 1 is as “every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to

the child, majority is attained earlier.” This universal classification has proven to be unsuitable for many cultures since views of childhood are constrained by history, culture and politics, and therefore have been difficult to accept and assimilate at the legislative level. In the case of Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries the international legislation on the status of childhood has begun to gain acceptance among government and educated middle classes, but for the majority of the children the Western model has little in common with local laws and social customs. As an example of Montgomery under Thai law children are not allowed to work full-time until they are 14, but can work part-time at the age of 12. In the case study by Montgomery, she discovered that the middle and lower class Thais were not aware of these ages, or the legal marriage age of 17 for both males and females. In the PAR study attitudes and perspectives within the community perceived a ‘workable age’ of children was at six or seven (Caouette 2001). This proves that to discuss childhood in the context of legal framework is largely irrelevant.

In a study on the sexual age of children in Zimbabwe, Loewenson & Chikamba (1994 as quoted in Ennew et al., 1996) concluded that the definition of ‘child’ is a combination of a series of physical, mental, sexual and emotional attributes, in which societal and familial environment play a role. Different human cultures have invented different children, and social transformation is not purely a physical change supporting the theory of childhood is a social construction. (Aries 1960, Jenks 1992).

In the first notion as the child being different presumes there is a clear boundary between adults and children. They are discursively constructed in reference to one another and defined by each other, “so that we know what it is to be a Child because it is to be Other than an Adult” (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2000:787). Being a child then, means “not being rational, mature and independent; not possessing rational autonomy” (O’Connell Davidson 2005:19) precisely in opposition to what we assume as ‘adult’. In a sense then, the power of adults to exercise over children is not a right, but a duty because they are incapable of constituting a social movement that makes claims on knowledge concerning themselves. ”They do not form an active, vocal population that voices dissatisfaction with the prevailing public or scientific produced view on their own condition, nor are they observed to present oppositional evidence of another ‘reality’, namely their own.” (Alanen 1992:4). Where in fact they are not given the opportunity, because of their ‘non-adulthood’ although it is usually argued that they lack the cognitive capabilities for raising

their voice on such matters. In this sense children are different from the other social groups who have won recognition for their cases and this is the reason many NGOs feel they have the obligations and duty to speak and act on the behalf of the children.

These adult-centred tendencies can be observed in traditional academic study of children. Children have seldom been treated as autonomous subjects of inquiry or as 'persons in their own right'. Alanen (1992) distinguished three research approaches which include children; the social problem tradition, where children are the focus to the extent that they are perceived as threats to adult society and its social order or as victims of adults; the focus as vulnerable victims of adults, notable sexual abuse and other abuse (Ennew 1986). This particular view presents children's lives, activities and experiences, although filtered through adult concerns; and the adult-centred tradition which takes children to be novices and learners of the culture and organization of adult society. The child is less than standard and their performance is measured against is the adult one.

These 'objects' of study then based on the 'difference' between adulthood and childhood tends to naturalize childhood; it does not conceive of childhood as a historically and socially constructed phenomenon, which it should be understood as. Rather it takes for granted the definition of childhood that doesn't allow children to appear as social actors in the way all groups of adults are seen to appear. This argument of natural state is the foundation upon which the universality of childhood lays in which the cultural, historical and social factors are omitted. Rather, it relies on myths and concepts based on Western ideology about childhood which in turn supports the agenda of international organizations doing work in the East; the assumption that modern children are better off and better taken care of (Montgomery 2001). In the Southeast Asian region and even within Thailand there exist of a variety of cultural and religious groups. There is no notion of a 'golden childhood', but rather society pities for their lack of power. The myth of childhood happiness and 'time of freedom' flourishes in the West in contrast with children being seen as a source of assistance, as they are in most world societies, who will contribute to the economy of the household as soon as possible and take care of aging parents. This is in direct opposition to the concept of parental sacrifice for children in the West. Universality is also deeply engrained with another myth; that of innocence (Kincaid 1990). It is innocence that makes one vulnerable, in need of protection, which is the very reason adults like it to be in others; namely the child.

The concept of childhood innocence has been termed the adult fantasy as an adult creation (Jenks 1992, Kincaid 2001). In introspection to modern eroticism Kincaid emulates these arguments and states that the modern child and modern sexuality have developed hand-in-hand (Kincaid 2001:13-15), thereby creating the erotic nature of children inevitable. He explores cultural narratives that create the child as "sweet, innocent, vacant, smooth-skinned, spontaneous and mischievous" (2001:14) and the desirable as ""sweet, innocent, vacant, smooth-skinned, spontaneous and mischievous" (2001:14).

Therefore our sociological knowledge of children is deeply and "unreflectively adult-centred, adult-biased, adult chauvinist, presents an adult ideological viewpoint" (Alanen 1992:55) and it satisfies our need for children to be unlike us. We need for them to be passive; helpless and defenceless. It is much easier to pity an object than someone who is active in controlling their own future. Information and research to the contrary is often difficult to believe. In the case of Ban Nua, a study of child prostitutes by Montgomery (2001), the children she got to know, were not conformed to the views we hold on them. They understood their disadvantaged place in society, but saw themselves as dutiful children, supporting their families and bringing their mothers merit. Many went on to become mothers themselves. These children fit outside the model of innocence and it is very difficult to classify them into our simple dichotomies and principles of innocence we have created.

In acknowledging this issue of asymmetrical relations that exist and efforts to promote their rights, we have devised a new rhetoric through for example, Century of the Child, child-friendly, child-centered approaches, child-centered perspectives in development to name a few. Regardless of good intentions, these discourses may legitimize the power over children and their subordination while promoting the rationale of children's incompetence and dependency (Alanen 1992). These discourses are rarely created by the ones they speak for.

"The children's fault is not then in their undeveloped capacities – at least not in the first place – but in the present social nature of childhood: they are not allowed, or heard, or seen to make their case precisely because they are conceived of beings not entitled, capable or willing to make a case" (Alanen 1992:5), especially when coming from the Third World. By being so, it creates them as a powerful entity for adult to pursue their own purposes and therefore, a highly political stage. Jenkins (1998) comments on that only recently has there been recognition on the

politics of childhood and how adult fantasies about them project into decision making. Innocence emerges as the dominant fantasy in whose terms children have been variously represented, protected and desired. This fantasy has been seen as in part responsible for the very disempowerment of children (Nussbaum 1995). It is the 'dominant conception of childhood innocence presumes that children exist in a space, beyond, above, outside the political' (Jenkins 1998) and is presented as an argument against sexual exploitation of children where in fact there are numerous unchallengeable reasons for unacceptability of sexual abuse without referring to childhood innocence. Keeping children outside the political by continuing the fantasy of childhood innocence exacerbates the distance between the adult and childhood spheres.

Encompassed within the definition of innocence are also concepts of purity, simplicity, inoffensiveness, virginity. However, we meet 'monster children' and offensive children in everyday life, which would disprove this wholly. Real children cannot be contained in the discourses surrounding them, they have desires and they act according to those desires, and they therefore should be understood as agents and subjects. But according to Western adult demands the true essence of innocence remains that is used effectively presenting childhood and in campaigning on the behalf of children in the Third World. Holland (2004) writes "pictures of sorrowing children reinforce the defining characteristics of childhood – dependence and powerlessness"; she continues "As children reveal their vulnerability, viewers long to protect them"; and further "the boundaries of childhood and adulthood are reinforced as the image gives rise to pleasurable emotions of tenderness and compassion, which satisfactorily confirm adult power"(Holland 2004:143-144). Interestingly these characteristics of "dependence and powerlessness" of children correspond directly with the notion of victim. In studies of female abuse victims they were shown to be "viewed as helpless, vulnerable, ashamed, weak, passive, dependent, unassertive, depressed, defenceless" (Harrison & Esqueda 2005). When the victim is a child, it stirs the reader into deeper emotions of sympathy or in the case of reading about sexual abuse of children into moral outrage. The reader is faced in a paradoxical situation, on one hand feeling sympathy for the victims and on the other outrage and disgust towards the abusers. This provides the emotive ingredients attractive to building a 'good story'. On one hand in the situations of child abuse and such a highly emotive issue as it is, it is understandable why it is much easier to condemn rather than to understand the abused according to Montgomery. She states that outrage and sympathy is not enough and ultimately does little good if it is not

accompanied by a more cohesive understanding (2001:6).

With these conceptions of childhood and the lack of agency they possess, especially so if from the Third World, it is then understandable why there is the widespread preconception that child prostitutes can not be voluntary. This is the 'impossibility of child prostitution' that O'Connell Davidson (2005) speaks of. This is not to say we should condone children in prostitution or in any other dangerous or abusive condition, but rather to show our simplistic dichotomies of viewing complex problems. The child has agency to make decisions, however limited and terrible selection they may be and most often show determination to survive regardless of the risks.

These arguments on 'natural difference' have justified use of power throughout history and have effectively assisted in creating the Other. As confirmations of adult power, based in the definition of childhoods as natural, contemporary hegemonic groups follow the definitions their predecessors issued on women, 'savages' and the 'primitive' peoples (Jenks 1992). The lack of power and being viewed as an object are themes which are continuously returned to. In the assumptions behind childhood is innocence, dependence and lack of autonomy; the prostitute as deviant and has given up her power by becoming a prostitute; and the Third World Other as 'infantile' societies colonial discourses have moulded into the continuous rhetoric of the object status. This is set into a subject/object dualism in which the subject possesses agency, whereas the object cut off from their self-determination and full autonomy for the control of others.

CHAPTER THREE

Objectification

3.1 Representations in the Media

The media industry is a commercial undertaking existing for the production of profit in addition it has become more competitive with preference for short news stories rather than in-depth analysis. The development of technology and limited markets which have created two tendencies affecting contemporary media; the tendency of public affairs media to become increasingly conversationalized and the tendency to move increasingly in the direction of entertainment (marketized) Fairclough 1995:10). It is in this context that reporting of the commercial sexual exploitation of children takes place.

The media role in the evolution of CSES is complex. On one hand, they tell stories of the abused and the abuser, through news reports, photographs and documentaries. But on the other hand they can become the exploiter by providing sexually provocative images of children and at worst as a vehicle for child pornography, providing information to paedophile networks and sex tourism. In the Council of Europe's Committee on Crime Problems, the Committee of Experts warned:

"Often the mass media function as a two-edged knife in this area of concern. The unravelling of sensational sex and crime cases involving children and young adults tends to overemphasize and blur the picture. Sometimes, though, it is the media which help to uncover cases of sexual exploitation and to raise awareness of the problem." (IFJ 1996)

The same reports goes on to warn that it is also "the media that generally infiltrate the public with liberal and tolerant attitudes towards child pornography and prostitution and provide the ways and means by which sex gratification may be achieved" (IFJ 1996).

Mass media has an undeniable impact on social life, in that they form a dominant institution in contemporary society. It is an institution which holds power to "influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations and social identities" (Fairclough 1995). Fairclough terms this the 'signifying power' as the power to represent things in particular ways through language. It is this media language that is an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change (1995:2). As media operates within the social system, they are laden with

ideologies which Fairclough defines as “propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination” (1995:14). The power of the media cannot be overlooked or underestimated in regard to worldwide social issues such as child prostitution and exploitation. Media is, by Foucauldian definition, a form of power and it exerts its authority in reporting. Fairclough states (1995:54-55):

“Language is a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectical relationship with other facets of the social. What I mean by a dialectical relationship is that it is socially shaped, but is also socially shaping – or socially constitutive”.

As *socially constitutive*, this power is self-validating as was argued by Said (1974) in *Orientalism* and in it his famous warning:

“My two fears are distortion and inaccuracy, or rather the kind of inaccuracy produced by too dogmatic a generality and too positivistic a localized focus” (Said 1974:8).

The subject of child prostitution has continually caught public attention and imagination with sensational reporting, stereotypes and myths. Maggie Black has written, ‘There is, for good or bad, a public appetite for information, particularly of the most sensational kind, which confers a special commodity status on the subject of ‘child’ sex’ (Black 1995:6). The sensationalism may even spill into voyeurism or titillation, but that in effect are ingredients of a good story.

Vanaspong (1997) in her study on the coverage of ASEAN Countries in the international newsmagazines discovered that the media coverage of prostitution reflects the international media’s understanding of a good news story. In effect the formula is clear; the worse the situation, the younger the child, the less government takes responsibility that constitutes a better story. In other words, the criteria for international information flows usually is “recent, impact, humanness and emotionally charged”.

Children aren’t considered ‘hot topics’ for the media, not unless children figure in heart-rending or scandalous story or in some shocking data or statistics. It is usually in these special contexts that children are portrayed in the news media; they are represented in relation to crime and violence. It is where children and youth are both perpetrators and victims, and where children are physically and sexually abused seems to be the context most often included in media reports

shows studies in the United States by Kunkel and Smith (1999) and in Pakistan by Gilani (1999). Crime and violence are of course issues of concern to population at large, but the disproportionate coverage of children in these conditions, points to the media's sensational aims and the disinterest of investigating the actual causes and the wider social and psychological dynamics. The consequence of this is that children are then understood as a threat and a problem and vulnerable groups are stigmatised.

Furthermore the way media portrays children has profound impact on society's attitude to children and childhood and therefore impact on the way adults behave. It also works in reverse; children react to the images seen in forming their images of other children their age. Patterns emerge in the different categories of children. In a study by Roa (1999) it was found that younger children are represented proportionately less than older children; girls less than boys; and children belonging to the working class, linguistic or ethnic minorities less than the majority of the population. Interestingly another opposing picture that is presented in the media is the good and innocent child that is used in advertising with images of girls seasoned with exaggerated sexual elements (Roa 1999). The adult motivations are underlying these constructions which serve to strengthen the arguments of Kincaid (1998). In addition to the sexual elements, the media reporting on child exploitation presents the extreme and heart-rending accounts of child prostitutes is in the form of slavery and the children as 'sex slaves'. O'Connell Davidson (2005:31) suggests that the discourse of the sex slave has a dual purpose; "not simply to rescue individual children who are exploited within the sex trade, but also to redeem certain cherished cultural categories".

With existing stereotypes and the subject/object binary in place when representing the Other, it is no wonder predictable elements are often present. The media portrayals of the child prostitute from the South are usually in a highly predictable fashion with elements of sexual object and abuse situations. These depictions aid to create objectified beings that indirectly conform to adult motivations and expectations. According the framework of Nussbaum, they are presented as violable, owned and instrumental for the requirements of adults, and they are easily objectified in these ways because of the less severe forms of objectification are in place. Our cultural categories and ideologies of childhood and race underlie the ability to portray in the extreme forms, as Nussbaum stated that objectification is not only slippery but interconnected.

3.2 Methodology

The following section presents an outline of the studies that were designed to attempt to answer the research questions posed at the end of chapter 1. As the portrayal of children in the media has been established as highly biased and sensationalistic and conforming the subject/object binary, the research questions then follows with how the child prostitute is made into a sensationalized news item and what are the elements which position the child as an 'object' to be explored, saved and pitied. And ultimately, what are the discourses that underlie the creation and reinforcement of this portrayal. In order to shed light on these questions, the study was conducted in two stages. The first is a content analysis of the sample to determine the themes and descriptions that create the child as a stereotypical news item to determine in what ways is the child constructed into an object. The second stage is the analysis of discourses used in the construction of the objectified group.

The sample chosen for discourse analysis was a total of 30 English-language print media publications, which consisted of international newsmagazines (n=12) and web-based news sources (n=18) formed the sample for the publications survey. The sample was collected from searches of English language articles that contained the terms *child prostitution*, *child sex* and/or *sex tourism* in addition to *Southeast Asia* in search engines. Table 1 in Appendix 1 provides a compilation of the main topics of the articles and Table 2 the countries which are mentioned in the sample for deeper insight into the thematic structure of the sample.

Another criterion for the sample was the time period of 1993 – 2005. This time frame coincides with emergence of the phenomenon of child exploitation as a Western concern and in which the discourses surrounding it were created through the works of O'Grady (1992, 1994) for ECPAT. The First and Second World Congresses against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (1996 and 2001) were held, in addition to the Post-Yokohama midterm review (2004).

Acknowledging that different types of print media from quality to popular print that exist, the sample consists of mainstream media from North America, Britain and English-language Asian newsmagazines to get a wider scope of the surrounding discourses as an international issue. Local English language newspapers were not included in the sample because of the fact that they

contain a localized focus. The subject of trafficking and sex tourism are most often discussed in local stories through law enforcement, such as a brothel raid, kidnapping of children or isolated rape cases of children in the communities. In order to study the wider Western discourses surrounding child prostitution the sample consists of both quality and popular publications, since they remain the most widely read and the important sources of information on the subject of abused children in Asia for the unspecialised reader. The perspectives and context of reporting within the samples mirrors and illustrates the more academic discourses that are discussed in Chapter IV Discourses.

The original assumption of investigation maintained that the topic of child sexual abuse is clearly a topic which does not produce disagreements in morality or the right to condemn the abusers. Another assumption of this study was also the fact that children are in powerless positions as they relate to the forces of international media, and thereby in a vulnerable position in the reports about them. However, the picture presented by the media presented a conflicting framework of the phenomenon that often even draws the readers to feel outrage and powerlessness over the conditions children are placed. Therefore the central concern of the study is with social conditions and examining how language legitimates social control. Discourse analysis as methodology deals firstly, with the nature of power and dominance, and secondly with how discourse contributes to their production (Fairclough 1995).

In order to investigate the social conditions surrounding child sex abuse, the study was conducted in two distinct stages. The first stage was aimed to uncover the nature of power and dominance or in other words to answer how the child is depicted as a sensationalised item. This first stage analysis was conducted by a publications survey which categorised the sample according to thematic groupings in order to determine the circumstances and context of reporting as is necessary when investigating objectification (Nussbaum 1995). As the nature of reporting is layered and multiplicity of voices is featured, many articles featured multiple themes. This categorisation of thematic categories is outlined in Appendix 2 in which nine distinct themes were identified. Then, using the framework of objectification by Nussbaum (1995), which is introduced in the following Section 3.3 Objectification Explored, they were analysed to determine the notions of objectification in which the child prostitute was presented in order to give indication of the nature of power we hold over them in the context of media reporting. The

findings of this stage of investigation are discussed in further detail in Section 3.4 Notions of Objectification.

The second stage of analysis was aimed at understanding how discourse contributes the production of the objectified child. Once the notions of objectification were established the discourse analysis stage focussed on media language in order to understand how the discourses contribute to the production of the objectified child. In the tradition of discourse analysis the main task is to search for the main discourses which have achieved a hegemonic position. The analysis is not primarily concerned with the multiplicity of discourses, but rather in identifying the factors that constrain the hegemonic discourses in place (Jokinen et al 1993). Therefore through further analysis three predominant discourses were identified in the sample which contribute to the positioning the child as object; that of fear, victimhood and commerce. The discussion of these three discourses is discussed in Chapter IV Discourses by identifying the linguistic patterns inherent within these discourses.

3.3 Objectification Explored

The terms *objectification* and *child as object* has been referred to numerous times thus far, but it demands closer attention. Objectification is a term linked with the differences of social power implying some form of exploitation, as the term CSEC is defined by focusing on the exploited status of the child. The concept of exploitation is a key sociological notion and in discourse of adult female prostitution the term oppression is often used. Exploitation and oppression however are not equivalent concepts which Eisenstein (1979) distinguishes as follows:

“Exploitation speaks to the economic reality of capitalist class relations...Oppression is inclusive of exploitation, but reflects a more complex reality. Power – or the converse oppression – derives from sex, race, class, and this is manifested through both the material and ideological dimensions of patriarchy, racism and capitalism. Oppression reflects the hierarchical relations of the sexual and racial division of labour and society.”
(1979:22-23)

Interestingly the term oppression is not applied to childhood issues stemming from our assumptions of childhood incapability for choice and agency especially in the realm of

prostitution. As Eisenstein remarks that oppression is a more complex reality, which does not conform to our simplistic notions of childhood. This focuses our attention on the benefit someone is deriving from the sexual abuse of children rather than on the focus on the multiple ways of oppression that exist in the lives of many of children that make them vulnerable to the sever forms of abuse such as sexual abuse. Oppression implies a taking away of power through multiple ways, but childhood perceived as a time of non-power, this is contradictory. Since children are active agents in however limited opportunities they live in and their abuse is defined by large-scale and multiple forms of oppression, exploitation is only one aspect of a wider issue. However, the term oppression is used to describe the macro-scale phenomenon of sex tourism in discussion of adult prostitution has been characterized by Gaburn (1983:441) as “at a psychological level these Nations (Third World countries) are forced into the ‘female’ role of servitude, of being ‘penetrated’ for money, often against their will; whereas the outgoing, pleasure seeking, ‘penetrating’ tourists of powerful nations are cast in the ‘male’ role”. This servitude can be taken to refer to oppression as all forms of oppression are expressed and reproduced at the ideological level as though they were natural processes. In *Sexism, Racism and Oppression* Brittan and Maynard (1984) argue that oppression always involves a degree of objectification. Objectification allows objectifiers a position of power and natural force to operate in a world of things, through different degrees and types of objectification that are to be explored. Objectification, then, is part and parcel of the concept of sexual exploitation, encompassed within the wider idea of oppression.

The concept of objectification usually refers to work of feminist theory and sexual objectification is a term used by feminist theorists to refer to the variety of ways men use women as sources of sexual gratification and the ways in which they are commoditized. Studies of pornography, prostitution, and other forms of domination have engrained this concept of objectification to explain the unequal power relations of the society relating it usually to sex and sex relations. The works of Dworkin and MacKinnon support views that “opposition to objectification is at the heart of feminism” and therefore MacKinnon (1989) argues that objectification is always incorrect if not morally wrong because it severs women from their rightful “self-expression and self-determination – from, in effect their humanity”. This notion is supported by LeMoncheck (1985) in that it is ‘prima facie objectionable’, because it involves “treating persons as less than the moral equals of other persons”, speaking with emphasis on the sexual sense.

The essence of many feminist theorists lies in the argument that men exercise jurisdiction over women, in power and social relations, due to their natural capacities (LeMoncheck 1985, MacKinnon 1989, Pateman 1988). In effect, it relies on biological sex, or the 'natural difference' to justify the objectification of women analogous to the natural differences we use to determine the child's status. The term 'objectification' has come into mainstream language and is usually used as a form of criticism of behaviour or values of another, most often in a sexual context. However, although sexual objectification usually only refers to the sexual ways of objectifying, there are different ways we objectify people according to Martha Nussbaum in her article titled Objectification (1995). The basic definition of objectification can be taken as 'treating someone as a thing'. She investigates the notion of objectification further and states that objectification is not in all contexts morally problematic due to the fact that there are different ways in which we objectify. She states that the concept of objectification it is not only a slippery, but also a multiple concept" (Nussbaum 1995:251).

In her argument there are at least seven distinct ways of objectifying which are interconnected and linked. These notions of objectification are defined as follows:

1. Instrumentality: the objectifier treats the object as a tool of one's own purpose.
2. Denial of autonomy: the objectifier treats the object as lacking in self-determination.
3. Inertness: the objectifier treats the object as lacking in agency and activity.
4. Fungibility: the objectifier treats the object as interchangeable (a) with other things of the same type, and/or (b) with things of other types.
5. Violability: the objectifier treats the object as lacking in boundary-integrity, as something that is permissible to break up, smash, break into.
6. Ownership: the objectifier treats the object as something that is owned by another, can be bought or sold, etc.
7. Denial of subjectivity: the objectifier treats the object as something whose experience and feelings (if any) need not be taken into account (Nussbaum 1995:257)

Before we can analyse of how people are turned into objects (sexual and otherwise), or in other words how they are stripped of their active agency, the question of how we treat objects in the first place are essential to understand the argument of Nussbaum. An object therefore, is

something lacking in subjectivity and autonomy, something inert, something that is an appropriate candidate for using as a tool, exchange, destruction and possession based on the above notions. However, all objects are not treated in all of these ways and differences are based on the nature of the object and the context. Some examples that were used to highlight this point were the computer; it is active, lacks inertness, but it is purely an instrument. The pen as another example can be treated with all of the above senses, even violable, as no great loss assuming it held no special value. A Renaissance painting on the other hand would not be treated as violable, or fungible, nor its value to be merely instrumental, even though treated 'as object' in all the other ways. Certain elements of nature are treated in different modes of objectification, to take an example such as land. For some it can be treated 'as object' in all the ways, but many Native peoples whose beliefs are intricately linked to land, would object to such views of land defined by ownership. Interestingly then, the concepts are based on value systems, can be culturally defined and are not absolute.

Among the seven notions of treatment as object, there are many complex connections among them and not singularly determined as positive or negative even in the case of objects. Then in Nussbaum's definition of objectification, it is to treat a human being in one or more of these ways. Context and circumstance determine the severity and "all types of objectification are not equally objectionable" (1995:256). However, the objectification as treating someone as a mere instrument is in Nussbaum's argument considered the morally reprehensible form of objectification.

In the case of the child, as adult-defined, there are multiple ways of objectifying him or her. Views of modern childhood do not allow treatment of children as fungible or inert or, but at the same time young children are most often is denied autonomy by their caregivers. As concepts of childhood change the ways of viewing certain objectification notions towards children are also changing; acceptable forms depend on time and place. However, sexual abuse and exploitation, namely violability and instrumentality, are circumstances that are more or less universally deplored based in numerous arguments from moral values to medical reasons to the arguments based in 'loss of innocence'.

Some forms of objectification, then, are socially acceptable as determined by time and place.

With the more severe notions such as sexual exploitation then, are today viewed as morally abhorrent. The key points include that the nature of childhood is not static but conditions are defined by adults. Literature on the matter solely focusing on the sexual objectification of the abusers and relying on our moral outrage to it, we ignore the multiplicity of other ways to objectify children into silence making it appear to be a normal and inevitable part of everyday life. These other forms may also contribute to their violability and exploitation. As an example, the sexually abused child, is treated as violable by the person in question and possibly even bought for the certain period of time in the case of child prostitution. The child is a tool for one's own purposes and denied subjectivity, and may or may not be treated a fungible by the abuser. Typically, notions of violability and ownership do not occur without the other notions such as instrumentality and denial of subjectivity, which have already been created. In this case it is undeniable that the child prostitute is an object in multiple modes including sexual. In the words of Nussbaum: "It seems to me that "objectification" is a relatively loose cluster-term, for whose application we sometimes treat any one of these features as sufficient, though more often a plurality of features is present when the terms is applied" (1995:258) So therefore, these notions are closely related and multiple features are usually present.

In the case of CSEC literature, the violability of children is usually the main argument with little attention given to the other forms of objectification supporting the violability notion. As an extreme form of objectification it does not usually happen alone. It is usually operating with other, 'less' severe forms and their relationship is connected. In other words, the most serious forms of abuse are operating in conjunction with lesser forms, makes the serious abuse is not so severe and more understandable than if severe abuse were inflicted on someone considered to be a subject. As an example if the prime minister were to be mugged, it would produce greater outrage than if a beggar were to be mugged. This is a point Nussbaum refers to when talking about slavery and their objectified status: "But it is easy to see that the thing like treatment of persons inherent in the institution...to the feeling that one had the right to use the body of a slave in whatever way one wished" (1995:264). This view has also been argued by MacKinnon (1989), that once a person is dehumanised, they are open to other forms of abuses as well. Objectification is a layered concept contributing to the harsher forms such as violability, which rarely occurs in isolation from other forms of abuse.

3.4 Notions of Objectification

The study was designed to examine one of the major sources of information available to people about the sexual exploitation of children, and there is obviously a complicated relationship between what people read and what they believe. The meaning is formed within the relationship between the text and the reader (Soothill 1991). In *Constructing Danger: the mis/representation of crime in the news*, McCormick (1995) states on this relationship “the news constitutes a textual (mis)representation of crime and that analysing the media involves examining discursive themes and patterns found in new reports” (McCormick 1995:9). The media often presents stories as social facts when they often contain the opinions and impressions of the social actors involved. Due to the methods in which these so-called facts are presented, the majority of the public may not be able to distinguish fact from opinion with the result of the media’s opinions and representations constituting absolute fact for the public. These representations are the voice to the various social actors through numerous themes within the sample and they produce an interwoven and at times contradictory nature, which Fairclough (1995) states are a typical feature of media discourses. Academic analysis of media coverage then, must sort through the language so as to uncover the discursive elements present; not to uncover the distortion of facts, but the linguistic tendencies which in effect create reality. With this in mind the following analysis of the themes in the Publications Survey in Appendix 2 demonstrates the notions in which the child is often presented in the sample, in order to identify the discursive elements and how they are instrumental in the construction of the image of the child as Object in Chapter IV.

While the phenomenon of child sexual abuse in tourism has multiple actors, such as action groups, abusers, politicians, communities, law enforcement and numerous other actors. Within the media theme, however, the major actors operating be divided into three distinct forces; the actions groups, the sex offenders and the abused children themselves in centre stage but presented through a silent role. The Publications Survey identified the dialogue between the well-meaning and the non-well-meaning actors as occupying the portrayals and discussions. The actions groups are multiple and in this analysis include groups such as nongovernmental organizations (NGO), international organizations (IO) and governments who are speaking and acting on behalf of the children. The term sex offender shall be used to refer to the male sex tourists showcased in the

sample and does not distinguish between preferential and situational abusers. In order for balanced reporting, the offenders are also allowed time and their discourses are captured. In the case of the children, their voices are usually provided by the different adult actors from the actions groups and their voices are usually the ones they want us to hear, which support their objectives, and in essence, are the ones which the audiences want to hear. The symbiosis of the action groups and media is close. This single item of child sexual abuse then becomes a combination of representations of multiple viewpoints presented through multiple actors.

In order to analyse how is the child represented through the framework of Nussbaum's definition of objectification, an important point must be highlighted. She has stated, "we discover that all types of objectification are not equally objectionable; that the evaluation of any of them requires a careful evaluation of context and circumstance" (1995:256). In addition, the nature of news discourse being composed of a striking feature in the way it "weaves together representations of the speech and writing of complex ranges of voices into a web which imposes order and interpretation upon them" (Fairclough 1995:77). In the initial Content Analysis of the sample in Appendix 1, Table 3 gives an indication of the conflicting and contradictory voices. The sample publications were categorized by protagonist and antagonist as presented in each sample. Although child sexual abuse is clearly a topic which does not produce disagreements in morality, however varying points of view on the antagonists and protagonists which contribute to the phenomenon are presented. Although there are varying perspectives, the main patterns can be noted as the antagonists consisting of pedophiles, Western tourists and criminals, with some sample pointing the blame at law enforcement or lack of, the prostitutes themselves and local communities. As for the protagonists the major actors mentioned are NGOs and government and law enforcement. Without assessing the truthfulness of these portrayals, it is clear that numerous actors and voices are present which shape our understanding of the causes and effects of the phenomenon.

The data set in the Publication Survey in Appendix 2, for the purposes of analysis, has been divided into nine categories based on the 'themes' featured; rescue operations, outrage, market conditions, presentation of facts and figures, exposing the offenders, depiction of children and their realities, the deviant child, stories of abuse and tourism. Presenting the articles through these categories is pertinent to the arguments put forth, because they establish circumstance and

context created by the different social actors. It is within these themes that the interwoven 'voices' of the social actors appear and that are the basis for discourse of the abused child. The influential power within these voices and depictions are based on the Foucauldian definition of power; they create reality as opposed to only describing it. However, Fairclough (1995:47) described media discourse as "the site of complex and often contradictory processes, including ideological processes", so reality is created with a multiplicity of perspectives, opinions and voices. Even within the framework of objectification and within the different notions, they are a *mélange* of different depictions from the various social actors. It is these contradictory voices that must be dissected in order to determine the ways in which the child is objectified in the context of reporting crime.

An analysis of the publication survey shows that the seven notions of objectification were found to be present in the sample. They were not all present in each article, but rather the thematic categories allowed identification of them even through the differing voices and within the sample. The first notion of instrumentality was identified in the sample by portraying sex tourism as part of the tourism experience. Some stories highlighted cultural relativist arguments stating that the cultural norms and customs within some Southeast Asian countries make the use of child prostitutes if not acceptable, but at least understandable. These facts justify the use of children as a tool for the purposes of the abuser and the reader to give some rational explanation to the phenomenon. In addition, the child becomes an instrument as a wider criticism on society and the perceived deterioration of morals and responsibility for the safety of children.

The second notion of denial of autonomy was found in that all of the actors involved in the phenomenon are given voice, except the children themselves. They are not featured, except through the coordination of action groups, who have a vested interest in presenting a certain stereotypical story to the audiences. The child is not featured with any self-determination by giving voice to other subjects such as dreams, aspirations or solutions through the voices of the children, but simply in stories of abuse. The focus is on the adults, activists and abusers, who are considered to be the 'decision makers' of their fate, because the children do not possess and autonomy or self-determination. The inertness of childhood relates closely the lack of autonomy and is successfully portrayed in the situational depictions. It is as if the children are caught up in this world of evil either by physical force or the persuasion of the child's family. They are sold

by parents and become sex slaves. This reinforces the helplessness in that they are caught in a world of abuse, the nature of childhood, poverty and lack of morals and absence of caretakers.

Fungibility as the fourth notion is prominent in most of the sample articles through the quoting of numbers and statistics. These so-called facts are presented without any explanation or background and give the reader the image that innumerable children in the region are a homogeneous category facing the same problems and circumstances.

Denying the children voice and portraying as things whose experience and feelings need not taken into account, this at times creates the understanding that they do not have any. Denial of subjectivity is accomplished by the other actors speaking on their behalf and the emotions or lack of are assumed by the readers by the information that is presented. If there was a mention of feelings it was coordinated with the stories of abuse and portrays the anguish and pain of torture and physical mutilation. There was not any mention of the love for their families or any other emotions these children certainly possess.

Violability and ownership are the most extreme notions of objectification, which are explicitly condemned, but implicitly the condemnation is weakened by giving voice to the offenders and time for the exploration of their experiences. They act as testimonials and produce extreme emotions of shock and outrage in some readers. With the quoting of figures and the relation of abuser experiences, become fact for the reader, and may blur the lines between the factual and the violability of the Third World child. Ownership is closely linked with the idea of prostitution and the purchase of sexual services, but this concept is taken to include the whole child. It is portrayed as an industry operating within market forces and the child, as commodity, can be bought and sold. This is the point where objectification cuts children off from any self-expression and self-determination and in effect, from their humanity.

Despite the apparently clear categorisation of the child as object in all seven notions, conflicting findings are also available within the sample. The child is not constructed as objectified at all times. There are reports in which the child is made an active agent in their predicament of having to sell sex. This is often in the form of presenting a child as a pimp to other children or in some form of criminal activity. In these depictions they possess active agency. In other cases emotion,

although negative in longing and loss is presented, which portray the child as possessing subjectivity and self-determination. These conflicting portrayals of agency and lack of will be discussed within the Discourse Analysis Sections 4.1 Discourse of Fear and 4.2 Discourse of Victimhood.

Objectification is one of the forms of power and dominance held over children in vulnerable situations even though it is presented through the different voices. This typical feature of intertextuality is a feature of media texts and the tools for the discourse analysis lay in the language. Discourses have been defined to be at times complimentary or in opposition or at times in resistance to each other (Fairclough 1995). The second stage of analysis identified the main discourses underlying successful objectification and they have been dissected and divided into three discursive categories: the discourse of fear, the discourse of victimhood and the discourse of commerce. It is the workings of these three that give such strength to the arguments and the shock value to the reports. Acknowledging that other discourses do exist, such as discourse of racism, discourse of outrage, discourse of voyeurism, but it is the three above discourses that underlie the most extreme notions of creating the child as object. The other discourses may be mentioned in minor detail as they relate to the three major discourses.

CHAPTER FOUR

Discourses

4.1 Discourse of Fear

Discourse of fear is relied on to create drama. The dramatic effect not only is important for the success of the report, because it captures audiences, in its emotion-raising details. In Kincaid's analysis of child sexual abuse he states that our culture is committed to the 'cycle of abuse' (1998:11), which is a strong notion when discussing child abuse. The cycle refers to the demand of the audiences to hear the stories, dissect the stories and thereby constantly creating the stories and in more extreme and shocking scenarios. He states, "we do not pretend we are getting the problem under control, quite the contrary. We are dramatising the issue" (1998:13). This dramatising and raising fear about the problem is important basis for setting the stage to the other emotions that the reporting evokes. Fear itself is a powerful tool for setting distinctions and the reporting methods of exaggeration and sensationalising are ways in which it is done. The discourse of fear is perpetrated on the audiences in numerous ways. The publications survey showed evidence of five categories that operate within the discourse of fear: estimates, the loss of innocence, hunting imagery, the sex monsters, and disease.

4.1.1 Estimates

The quoting of exaggerated and estimated figures, of the "modern-day slavery" is a tendency used in promoting fear of the potential extent of the phenomenon. Varying figures are quoted for the number of child prostitutes sourced from various NGOs and IO's. They vary greatly and stated as fact. These figures are estimates and the actual numbers cannot be determined, grouping together large populations and presentation of high-ball quote was discussed in Appendix 2 Section V titled Presentation of Facts and Figures. "As high as", "As many as" expressions are used to reinforce the widespread nature of the problem.

A high proportion of media output consists the mediation of the speech or writing of prominent people within the various domains (Fairclough 1995). Political leaders, experts and other categories of specialists are used by the reporter, especially with such an underground and

emotive topic, and it is the discourse of these actors that is represented. The numerical estimates then produce a factual tone in which the abuse is undeniable, for example, “The World Congress CSEC estimates there are at least 80,000 child prostitutes in Thailand. ECPAT puts the number in the 200,000 to 250,000 range. In 1993 a Time article claimed 800,000” (1); “The State Dept estimates that up to 800,000 people, mostly women and children, are trafficked across national borders annually. Millions more are trafficked within their own countries” (3).

In addition to the official quotes the phenomenon is deemed to be ‘rising, increasing’, contributing to the fear and a key ingredient to induce anxiety before wider details are established. The public imagination runs wild with such accounts and figures, when presented without qualifications, as to what is happening in the South Asian vulnerable children and the extent of the problem. Figures that are quoted are only estimates. However these estimates combined with language of exaggeration is utilised to create the extreme condition and suggest the increase producing fear in the unknown in the readers. For example, child prostitution “has been rising steadily over the past few years” (3); “UNICEF reports that 97 countries have identified cases of commercial sexual exploitation. It estimates that 1.2 million children are coerced into the sex trade every year, a figure it thinks is rising” (12); “...the number of foreigners travelling to the country to have sex with children is rising. All across SEA an increasing number of young children are thought to be at risk” (20); “More kids are entering the illegal economy, which means more kids are available for paedophiles” (20); “...problem becoming more rampant” (28). Additional references include: “This trade is a stain on Asia’s name. And its growing in size, profits and depravity even as the region becomes wealthier and more sophisticated” (2); “...harsh light on a well-known phenomena: Asia is home to a runaway sex-trade industry” (11); and “an explosion in child prostitution” (29).

When linked with the term modern-day slavery, the fear of the unconfirmed reports and journalistic expose stories heighten the impact and now the most horrible stories featured are associated with the statistics quoted to be increasing. With the rise in the industry, it is implied that the number of paedophiles is increasing and the sexual interest in children running rampant. In addition to raising fear, it also raises feelings of helplessness on this ever-growing social malaise, but more effectively supports the ‘cycle of abuse’ as is assumed as part of the inequalities of the world.

4.1.2 Loss of Innocence

The child is portrayed as an object without agency and their innocence is a characteristic they have no control over. It is the adults who hold the responsibility to protect their innocence from those who wish to destroy it. It is the responsibility of adults to protect, as children are to show their vulnerability. Our vision of them is that of purity, sweetness, innocence, essentially things that we are not, so it is something cherished and high value is placed on these qualities. These qualities according to Kincaid (1998) are closely linked with sexuality and not only is the child constructed in the same way we construct the desirable, but it through sex that this innocence can be destroyed. The child is placed into an interesting position as possessing the erotic, without knowing, and this is something adults find on one hand desirable, and something most sacred to be protected on the other. In addition, Kincaid remarks on innocence (1998:53): “Innocence is a lot like the air in your tires: there’s not a lot you can do with it but lose it”. So therefore, the fear that children will be robbed of this innocence, a highly sacred, is the most feared and stirs deep emotions. It is as if the innocence of the child makes it valuable; the worth of the child is in their innocence and which the higher price for virginity and youth seem to support. Once this is lost the child is reduced further into the object definition; something that is defiled and not so important to ‘save’, because their innocence cannot be reclaimed. Once it is lost they are turned into the ‘lost children’, who are proof that they live in a world without love, pity or compassion.

The discourse of fear is used to support the creation of the child as object by frightening the readers into the realisation that their innocence could be taken from them. Innocence makes one vulnerable and in need of protection, which is one reason adults like it to be in others (Kincaid 2000:54). In other words, innocence denies autonomy and subjectivity. It is also the cornerstone of making the child fungible. But once this important marker of childhood is lost, it has no place or position even within the framework of objectification; the child is simply lost. The child no longer even fits in with the categories we have created and is even beyond the victim role, they are in a category of their own. An example from the sample that presents the loss of innocence linked with a sexual act includes: “But only a few weeks later the girls apparently had lost their innocence. They'd been forced to perform oral sex” (27). By the fact that they have performed

sexual acts diminishes their worth to the lowest point because of the innocence they now lack are expressed clearly as: “They will have been used and tossed away and ruined” (27); “And when the girls are no longer useful, they are tossed away” (29). “Tossed away” and “ruined” are powerful language linking the ideas of an object of no value. This is a loaded analogy, simply to denote the fact that these children have been abused sexually and made to endure other forms of severe abuse.

By laying the groundwork of the serious nature of losing innocence, fear is also raised by suggesting to the audience that it is only a matter of time before they are used and destroyed. Scenarios are recounted in order to involve the readers emotionally. Their imaginations are encouraged to conjure up the most horrific images and reports emphasize that this is a continuous cycle. Innuendos and recounting impressions with a suggestive manner are techniques to support the audience's imagination of the horrible abuse that is happening right under their eyes, such as; “The patio is full of foreign men with young Cambodian girls sitting on their laps, laughing at their jokes. One fat, grey-haired Westerner staggers toward the door with four girls in tow. They head straight for the luxury hotel across the street”(26), and “on a typical evening at the Royal Garden Plaza...foreign men lead Thai children around the arcades and buy them toy animals. The men’s motives can be sinister” (20). The purpose of these statements reflect the purpose to target the sentimentality and imagination of the readers. The reports' carefully chosen words force the reader to begin wondering what abuses are taking place behind closed doors. It then leads to what it must be like to be the parents of these children, how could anyone allow their children to enter the world of prostitution at the same time as what could be going through the minds of the monsters who are abusing the children. We start relating emotionally to the ‘object’.

The publications survey evidenced numerous examples of these teasing innuendos to instill these emotions and read as follows: “Walking along the beach, a young girl not more than 15 hawks a scrawny boy. She says he’s her brother, and the way he clasps her hand and hides behind her suggests it might just be the case” (1). Again, it is only a matter of time that this child will be robbed of their value. The suggestions are powerful creating fear and frustration in the reader not only of the injustice but also of their incapability to protect this child. Another example includes, “The depraved conversation continues as the sky clouds over, preparing for the next deluge. Next to them a villager holds her baby, an angelic-looking little girl of perhaps nine months. The child

stares with huge unknowing eyes at the men who await to corrupt her. They haven't noticed her. Yet" (18). There are powerful contrasts presented, juxtaposing the language of innocence; "angelic", "unknowing eyes", "baby"; set against the language and imagery of abuse; "depraved", "deluge", and "sky clouds over". Other innuendos are given, "Then there's a truly hellish side-effect of global tourism I witnessed in Svay Pak. What I saw there will haunt me the day I die" (17). The loss of innocence is equated with 'hell', 'haunt' and the 'day I die'. Powerful lexis is used to make maximum effect and to push the readers' imagination to the extremes. Vagueness and 'teasing' is used such as, "He then went into details - which are unprintable (18); "Whatever the topic under discussion, he's been there, done that" (18), which all refer to the stripping of the innocence of the child.

4.1.3 Hunting Imagery

One element effective in promoting fear in the readers is the use of hunting imagery to support the discourse of fear. References to hunting are possibly to give greater impact on the public, drawing on the assumptions of basic instincts and natural selection. In describing the situation is equated with animal imagery such as: "Svay Pak is a village near Phnom Penh, said to be the best hunting ground of all those seeking to buy sex with children" (7); "...the districts were happy hunting grounds for the American 'farangs'" (13). The foreign countries are compared with 'hunting grounds' and the children are put in this context, such as "where the prey is plentiful and easy to stalk" (27); "feed the appetite of sex tourists", "sexual predators", "easy prey", "sexual slaves for predators". These notions are supported by an action group member's comment which is included; "They see children as a commodity," she said. "To them, they're fresh meat." (25). The child is equated to prey and game, the weakest according to the rules of natural selection. This implies the laws of nature at work where the battle of the survival of the fittest is taking place. This adds to the child as someone who has a tendency to be abused, as if it is a natural fact, because they have no power and are the weakest members of society and therefore a call for action to protect and save them. The discourse is also used to comment on the weakening of values and a form of social criticism, for example, "...where sexual predators can gain access to terrified children for a handful of cash. How could this be happening?" (27). The child then becomes instrumental in highlighting our weakness as a moral society and our shortcomings in not doing enough to assist the children in such conditions. The discourse drawing on imagery of

the savage nature of man becomes an effective tool drawing on the fear of the wild and the savage character of man, the predator-prey environment. This reinforces the natural position of childhood as one that is waiting for abuse to occur, as powerless, without autonomy and ultimately the child as fungible with all other children. They also become instrumental in criticism of ourselves and lack of moral values.

4.1.4 Sex Monsters

The paedophile is no doubt one of the most feared and repulsive characters in social narratives. Fear of these sex monsters supports the ideology of childhood and innocence that adults long to protect. The innocence and helplessness that we insist are the nature of childhood positions adults in a position of power, responsible for protection from the dreaded perverts and paedophiles who aim to defile the children if given the opportunity. The struggle is against the paedophile, which is at the same time everywhere and nowhere according to our cultural narratives (Kincaid 1998). O'Connell Davidson postulates that the 'sexual exploiter' appears as "an unimaginable fiend, the next as the most ordinary of men, or the most prominent of citizens" (2005:9). The publications survey in Appendix 2 outlines the ways the offenders are referred to in the sample, showing that it is an extreme between the pitiful and the professional. This supports the position that the sex monster is an undefined unknown that is hiding amongst us causing great fear and suspicion. They cannot be easily identified because they lurk within us and are getting away with morally reprehensible activities. This is a powerful discourse upon which the CSEC movement is based, but at the same time it is an underlying fear of ourselves, and the fear becomes extreme.

The activities of sex monsters are described and as we give them voice, we also exacerbate our fears. In addition to our treatment of children as objects, our fear grows because as they are inert and not capable of taking care of themselves, our fear grows, which in effect increases our power over the child. Interestingly our genuine concern for the safety of these children heightens our fear against the despised paedophiles. The voice of the offenders was prominent in the sample and their frightening accounts, testimonials and derogatory comments shock and humiliate not only the children, but the readers. They promote the fear and hatred, we feel towards the paedophile. The stories of abuse are recorded from the direct source through use of quotes, making the impact more human and immediate.

The language that is used in these representations is strong and graphic, and the images presented are clear with no room for misunderstanding and thereby are intended to make the maximum impact. For example, “Indeed, on one sex tourism website, a contributor salivates that he “can’t wait for North Korea to open up” and wonders what the girls will be like. Just as legitimate tourists tick off the countries they have been to, so sex tourists tick off the nationalities with which they have had sex.” (17); “Out here you can get anything you want, do the f*** what you like,” said the American. “Girls, boy, two-year-old baby, whatever you want. Nobody cares.”(27); “Nicknamed ‘Sin City’ it is the centre of the Philippines sex industry and a magnet for travellers known as ‘whorists’, who want to have sex with young girls” (5). The image of the sex monster emerges as salivating and taunting his intentions with impunity, in addition to the strong language to highlight the lawlessness and uncontrollable nature of the offenders. The use of ‘whorists’ suggests that they have nothing to hide in addition to having a sense of pride in their actions. In other examples, shocking statements are revealed, “Mine wasn’t as young as his,” says Danny, who once lived near Prestwich, Manchester. “She was 13,” says his friend. “My daughter’s that age,” says Danny, matter-of-factly” (18). The important point that this was a direct quote stated ‘matter-of-factly’, again supports the notion that the perpetrators have nothing to fear and it is a regular lifestyle for them. Reference to his daughter is shocking that the paedophile is now a father, and could just as well be a prominent and respectable member of his community. Other similar messages are given, “...he captured one sex tourist boasting that it is ‘the best place in the world to pick up 15 year-olds’ “(5), and “a world away from the streets of Angeles, where sex tourist is king” (5). The fact that they are boasting, is as if they are providing a challenge by flaunting their activities. They report goes on to confirm that they are in fact ‘king’ and command the status of all-powerful.

Direct quotes are an effective method used to make a stronger impact. They quotes used are often highly descriptive and derogatory. The child in these portrayals in complete silence, forced and controlled by the offenders. One article reads, “Paul tells us he has been to Svay Pak and had sex with a 14-year-old-girl. Afterwards he shared her with a friend in the cubicle next to him” (18) and “You just go in and if this girl isn’t good enough for you, you just go and get another one” (18). Some logic is introduced in the feeling of one offender, and his argument is presented through his logic with reference to the ‘others’ who are also involved in the same behaviour and

even worse than him, such as, “I’m not against anything,” he says. “I’m not against fellows who go with young ones. I’m against fellows who go with children. The idea of a child is not someone who is 15. The police and judges are doing it, all going to the brothels with 14, 15, 16-year-olds so it’s all right” (18). This has the effect of minimising the ‘wrong’ of his personal behaviour, and the reader cannot disagree with his statement, that the idea of going with very young children is more disturbing than with 15 years olds; it trivialises the issue of abuse.

With the fearlessness of the offenders showcased, it is in direct juxtaposition to the fear it produces in the readers. Not only are the paedophiles unidentifiable, but he perpetrates crime without any consequences it creates the all-encompassing fear surrounding them and acts to cement the adult-child distinction strengthening the arguments for objectification. Supported by the analogies of hunting imagery and associated natural factors, the open confessions of the offenders and at times their seeming satisfaction in their behaviours that is recounted through their testimonials and confessions, introduce the question, is there a natural explanation for these horrific tendencies and could it be present within ourselves. It is the mysterious nature of the sex monster, which we strive to learn more through his confessions and in the name of trying to understand the motivations that we push the children they abuse into a more powerless position. Our fascination with the offenders gives them power and control in the phenomenon, allowing them voice and assisting them, because we fear them and their rampant sexual appetites on children we have the responsibility to protect.

4.1.5 Disease

The threat of disease and abuse of children as a public health issue are perspectives presented as reasons to combat the rise of child prostitution. There are links between poverty, child prostitution and HIV/AIDS, but other tragedies in the child’s life, ones which are less immediate and less dramatic do not conform to the effective message of fear and victim. The direct contraction of HIV/AIDS is a powerful fear tactic used to draw in the audiences, but the indirect impact of the disease, such as communities weakened by the disease making children more vulnerable are not referred to. Other not so dramatic calamities affecting the lives of many children include economic policies and planning, natural disasters, unequal economic growth, policy implication and war. The tragedies of HIV/AIDS are well known, but the powerful impact

when associated with the subdued object cannot be underestimated.

The direct reference of child prostitute to AIDS links two powerful concepts together and depictions make them if not completely interchangeable and equates with a lost. For example, “One survey found that more than 50% of Thai child prostitutes are HIV-positive” (29), “A typical victim of the Thai trade in prepubescent sex is Armine Sae Li, 14. She was spirited away from Northern Chiang Rai province at age 12....But they arrived too late; Armine has tested HIV-positive and will die of AIDS” (29). The latter example directly links HIV-positive status with death. The use of ‘will die of AIDS’ adds to the lost cause of this child. In another publication, death is not explicitly stated by the quoted action group, but the message is clear: “I’ve sat down with children of 16 or 17 who are in the last stages of their lives as a result of AIDS, and...well...”(17). This is not to say that these depictions are false, but with the simplistic portrayal of child prostitute to AIDS makes a highly complex phenomenon linear.

The AIDS scare is supported with statements about the disease is general, for example, “No country, he said, is free of the plague” (4). It is referred to as a ‘plague’ and the reader can link this within the context of the growing and expanding sexual abuse of children. Statistics and quotation of figures become effective and “The United Nations says that in 2001 170,000 people in Cambodia had HIV. About 2.7% of adults were infected” (22). The figures for AIDS are intermittently quoted with similar form as the numbers of the sex trade and they become interchangeable such as in the following example, the ideas of younger and younger children, AIDS and quotation of figures from a reliable source; “and the terrible fact is that younger and younger children are doomed to work in brothels because the “customers” assume that children are less likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS” (17); "UNICEF reports that 97 countries have identified cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children, and puts the number of children recruited or coerced into the sex trade every year at 1.2 million - and rising"(12).

The belief that younger partners will prevent the spread of the disease by the local populations is a notion commonly cited as the reason for why local populations use child prostitutes. The phenomenon is again simplified as a misconception of the ‘ignorant’ Other, while failing to mention that child prostitution also exists in Western countries. Examples of this include: “one of the more tragic, and ironic, reasons for the recent upswing in prostitution is the mistaken belief

that young sex partners are less likely to have AIDS” (29), and “child advocates say that the fear of AIDS has boosted the allure of underage partners for local men, and that buying a virgin is a sign of prestige to some members of Cambodia’s elite” (30). O’Connell Davidson (2005) remarks on the importance of this distinction which is implicitly made; “this account implicitly reproduces the imagined opposition between pre-modern and modern, barbarous and civilized, ‘oriental’ and ‘occidental’ societies” (2005:31). She continues to say that it is this very distinction that makes the behaviour of Westerners so shocking and unfathomable. The publication survey findings support the tendency to highlight the ‘ignorance’ of the local populations, which serves to emphasizing the incomprehensible fact that ‘civilized’ Westerners also engage in this activity. This dualistic portrayal simplifies the offender into ignorant or ‘sick’, eliminating the majority of abusers who cannot be classified under the above two categories, serving to strengthen the image of the sex monster.

In addition, it presents the children as clueless and not capable of understanding the dangers of their activities and the disease. The simplistic assumption is presented without looking at the other social factors and implications of the disease such as social stigma and discrimination from their communities. It is not information that one easily divulges, regardless of circumstances especially in conditions in which they have little power of negotiation. The AIDS awareness of the children was mentioned as, “the girls’ knowledge of the hazards in their trade seem even smaller” (22). In addition with the lack of bargaining power of the children, it is most often the abusers who dictate the conditions, of whether protection is used or not, and it is not a question of the child incapable of understanding. Even if they were aware of the dangers and precautions, how actively could they negotiate? This assumption however benefits the discourse of fear and highlights the inability of children to take responsibility to protect themselves and their customers. This point is highlighted in more personal account; “a Vietnamese girl, aged 17, has lesions on her skin, a symptom of AIDS. She traces them with her fingertips and says they are the result of a disease caused by local water” (22).

The discourse of fear of AIDS is powerful to encourage action by the public to combat this trade. With the sensationalism and extreme stories of abuse, it is not enough to persuade the audience of the dire necessity to act. Disease is presented also as a reason to get involved, not the abuse per se. For example, “...most aid organizations have set aside deep distaste for the sex industry and

focused on trying to protect the young women and girls from, above all, contracting HIV and then infecting customers” (24). The ‘above all’ concern is the spread of AIDS to customers and not the abuse of the children. Direct questions were used to jolt the public’s imagination to realize the problem, such as “Can you imagine the spread of disease that is taking place with this type of activity?” (27); “The girls will be discarded when they become too ill to work. During their short lives they will be spreading AIDS“(22). The spread of the disease becomes the key point, and not the welfare of the children in a blatant portrayal of the adult double standard. In another survey sample, “Imagine intercourse occurring millions of times under these conditions.” The AIDS epidemic is alone enough to justify a crackdown on child prostitution says Mardh” (29). Through these depictions children in essence are positioned as disease carriers, an ‘object’ which is not wanted, despised and avoided at all costs.

There seems to be contradictory messages, in that are we fearful about the health of the children in question or the spread of the disease to the West and our proximity. Operating within the discourse of fear the notion of lost innocence and a fate even worse for these children, who with we relate emotionally is catching AIDS. This coincides with the narrative of the victim, one who suffers extreme abuse and then dies. It is as if the mention of disease is the final stamp on the lost cause for these children.

The AIDS epidemic globally is a serious tragedy and implications for the future of children is indeed serious, with parents dying of AIDS, which may leave the children vulnerable to the exploitation. However, the AIDS issue is presented via a simplistic equation that of child prostitutes contracting AIDS, spreading it to customers and then dying. They are already abused and a hopeless cause, or essentially a ‘useless object’, so the fear of the disease and the spread of it becomes the most important. The argument to get involved in combating child sex could be seen not the abuse per se, exploitation or oppression of human life, but the potential harm the disease could cause to others.

4.1.6 Summation of Findings

Raising fear and dramatising were key characteristics utilised in reporting by the media to arouse public concern that set the stage for curiosity about the horrendous phenomenon that exists. It relies on the cornerstone of our beliefs of childhood and the sacred nature of it to create the desired drama. The thing that we fear most is the violation of helpless children, most notably the sexual violation we find most appalling. Sexual abuse is a severe violation, in the fact that it is a physical violation but also it implies that their innocence has been robbed and stripped from them and they are thrown away as useless. Innuendos were used to achieve this effect by allowing the audience's imaginations to take hold and they were gently guided to imagine the most horrible. The fact that the perpetrators are continuing the abuse and acting with impunity makes the audience question their values and their shortcomings in allowing this to take place. In addition, the sex monsters are the source of great fear, as they are an undefined group and hidden amongst us. The growing numbers of abused children supported by factual information also alludes to the gravity of the exploding problem, which can also be linked to the AIDS epidemic. Interestingly the direct expressions of fear do not focus on the fact that children are being abused and to their health, but the health of the customers and the possible spread of the disease. The child is then becomes a disease carrier, which has been stripped from subjectivity and controlled as an object, whilst being an object that we fear. Thus, one can from these examples lead to a group of objectified, child prostitutes, they are regarded as fungible with a tendency to be abused. They are an object because they are without value anymore; they have lost the indicator of value and have become not only an object, but a useless one. The fear for the other children is activated, and the fear is raised because it is assumed as objects, without agency, they cannot defend themselves against the other destructive forces.

The discourse of fear produces a plethora of feelings, from regret that we are powerless to help; fear of disease; paranoia regarding the sex monsters on the loose. They highlight our own helplessness and inability to act and help the ones who cannot help themselves. This provides the important groundwork which contributes to portraying the child as a lost cause, which will be investigated further in Section 4.2 Discourse of Victimhood.

4.2 Discourse of Victimhood

There are different types of victim classification; there are victims in terms of the legal label that NGOs deal with and then the self-label or the self-perception of victim. In the study of Montgomery (1999) the child prostitutes she studied they did not originally view themselves as victims, but once society and media labelled them as such, it caused an impact of shame. Therefore, the two notions of victim are intricately linked and the definitions by society impact their self-perception. This has repercussions on how not only adults but children see themselves. Furthermore, Julia O'Connell Davidson (2005) explored the differences between the notions of 'victim' and 'victimhood', the first referring to a person subject to violence and the latter, refers to an ideology that within which these persons see themselves or are seen by others, as objects, without the capacity to defend their own interests or those of others (2005:59). She goes on to say that people who are under victimhood evoke a stronger emotional response than someone who is considered to be a full subject of their own lives. Violence and harm against objects tend to produce stronger emotional responses than against those who are socially imagined as full subjects of their destinies. This may explain the obsession with victims and their victimhood in addition to the fact that victims are more accessible to journalists than adults engaged in illegal activities. Despite the trend of shorter and statistics based news stories, human interest stories are still more interesting for the audiences. They are in such vulnerable position, objectified with all power taken away, that they can be explored. The social construction of children as powerless objects translates into a stereotypical view of the child victim. The discourse of victimhood is used when describing the child prostitute and the ways in which it is, not only creates the sensational stories, the emotional reactions, but it also complicates the child and our motivations to intervene. The theme of depictions of children has been explored in Appendix 2 Section vii. The discourse of victimhood has been analysed in the four elements observed in the sample: ages, glorifying suffering and poverty and the lost cause.

4.2.1 Ages

The identities of the victims are kept undisclosed due to the sensitivity of the issue in order to protect their identity. This anonymity is heightened by the descriptions of the children, which is explored in Appendix 2 Section vii, the age of the child is often as highlighted focus. The language of extremes is utilized in order to give an exaggerated picture of the child. The only

identifying factor is the age, creating the child as fungible with all others in the same age group. Descriptions of ages include "as young as", for example, "some look as young as 11 or 12" (5); "girls are as young as 10 employed as prostitutes" (8); "found victims of abuse as young as four" (10); "commit sex crimes against children as young as six" (15); "children as young as five years old are being sold as slaves for sex" (27). In another case the ages of the children were vaguely referred to capture the audience's imagination: "...to meet some girls for hire. And when she says girls, she means it literally: young girls, younger than we imagined. As an extra attraction, she says they are still virgins" (27).

The age bracket is also given in some descriptions, such as "...sexually abusing 2 boys aged 9 and 12" (2), "employing girls aged 4 to 14" (3); "children aged four, five, six-years-old, and even the case of a one-year old baby" (7); "By the time they are seven - but certainly no later than their 13th birthday - their virginity is sold. Thereafter the price diminishes steadily, eventually dropping to £3" (18). The key message is that they are young; they are prepubescent. The age then is related to a marker of their monetary value in that the younger the child, the more 'innocent' or 'pure' they are and therefore command a higher market price. In addition, the worth of the child, which is assumed to be correlated with innocence, the readers' reaction increases with the younger age of the child making the extreme a more powerful message.

4.2.2 Poverty

As the media has a tendency to portray sensationalized images of prostituted children, there are certain traits that are expected of child prostitutes; they should be kidnapped, trafficked, forced into debt-bondage, sold by their parents or tricked into prostitution. In extreme cases they should have AIDS. Holland (1992) and Montgomery (2001) agree that this view supports the ideologies of the mainstream 'aid imagery', in which it is easier to deal with an innocent victim than children who develop a fighting back strategy. It supports the image of the 'exotic' Third World child in a rural setting, which are more attractive than the 'runaway' children in Western countries who land in prostitution for similar reasons. Kidnapping, bondage and trafficking are well-documented phenomena globally, but they are not as clear-cut as they are often depicted and what the common stereotype dictates. According to Montgomery, these false images create a hierarchy of child prostitutes and those who "concentrate on the extreme, ignore the mundane, and run the risk of

glamorizing and eroticizing everyday poverty” (2001:28). They share underlying ideology of the innocence and powerlessness of children, a paradigm which most people are familiar with. The discourse of victimhood is closely associated with the impoverished and tormented child and messages supporting this image effective in creating the glamour in poverty and suffering.

Poverty is often cited as a precondition to sexual abuse. Poverty is the reason for why children are more vulnerable to abuse making them more accessible and more desperate. This however it is not solely contingent on impoverished conditions, although a contributing factor. Economic reasons and the culture of consumerism are not the same issue as poverty, and only citing poverty is a simplistic notion that conforms to victimhood. In terms of poverty, the inequalities between nations and the growing gap of the rich and poor is an important element, but also the gap growing within nations between the rural and the urban populations. These inequalities promote migration, of children and adults, to escape unemployment and finding a means to support their families. It makes people vulnerable to human trafficking and debt-bondage and other illegal conditions. These extreme scenarios are reality for some children and have been widely documented, but not for all.

This association of poverty to sexual abuse is an important notion and one of the markers of victimhood. The child prostitutes portrayed in the sample typically come from desperately poor communities and are sold by their families as a matter of survival. The extreme poverty aids to objectify the voiceless status of the children. The depiction of extreme poverty is presented as a cause and effect situation, namely, the child is so poor and this causes the family to force them into sex slavery. This extreme scenario equates poverty with voicelessness; it supports the ideology of object by the assumed lack of self-determination and denial of subjectivity. Conditions of poverty on all accounts limit the available choices in a person’s life and its conditions, but it does not make them an object for others to use as they wish. The image of poverty-stricken forced slaves, associates children as completely powerless, which they are not, ultimately glorifying their poverty into a story of drama and pain.

Depictions relate to the fact that children are not active agents and have no power and no choice, emphasizing the image of the objectified child equating poverty as a precursor to abuse, as in this example, "They are children born into poverty and sold for sex" (27). Other examples also make

a similar analogy, such as, "It is a story of young girls desperate to escape from poverty who are forced to sell their bodies" (5); "Desperate, dirt-poor families in rural Cambodia may sell a daughter to a pimp for between \$200 (£130) and \$500 (£330) - a fortune here - just to survive, or to pay an impossible debt" (17).

It is the parental pressure that is cited as the main provocation to enter prostitution. The examples show us that: "Most of the girls are Vietnamese, they say, sold into slavery by parents desperate to bail themselves out of debt" (18); "Srey Nath's journey into the sex trade began in 1996 when malaria felled her father... Too weak to work, he turned to Srey Nath, his eldest daughter, then about 18, and said, "Do whatever you can to get money for me." (24); "He will find a nation in which civil war has given way to a poverty so grinding that many families sell their daughters into the sex trade" (25); "often by parents willing to sacrifice their daughter for payments that range as high as \$8,000" (29); and "Some children are sold by their own parents" (27). The selfish if not greedy nature of the parents is implied, rather than a community effort or conditions that may make prostitution as the only survival strategy. The duty of the child feel towards his/her parents is not cited or the feelings of agony that some parents must go through in knowledge of what their children are doing for their benefit; which would give some sort of subjectivity to the stories. The stories portrayed here, the parents of the children sell their children, implying that the parents are part taking in the abuse. The extreme and simplistic reasoning equates poverty with abuse and the fact of poverty is the reason they are unable to the 'agents', but as objects. It is implied that the object-like status of the children even in their own communities and they are being 'sacrificed' for the good of the community. The other conditions of the victims are not taken into account, reinforcing the object-like status of child, even by their own communities. This is not the only scenario that children enter the trade, but poverty and extreme forms of it, contribute the notion of victim as well as object. They become instrumental in the arguments of the actions groups, that they are unable to help themselves. In the arguments of the offenders, discourse of victim and position in poverty is referred to in the sense that they are assisting the victims to rise above their poverty-stricken conditions.

4.2.3 Glorifying Suffering

In addition to presenting extreme poverty, the implied consequence of poverty is the commercial sexual abuse, and is highlighted in great details. Stories of horrific abuse and torture are

recounted as the image of the extreme victim requires. The child, who endures incredible pain, is the character the readers admire; the strength of the weak and tortured to endure their pain; whilst they become instruments in our criticism of ourselves as incapable of protecting the weakest and most vulnerable.

The stories of suffering conform to prior formulas of depictions of the extreme; the most horrible conditions of betrayal, torture, drug abuse, disease, and death; simultaneously highlighting their young age. The sample reads as, "They variously arrive at the centre ill from malnutrition, shaking from met amphetamine withdrawal, with sexually transmitted diseases, pregnant or HIV-positive. And all this while still in their teens" (17); "But the slave masters use the same tools today as earlier slave masters: kidnapping, fraud, threats and beatings, all aimed at forcing women, children, and men into labour and sex exploitation" (4); and "Many girls are trafficked from rural villages and neighbouring Vietnam, many lured by false promises of jobs. They become virtual sex slaves: locked up, beaten and forced to service up to 10 men a day, often without condoms. More than half are HIV-positive" (25).

In the sample personal accounts are used to relay the histories and they tell of the circumstances. In most of the entrance into prostitution, there are elements of deceit either by parents, acquaintances or they were deliberately conned into the sex trade. The examples read as; "Shelly is one of them...spotted by pimps in Manila's Luneta Park, a notorious hunting ground for commercial sex...she was drugged, woke up, room in red-light district...She was fully clothed except for her underpants. Unconscious, she had been sold to her first client. She was 14"(2); and "“He decided to pay off his bills by trading in his daughter. The price for sex with her was \$20 to \$25, but she was given to the clients the seasoned girls rejected - the rough, bullying types. As a result, she was often in a lot of pain...so she's 12 years old, she's being prostituted and she's hooked on heroine" (2); "She was sold to a man she believes paid \$250. She got nothing...severely beaten with an electric cattle prod...She feared the fate of several other girls, apparently shocked so much by the beatings that "they cannot even remember the village they come from."(24).

Some accounts tell of abuse starting at home by family members leading to the sex industry, such as, "Her account is shocking. When she was 13, she was sexually abused by a relative. She then

left home to escape the horror of being repeatedly raped, and found work in a sex club. She ended up working every night as a prostitute, expected to have sex with tourists from all over the world" (5); "AFESIP rescued an eight-year-old girl who was sold by her mother after being raped by her stepfather and nine other men. The girl was given electric shocks when she refused to have sex with clients. When she became sleepy, the pimp thrust chillies in her eyes" (25).

A powerful way to command attention from the reader and to highlight the important point of the extreme abuses is the use of first person in the histories. These stories chosen to be presented in the reports are the graphic and the extreme. They are quoted as statements by the children and told in the first person. This gives the messages stronger impact and brings the audience closer to the child and allows us to emotionally relate to them. The descriptions of abuse read as follows: "“My friends forced me to wear some very tight underwear, and made me drink some kind of liquid that put me to sleep,” he said. “When I woke up, I found that I was undressed. I was raped by a French man for five days in a hotel room”" (6); "“I got captured. They forced me into a room for three days and three nights. They beat me. They did not let me have anything to eat or drink. And they sold me to a different brothel.”" (27); "“ At first I refused to have sex with men. Then I was beaten so badly I had to hide my face for a month, until it healed...I had no choice but to agree.”" (9); "“I didn’t want to sleep with customers - so the brothel owner beat me with electric cable and a chain,” she says softly. “I had to receive five customers in the daytime and 25 at night. Some of them were Westerners. And if I didn’t receive that number the owner would beat me again or give me no food. I had to keep working...he was so cruel.”" (17); "“She forced me, and I was scared. I did not want to go with these men, but being beaten was worse.”" (27). It is in these few examples in the stories of suffering covered more extensively in Appendix 1 Section ix, that the voice of the child is actually heard. In all cases in the sample it is recounting abuses. When the assumed object speaks directly, as use of the first person allows, the readers are confronted with a personality and evidence that these children do have voices, although in a very limited scope of negative feelings, horrific stories. They are associated with the extreme and tormented lives, not with the hope of personal feelings of love of family and duties toward them. This conforms to the creation of the extreme object that is a victim of many injustices, least of all our perceptions that we create of them.

Enduring extreme abuse and torture is a fact that draws in the emotions of the audience, with shock, horror and anger. The main culprit in these situations are the pimps and criminals, not the 'end-users'. They are the slave owners and/or the families forcing the children, because they are the ones with the control. In the stories the children are the objects they use to incur income and financial gain. This in itself is a cause for concern, but little blame and focus is on the actual abusers, but rather contains elements of blaming the victim for their abuse, and in the case of the child prostitute, the communities and families of the children is blamed as being irresponsible. Extreme torture is highlighted, not paying attention to the other forms of 'less-severe' abuse. The important study of Montgomery (1999) showed that there are multiple forms that the abuse takes and not in situations where children are physically tortured, mentally tormented and held captive; such as, the topic of this these, the denial of their subjectivity and object-like status in the realm of discourses. But the extreme picture of physically tortured and violated is a more powerful and obvious method within the discourse of victimhood and conform to the predictable formula, in which there is no solution and no ending, except the development toward death.

4.2.4 The Lost Cause

The quoting of high-ball figures and creating the fungible child make the children in vulnerable positions even more vulnerable to abuse. With the association of these elements and additional notion is added and that of; already-abused. It is not only the conditions of poverty that the child comes from, the lack of care and protection by their communities, but also it is their innate character to be abused. This may be due to the fact that they are from the South, they occupy the status of child and the social understanding of that, but also their behaviour conforms to someone who is asking to be abused, either through carelessness or suggestive behaviours. These representations have also been documented on studies of women in the media at the ESCAP "Women and Media" Conference in Bangkok, where women were found to be represented in the news most often in sensational stories such as; rape, sexual abuse or violence. The core message presented here is that women are victims and they have the tendency to be abused, in very much the same ways that children are being represented. It is as if the essential nature of child, as natural, defines the child's innate character as asking to be abused due to their undeveloped capacities. The nature of object, in itself is that its fate is determined by others.

Glorifying victimhood, by emphasizing extreme poverty and suffering in effect displaces the abuse. Multiple different abuses are lumped into one condition of suffering. In other words, if a child is a prostitute, she has been sold by her parents, beaten, tortured, raped and has AIDS. There is not distinction to the variety of circumstances and abuses these children must endure, and they this combination is so extreme; there can be no worse fate than this. It becomes one category in the minds of the readers; that of 'the lost cause'. The notion of lost cause is also closely linked to the loss of innocence as discussed within the discourse of fear. The fact that after these children are sexually abused, they become worthless and outside of any distinguishable category for them to be defined; with innocence lost, they are therefore lost as humans. This may have implications on our imperative to act, minimising the motivations to get involved because of the already-lost nature of the objects.

The inevitability of abuse which has been implied through the different discourses, thereby making them a lost cause and is attempted to be explained in numerous ways. It is prescribed as in their nature for reasons such as their cultural conditions, such as; "A generation grew up in an environment where people did anything to survive. They didn't learn morals" (26) and " "Many of them are tricked into the trade, it is easy to do because the women and children are young, illiterate, vulnerable and gullible" Linda Smith, Shared Hope" (28). Other descriptions try and find some logic and explain it as their physical nature to be abused, such as," Western paedophiles are particularly attracted to Asian children. They generally have smoother skin than Caucasians and grow body hair later. So a boy of 12 can look as young as an 8-year-old. The illusion of having sexual relations with an infant is heightened. And because many of the children do not speak much English, forcible sex can often be passed off as a misunderstanding" (37). However disturbing this is, it essentially tries to give an understandable reason for the abuse, which is located in the natural characteristics of these children. Some abusers are quoted and their logic presented for example, "They probably do it with the young ones, I don't know if they go with the kiddies but they are not doing anyone any harm. With 13 and 14-year-olds, by the time she gets to Svay Pak she's probably had sex a 100 times, maybe 500 times for all I know. You didn't turn her; you didn't make her do that. You're taking advantage of the situation and the opportunity and it's not your fault."(18). One sample referred to them as "these luckless youngsters are the 21st century slaves" (4), suggesting that it is a matter of luck that some are abused and some are not. Multiple views were presented in the publications survey and

underlying all of these cause factors is the message that there is a tendency for them to be abused and as if it is preconditioned due to the fact that they are children, from the South, poor and lacking the moral strength to fight against these ills. It also reinforces the notion of a powerful force is at play, that for whatever reason, these children have some characteristic that they have the tendency to be abused and these factors contribute to the cycle of abuse.

The lost cause is highlighted by uncovering official reports which state the children are more abused than originally thought, for example, "We were quite shocked in terms of the psychological findings. We didn't expect them to be so severe" (10) and highlighting the dangers based on scientific inquiries; "...found sexually exploited children and abused children often suffer from mental problems such as depression, suicidal tendencies and substance abuse" (10). The scientific statements intertwined with the opinions of the abusers, contribute to the greater picture of lost child, because they all becomes fact for the reader, since they cannot be distinguished.

Similar to the loss of innocence, some depictions reinforcing the lost cause, border on vulgar and salacious. The statements are positioned so they leave some extrapolation from the audience's imagination. Examples from the publications survey include: "He also admits having 'played' with the two girls....who refuses to give his name, and concerns the horrifying fate of the girls after they have been used for sex" (18); and "But I shall never forget the little '10 year old', and the thought of the grotesque things someone had trained her to do in that sweaty cubicle...., she didn't even come up to my waist. She looked more like six" (17). Therefore the extreme and vulgar connote the helplessness of the situations and question the incentives to help their plight, as they are already abused.

As a contradicting element within the notion of lost cause, is the theme of the deviant child as is explored in Appendix Section viii. This view of children does not conform to our expectations of powerless and voiceless, but is one that portrays a slightly more active child in the conditions of prostitution. Because the issue of child sex is not an issue of consent, evidence of sexual provocation; being sexually aware and experienced may in some cases be reported as implying consent. Consent is usually implied in the case of adult females (Soothill and Walby 1991:82)

and in their study found that when media covered teenage girls or 'Lolitas', men were portrayed as powerless in front of the temptations. In some cases the teenagers were referred to as participants in their own abuse, as active agents, whether to make themselves up, actively seek clients or advertising their abilities. Blaming the victim for their own abuse is a widely documented phenomenon. So once the blame is attributed partly to the victim, or in some cases the victim's family and community, it is essence takes away some of the responsibility from us, the readers and the abusers. In addition to the notion of blaming the victim, it is the victims who are active in their abuse, or 'asking for it'. If one is putting themselves in circumstances in which they can be abused, this makes the audience question the necessity to get involved. The lost cause is reinforced by this pattern and the Publications Survey showed several examples in which the children were portrayed as promoting their own abuse, such as; "Outside Saigon's brothels teenage girls chase tourists like dogs after cars. "70\$," they petulantly demand, but will settle for \$20" (1); "As many as 300 boys are believed to have visited the house, about 30 of them regularly, and police said that the youngsters were paid between £7 and £14 to perform sexual acts" (14); and "Beaches are open pick-up spots. Tourists and prostitutes - mostly boys - can be seen engaged in horseplay, and more, in the shallow water" (2); and "a sailor picked up a girl with the line "Nice tits". Soon she was on his knee, giggling and gibbering while he drank beer with his pals" (1). By being active in the phenomenon, they are made to shoulder part of the responsibility of their abuse and active agents. The fact that the partially objectified child is not inert and therefore, can be purchased may form the justification for some abusers.

These stories, whether intended to raise awareness or to simply relay the facts to the public, contain a variety of messages and can be deconstructed to reveal the latent acceptance of the 'boys will be boys' mentality. What may originally appear to condemn, display outrage towards the phenomena, the underlying message causes the readers to pity the powerless and then on the other hand consider them a lost cause for asking for their own abuse in their society of no morals. Depicted as a serious tragedy in terms of sexual abuse and the other conditions associated with it and as the stories have portrayed, namely of AIDS and death. But this simplistic equation of poor Asian child, forced to sell sex, gets AIDS and dies, another element of choice is added. If this child is one that actively participated in the development her tragedy, this is a contradicting fact to the victimhood we understand. This reinforces the 'lost cause' of the child prostitute, by bringing into question the incentives to help an already-abused child; who is active in her abuse; and

whose destiny is death.

4.2.5 Summation of Findings

The discourse of victimhood is apparent in the ways in which the child is portrayed. The stories of the extreme, whether that of age, poverty or suffering. The extreme is glorified and the children are then positioned behind the curtain of victimhood. This succeeds in producing a stronger emotional response, because of the victimhood ideology with which we relate to the children. We view them as without the capacity to defend their own interests. The essential message underlying the discourse of victimhood is the child prostitute is young, poor, tortured and diseased. Ultimately these conditions and characteristics are linked to the innate character of this vulnerable group of children. It displaces the abuse into the nature of childhood in the South and even lays blame on the child where they are perceived to be initiating the abuse situations. The fungibility is in addition to the objectification of them as violated, owned in the most extreme ways. They are portrayed as being instruments for their parents' personal gain, or that of the community and criminals. They are assumed to lack autonomy or any choice in their lives, since no one would willingly choose physical violence. The combination of these portrayals leads us to eventually identify them as the lost cause. Supported by the loss of innocence and close association to disease, they are lost and the proof that they are living in hopeless circumstances, as objects with no control over their lot in life.

4.3 Discourse of Commerce

The discourse of commercialism reduces the human into a saleable thing that can be bought and sold as the market players dictate. This is the cornerstone of the objection raised by actors in the CSEC movement; the child as a saleable commodity is presented as a call for immediate action. The presentation of the phenomenon relying on commercial elements gives the notion of factuality that is necessary for media reports. It is done in multiple ways such as presentation of figures and through the language of sales and commerce. It is a strong contradiction to the other discourses relying on emotional responses of the readers. This discourse relies on the notion of factuality to invoke response. It is used by the action groups, as a warning message and encouragement for action, as it could be interpreted as an indirect legitimisation of abusive actions based on the interpretation of the sales transaction as a legitimate exchange of money for

services.

4.3.1 Monetary Figures

Associating the child to a dollar figure is a common representation in the sample which in effect reduces the child into an object for sale. These depictions rely on economic theory; a system in which the supply and demand forces determine the worth of a service or commodity. The figures quoted are from the bottom end of the spectrum and the market forces are used to explain the reduction in prices as the child is more used and as the age of the child increases. It attaches value to the younger age, and thereby assumed more innocent and less diseased than the children on the bottom end of the market. The children are being compared based on a monetary figure reducing the child to an object existing within the market forces at play around them. The intention of the reporting may be raise the shock value and unacceptable fate that some situations put children in, but on the other it is confirming their saleability and positioning the child against the market forces of demand. The childhood notion of innocence and inert character of children, based in their 'naturalness', lay the groundwork for the more severe types of objectification such as commercialisation. Commercialisation, or in other words objectification defined by the notion of ownership, can only take place because the other less severe forms are in place. Ownership of one person by another, regardless of what length of time is in question, demands that the 'slave' be silenced. The repetitive quotes of low prices create the notions of denial of autonomy and fungibility. Appendix 2 includes the wider presentation of the theme of market conditions. These are based on the discourse of commercialisation which consists the representation of extreme numbers and highlighted through language using expressions such as, "as little as", "upward to", "as young as. Examples of this include, "...can buy a child for *as little as* \$1.40 in Delhi. A virgin or a boy or girl under six can cost upward of \$140" (2), "take advantage of children for as little as \$2 a night and as young as 8" (21), "servicing foreign and Cambodian clientele for as little as \$3 per customer" (8).

The use of such expressions highlights the extreme; it also provides some vagueness which allows for the reader's imagination to associate the extreme with the norm. Some reports directly equate the child to a monetary figure, such as, "In Malaysia, the price of a virgin is \$2000. A 14-year-old girl or boy can be provided for \$250 in Jakarta" (2); "a Cambodian child for sale. The price:

\$6” (2); “How much do the girls cost, we ask? “For the first time it might be US\$500 (£320).” Then the price decreases rapidly “until it finally hit’s the front line at \$5”, he says“(18); “her virgins go for \$600” (27); “Oral sex costs 5 USD (3.20 pounds); 500 USD buys a six-year old for a week” (25).

The use of present simple, such as ‘is’, ‘buys’, ‘go for’ indicates habituality and fact, not only that this is what is available in the market, but alternately this is what a child is worth. Implying factuality creates the direct implication that the child prostitute is a not-so-valuable object. It constructs one without any autonomy, who does not possess feelings or opinions and fungible with all others with the same age. It is someone by the nature of their object status can be bought and violated, because it does not possess feeling, activity or agency. This type of depiction is extreme and encompasses all the notions of objectification. The possible reason for inclusion of this type of language is to shock the public into action, but by reducing the child to an object, the readers may question the imperative to act, if the child is an object without feeling and autonomy. As this thesis asserts, this discourse of commercialisation would not be possible if the other lesser forms of objectification were not already in place.

4.3.2 Language of Sales

There is a predictable formula at play, which assumes that each product (child) commands a price, albeit a very low one. The language of sales confirms that the asking prices for the children are reasonable ones equated to the value of the ‘product’. The discourse of commercialisation relies heavily on the language of sales. In a consumer society and the threads of sales techniques can be inferred from the reports. It not only highlights the phenomenon as one based on consumer demand for certain types of ‘products’, which is the morally reprehensible, but it also serves to reduce the child into an object even further. The prostitution industry is on first glance a service industry, but on closer look it is one in which the product (i.e. body) cannot be separated from the service. In the publications survey the use of sales language is prominent and the forces of buyer and seller are highlighted achieving a desired outcome.

The offenders are referred to using dignified terms such as "client"(2), "clientele" (8), "customer"(2), "patrons"(2), "budget-minded tourists" (24), "Westerners" (18). These terms are used intermittently with "sex tourist", "paedophile" offering contradictory messages but simultaneously supporting the discourse of commercialisation. Appendix 2 uncovers the ways they are presented in more detail in the section called Exposing the Offenders. The activities which take place and that are for offer are supported by the marketing ideology and portray the phenomenon as something that is willingly provided. Terms such as "normally charges", "servicing clientele", "services cost" conform to the supply and demand principles of a market place. The examples include, "...a girl prostitute normally charges \$135, boys a lot less" (25); "servicing foreign and Cambodian clientele for as little as \$3 per customer" (8); "...the girls - or 'players' - are as young as six and their services cost only £3" (18). "The market for child prostitutes has always been strong, especially in Asia. In India children command a price three times that of older women" (29).

These examples use the legitimate business terminology with the highlighting of low prices to produce a picture of the phenomenon as one conforming to business logic, adding a sense of neutrality and scientific logic to the depiction instead of images of abuse and exploitation. This also carries with it a sense that the service providers are active in their participation, which is in quite the contrast to the portrayal of the helpless victim.

The phenomenon on a larger scale within the countries are referred to in business terms, such as; "Cambodia is catering to this market. The products are presented to buyers" (26); "Boys and girls as young as six are being "offered" to Westerners" (12); "...in Pattaya, beer and girls are consumed together" (1); "Papasan pimp will produce a girl or boy to suit any whim" (25). In these depictions the abuse of children has become catered, offered, produced, presented to buyers, and they are then consumed. There is an inescapable impression of equating them to an object as any other semi-worthless object that is consumed.

Accepting the fact that the child is equated to a low sum of money; is portrayed as a product within the forces of the marketplace and this achieved through the quoting of prices and language of sales. However the child is also promoted in the discourse of commercialisation even though this may not be our well-meaning intentions. The object is in effect promoted, by reducing the

child to a saleable product and the benefits of the product are highlighted, or in business language, advertised. The low price of the children is highlighted in terminology which is synonymous with marketing strategy. By emphasising the lower prices, the audiences relates to advertisements encouraging us to buy consumer goods because they are a good bargain. In effect the low price becomes attractive and encourages the consumer to try something new, even if it was something we haven't before. Examples include, "The town attracts customers from a wide area because sex is cheaper than in Phnom Penh, and very much cheaper than in neighbouring Thailand" (22); "To Mouse Potatoe - My advice is to go to Thailand or the Philippines. It is cheap and easy to find kids there" (2). Other neutral business language is used highlighting the destination and the child as a market commodity; "Southeast Asia is now the No. 1 world destination for tourists looking for sex" (2); "The market for child prostitutes has always been strong, especially in Asia. In India children command a price three times that of older women" (29).

The use of marketing language highlights the most prominent characteristic of the 'product', to attract the buyer. The child or group of children are often portrayed only as an age or in conjunction with some other key characteristics. Balanced reporting dictates to present the viewpoint of all actors involved and the discourse of commercialisation is commonly relayed thorough the voices of the offenders. This discourse neutralizes the issue being discussed. The voices of the offenders emphasize the price and not the product and service involved in their activities. This takes multiple forms in the sample, such as customer recommendations and the power of the testimonials.

4.3.3 Sales Techniques

The equation of the child prostitute into a price and a good available for purchase and through establishes the buyer and seller structures through language of the market place, the sample also showed evidence of the use of sales and marketing techniques. Successful marketing campaigns dictate that the customer need be established and then the effective promotion of the specific characteristic of the good can be highlighted to attract the buyer.

Even if the following examples were intended as purely as sensationalistic stories, to draw the audience in with shocking statements, they nevertheless are utilising sales techniques. Firstly,

highlighting the most prominent characteristics, such as “They are all Vietnamese...They mature much faster here and it’s their mental attitude too. These Vietnamese girls are very worldly. They are very provocative.” (18);”...to meet some girls for hire. And when she says girls, she means it literally: young girls, younger than we imagined. As an extra attraction, she says they are still virgins” (27). These statements highlight the provocative nature of the children and the young ages. Other samples go further quoting the sales people involved; “The girls are getting younger all the time, a trend fuelled by the demand for virgins. “The foreigners like their girls very young, very small,” said a tour guide, Om Cham Roeun. “I know one Englishman who has been here four times this year” (25). Again the demand identified the consumer ’need’ for very young and very small. The fact of age is highlighted in another sample, “Even before I sat down at the café I was surrounded by a scrum of boys - touts for the 22 brothels here. “You want girl, mister? You want young girl?”... Very good boom-boom, very good yum-yum” (17). These statements impact the audience’s fears about the harsh and blatant selling of children, but when cloaked in sales techniques, it offers a larger impact on the reader simultaneously, as it enforces the saleability of children. The sales pitches are common, in addition to the technique of haggling, undoubtedly intended as shock-value, for example, “Her name is May and she is 18- another lie. How much? “30\$”. I protest....Would it be cheaper?” (1). The already cheap prices, need to be haggled over even further cements the fact that children have even less worth than the prices they are asking.

Direct quotes from offenders may be intended to explore the psyche of the abuser, but they also conform to the marketing technique of customer testimonials and customer recommendations. They can be effective in persuading consumer behaviour. Examples include, “Carl has a personal recommendation. ‘The one with the umbrella in the grey and white. She is pretty open. She is 13. She is more experienced than some of them. I’ve played with her’” (18). They are not always positive testimonials from the customer point of view such as, “One of his friends points out a girl of about 11 skipping past the vantage point. ‘She’s a lousy lay,’ he says” (18). This remark can be clearly identified as sensationalistic and an effort to brag about the conditions available for the offenders. When the child is equated to a product operating within a market, it is reasonable to assume that there also exist some not so good ‘deals’, which this offender is revealing.

This marketing technique is to use customers of a product to provide testimonials about the quality of a product. Similar linguistic tendencies were present in the sample is a quote from a convicted of producing child pornography: “I am leading a fulfilling life,...I’m doing all the things I love to do”...most of them between the ages of 7 and 11...filmed himself with having sex with an 11-year-old girl...”Yes, I am a paedophile.” (30). Other examples of the testimonial include: “Chris has been frequenting the brothels of the Far East since 1971, he says” (18); “Is sex with children so very unusual?” (2). Advice is shared in a matter-of-factly way such as: “ My advice is to go to Thailand or the Philippines. It is cheap and easy to find kids there.” (2); “Paul tells us he has been to Svay Pak and had sex with a 14-year-old-girl. Afterwards he shared her with a friend in the cubicle next to him” (18). In essence the testimonials point out that others are doing it and enjoying the benefits, in addition to customer satisfaction being guaranteed; “her virgins go for \$600, and for that price we can take the girl back” (27). The testimonials provide proof that what is possible, for a very affordable price, cementing the child in a position of powerless to the market forces.

It is interesting to note that in the language of sales, the child, as part of the market economy is assumed some autonomy in charging prices, and services. This may act to legitimize the practice however contradictory to the well-meaning intentions. At the same time this supports the tone taken by much of the CSEC arguments, that the phenomenon has grown into a highly organized and institutionalized proportions and the discourse of slavery and sex slave imagery need to be supported by such principles.

4.3.4 Summation of Findings

The child is reduced into a saleable item within a structure of a market economy, in which price is an indicator of value. The ideology is based on the simplistic economic theory that in a free market, the forces of supply and demand determine price. As the price is at an extremely low price, it support the minimising the child into an object without autonomy, completely inert, and something that can be bought and sold by another. The direct references equating the child to a monetary sum also denotes factuality of the industry. Without denying the truth in these statements about the child being sold, it also cements the power structure of the buyer and the object he is purchasing.

The language of the sales and use of sales techniques are effective in cementing this proposed notion, by referring to the abusers as clients and customers and other neutral terminology. The phenomenon of abuse is described as an industry in business terms, as an industry catering to foreigners and one that is being controlled as a business operation. The impression left by these descriptions reinforces the child as a voiceless product at the mercy of market forces controlling their fate. These support objectification in that a thing does not possess the characteristics of humanity, such as feeling, consent or even bargaining power. They ultimately are portrayed as having no control over their circumstances and are being manipulated by others. In addition, it can lead one lead to classification of a group of objectified, child prostitutes, to be regarded as fungible.

The fact that the discourse of commercialisation is being used to describe child abuse; it produces sheer horror in the readers. This is raising awareness to the grave problem and the essential argument to the reason why action should be taken to combat the phenomenon. By equating the child to a monetary sum, the messages give impact. Most likely the references were intended as producing action by some readers, but simultaneously it enforces the saleability of children. This is a continuation of our tendency to objectify. The dual message is sent; one of outrage, that a monetary figure can be attached to the purchase of another human; and secondly, it acts as a neutralizing force of commercial transactions and the ubiquity of commercialisation in the world markets. It in fact blurs the actual gravity of the crime that is taking place through the simultaneous effects of moral outrage and the sales technique are working together to create the child as an object, that is in effect controlled by the major market forces.

4.4 Conclusion

The three discourses of commercialism, fear and victimhood are overlapping and contribute to the objectification process. Children viewed as objects in the phenomenon of sex tourism are supported by the discourses which give the notions power and legitimacy. From the discourse analysis above it can be seen that all three discourses share the assumption of child as objectified being. In their power they can be seen to support and legitimise either one or more of the notions of objectification. Although the severity of objectification notions has been discussed, the support

of one may allow for the acceptance of another form just as discourses do not operate in a vacuum or separate from each other. The overall construction is that of a fully objectified child, one that meets all seven of Nussbaum's notions, from the less severe to the most severe of becoming an object for sale and one that is deemed violable. The mixed voices featured in the sample within the different contexts coincide with the power of discourses, namely commercialisation, fear and victimhood underlying them.

The power of the three discourses lies in the fact that they operate on the common denominator of the objectified child. In addition, the analysis of three discourses reveals three commonalities inherent in all of them, which also act to reinforce the objectification process by sharing complimentary characteristics. All three discourses share that the child is reduced to the absolute extreme and minimum, whether in price, value or age making it more powerless by the nature of these references. Another commonality was that there exists the supposition of a greater power which is beyond our control, which is controlling the events. This can be identified with the forces of the market or the sexual appetite of abusers. Lastly is the reliance on the highly emotive responses the messages are intended to produce in its readers whether fear, pity or hopelessness.

In all three discourses discussed, they operate on the foundation that the child is reduced to the utmost minimum. The analysis shows the reduction of value to be sold 'as little as' and reporting of lowest possible prices as the asking price of the child. In conjunction with this commercial tactic used to highlight affordability, the child is also positioned to be 'as young as'. The younger the child creates the more attractive the story, because of the impact on the readers. 'As many as' was another tactic used to emphasize the extreme and the overall effect is that of reduction to an absolute minimum and thereby taking all power away from them, in essence glorifying the extreme, even though it is one of abuse, suffering and poverty. Extreme ages, extreme suffering, extreme numbers likewise, produce an extreme portrayal when viewing the object.

The second commonality in the discursive analysis was that the phenomenon was portrayed as something operating in a predetermined framework or being guided by one. For example the use of hunting imagery supported the notion that it was something natural and legitimate. The natural state of childhood was linked to the savage nature of the sexuality of man, that displays itself in the form of child sex, as if it operated on some innate natural principles upon which the rational

mind has no control. Alternatively through the discourse of commercialisation and the use of business terminology and concepts, this creates a legitimised sphere to buy and sell, despite the fact that the object being sold is that of a human violation. It brings a sense of distance to the emotionality and a sense of neutrality to the issue that is being discussed. Overall though, the message is that there are forces operating beyond our control, despite the fact that it is our adult responsibility to protect the children, the ones who have even less control over their circumstances and their lives. Since 'greater forces' are controlling the fate of the child, a suffering child then becomes an object of pity and one of lost cause. The most feared force that is controlling the 'industry', the 'natural selection' and the abuse is the sex monsters, which are not only uncontrollable with growing appetites, but also unidentifiable. They are at the same time everywhere and nowhere, and the overriding fear that it may even lurk within ones-self. The overall message is that the combination of market forces, natural instincts and the paedophiles are essentially outside our control because they are growing rampantly and are too overwhelming to deal with.

The third commonality is the reliance on producing emotion from the readers, either that of disgust, grief, pity or awe in the strength and suffering of the children. The glorification of poverty and suffering is one method to produce reader emotions. As a form of sensationalism, that the media has often been criticised for, it serves to create the drama in the loss of innocence, the suffering allowing the audience to emotionally relate to the object. Sensationalism itself can be defined as a form of exaggeration, which in essence is a form of control. Through extreme portrayals of poverty and suffering is a form of oppression adding to the reduction of the children who are in vulnerable positions. Other more negative emotions are stirred within the reader through the loss of innocence, which is one of the most horrific and feared things that could happen to children. Once they have lost it, there is no way to return the 'value' of the child and when the reports equate child prostitutes to death through AIDS, then the final product is the lost cause.

Chapter V

Conclusion

5.1 Review of Findings

It is important to note that sexual violence and abuse, including child sexual exploitation, has a wider range of forms than is typically reported upon in the press or recognized as a crime. Despite the growing concern about ‘the welfare of our children’ this thesis exemplifies how the most serious sexual violence can be treated lightly or excluded completely or exaggerated with sensationalistic tendency. It is a subject that stirs extreme emotions of its readers in part contributed by the fact that media are highly selective in their focus.

The children who are in the most vulnerable positions, such as the child prostitute in Southeast Asia, their objectification rely on the ideology of childhood, namely the state of helplessness and powerlessness. Because of the assumptions on the universality of childhood, they are assumed to be lacking autonomy and as fungible with the same conditions and circumstances. With these primary assumptions in place of childhood in general, the publications survey in Appendix 2 further established the themes in which the phenomenon of child sexual abuse were presented and context within their objectification was created. It is the nature of object and the context according to Nussbaum which determine the different forms of objectification applied to a subject and they in turn are solidified through the discursive patterns and formations within the text. Differing and dualistic messages are common in the portrayal of social problems, as is the case with the discourse surrounding the child prostitute. The discourse of the ‘sex slave’ is one intended to rescue the children who are caught in sexual exploitation, but it is also to redeem certain cultural categories (O’Connell Davidson 2005). This is disturbing to investigate because it implies the adult construction of power over children is something cherished, even if it means the possible indirect facilitation into abuse situations. This power allows the creation of the object, which has been turned into the extreme, one that is commercialised; an object that is feared and sentimentalised over; and one that is used as criticism of our declining morals and those of others.

The child becomes the stage for various opinions and discourses and in the sphere of child sexual

abuse, universally and explicitly cited as a horrendous human rights violation. However, the portrayal of the arguments of the well-meaning and non-well-meaning actors are premised on the same power relations based in discourses, namely of commerce, fear and victimhood. The discourses themselves are evidenced on the 'object' status of the child prostitute created through the stories. The stories are premised by the notions of childhood of helplessness and tendency to be abused of the Third World child.

From the analysis presented the basic ideology of childhood, comprised of innocence and powerlessness, forms the foundation for constructing the objectified child. In the arena of child sexual abuse in tourism the different actors build upon this foundation by presenting arguments based on them and going further to treat the child in different levels of objectification, which the media then reports. However they draw upon the similar discourses to objectify in the ways that they do. For example the discourse of commerce defines the child as a commodity. The discourse of fear, on the other hand, relies on most valued 'innocence' factor and the lack of subjectivity that children possess. In the discourse of victimhood the child is portrayed within many notions of objectification, including that of violable and owned. As media discourse is complex and often contradictory the different types of objectification contribute and support the 'undefined' nature of the child prostitute. On one hand they have agency and are blamed for their own suffering, and on the other as instruments. The people who determine the ways in which the child is perceived hold great power in the Third World child in defining them.

This is a dangerous double-edged sword, in that all other actors have the power to define the child and the surrounding discourses but the child. Without this realisation, it could produce a potential dangerous formula. This formula as Kincaid pointed out in his thesis on the creation of the sexualised childhood is that "our culture has enthusiastically sexualised the child while denying it just as enthusiastically that it was doing any such thing" (1998:13). He further extrapolates, "I do not deny that we are also talking sincerely about detection and danger. We worry about the poor, hurt children. But we worry also about maintaining the particular erotic vision of children that is putting them at risk in the first place" (1998:14). Kincaid's argument is on the eroticising childhood in our culture, but the commercialisation and victimisation of children as has been the basis for this thesis, argues that a parallel situation exists when dealing with the sexually abused Third World child. In other words, the more readily objectified child means a more exploitable

child, even as the unintended impact. In the analysis in Chapter 4 of the main discourses showed to contribute to the creation of the objectified human being at the same time they are contributing to its commercialisation of the crimes. This tendency could result in more volatile conditions with greater vulnerability for the ones we speak about and exemplifies the law of unintended consequences.

The skewed representation of sex crimes and the arguments of childhood combined is a power that will impact the welfare of children in vulnerable situations and the battle is being waged on the level of discourse. The objectification of the child prostitute occurs through three main discourses identified in the Chapter 4, namely the discourse of commerce, discourse of fear and discourse of victimhood. The combination of these discourses provoke powerful ideological principles in the ways we view the children involved in prostitution and this affects our approaches in combating the problem. These discourses have been shown to deepen the gap between us, as adults in the Western world, and the child prostitutes living under the most volatile of conditions in the East. The analysis in Chapter 4 identified commonalities in the three discourses we use to create the child object. There were three common elements observed within the discourses that secure the child into a position of non-agency and force them occupy the status of object.

One of the identified features was the tendency to reduce the child into the absolute minimum in terms of numerical or measurable factors. The child is reduced to minimal price at a minimal age and the overall effects of our efforts to help save the children from abuse are minimal. In the analysis of the discourse of commerce, the statistical nature of equating the child to a market price, was highlighted through linguistic methods of 'as low as' and 'as little as'. In the discourse of victimhood there is the tendency to minimise the ages of children who are selling sex. Within the discourse of fear facts and figures were presented in the context of the phenomenon as a whole. Figures were quoted for the number of children involved in the trade, with AIDS figures were quoted interchangeably with the figures of the sex industry and underage sex industry. It was consistently characterised as one that is a growing trend with numbers increasing on a global scale. These facts imply that our efforts and emotional anguish that we have gone through has done little to combat the trade, so our efforts have had minimal effects on the children we are so keen to help. By highlighting the absolute minimum, this in effect minimises the humanness of

the children; their plight, their agency, their independence of choice which all conform to support the extreme notions of objectification.

The child is perceived to be caught without defences within powerful forces; those of nature, the market, and the paedophile. The discourses unveil the belief in unlimited or universal forces that exist in the world. The social power or social agency is distributed to other external factors that are perceived to be causing and influencing the phenomenon by taking away the power from the children we are talking about. It acts to emphasize their powerlessness and inactivity of their victimhood. In the discourse of fear references where made to hunting imagery, which relies on the references to natural arguments and assert that there are powerful natural forces at work. The rules of nature and hunted and hunters is the description presented, with the children being the prey and the paedophiles as the predators with voracious appetites. These references create the environment for the sex monster to operate in. The fear raising and undefined nature of the child sex abuser is the most feared character that allows for imaginations to create images of violence and rape of innocence that is taking place without any repercussions for the abusers. In the discourse of commerce the phenomenon was described in the network of a market system that operates according to the rules of supply and demand. The ubiquity of the market ideology within the forces of globalisation is a potent argument. The child is objectified into a commodity to be sold and the phenomenon is legitimised through the readers' understanding of commercial principles. In the discourse of victimhood the child has been constructed into the lost cause, one that after enduring extreme betrayal, abuse, torture and pain, will die of disease. The innate character of the object is partly used to explain the predictable sequence of events and is attributed to the character or as the unquestionable fate for numerous children. These systems of thought support the workings of objectification by assisting to take away the little power that they hold over their most limited circumstances and conditions.

The sympathy and emotions are one expression of power we hold over the children we read about, just as sensationalism is a form of control. We are making the suffering of another human the topic of our exploration and dramatic experience. We put it into the language of extremes it evokes a multiplicity of emotions such as outrage to the suffering and conditions these children are put into. It is the extreme conditions that have most powerful effect, and thereby those are the stories which are continually recounted. The danger in this lies that we are minimising the

experiences of a significant proportion of other children, who are not in extreme conditions as we define the child prostitute should be, and devalue their suffering and conditions. Child sex blinds the readers to ignore the other more uninteresting circumstances of these child's lives. The discourse of fear is effective in touching on the sensitive and emotion-provoking concerns of adults. The loss of childhood innocence is feared. We also succumb to fear for numerous factor mentioned previously. The discourse of victimhood creates and plays on the image of the child prostitute as a lost cause in a situation with no solution. It draws on the readers' sentimentality raising various emotions, such as disgust, repulsion, outrage, sadness, in addition to fear. We have a curious ambivalence about them, pity and concern, but also hold them and their communities partly responsible. Some readers may even hold ourselves responsible. The discourse of victim hood encourages this regret, that we, as adults, have failed to protect our children from becoming the 'lost children'. The readers feel contradictory emotions of pity, outrage in addition to feelings of guilt and helplessness.

The discussions of all actors are intertwined with the same discursive practices which objectify the child we are meaning to help and abuse. In using the same discourses we are giving more power to the objectification done on both sides of the argument. Both the action groups and the offenders are relying on the discourse of commerce as power for their arguments on helping the children, versus the right to abuse. It is in both ways a legitimifier of power reducing the child as a product that can be bought and sold. From the well-meaning actors, this is a call for action. Whereas from the abusers' point of view it could be seen as neutralising abuse by referencing the commercial system which makes it a legitimate platform for the buying and selling of goods in a free market system. The discourse of fear essentially relinquishes power that parents and adults have in protecting our children into the hands of the abusers. The cultural construction of the feared paedophile preying on our children not only positions our children in a vulnerable position, but the monster lurking within in the undefined nature of the sex monster causes conflicting emotions. These conflicting emotions of fear and outrage do nothing to limit the activities of the abusers, but they lift the abusers into a powerful symbol or all-encompassing cultural narrative. The discourse of victimhood portrays the extreme case scenarios for suffering and violation which cause effective emotional impact, but little to assist the children living under different circumstances and those who do not conform to the accepted view of abused child these portrayals present. They extreme depiction of objectification produces the lost child, by denying

them agency. With little incentive to 'save' the children, because of their already-abused status and loss of innocence and in most extreme cases followed by an imminent death, produces ambiguous emotions. It is also implied that they have a tendency to be abused because of some innate characteristic or behaviour.

The victims we want to help and eliminate the danger of their abuse, but taking away their power, i.e. objectifying them, we are in effect weakening their positions by indirectly limiting their choices. Objectification is one of the forms which our oppression of children takes place. The oppression includes the non-recognition of the variations within the conditions they must survive, the differing motivations and predicaments of abuse. The tendency to simplify the phenomenon into something extreme, we are willing to accept the fate of the abused children, as an extreme case scenario and as proof that the world is an unjust place. This may be easier for us to accept because it conforms to the world view of the inequality, especially of the South. It also allows us to renounce our responsibility and makes it easier to avoid introspection into our failures and cultural conditions that may inadvertently facilitate such abuse to take place. This situation could be seen as instrumentalising the child as evidence of our own shortcomings and a topic of self-criticism. The sexual abuse of children is a difficult topic for reporting, and therefore we should be especially aware of the discourses that are relied upon and the images we depict of them. The boundaries for discussion can often be blurred and the essential facts can be comfortably avoided when the topic is cloaked into an objectified group.

5.2 Implications and Future Research

The results of this research display the ways in which, the child is objectified and the discourses which contribute to the construction. It is my supposition that these factors produce a dangerous situation i.e. the discourses used by the different actors serving to help child sex victims can in fact worsen the problem, in that they objectify the child victim as much as the users themselves objectify the child in their discourse of use. Child prostitutes exist in the media as an objectified group (i.e. objects) even via the analysis of well-meaning actors. However, this can in fact make it easier for the non-well-meaning actors to carry out their abuse on this already-objectified group and make it easier for the child sex abusers to justify their activities. The discourses used by actors serving to help child sex victims can perhaps worsen the problem and their plight in that

they objectify the child victim, which in turn assist the creation of the object of abuse for the abusers in their discourse of use.

An individual or group that is already objectified in certain notions is easier to become an object for more severe forms of objectification, such as commoditization and physical violation. This is not to say the intentions of the people involved in combating the abuse are not well-meaning, but simply they operate jointly with the actors they are trying to curtail from abusing children, often ignoring the children and the discourses they are operating within. Without such recognition, the overall effect can be highly dangerous for our children. This non-intuitive finding has important implications, in that greater awareness of our objectification and the ways we create objects could serve as a starting point for the more useful portrayals in the media and discussion on this most urgent issue facing our society and our children. It is to also suggest that greater awareness of objectification of this susceptible group should be invested in.

Appendix 1 - Content Analysis

Table 1. Main Topic of Article (n=30)

Focus of Article	Number
Paedophile Activity	6
Convention, Report or Expert Statement	2
Expose Story	3
Child Prostitution	10
Human Trafficking	1
Sex Tourism/Prostitution	3
Government Crackdown or Policy Change	5

Table 2. Country mentioned (n=30)

Country	Number of Times Mentioned	Percentage of Total
Cambodia	19	63%
China	3	10%
India	1	3%
Indonesia	1	3%
Laos	1	3%
Malaysia	2	6%
Myanmar	2	6%
Philippines	5	17%
Sri Lanka	3	10%
Thailand	14	47%
Vietnam	3	10%
Southeast Asia General	5	17%

* All occurrences of mentioning of the country regardless of length

Table 3. Protagonist and Antagonist in Articles (n=30)

	Protagonist	% of Art.	Antagonist	% of Articles
Government/Law Enforcement Agy	13	43%	6	20%
United Nations	1	3%	0	-
NGOs	13	43%	1	3%
Prostitute	3	10%	3	10%
Parents/Adults/Society	0	-	3	10%
Traffickers/Pimp/Mamasan/Criminal	0	-	10	33%
Pedophile/Sex Offender (assumed Western)	1	3%	15	50%
Western Sex Tourist	3	10%	11	37%
Eastern Sex Tourist	0	-	3	10%
Locals	0	-	1	3%
Other	0	-	1	3%

Appendix 2 - Publications Survey

i. Headlines

The perspective and context can be inferred from the titles to a high degree; their purpose to capture the attention and interest of the audience correlates to the shock-value of some titles. Titles of articles that emphasize action groups and their activities are entitled: "Deliver them from evil" (24), "Foreign office acts to curb child-sex tourism" (12), "Battling the Paedophiles: A Presidential Crackdown on the Violators of the Young" (3), "Odd Coalition backs Bush on combating modern-day slavery" (4); "Saving the children"(21). Terminology relating to battle, fights, combating and evil is imagery juxtaposed to saving. In addition the factual language is used such as, "Sex Trafficking growing in Southeast Asia" (28), "Facing Facts about Asia's sex trade" (11). These titles refer the factual and the reader is drawn into the juxtaposition of good and evil imagery and the crusade for eliminating the slavery and slavery-like conditions of children. These types of titles serve the purpose of getting the public to begin thinking about the concept of evil and raising alarm in line with ideology of saving; the act of helping someone who is not able to help themselves.

The sex offenders and the sex tourism are issues that are also featured; "British Sex Tourists Turn Killing Fields of Cambodia into Paedophiles' Playground" (25), "Red Light for Sex Tourists" (23), "'It's like a sweet shop: if this girl's not right, get another'" (18), "Those wild days of R&R in Vietnam" (13); "London care home chief 'used games to lure Thai boys for sex'" (14), "Blunkett to confiscate sex tourists' passports" (15); "British paedophiles make mockery of crackdown" (16); "Far East Sex Tourists Exposed" (5). 'Exposed', 'wild days', 'make mockery', 'playground', 'sweet shop' offer contradictory, fear-raising suggestions that these 'beasts' are on the loose. The reader is introduced to the lawlessness, the fact of a sexual predator being uncontrollable. This acts to position the child in a victim role.

The child is showcased in a different light; "Defiling the Children" (29), "Shame" (30), "Sad Little Girls" (26), "Children for Sale" (27), "The children in Gucci shoes" (22), "Khmer girls' trafficking ordeal" (9), "Asia's child sex victims ignored" (10), "The Lost Children" (2). The

tone set for the portrayal of children is set as an 'ordeal, sad, shameful, lost, defiled and sold'. The alignment of the child as 'already used' and victim image of the nature of the child plays into the creation of Object. The interplay of these three groups of actors is important to highlight at this stage as prediction for the types of representations that are created by journalists. The 'fighters' who are supported by hard facts battle the 'evil' who succeed in making a mockery out of the efforts and the child, the dirty and shamed Object that is fought over. It is this 'fight against evil' that determines the position of the child and the action groups and tourists define them. These titles represent the child as fungible, and placed into the victim role. The ways in which this is done and the image is supported is analysed organized by theme to uncover how discourses inherent within them contribute to presenting the child.

ii. Rescue Operations

It is widely acknowledged that the relationship between NGO and media is a close one, the NGO hoping for coverage of their efforts to impact on funding organizations and media on the other hand to get inside information. Access to children and the victims they are seeking is usually easiest done through an NGO. The most controversial of the NGOs, is International Justice Mission (IJM), a Virginia-based group which has received wide publicity on its brothel raiding campaigns, which it records on film. It is a media perfect story of rescue and they have been successful in receiving funding, but also have been subject to criticism from other NGOs on the short-term hype it aims to achieve through its activities without offering long-term solutions. These rescues sound like an adventure story; the good guy versus evil or in other words the summarized binary of the rescuer versus the abused. The reporters are often part of the action and the practice of using direct quotes of the rescuers emphasize the urgency and thrill; "Good god! But at least we got her out of there"(2); "He wants to mount a daring operation, to bust the pimps and rescue the children" (27); "If you give a name, I'm dead" (25); "We'll take you inside a dramatic operation to rescue the children" (27). The audience is apart of the thrill of rescue and participating on the side of the good meeting the entertainment and sensationalistic requirements.

No doubt it is the 'saviour' (read: Western) who demonstrates heroic actions for the good of the children who pegs in the game. Without minimizing good intentions of organizations, focus lies on the rescuers actions not on the victims. The children are depicted as inert; they are waiting for

the rescuers to save them as the only option in their miserable lives. It could also be argued they skim the borders of voyeurism in these reports; “To follow their trail we’ll have to infiltrate their perverted world and pretend we’re predators ourselves” (27). The position of the child in these reports is the cause for action. They are presented as instruments for the purposes of the action groups concerned with their cause. Their feelings are assumed on the matter, that they want to be saved and their innate inert character they are unable to affect the situation in any way. This denial of subjectivity silences them and is juxtaposed with the violable nature that the pimps and brothel keepers treat them. In essence the children are instrumental in providing a *raison d’etre* for both parties, the NGOs and the brothel owners. However, they ultimately remain an object for both actors in this example, as they are presented as being denied autonomy, whether it is believed that they have no capability for self-determination or they are being outright denied it.

iii. Outrage

Outrage and condemnation of the phenomenon are also important to raise the moral tone in the issue. Described as, “Sin against humanity and it is a horrendous crime” (27), which it undoubtedly is. “‘This is a national shame,’ says DSWD chief Lina Laigo, who blames poverty, tourism and deteriorating values” (3). Many governments are not willing to acknowledge the extent of the problem of child prostitution or AIDS within their countries. It is rare to see them declare such direct responsibility and blame. Most often an important senior political official or an international agency official is used to present the problem and thereby, give it more legitimacy.

The expressions of outrage occasionally encourage readers to use their imagination to picture the crimes and include graphic examples to prove the horrendous nature of them. One such example is using a direct quote from a prominent political leader: “Powell: Can you image the spread of disease that is taking place with this type of activity? Can you image what will happen to these girls when they are 15 or 20? What will become of them? They’ll have no education. They will be...they will have been used and tossed away and ruined...A nation such as ours, which says we are a moral nation, and that we have a value system, that we would allow our citizens to go over and fuel the trade...by their rotten exploitation of these children, we wouldn’t be living up to our values if we didn’t do something about it“(27). This is a plea for action and it was during this

time the US donated millions to the IJM fund. The use of language is interesting to note, the highlighting of the “moral nation, and that we have a value system”. There is an implied juxtaposition to the Other which can be interpreted to read as immoral and without values. This statement also assumes that ruin is the only outcome for these children, thus, grouping together a wide spectrum of people. The children he refers to have now become instruments for political objectives, which has been argued, and even as an instrument for criticism of the inaction of his country and the overall irresponsible deterioration of morals.

These pleas are even more descriptive in some instances, the more graphic details: ““Imagine intercourse occurring millions of times under these conditions.” The AIDS epidemic is alone enough to justify a crackdown on child prostitution says Mardh” (29). The use of an imperative statement urges the involvement of readers to participate in outrage and disgust. Underlying function of these pleas is to stress the urgency of the situation and to attempt to relate it into the context of the reader. For example, “You have an 8-year-old and 9 year-old little girl you know just looking at you smiling, realizing that you’re going to in just a few moments possibly, probably going to engage in a sexual act they are going to get money for, and they’re smiling about it. I mean I see a smile like that on my kids’ face when they’re finding out they are going to Disney World or something like that” (27). Highlighting extremes is a tendency to produce maximum effect such as; “The most important issue is the rape of children. We have cases of children aged four, five, six-years-old, and even the case of a one-year old baby” (7); “McMenamin says Cambodia’s tourists are seasoned traveller looking for new frontiers. “They see children as a commodity,” she said. “To them, they’re fresh meat.” (25). These statements include the reader emotionally, producing feelings of disgust and into the role of adult, to take action against the suffering of the children. However, most often it is the emotional sympathy that takes the place of true action. Invariably the disgust that is produced in the reader when imagining the rape and abuse of children creates the abused as disgusting and fungible.

The situation is also unstoppable and that is impossible to control making it a lost hope. The cycle of abuse is referred to: “This unsavoury story may well be forgotten a year from now. But the reality is that the sex trade -- which is a contributing factor to AIDS in the region and often involves children - will continue merrily along” (11). This makes it a perfect story, something that is increasing and without solution as if the invisible threat is everywhere. It also makes a

clear message that the problem is rampant and this notion is used explicitly in campaigns against sexual abuse of children.

iv. Market Conditions

Fairclough (1995:15) states that media texts include constant tensions and contradictions. This is visible in the ways children are equated to a dollar figure to comment on the fact they are being bought and sold. Differences in prices are explained to depend on the quality of the 'goods' and market variables. This practice in effect associates the child as a product and more so, to minimizing the child's worth to a sum, an object that can be owned. Goods and services are usually saleable, but in prostitution the good cannot be separated from the service. The consumer markets places value on the cost of a good, and the higher the price the more value is associated with it and the less violable it is. The articles covered describe the costs as follows; "As for the cost of a young body, you can buy a child for as little as \$1.40 in Delhi. A virgin or a boy or girl under six can cost upward of \$140. In Hong Kong, a girl prostitute normally charges \$135, boys a lot less. In Malaysia, the price of a virgin is \$2000. A 14-year-old girl or boy can be provided for \$250 in Jakarta" (2).

The pricing process is explained; "The going rate for these innocent bodies: up to about \$500. But once deflowered, the girl loses nearly all her value. Her price drops to \$10; after another week of customers, it is \$5. Eventually sex with her will cost no more than \$3. Many of these children are forced to receive several customers a night" (2); "Cambodia is not the only new frontier for the buying and selling of young bodies. There is also the Internet...anyone with a PC and a modem can access this deviant world. ...tips...Also available on the Internet: a Cambodian child for sale. The price: \$6" (2); "How much do the girls cost, we ask? "For the first time it might be US\$500 (£320)." Then the price decreases rapidly "until it finally hit's the front line at \$5", he says" (18). This is in contradiction to the highly emotive messages of condemnation and heartbreaking stories of abuse. The shock value it produces is clearly underlying the use of such statements. The sensationalism is present and may be an attempt as using irony to highlight the absurdity of the phenomenon; however, irony in text may have undesired effects in this context. Irony as defined by Fowler (1996) as:

"Irony is a form of utterance that postulates a double audience, consisting of one party

that hearing shall hear and shall not understand, and another party that, when more is meant than meets the ear, is aware, both of that “more” and of the outsider’s incomprehension”¹³.

This 'more' intended as criticism can be taken at face value without seeing the function it may have intended to serve. The child is equated to a commodity, which in fact conforms to the other points of commodification. One cannot be a commodity, a thing for the ownership by another, without meeting the other requirements of objectification or that is the widely assumed position. But in many cases it abused, can contribute to one's own abuse, by feeling loyalty to the objectifier, in which the abused become an accomplice to its own abuse.

v. Presentation of Facts and Figures

In every article in the sample the practice of quoting figures was observed. It follows in factual and statistical preferences, which are essential to shorter news stories. The facts quoted usually also follow the higher spectrum, for extra effect, 'more than'; 'up to' type reporting is used. For example, “The World Congress CSEC estimates there are at least 80,000 child prostitutes in Thailand. ECPAT puts the number in the 200,000 to 250,000 range. In 1993 a Time article claimed 800,000” (18); “Some estimates put the number of under-age prostitutes in Thailand at 400,000. Of the 200,000 or so street children in the Philippines, about 60,000 sell their bodies. The total number of underage sex workers in the country, including part-timers and those in bars and brothels, is probably beyond calculation. India? About 400,000. Sri Lanka: over 28,000 ...” (2); “The State Dept estimates that up to 800,000 people, mostly women and children, are trafficked across national borders annually. Millions more are trafficked within their own countries” (4); “And the terrible fact is that younger and younger children are doomed to work in brothels because the “customers” assume that children are less likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS. UNICEF reports that 97 countries have identified cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children, and puts the number of children recruited or coerced into the sex trade every year at 1.2 million - and rising” (17); “ECPAT ...said there were more than 1 million child prostitutes involved in sex tourism in Asia, of which 300,000 were in Thailand, 100,000 in the Philippines and Taiwan and 40,000 in Vietnam” (28); “The US State Department estimates about 600,000 to 800,000 people-mostly children and women-are trafficked across national borders

¹³ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irony>

annually” (28); “The Third world numbers are also staggering: an estimated 800,000 underage prostitutes in Thailand, 400,000 in India, 250,000 in Brazil and 60,000 in the Philippines” (29). “It estimated that 1.2 million children are coerced into the sex trade every year, a figure it thinks is rising” (12).

The smallest number quoted was in the tens of thousands and the higher end to over one million. With an incalculable phenomenon, as has been argued, the above examples state figures on underage prostitutes, trafficking victims, street children. The statistics are made inclusive of trafficking victims, sex workers, and child prostitutes into one homogeneous group and are used interchangeably. The definitions of what figures are used are left unspecified and the sources of the information omitted. Some figures are grouped to encompass the whole of Asia and some figures are mentioned on a per country basis. Large numbers presented as this produce an effect in the reader. The varying ways of stating figures varies to such a wide degree; the ultimate effect is the overriding numbers of the Asian population as victims. They in essence become interchangeable with each other, assisting to objectify them as fungible.

vi. Exposing the Offenders

In a study of sex crime in the news, Soothill and Walby (1991) found that one major theme was the construction of the sex beast. The sex beast imagery is effective to provide the sensationalism sought to make the 'chase' of law enforcement more exciting. This obviously assumes that the offender is intended to be caught. The imagery of the offender in the sample differs from the sex beast. The presumed sex offenders are described with some physical description, usually befitting the stereotype of the sex tourist as physically unappealing in some way or pitiful. “One fat, grey-haired Westerner staggers toward the door with four girls in tow” (26); “a group of about 10 well-fed Westerners” (26); “an Irishman, holding his head and weeping. His skin is covered in scabs. He does not want to talk. “No, I’m alright, look at me, just look at me,” he says “(18). Others are vaguely referred to by first name and nationality such as, “Three white, middle-aged men - a Dutchman, a Brit, and an American- clean-cut and with short hair. In any other setting they would pass as comfortable professionals” (1); “Sitting at another bar we talk to Michael, A Canadian, and Bruce, An American” (18); “Three days later we meet Danny, from Australia, and his German friend who indulged with the young girls used by Michael and Bruce” (18). By

referring to the offenders in vague description, it adds to the sensationalistic tone, that this is undercover, but in addition can be seen as protecting their identity and therefore implicitly condoning their behaviour.

In cases which have been prosecuted, the description changes somewhat to include additional details. It is still brief describing them by full name, age and nationality. In addition to the revelation of personal details, it is usually the practice to describe the children involved and description of the crime and conditions it was committed. For example, “In June a similar law in Sweden jailed a Swede, Bengt Bolin, for sexually abusing a 13-year-old boy in Thailand” (3); “Philippine authorities are prosecuting a 57-year-old Frenchman on charges of sexually abusing 2 boys aged 9 and 12” (3); “Nicholas Rabet, 56, used computer games to lure children to his rented home in the down-market “sex-tourist” resort of Pattaya, police said, paid them for sex and gave “commissions” to those who introduced other boys to him. He allowed the boys aged between six and 14, to play on the condition that they took off their clothes” (14); “The paedophiles, who come from America, Canada, Australia, Holland and Germany, as well as Britain, were recorded, using covert video cameras and audio tapes, boasting about exploits with children as young as six” (16); “One of the men, 62-year-old Paul Skelhorn from Liverpool, spoke of having sex with a 14-year-old girl in a brothel in the notorious paedophile haunt of Svay Pak” (16). The focus is automatically shifted to the abused child and what was done to them.

vii. Depiction of Children and Their Realities

Overall the depiction of children was simplistically portrayed and their realities were grim. A common element found in the sample was the mention of the children's age. The age was always mentioned even if no other information was given. Rarely any background factors, future ambitions or any personality characteristics mention. The descriptions featured were mechanical, limiting the construction of a child as a human incapable of personality, determination or feeling. Occasionally first names were used in the descriptions of the child, even though this is against journalistic ethics. In other cases the pseudonyms were used, which protects the identity of the child, but conversely contribute to the image of shame and wrongdoing. The child then is typically 3rd World anonymous construction and only identified by age and their physical

appearance. For example, "The other girl, Dieu, was a waif-like 15-year-old but looked much younger" (7); "Once we found 15 and 16 year olds. Now we are discovering 13-year-olds" (5); "...young girls, some look as young as 11 or 12" (5); "...found victims of abuse as young as four" (10); "...where girls as young as 10 are employed as prostitutes" (8); "...with three of his alleged victims, aged 11 to 14, who had their faces concealed by scarves" (14); "...group of about 10 very young girls huddled inside" (18).

The age of the child is mentioned while juxtaposing it to sexual behaviour or innuendos of sexual elements. Examples include, "young girls, barely 11 or 12, wearing low-cut tops and come-hither smiles" (25); "We meet dozens of children. One girl says she is nine. She's joined by another who says she's 10. Both say they know how to perform oral sex" (27).

The descriptions of the helpless children, typically from the perspective presented by the action groups, consist of descriptions as 'already violated', diseased and hopeless or as a threat to law and order. Disease is featured in the descriptions: "They variously arrive at the centre ill from malnutrition, shaking from met amphetamine withdrawal, with sexually transmitted diseases, pregnant or HIV-positive. And all this while still in their teens" (17); "I've sat down with children of 16 or 17 who are in the last stages of their lives as a result of AIDS, and...well..." He struggles to finish the sentence. Four of the centre's girls are currently in hospital, with AIDS. All are just 17" (17); "A Vietnamese girl, aged 17, has lesions on her skin, a symptom of AIDS. She traces them with her fingertips and says they are the result of a disease caused by local water" (22).

viii. The Deviant Child

Some descriptions refer to them as already violated and apart of their own objectification, by either dressing or behaving in ways which do not conform to the victim role and some descriptions are blatantly derogatory. Examples include, "Girls buzz and swarm like flies, alighting on stools when a new customer arrives. "Ih-loo, meester," they say, and thrust a hand into his inner thigh and cackle" (1); "The girls, some of them children aged only 14 but looking older in their heavy makeup and fake Gucci sandals" (22); "Wearing tight clothes and bright lipstick, several sashay over to the car. None of them look older than 14, but they come on like

seasoned streetwalkers, licking their lips and thrusting their tiny chests forward” (26); “Girls, come out so young they could be in kindergarten, are all for sale. Throughout the village, we see the same scene brothel after another. Everyone here seems to know a little English. When they talk about sex they use simple child-like terms anyone can understand” (27); “Their faces beamed up at me, eager to please” (17).

In these cases the child is not simply portrayed as lacking autonomy or as inert, but what it being portrayed is a child has agency, as being provocative and a willing participant. They present their explanations in a manner which assumes they are taking the feelings of the children into account. However they are being presented as active agents, they are instrumentals to conform to the purposes of the abusers. They are made fungible as if it is a culturally acceptable and normal ways of behaving thereby justifying the abuse.

ix. Stories of Abuse

Descriptions of the abuse go further to describe the actual abuse. The predictable ingredients are visible starting from beginning with unjust family, poverty and abandonment. One article reads, “they have been abandoned by mothers living in grinding rural poverty and facing domestic violence, which is often the case” (21). However, the stories which are recounted are descriptions of extreme forms of abuse and extreme violence, such as the following examples: “...tells the story of a 12-year-old Indian Muslim girl who was found in a local brothel. ‘She ended up there because her father was in debt,’ says Radzi. ‘He decided to pay off his bills by trading in his daughter. The price for sex with her was \$20 to \$25, but she was given to the clients the seasoned girls rejected - the rough, bullying types. As a result, she was often in a lot of pain...so she’s 12 years old, she’s being prostituted and she’s hooked on heroine’ (2); “Her account is shocking. When she was 13, she was sexually abused by a relative. She then left home to escape the horror of being repeatedly raped, and found work in a sex club. She ended up working every night as a prostitute, expected to have sex with tourists from all over the world” (5); “Srey Nath’s journey into the sex trade began in 1996 when malaria felled her father...Too weak to work, he turned to Srey Nath, his eldest daughter, then about 18, and said, ‘Do whatever you can to get money for me’” (24); “Many girls are trafficked from rural villages and neighbouring Vietnam, many lured by false promises of jobs. They become virtual sex slaves: locked up, beaten and forced to

service up to 10 men a day, often without condoms. More than half are HIV-positive” (25).

Direct quotes from the abused children were occasionally present in the articles. They conform to the extreme descriptions presented by the action groups; the stories in first person, also strike a deeper chord. Extreme abuses are the continuous element found. Examples include, “I didn’t want to sleep with customers - so the brothel owner beat me with electric cable and a chain,” she says softly. “I had to receive five customers in the daytime and 25 at night. Some of them were Westerners. And if I didn’t receive that number the owner would beat me again or give me no food. I had to keep working...he was so cruel.” (17); “She was sold to a man she believes paid \$250. She got nothing...severely beaten with an electric cattle prod...She feared the fate of several other girls, apparently shocked so much by the beatings that “they cannot even remember the village they come from.” (24); “One 14-year-old, who was recently freed from a brothel, says she came from an extremely poor family in the country next door, Vietnam. She says she was walking home from school one day, she was approached by a woman offering work in a café...turned out to be a brothel. With no money and no way to get home, she didn’t have much of a choice and was forced into sex with grown men, many of them American” (27).

The stories are filled with shocking yet predictable ingredients. They begin from rural communities and the deception begins with parents or other members of the community, the next stage is they are tricked into the trade, held against their will and debt-bonded, repeatedly abused and tortured. Without trying to minimize or discredit the pain and horror lived by many children, it is however peculiar that all stories contain the same elements. The child in these stories is an commercial instrument for others, has no self-determination and is inert to the forces that manipulate her according to others greedy needs into an object that is owned, and whose 'innocence' is being sold in order to be violated. Ultimately made into a tool for the purposes of others, whether a tool for the family to get extra money, the brothel owners as cheap labour or the abusers for sexual gratification. "Caught in a poverty trap, she had become a sex slave, cut off from family and friends" (5).

Alternatively the descriptions provided by the sex tourists differ greatly from stories of abuse and mistreatment. In efforts to investigate the psyche and reasons that would motivate someone to sexually abuse children, the offenders are given voice. This is the double-edged sword that may

impact some of the readers. Even some unnecessary information is included occasionally such as "Some are so young they have no pubic hair or breasts" (2), which leads the reader to question, how would they know?

Explanations highlight the paedophile and the rational explanations that ensue; "Western paedophiles are particularly attracted to Asian children. They generally have smoother skin than Caucasians and grow body hair later. So a boy of 12 can look as young as an 8-year-old. The illusion of having sexual relations with an infant is heightened. And because many of the children do not speak much English, forcible sex can often be passed off as a misunderstanding" (2). Cultural miscommunication may be extended as reasoning or even blatant stereotyping using cultural relativist arguments.

x. Tourism

Holiday imagery is used as contrast to descriptions of abuse and suffering as though this is part of the tourism experience. Just as sun, relaxation along the beachside are assumed parts of the holiday experience in a tropical country, these aspects are featured and the phenomenon of child abuse is linked to these images. For example, "But incongruously, a group of about 10 well-fed Westerners was lounging on plastic chairs at a café, drinking beer and eating chips and spaghetti. Svay Pak is infamous - by word of mouth and on the internet - as a destination for tourists looking for sex with young girls (17). And for sex with children, "In the shade beneath the awning of a bar, men lounge on plastic chairs, sipping beer and talking. Their features and white skins mark them out as foreigners among the bustling tone of brown bodies" (18), "On a typical evening at the Royal Garden Plaza...foreign men lead Thai children around the arcades and buy them toy animals. The men's motives can be sinister" (20), "Tourists lounge on plastic chairs in the shade, drinking Angkor beer and surveying the scenery: young girls, barely 11 or 12, wearing low-cut tops and come-hither smiles" (25). Holiday imagery and tourism experiences evoke relaxation and a right to be relaxed as part of the holiday experience where the local populations are there to accommodate them.

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