

Shadows of voluntourism and the connection to orphanage business in Asia and Cambodia

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<p>The purpose of this thesis is to increase consciousness and raise awareness of the dark side of voluntourism, as most people are solely aware of the benefits of volunteering and have very little knowledge of the negative aspects of the field. The global recommendation is to not approve of volunteering in an orphanage because of the evidence that many orphanages are a profit-making business and do not work in the best interest of the child. For instance over 70 % of the children in orphanages in Cambodia have at least one living parent. Voluntourism is a billion-dollar industry, with 1.6 million travelers donating money every year to both for-profit and non-profit organizations. Several organizations around the world work with the goal to support children. The most known organizations are ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking), the Code, Friends International and UNICEF. Each of the organizations work for the benefit of the children.</p> <p>The main topics in this thesis are voluntourism, sex tourism, child sex tourism and human rights. Volunteering and tourism together is called voluntourism. Voluntourism is a combination of leisure and travel and an increasingly growing form of tourism. Several studies about its benefits has been conducted but in general people are not aware of the dark side of voluntourism and its linkage to orphanage business. This thesis concentrates on voluntourism and the orphanage business in Asia and Cambodia. Previous studies show that there is a connection between increasing tourism and increasing orphan business in several countries, also in Cambodia. In general, background checks are not done which has led to increasing paedophilia, much due to the open-door policy that many orphanages practice and which welcomes everyone and anyone into the orphanages. Previous research shows that the orphans in Cambodia have increased by 70% in just a couple of years. The orphanage business has led to both unnecessary family separations, as well as exploitation of children.</p>	
<p>Keywords Voluntourism, Child sex tourism, Asia, Cambodia, Human rights, Orphanage business, Sex Tourism</p>	

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1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to increase consciousness and raise awareness of the dark side of voluntourism, as most people are solely aware of the benefits of volunteering and have very little knowledge of the negative aspects of the field, concentrating on Asia and Cambodia. The research objectives are 1. What is voluntourism and how is it affecting tourism? 2. Is short-term volunteering harmful? 3. Are voluntourism organisations and travel agencies operations working in the best interest of the child? 4. Does the orphanage business and its profitability have a direct connection to the increased tourism in Cambodia? 5. Is exploitation and abuse of children really happening in orphanages? and 6. What, if any, pre-experience activities take place? The objective is a volunteer process model and practical tips for travel agencies in Finland, with the aim of helping in the recruitment process and furthermore the selection of the appropriate volunteers to send abroad. Not doing background checks has led to increasing paedophilia, much due to the open-door policy that many orphanages practice and which welcomes everyone and anyone into the orphanages. As a result, this strategy also tempts child abusers. (Pitrelli 2012, Ruhfus and Haan 2012) In one case a journalist was told that background checks and recommendations are necessary and that it is not possible to work with children if one wishes to volunteer for only for a very short period of time because it could cause distress to the children. When the same journalist called as a customer with a different name, he was told that it is possible to leave as soon as possible, and that he can choose where and what he wants to do, and that it is possible to volunteer with children, even if only staying for two weeks. He was told that all help is better than no help. The journalist managed to get to an orphanage in Cambodia, with a false CV, no recommendations and without any background checks. (YLE, 2013) Previous research shows that the orphans in Cambodia have increased by 70% in just a couple of years.

This is a research based thesis with a humanistic approach. Desk research technique has been used for the thesis. The desk research method, also known as the secondary research method, is one of the most commonly used research techniques today. The definition of desk research is "gathering and analysing information, already available, in

print or published on the internet.” (MSG, 2013, DJS Research Ltd., 2014) The desk study method is done by collecting and processing data from already existing resources. Desk data research can be divided into two subcategories, internal and external desk research. The internal research takes place within an organization, while the external is done outside of the organization. In this thesis external research methods are used. A lot of external research data is available and data can be in form of articles, reports, previous market research projects, online and published materials and others. Online and published materials, government published data, as well as newspaper articles and reports for gathering information has been used. Advantages of desk research technique are low-cost, time saving and the huge amount of data available. Disadvantages of desk study research are the possibility of out-dated information and the lack of information about the exact research question. (DJS Research Ltd. 2014, Crossman 2014)

The comissary is The Association of Finnish Travel Agents (AFTA). AFTA consists of travel agents, tour operators and incoming agents. Their aim is to develop the travel agent industry in Finland, promote mutual interest and protect the rights of its members, encourage good business practices and to implement good relations and collaboration between its members, as well as other companies in the travel industry. (The Association of Finnish Travel Agents, 2014) AFTA will be aiding in distributing the informations about the findings to Finnish travel agents.

The main topics are voluntourism, sex tourism and human rights. All topics examined on a global level, as well as the current situation in Asia and Cambodia. In addition there will be deeper discussion on the subjects about child sex tourism and the increasing orphanage business. The topic is very relevant to both tourism and volunteering industry. Voluntourism is an increasing field, but not much research has been done on the possible negative aspects. According to Alvin (2013), voluntourism is a billion-dollar industry, with 1.6 million travelers donating money annually. Studies show that orphanage business has increased during the past couple of years at the same time as tourism in Cambodia has increased. Sex tourism and child sex tourism is a massive, growing business around the world. Poverty, gender, culture, the pattern of

economic development, racism, wealth distribution are some of the reasons of sex tourism in some areas in South-east Asia. Several organizations around the world work with the goal to support children. The most known are ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking), the Code, Friends International and UNICEF. Each of the organizations work for the benefit of the children.

At the moment there are five tour operators in Finland, who send volunteers abroad. These are Fingap, Kansainvälinen vapaaehtoistyö (KVT), Ekomatkaajat, Finnmatkat and Kilroy Travels. Most of these send volunteers to work with animal care. KVT and Kilroy send volunteers to work with children. The only requirements for criminal records extracts are when volunteering in Ireland or Great Britain, because of their law, but it is not required when volunteering in Asia or Africa. Kilroy travels makes random test, traveling to the destination to make sure everything goes as it is supposed to. They claim that the volunteers only work during daytime and that there always is a coordinator present who monitors the events. KVT claims that they have cooperated for such a long time with their partners that they know the system is working well the way it is now. Even though the recommendation is to stop volunteering in orphanages, Kilroy travels will continue sending volunteers to orphanages, but they “will take the recommendations seriously.” (YLE, 2013)

According to Tepelus (2008) tourism has yet not adopted corporate social responsible (CSR) practices, and the little focus that tourism has on CSR, is mostly on environmental issues, but not so much on human rights. Customers are willing to reward the companies that are environmentally and socially conscious. People are increasingly not traveling to destinations and areas where human rights are violated and the tourism industry is responding to the wishes of the consumers and making human rights a part of corporate responsibility. (Tepelus 2008, 100.) CSR goes hand in hand with child protection. Child sex tourism may be a hinder to the sustainable and responsible tourism industry since it creates negative impact to society. According to The Code, this can lead to a so-called wrong kind of tourism, the type that will make profit at the expense of children’s lives. (The Code, 2012b)

2 Volunteer tourism

The interest in volunteering has increased during the last years and more research and studies has been conducted. Volunteering is more than just one-to-one help, it is also a group of people working together to achieve a mutual goal, for example building a house. (Musick and Wilson 2007, 11.) The aim of volunteering is to help others, without expecting to get anything in return. It can be helping a group, an organization, a cause or the community in general. Volunteering helps governments reach their goals. (Musick and Wilson 2007, 3.)

2.1 Definition of volunteer tourism and volunteer tourists

Both terms volunteer tourism and voluntourism are commonly used. Voluntourism is a combination of the terms 'volunteering' and 'tourism', and vountourist is the combination of the terms 'volunteer' and 'tourist'. Voluntourists, or volunteer tourists, are tourists who combine their holiday with volunteering. They get support from touroperators and local hosts. (Kumaran and Pappas, E.1 in Connors 2012)

Voluntourism is a relatively new phenomena, even though some features of it has been going on for years. (Kumaran and Pappas, E.1 in Connors 2012) David Clemmons, founder of the webpage www.voluntourism.org, defines voluntourism as the following:

...the conscious, seamlessly integrated combination of voluntary service to a destination with the traditional elements of travel and tourism. (Clemmons in Connors, 2012, E.2.)

The most cited definition of volunteer tourism is provided by Wearing (2001)

... those tourist who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way or undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment. (Wearing, 2001 in Guttentag 2009, 538 and in Coghland and Gooch, 2010, 714.)

Both Clemmons and Wearing agree that voluntourism is a voluntary service that the participant themselves choose to take part in, in order to help others.

2.2 What is voluntourism

Voluntourism is a combination of leisure and travel. The activities, projects and duration on the destination site varies. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.1) Volunteer tourism is one of the most rapid growing forms of alternative tourism. It has been used to describe tourist behaviors and tourism products and services. (Lyons and Wearing 2008, 3.) Volunteer tourism is an increasingly popular form of travel. Existing research has focused primarily on its benefits. (Guttentag 2009, 537.) As a conclusion, many researchers agree that volunteer tourism is a promising field in the tourism industry, that benefits both the tourist and the host community.

Varying programs and projects are offered in voluntourism, for example international health, orphan care, education, sustainable agriculture, food security, doctors, nurses, teachers, laborer and entrepreneurs for building schools, hospitals and irrigation projects, community welfare, environmental care and research, education, construction, business development or healthcare. (Kumaran and Pappas, E.10-E.11 in Connors 2012, Callahan and Thomas 2005 in in Guttentag 2009, 538-539) Volunteer work is usually in connection with an organization. It is the organization that defines the role of the volunteer, specify the tasks, make the schedules, recruit new volunteers, train and manage volunteers and when needed, lets the volunteers go. (Musick and Wilson, 2007, 23) According to Musick and Wilson (2007, 13) just being a member of an voluntary association is not enough to be called volunteering, but the individual has to be active. According to Raymond and Hall (2008, in Guttentag 2009, 538), voluntourism exists all over the world. Several organisations organizes volunteering and different projects.

The increasing interest and demand for voluntourism has led to partnerships in voluntourism. These partnerships are

- individuals and groups of experienced voluntourists,

- voluntourism operators, private travel agencies and touroperators,
- online travelservices, airlines, voluntourism hosts and
- NGO's, and voluntourism beneficiares and communities. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.7.)

Due to the increasing demand on voluntourism, travel agencies have seen the potential of marketing the field. It is a way of promoting the business and its social corporate responsibility and getting a positive image. For example, the travel agencies provide discounts for tourpackages including volunteering, and airlines offer discounts for voluntourists. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors, E.7-E.12.) According to Alvin (2013), voluntourism is a billion-dollar industry, with 1.6 million travelers donating money annually, to both for-profit and non-profit organizations.

2.2.1 Location and duration of voluntoursim

Even though voluntourism can take place anywhere in the world, it is still mostly individuals or groups of volunteers from western countries that travel to help developing countries. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.2) North America is leading in the field of voluntourism in terms of participation and time spent, but the interest is gradually growing in Europe, Australia and New Zealand. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.2) Most common locations are Latin America, Asia, especially South East Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. Projects can be either long-term or short-term. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.10-E.11, Lyons and Wearing 2008, 149.)

Time spent in voluntourism projects vary from one week up to several months. (Lyons and Wearing 2008, 149.) Reasons for voluntourism are several; going on holiday or a business trip and wanting additional experience of volunteering, or volunteering and wanting an additional traveling experience. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.2.) According to Reynolds and Braithwaite (2001 in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 72) it is possible to volunteer during vacation in the in the fields of education, archaeology

and community development, but volunteering with animals, rehabilitation or research provides better opportunities.

2.3 History of volunteering and voluntourism

Volunteering has recently appeared in the tourism industry. (Coghland and Gooch 2010, 713.) According to Wearing (2004 in Guttentag 2009, 538), voluntourism began before ecotourism or alternative tourism. In the 1990's both international travel and volunteering increased, which led to an increased interest in volunteer tourism. Every year 1.6 million people participate in voluntourism. (Tourism research and Marketing 2008 in Guttentag 2009, 538.) During the last couple of years a lot of research has been conducted, including the motivation of voluntourists, marketing of nonprofit voluntour operators, responsibilities of host organizations and other aspects that still need to be studied further. Voluntourism is a fast growing form of volunteering. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.1.)

As mentioned earlier, some features of voluntourism have existed for a long time, mainly through religious organizations who promoted travel-based charity for their members to help the needy in developing countries. Natural and man-made disasters have led to people traveling to help others, for example via the Red Cross. In 1961 an U.S government agency called the Peace Corps started providing volunteer services abroad in a similar way that is done today. Their slogan "Life is calling, how far will you go?" has mobilized more than 200,000 volunteers in 139 countries all over the world, mostly in developing countries. In the 1970's universities in the USA established study programmes that focused on cultural learning, service learning and volunteering. In the 1980's the tourism industry started to flourish, with people traveling more than ever before. The tourism industry broadened itself to include also ecotourism, sustainable tourism, medical tourism, as well as sports and adventure. This led to different experiences, instead of solely mass tourism. In the late 1980's, business travel included volunteering as a part of social corporate responsibility, social entrepreneurship as well as improving their image among their customers. In the 1990's some for-profit tour operators and travel agencies began to collaborate with nonprofit voluntourism hosts. This collaboration between the tourism and volunteering

industry led to a fast growing voluntourism industry. Voluntourism is a growing field both in the tourism industry, as well as in the volunteering industry. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.3-E.4.)

2.4 What is a volunteer and what are their motivators

According to several researchers, the tourist or the volunteer is not only motivated by the wish of helping others, but also because of personal reasons that benefits oneself. Several researchers agree that a volunteer is someone who offers their time, skills and service in order to help others, gives voluntary personal help while living in a developing country and gains mutual learning, friendship and adventurousness. (Lyons and Wearing 2008, 148.) Most voluntourists come from Western Europe and North America. (Pearce and Coghlan in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 132.) At the moment voluntourism is seen as something that the westerners do, as it is the rich who travel to help other, poorer people. Organisations have learned to turn the work projects abroad into business; they sell their experiences as CV building opportunities and earn money. (Travellers Worldwide 2006, Higgins-Desboilles and Russel-Mundine in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 187.)

It is vital to understand the characteristics and motivations of voluntourists to be able to successfully manage voluntourism programmes. A voluntourist can be anyone, young people or adults, men or women, studying or not, singles, couples or families, with varying interests. One of the main motivators of voluntourism is that the volunteers prefer to do something else than normal mass tourism traveling. Singh and Singh (2004 in Connors, 2012, E.5), claim that voluntourists are motivated by activities of doing good to other, because it makes themselves feel good. Wearing (2001 in Connors 2012, E.5), argues that through voluntourism the individual is able to explore and learn, as well as develop themselves. According to McGhee and Clemmons (2008 in Connors, 2012, E.6) there are three clusters of voluntourists that are based on their levels of motivations.

- The first group is very motivated, are performing voluntary work in their home countries as well, or have much experience of volunteering abroad.

- The second group is primarily motivated by the chance of developing relationship in the host community and not so much in the volunteering itself.
- The third group is interested in voluntourism but they are unsure of their motivations. (McGhee and Andereck 2009 in Connors 2012, E.6.)

Another study came to the conclusion that the primary motivation of voluntourists are the available projects to participate in. (Georgian College Research Analyst Programme and Cheung et al 2010 in Connors 2012, E.6.) According to Clemmons (2010) there are three voluntourist groups, divided on basis of how much time they spend on holiday respective volunteering.

- The first group is the 40-hour club, these voluntourists tend to spend 40 hours on volunteering during a week, and usually volunteer first and then continue their holiday. They also tend to have a long-term commitment to returning later on in their lives.
- The 50-50 club is the second group. These voluntourists commit half of their time to volunteering and the other half for leisure.
- The third group is called the tasters; these are the ones who combine volunteering with conventions or business meetings. (Clemmons 2010, Ellis and Clemmons 2008 in Connors 2012, E.6.)

Voluntourists pay for their travel and living expenses, including lodging and food, health care, local travels, and personal expenses, as well as usually also for expenses that occur on site during the project. The overall expenses depend on the destination, duration and operation costs. Most projects take place in developing countries, which makes travel expenses the largest of all expenses. They work in places that usually are far away from their home countries, including working in unfamiliar surroundings, with new people, communities, cultures, traditions, physical environments, climates and living arrangements. (Kumaran and Pappas in Connors 2012, E.2, E.11-E.12.)

2.5 Benefits and criticism of voluntourism

Volunteering benefits both the individual as well as the economic and social goals of the society. According to Stebbins (1982) and Clary and Snyder (1991), individuals volunteer because of altruistic and self-interest reasons; the experience can for example benefit their future study or work. (Stebbins 1982, Clary and Snyder 1991 in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 26.) The increase in voluntourism programmes should be seen as a positive change towards a more sustainable and responsible form of tourism. According to Wearing (2004 in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 48) voluntourism could be a model of best practice in tourism. Voluntourism can lead to breaking down stereotypes, as locals and volunteers get to know each other. (Elliott 2008 in Guttentag 2009, 545.) Many researchers agree that voluntourism can support cross-cultural understandings. (Coghland and Gooch, 2010, 713, Guttentag 2009, 539.)

Voluntourism has been criticized a lot. It is suggested that voluntourism can be valuable for the volunteers, but not for host communities. Many see only the benefits of voluntourism, which is the reason as to why the field has not yet been critically analysed and existing literature mostly concentrates on positive aspects. (Raymond 2008 in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 48-49, Guttentag 2009, 537.) Even though this is the case, not much has been done to make the situation better. There are several negative aspects to voluntourism, for example the volunteer's lack of skills, decrease in employment opportunities, bringing in new theories and attitudes that locals may not like, and encouraging cultural changes. (Guttentag 2009, 537.) One of the problems with volunteer tourism is that the project leaders want to satisfy the volunteers in order to make the project look more interesting and attracting. This will become a problem when the volunteer's satisfaction is prioritized before the one of the host community. This is possible, especially if the project is led by a private company which initial reasons are to make a profit. The commercial area of voluntourism is growing. (Wearing and Lyons 2008, Tourism Research and Marketing 2008 in Guttentag 2009, 541.) Fitzpatrick (2007 in Guttentag 2009, 541) claims that volunteer tourism is more and more changing into a business that wants to make profit, rather than concentrate on the host communities. Lyons and Wearing (2008 in Guttentag 2009, 541-542) agree that most NGO's do not have the similar problems with commercialism because they use best

practice in alternative tourism and especially in voluntourism. Of course, this is not always the case. Problems for host communities may include the volunteers thinking of themselves as experts, when they actually know very little of the situation. (Wearing 2001, Raymond and Hall 2008 in Guttentag 2009, 542.) There are situations where the volunteers think they know what the best is for the local community and perform work based on their own opinions, excluding the host community from decision making. (McGehee and Andereck 2008 in Guttentag 2009, 542-543.)

One of the reasons for voluntourism being so popular is that there are no requirements for skills, with the expectation of the want to help others. (Brown and Morrison 2003 in Guttentag 2009, 543.) If volunteers do not have the required skills or the knowledge about the local culture and if they stay for a short period of time, it might cause problems. (Simpson 2004, Callahan and Thomas 2005 in Guttentag, 2009, 543.) Most projects are long-term, but usually the volunteers are short-term. (Fitzpatrick 2007 in Guttentag, 2009, 543.) According to Carey (2001 in Guttentag 2009, 542-543), sometimes the cost of having volunteers without necessary skills, might be more expensive than going on without them. If the volunteer is lacking skills, they have to be educated first. Language skills are also an issue. It is also possible that short-term volunteers delay or perform unsatisfactory work.

Clifton and Benson (2006 in Guttentag 2009, 544) argue that just because a community is hosting volunteer work, it does not mean that the community benefits from it. Many volunteer tourism projects are based on unskilled labour, which means that the work could be performed by locals. This leads to volunteers eliminating employment possibilities for locals. Van Engen (2000 in Guttentag 2009, 544) says that short-term volunteers usually do work that locals could do better. Some organisations may prioritize volunteers before locals, as volunteers perform the work without salary, and are cheaper for the project. According to Coghlan (2008 in Guttentag 2009, 545) many volunteers may be motivated while being on site, but when arriving home usually the long-term interest does not continue.

2.6 Orphanages and orphans in voluntourism

All societies have a system of how to deal and work with orphans. The systems in different countries may vary. Children without care are at risk of exploitation and are without the support that all children are in need of. Many non-Western countries have started to develop policies to handle the problems. According to UNICEF and ISS (2004 in Daughtery 2012, 6), circa 2 million children in Europe and the United States are without parental care, and in other parts of the world the number is even bigger. According to the report by Bailey, there are over 140 million orphaned children in the world, most of them, 87, 6 million, from Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, 43, 4 million. (Bailey 2012, 5-9 in Daughtery, 2012.)

The number of children living in orphanages, but has living parents, is alarming. According to Save the Children (2010, 6), 40% of children in orphanages in Zimbabwe have living parents, 92% of the children in Sri Lanka, who live in private residential institutions have one or two living parents, and in Azerbaijan 70% of children who live in institutional care have living parents. 75 % of children living in orphanages in Cambodia have parents. In Africa the number is even higher. Save the Children says that in Liberia 88 % of the children in orphanages have one or both parents alive, and the same number in Ghana is 90%. (Riggins, 2013) This can be seen in Figure 1 below.

Children living in orphanages, but have living parents %	
Zimbabwe	40%
Sri Lanka	92%
Azerbaijan	70%
Cambodia	75%
Liberia	88%
Ghana	90%

Figure 1: The percentage of children who live in orphanages but have living parents. (Riggins 2013, Save the Children, 2010)

Studies show that children under the age of 3 should not live in institutional care. For infants this may lead to delayed brain development, due to extreme emotional neglect and poor care. Lack of long-term individual care and attention may lead to permanent

brain damage. Furthermore, institutional care may also lead to physical, social and emotional underdevelopment. Since the condition of the care institutions in many countries does not meet the required standards, for example lacking basic hygiene and nutrition, as well as untrained employees, the children will end up with lower educational qualifications, including lack of reading abilities and social skills. Institutional care also puts the children in more vulnerable situations, being exploited to physical, sexual and psychological abuse. This in turn may lead to severe difficulties when growing up, such as lasting development issues, injuries and trauma (Save the children, 2010, 6.) According to UNICEF, UNSAID, UNAIDS (2004 in Daughtery 2012, 7), orphans are likely to be without basic needs such as food, housing and health care and are at higher risk for starving, becoming sick and being neglected when young. Children without parental care are also without protection from dangerous situations and at risk of exploitation. For example, one third of the orphans in Zambia are not really orphans. (UNICEF 2005 in Daughtery 2012, 7.) Orphans experience psychological effects such as having worse manners, as well as being at risk of development of mental health and well-being. Lack of education is also a big problem, which is important for long-term financial security. (Bailey in Daughtery, 2012, 5-9.) Even if the care institutions are well run and managed, they may still be harmful for the children. The positive aspects are that the material available is better, but the children will suffer from lack of positive adult interaction and emotional care and lose touch with their families. The separation of parents and siblings can lead to anxiety, as well as psychological and behavioural problems. (Save the Children, 2010, 6.)

Family-based care can be both a short-term or long-term arrangement, where the child is placed in an environment where the family is led by parents who are not the child's own. The parents are selected and prepared to provide the needed care. Family-like care is an arrangement in a community, where the children are cared for in small groups. The small groups have one or more specific parental figures. Informal care is a private arrangement in a family environment. The child is taken care of by relatives, friends or others for an undefined time. An institution is based on collective living arrangements, and the child is looked after all the time, for at least one month, due to parents not being able to, or wanting to, take care of their child. The institutions

should have more than ten caretakers who get paid and have pre-determined working hours. Residential care is similar to institution; it is an arrangement where a group lives together in a chosen place, where trained staff with paid salary takes care of the children full-time. Kinship care is family-based care within a child's extended family or close friends that the children know. An orphan is any child whose parents are known to be dead. (Save the children 2010, vii-viii.)

According to a recent study, institutional care is much more expensive than alternative child care options. Many people still want to donor to orphanages because they get to see the actual child and build an emotional relationship, as well as having the false picture on knowing exactly where their money is going. (orphanages.no, 2014a)

2.6.1 Reasons of becoming orphans or being put in alternative care

Reasons to why children become orphans and / or why they are placed in orphanages include kidnapping, trafficking, migration, living on the street, being displaced or recruited by armed forces. It is also possible that due to health issues, educational reasons, violence, poverty or death of parents, they have to live in alternative care. According to UNICEF, 1.3 million children lived in public care in Central and Eastern Europe in 2008, and over 300.000 children lived in residential care in Africa and the Middle East. UNICEF says that these numbers may be underestimated. Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children say that children should live with their parents always when possible. If not in the best interest of the child, the State is responsible for protecting the children and making sure they get alternative care in for example kinship care, foster care or other forms of family-based or family-like care, residential care or supervised independent living arrangements. The quality of alternative care is not good for the wellbeing of the child. UNICEF states that, especially children under the age of three, but also older children, who are in long-term residential care, are at risk of problems at cognitive, social and emotional levels. (UNICEF, 2011a)

3 Sex tourism

Tourism is increasing in South East Asia, and especially in Cambodia, mostly because low cost airlines have begun to fly to the destination, as well as the country of Cambodia being "new" and "exotic" for tourists. The increasing amount of tourists has made the sex tourism bloom. Other reasons are the poverty of the families which had led to the children being out on the street trying to earn money for their families by for example selling goods or polishing shoes, or even engage in sex tourism industry. The tourism industry is the second largest industry in Cambodia. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 106-107.) One definition of sex tourism is an interaction between two liminal people. Liminal people are people that are not part of the mainstream society. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 22.) Generally sex workers enter the sex industry because they are forced, not because they want to, and this is often a result of economic reasons. Many claim they do it for the money, but in fact there is not much money to be earned in the sex industry. The work can include high expenses, for example good shoes may be very expensive. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 51.)

The financial crisis that began in 1997 impacts the current sex tourism development in South-East Asia. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 144.) In the 1930's people started to go on holidays. In the 1950s the income of ordinary people increased and the new generation lived more freely than the generations before, and they wanted social flexibility, travel and further education. The sexual revolution took place in 1960's, which encouraged more sexual experimentation and sexual activity before marriage. Sex began to sell tourism and became a normal part of tourism. Travel packages for young people and singles were created, and sex was the selling point. In a research made by Ryan and Hall (2001) between 8 to 24 % have sex with a new partner during their holiday. Travel and holidays offer anonymity and getting away from everyday life and obligations, and gives space for imagination and fantasy. According to Opperman (1991 in Franklin 2003, 265), sex tourism exist everywhere, even if it is more marketed in some areas than in others. Mostly men, but increasingly also women, travel from more developed countries to less developed countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean for sex. (Franklin 2003, 254–256.)

In the late 1980's some feminists started to worry about sex tourism and mass prostitution, which was linked to the development of tourism in the third world countries. Militarization played a big role in developing sex tourism in Thailand and South-East Asia. Rest and Recreation centres which first existed to please US military personnel became models for tourist playgrounds and the development of the tourist prostitution industry in Asia. (Sturdevant and Stoltzfus 1992 in Cole and Morganm 2010, 50.) Adult sex tourism is not a crime in many countries. (Tepelus 2008, 103.)

3.1 Child sex tourism (CST)

The United Nations (UN) defines a child as a person aged between 0 to 18 years. The physical and psychological levels vary from child to child. All countries have divided children by gender, class, race, ethnicity and/or caste, and nationality. This means that children as a group are not homogeneous, which makes it more difficult to determine a child's presence in prostitution and the demand for their services. According to Davidson (2005 in Cole and Morganm 2010, 61), there is a very small market that serves paedophile tourists, but the majority of children in the industry around the world are aged 14 to 18. Usually teenagers work alongside adult sex workers in tourist destinations and serve normal tourist customers instead of paedophiles and child molesters. The definition of child sex tourism according to ECPAT is when someone travels nationally or internationally and participates sexually with a child. Due to low-cost air travel it is now easier and cheaper to travel. (ECPAT, 2014a) The Code defines child sex tourism as an act done by individuals who travel or use their status as a tourist with the aim of sexually exploit children.

According to the Code, child sex tourism is an under category to child prostitution. (The Code, 2012a) According to Payne and Dimanche (1999 in Tepelus 2008, 102), trafficking and child sex tourism is one of the biggest problems in tourism. Child sex tourism has been a legitimate area of tourism studies since 1970's. (Tepelus 2008, 102.) CST is separated from sex tourism because of its classification as crime, both nationally and internationally; a sexual relation with a minor is a crime and violation against human rights. (UNWTO 2004, in Tepelus 2008, 103.) If tourists have sexual relations

with a minor, they violate several conventions, for example UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child prostitution and Child Pornography. (Tepelus 2008, 103.)

There are several reasons of why children under 18 years of age enter the sex industry. They are not always forced. Some examples are economic issues, homelessness, abuse, and lack of work, the need to support their family, racism, homophobia or simply the hope to have a more exciting life in the tourism areas. Men, women and children may enter the sex industry in order to access a lifestyle that they could otherwise not get, or because they want to migrate to another wealthier country. In general, the formal and informal tourism economy offer more for men than for women and girls, which leads to increased vulnerability to prostitutions of women and girls, which in return creates better economic opportunities for men. This leads to men being able to make their living by passing on prostitutes, including child prostitutes, to tourists. (Taylor in Cole and Morganm 2010, 61-62.)

3.1.1 Commercial sexual exploitation, Child Sexual Abuse, Child prostitution and pornography

Commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) includes the sale of children, child prostitution, child sex tourism and child pornography. It appears all around the world. UNICEF estimates that one million children enter the business annually. (UNICEF, 2005) Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) is when a child is sexually abused or treated as a sexual and commercial object, and in return the child or a third party gets compensation. (The Code, 2012b)

Due to lack of information it is difficult to measure how many children worldwide are victims of commercial sexual exploitation, but the number is increasing. There are several reasons to why children are vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation, some of the reasons are: poverty, economic inequality, ignorance, lack of education, gender inequality, political and social instability, natural disaster, organised crime, racial or religious discrimination or HIV status. Both the Code and ECPAT agrees that CSE exists

because there is a demand for it. They say that prevention and punishments are important, but to actually help ending CSE it is important to understand that it is socially tolerated in many parts of the world and that we need to start blaming and challenge this tolerance, behaviour, beliefs and attitudes that support the demand of CSE. (ECPAT, 2014b, the Code, 2012a) Criminals and others take advantage of the demand by identifying vulnerable children and generating supply and creating the child sex market. This leads to children becoming victims and businesses gaining profit. (The Code, 2012a) Some children are stolen and put away in brothels where the public and laws cannot see them. (Franklin 2003, 262.)

According to Sanderson (2004, 303), child sexual abuse (CSA) is the responsibility of parents, all adults in a community, the police and child protection workers. She claims that one important aspect to protecting children is to understand paedophiles and CSA needs to become a priority of all members of society. This can be done by for example providing necessary and accurate information to all. (Sanderson 2004, 303, 305.) A problem of CSA is that it is not discussed, one of the reasons being the difficulty to talk about sexual abuse, both by the child victims and their parents. Sanderson argues that global changes in attitudes and beliefs are vital in order to control child pornography. The first step in preventing CSA is to stop ignoring it, and start talking about it. (Sanderson, 2004, 310.) Child victims of CSA need care and treatment. Sanderson stresses the importance of supporting children who are sexually abusing children. The prevention of CSA and risk management starts at home and in the communities. (Sanderson 2004, 320-323.)

3.1.2 Sexual violence and the sale of children

Sexual violence can be in form of sexual abuse, harassment, rape or sexual exploitation in prostitution or pornography. It can take place in homes, institutions, schools, workplaces, and travel and tourism facilities and within communities. Due to the internet and mobile phones the sexual violence against children as well as images of child abuse is increasing. (UNICEF, 2011b) According to WHO, in 2002 150 million girls and 73 million boys under the age of 18 years were forced into sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual violence involving physical contact. (United Nations study on violence

against children.) They claim that millions more children are exploited in prostitution and pornography annually, a majority of them seduced or forced into the situation by false promises and limited knowledge about the risks. Since the issue is very sensitive, the majority of cases are hidden. This mostly happens because of fear, lack of trust in the authorities, social tolerance and lack of awareness. (UNICEF, 2011b) The definition of the sale of children is "any act or transaction whereby a child is transferred by any person or group of persons to another for remuneration or any other consideration (Alen, Lanotte, Vande, 2007, 27.)

The definition of child prostitution is the use of a child in sexual activities for compensation or other payments, for example being exploited in exchange of lodging, food, clothing, drugs or better grades in school and the use of a child in real or simulated sexual activities. (Alen, Lanotte, Vande, 2007, 3, ECPAT, 2014b) Child prostitution usually happens in a closed place, such as a bar, brothel, clubs, homes or specific street zones. Child prostitution is usually arranged by small or large criminal networks. (ECPAT, 2014b) It is important that travel agencies are aware of these facts, and that they understand that child prostitution can and usually does take place where the tourists are. (Alen, Lanotte, Vande, 2007, 3, ECPAT, 2014b) According to ECPAT there is 1.8 million children who are exploited in prostitution or pornography worldwide. 80 % of trafficking in the world is for sexual exploitation, and 20% of this number is children. More than 1 million child sexual abuse images are on the internet and the number is increasing all the time. (ECPAT, b2014)

3.2 Child sex offenders

Not all child sex abusers are paedophiles, but they are prostitute users in general. (ECPAT, 2014b, The Code, 2011a, Tepelus 2008, 104.) A paedophile is defined as a person with sexual preference for pre-pubescent children, usually less than 12 years of age. There are two types of child sex offenders: situational and preferential. The situational child sex offenders do not necessarily want to engage in sex with children, but may do so if the opportunity comes. Preferential child sex offenders prefer children. (ECPAT, 2014b, the Code, 2011a) Child sex tourists can be both domestic and international travellers and tourists. According to the Code both preferential and situational

child sex abusers take advantage of the tourism industry and infrastructure in order to be in contact with children at the destination. (The Code, 2012a) Child sex offenders can be anyone, from any background, country, profession or sexuality. The majority of child sex offenders are men, but there are also women offenders. (ECPAT, 2014b) Montgomery argues that there is very little information on who buys sex with children abroad and why they do it. She claims that much of the debate is based only on assumption, and now real calculations have been done. As an example she uses the general information of one million children in Asia are prostitutes, and one million more enters the business annually. (Montgomery 2001, 194-195.) According to Montgomery (2001, 195), sex tourists prefer younger children because of fear of AIDS. They reckon younger children have not had as many partners as older prostitutes; hence they have not gotten the disease.

Children that survive sexual exploitation carry deep trauma for the rest of their lives. They have usually suffered extreme physical and sexual abuse. The trauma impacts the physical, mental and emotional health of the individual, which can lead to poor health, unwanted pregnancies, discrimination, physiological distress, behaviour and trust issues, and HIV infection. Many child sex survivals have substance abuse problems because of coping with the pain. The children may feel unloved, ashamed and worthless. (The Code, 2011a) Sexual violence has serious short- and long-term physical, physiological and social consequences for the children as well as their families and communities. (UNICEF, 2011b)

4 Human Rights

To be able to understand the severity of child exploitation and abuse, and its connection to orphanage business and voluntourism, we need to be aware of and understand human rights issues. Human rights are an important issue when for instance considering the living standards in orphanages. Minimum standards are set but they are not supervised.

All aspects of human rights: civil, political, economic, social and cultural are equally important and universal, but they have not been treated as such. (Cole and Eriksson 2010, 110.) Human rights have been divided into two separate covenants: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). They should be equally important, but the ICCPR still gets more attention, especially in the more developed countries. (Cole and Eriksson in Cole and Morganm 2010, 110.) The Convention on The Rights of the Child was the first instrument to cover all international human rights. These are civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, as well as aspects of humanitarian law. (UNICEF, 2005b) According to international law the responsibility of human rights belongs to the state. It includes three obligations: to respect the freedom and dignity of the individual, to protect them against third parties and to provide access and welfare that cover basics needs, for example food, shelter, education and health. (Eide, 2004) According to Article 8 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights all children should have the right to protection without any discrimination to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth. (Alen, Lanotte, Vande, 2007, 6)

4.1 Conventions on the Rights of Children

In the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Articles 34 and 35 declare that it is the government's responsibility to protect children from all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse, and that they should do everything they can to make sure the children are not taken by force without permission, sold or trafficked. The Convention's Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography presents

detailed requirements to end the sexual exploitation and abuse of children, and protects children from being sold for non-sexual purposes, for example forced labour, illegal adoption or organ donation. The protocol requires that the governments criminalize and punish such activities, both for people who organize sexual exploitation, as well as for anyone tolerating these activities. The Protocol further states that the governments have to give both legal and other support, such as medical, psychological, logistical and financial, to child victims and always in the best interest of the child. The Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography became legally binding 18 January 2002 and more than 100 countries have signed the Protocol. (UNICEF, 2005b)

International collaboration and education is vital in order to fight these issues. Public awareness, information and educative campaigns will help protecting children.

(UNICEF 2005a) The international human rights framework concerns both adults and children. If the rights are specifically for children the children are mentioned separately, in order to be able to modify standards. The Convention on the Rights on the Children clearly describes the human rights of the children and provides guidelines on how children should be viewed. All children have the same rights, all are mutually important. (UNICEF, 2013)

4.1.1 Child labour

Children are usually forced to labour because their families are poor and could not survive without their children's salaries. Sometimes the children are forced to work because it will make their parents' lives easier. For example, the father may be addicted to drugs or alcohol and it is the children's' responsibility to cater for it. (Seabrook 2001, 51.)

Not much is known about how child labour influences the children when they grow up. Many who have worked as a child can become very skilled and have a good salary, but it is very dependent on the training they have received during their childhood. (Seabrook 2001, 111) Poverty and the lack of schools and teachers prevent children from getting education. (Ravallion and Wodon 2004 in Herath and Sharma 2007, 3.)

About 60 % of the world's children live in the developing countries in Asia, and 19 % of these children undertake labour activities. The rate of working children is higher in South Asia and varies between countries. In India 5 % children are working, while the same number is 42 % in Nepal. (Herath and Sharma 2007, 3-4.) Several studies have shown that there is a connection between poverty and child labour. It is common that less educated parents in rural areas often accept child labour as a social norm, while parents with higher levels of education send their children to school. (Herath in Herath and Sharma, 2007, 13- 15.) Many authors and researchers agree that poverty is the major cause to child labour in developing countries in Asia. According to Hasan, many children become sex workers to avoid poverty and starvation, but then get stuck in a continuum of uncertain future employment and poverty. (Hasan in Herath and Sharma, 2007, 27.)

In 1999, ILO developed The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention. In the convention it is specified in which circumstances no child, whatever the age, should not be working in. It also specifies steps the government should take to eliminate these worst forms of child labour. Worst forms of child labour include children aged below 18 who are involved in any form of slavery or forced labour. These includes armed conflicts, commercial sexual exploitation, such as prostitution or pornography, illicit activities (drugs and hazardous work) (UNICEF 2005 and Herath and Sharma in Herath and Sharma 2007, 52-53.) The new definition of child labour is restricted only to children who are exposed to harm, physical or sexual abuse or any work that takes away children's' rights. The new ILO convention seems to legitimise work for children. (Pawar in Herath and Sharma 2007, 53.)

Many children work as domestic servants, which leads to the physical and sexual abuse not being seen. Sometimes the woman in the household prefers the servant and the man of the house having sexual relationship, instead of the men engaging in sexual activities somewhere else. (Seabrook 2001, 99.) Many children, mostly girls, are kidnapped or tempted and sold for commercial sexual purposes. There are several complex reasons to why this happens. It is important to understand what causes the children to undertake these labour activities. The understanding is a first step of prevent-

ing child labour. UNICEF has analysed the causes with the use of push and pull factors. Examples of reasons why children are pushed in labour are poverty, family breakdowns, health issues, cultural practices, attitudes, favouritism and discrimination of certain groups. The employers and other dishonest people pull the children to labour because the children are cheap and loyal. They can easily be exploited; they are more efficient and effective than adults. (Pawar in Herath and Sharma 2007, 56.) Children that participate in street work are sexually exposed. (Arunatilake and Silva in Herath and Sharma 2007, 180.)

4.1.2 The Human Rights Framework

Human rights are rights which are necessary for human beings. These are basic standards that make it possible to survive and to develop in dignity. The rights are essential and universal. The United Nations set a common standard on human rights with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The standards are not part of international law but they are commonly accepted by all countries around the world. All human beings should be treated equally, not depending on gender, race, sexuality, economic situation or religious reasons or any other background. Since 1948, the United Nations has adopted several legally binding international human rights instruments. These instruments help in discussing and implement human rights, as well as makes the governments liable in case of violation of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the six core human rights agreements are instruments of the international human rights framework. These six agreements are: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. All countries have accepted at least one of the above mentioned agreements, and many countries have committed to most of them. By understanding the framework it will help protecting children, since the Convention on the Rights of the Child is part of the framework. (UNICEF, 2005c)

4.2 Organisations preventing CST

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have developed in the last decade as one of the main supporters and implementers of sustainable tourism. (Wearing et al. 2005, in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 6.) NGOs are important in specific areas of tourism including voluntourism. (Wearing 2001 in Lyons and Wearing, 2008, 6.) They help communities by carrying out several activities and projects, for example environmental education and by encouraging attitudes and behaviours that are useful for the conservation of natural and social environments. They want the communities to engage and keep sustainable approaches in all industries, including tourism. (Wearing and McDonald 2002 in Lyons and Wearing, 2008, 7.) The aim of NGOs in tourism is to achieve socially appropriate tourism. This is gained by getting community support and engages the host community in decision making. (Hall 1991 in Lyons and Wearing, 2008, 7.) Many NGOs start projects in developing countries. Several organizations have begun to understand that their programmes and projects seem appealing to tourists as a form of personal development. According to Wearing (2001 in Lyons and Wearing, 2008, 7), most NGOs prioritize the tourists and host communities relationship. There are good intentions to volunteer tourism, but corporate businesses have increased in the field, with the aim of making profit. Elliot (in Lyons and Wearing 2008, 6-9) claims that especially transnational companies are involved in many of the world's largest projects in developing countries. Projects are run by large corporate entities and no decision making opportunity is left to local communities. He argues that these big business entities are responsible for destruction of the environment and its resources, while the companies market themselves as being reliable and being the one who will come up with solutions of sustainable development. However, NGOs are not all good either, while many corporate organizations have positive sides.

World Vision International is a Christian organisation that concentrates on helping children, families and communities all over the world. The organization was founded in 1950 and in 1953 the first child sponsorship programme took place. Today they operate in about 100 countries around the world. (World Vision International, 2014.)

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) works in 191 countries all over the world. Their goals include helping children in armed conflicts and ending the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, by getting approval and by implementing the Convention and the Optional Protocol. They require the governments, families, communities and individuals to respect and support the rights of the children. UNICEF collaborates with the Committee on the Rights of the Child, who makes sure the Convention and Optional Protocols is being implemented. UNICEF not only gives advice to the Committee, but also communicates within States in order to have all the newest information available. All of UNICEF's work is guided by the principle and standards lists in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. They help to change both legal and policy frameworks of States in order to improve the understanding of the Convention in all levels of society. (UNICEF, 2005c, 2012) UNICEF works to prevent and respond to sexual violence by participating in different government sectors such as justice, social welfare, education and health, as well as legislators, civil society, community leaders, religious groups, the private sector, media, families and children themselves. UNICEF helps governments with enhancing child protection systems at both national and local levels. These levels include laws, policies, regulations and providing services to child victims. UNICEF also works for raising awareness about these issues. (UNICEF, 2011b)

ECPAT started in Thailand in 1997 and is now represented in 62 other countries. ECPAT International is a global network of organisations working against child prostitution, child pornography and trafficking of children for sexual purposes. The aim is to protect children all over the world from all forms of commercial sexual exploitation. They work together with local civil society actors and broader child rights community, forming a global social movement. ECPAT International start projects to protect children and educate others on the issues. They cooperate with international platforms which help them make better laws and policies, to help protect the children. It is vital that governments, NGO's, communities and thee private sector support the work of such networks. ECPAT International has 82 member groups in 75 countries. The groups vary from bigger alliances to smaller organizations. The administrative and coordinating unit of ECPAT is called The International Secretariat and they are based in

Bangkok, Thailand. They meet every three years with an independent Chairperson, Treasurer, Secretary, Youth representative and the International Board consisting of eight representatives from all continents, ECPAT is working to get more accurate data on how many children worldwide are victims of commercial sexual exploitation. (ECPAT, 2014c)

On the website of *The Code*, several benefits of joining them are listed. These benefits include: be known as a responsible brand, having a competitive edge, connecting with tourism community and reducing potential risks. The members will also gain access to online training platform and online action plan. However, no action plan is actually demonstrated. The Code encourages tourism companies around the world to be responsible and sustainable. They also give information to travellers about child sex exploitation. (The Code, 2012c) The Code focuses on CSEC related to travel and tourism. (The Code 2012a) The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism (the Code) is the result of cooperation between World Tourism Organization (WTO), ECPAT Sweden and Nordic Tour operators. It has six guidelines for activities aimed at fighting child sex tourism. Many of the staff in hotels and travel companies have not heard of it. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 127.)

Friends International is an international NGO that is active in several countries: Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Thailand and Honduras. In August 1994, Friends International started to support children and young adults who lived and worked in the street in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Child Safe Cambodia was launched in 2005 in Phnom Penh, but is now also active in Siem Reap. They have trainings concerning children's rights and safety for tuktuk and taxi drivers. The training includes real life situations and tests that show if they remember what they have learned. Since the drivers usually get commissions from bringing their customers, they get some monetary value from attending these trainings to keep their motivation high. Today they help families to support themselves, with the aim of not having to send their children to work, as well as provide necessary help where needed, such as shelter, health care, food, emergency sup-

port, HIV care and drug prevention and more. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 125, Friends International, 2012a, 2012b)

5 Sex tourism and orphanage business in Asia and Cambodia

5.1 Sex tourism in Asia

Attention to child sex tourism increased in the early 1990's. It was described as an event where Western men travel or live for a while in poor developing countries, with the aim of getting sexual access to local children. Campaigns against child sex tourism are mostly to prevent foreign paedophiles from traveling to sex tourism destinations. (Taylor in Cole and Morganm 2010, 60-61.) According to UNICEF (2007 in Tepelus 2008, 104), 30–35 % of all sex workers in Mekong sub-region of South-East Asia are 12–17 year olds; 2 million children are exploited through prostitution and pornography. Child sex tourism is growing all over the world, but according to Glover (2006 in Tepelus 2008, 104), the centre of child prostitution is Asia. More than one million children in Asia, under the age of 17, are involved in prostitution. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 126.) There are 20.000 child prostitutes in Sri Lanka, 60.000 in the Philippines, 400.000 in India, 800.000 in Thailand. Most of the child prostitutes are girls under 16 years of age, and in Sri Lanka many are boys. (Tepelus 2008, 104.) In Vietnam prostitution and child-trafficking has increased since the country opened itself up to the West and introduced market reforms. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 127.) In Nepal there are 25.000 sex workers, 5000 of these are children. (Nepal in Herath and Sharma 2007, 134-135.) Especially in Thailand the amount of women and children who are forced into prostitution is recognized. Usually agents or brothel owners make payment or loans to relatives. This is a global phenomenon. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 119.) The regions and percentages can be seen in the map below in Figure 2.

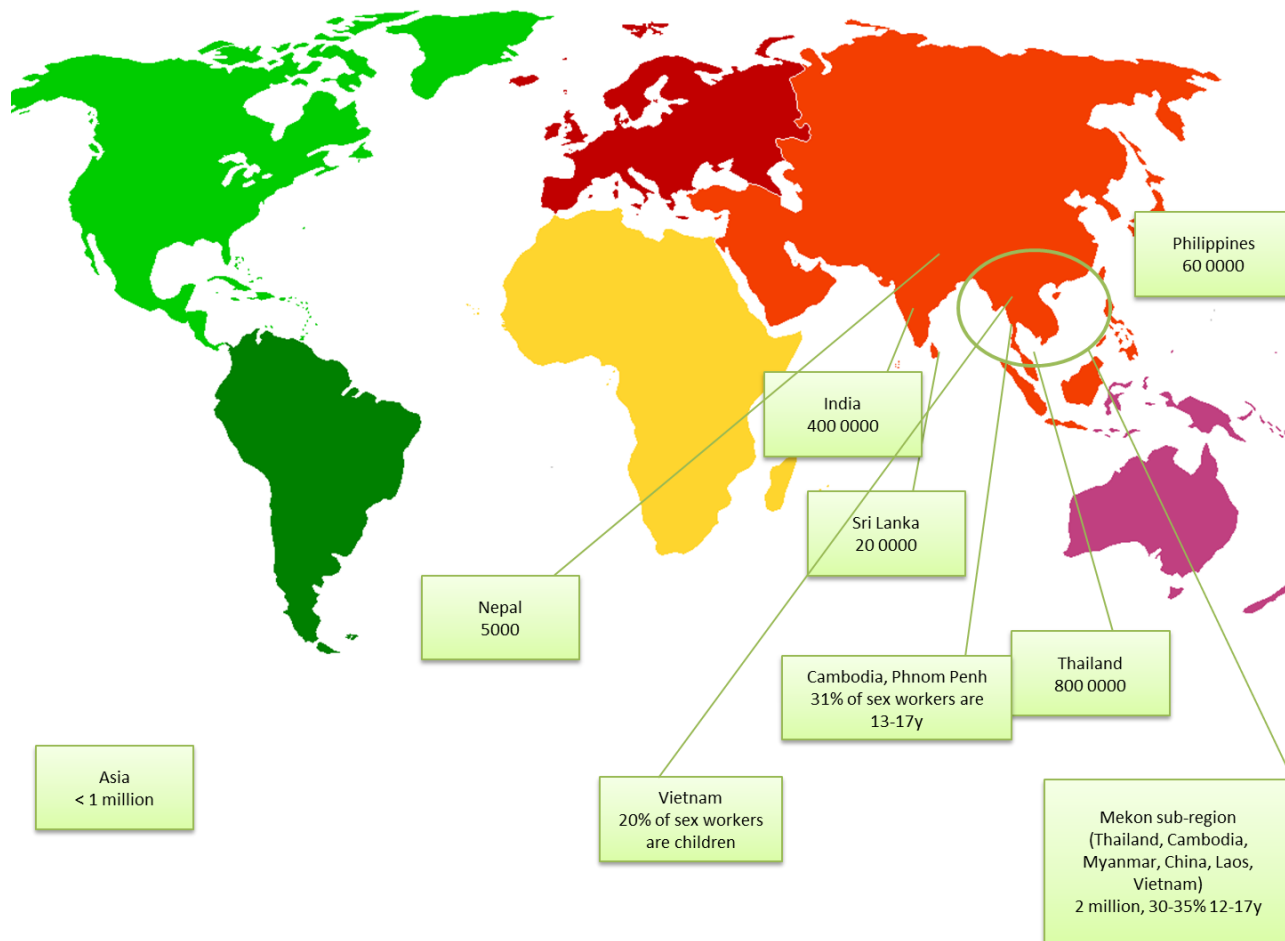


Figure 2: Child sex tourism statistics in Asia (Tepelus 2008, Ryan and Hall 2001)

Sex offenders usually travel alone rather than in a group. By traveling in a group they would have a schedule to follow, as well as a guide. The children usually get paid \$2-3 per night, extra if they stay the whole night which is usually not the case. In rare cases the children can also get gifts, but the payment is almost always monetary. Sex offenders can both be first-time visitors or regular visitors, as well as foreign residents. For example, it is usual that residents from Bangkok regularly visit Cambodia. They know who to talk to in order to get what they want. The average age of arrested offenders in Cambodia is 45 years old. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 107- 109.)

In Cambodia it is the NGO's, not the police, who lead and maintain child abuse cases. In Sihanoukville there is very few of these, which lets the abusers stay undiscovered. It is mostly long-term residents, rather than tourists, who abuse children in Sihanoukville. As it takes place in a private home, and not in a public guesthouse or hotel, it is more difficult to investigate the cases. Also due to the small community, anonymity of any

investigation taking place is difficult. According to one tour operator employee many businesses in this area either finds a girl to the customers or tell them where they can be found, also minors. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 108-109.)

Due to the growth of tourism, the sexual exploitation of children has increased. Sex tourism is a profitable industry. According to Jayaratne (2002 in Herath and Sharma, 2010, 180), tourists prefer children in sexual activities since there is lesser chance of getting sexually transmitted diseases. Prostitution has led to illegal birth and abandonment of children. (Goonesekera 1993, Arunatilake and Silva 2007 in Herath and Sharma, 2010, 180.) ILO is committed to end child prostitution. The commitment is reflected in Convention 29 on forced labour, and has been adopted in 1930. More recently ILO has developed an International programme on the Elimination of child labour (IPEC), which has been operating in Thailand and the Philippines. In Thailand, child prostitution involves regional trafficking of children from the poor areas and across borders. According to the Movement to Prevent Child Prostitution (MPCP 1996) Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan have become infamous as a destination for paedophiles. (ILO in Ryan and Hall 2001, 127.) According to ECPAT the commercial sexual exploitation of children is equal to the growth of tourism in many parts of the world. In the Philippines it is estimated that there are 6.000–100.000 children involved in the sex industry. In Vietnam 20 % of sex workers are children under 18 and in Phnom Penh, in Cambodia, 31% of sex workers are aged 13-17. (Ryan and Hall 2001, 22-23.)

According to the International labour organisation (ILO), around one million Asian children are forced into sexual exploitation. The situation is most alarming in Korea, Thailand, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Cambodia and Nepal. Because child prostitution is hidden from public, it is very rare that the children can seek help or be reached. Earlier research and case studies have shown that the trauma is so deep that the children are unable to return to normal life. (ILO in Ryan and Hall 2001, 126.)

5.1.1 Sex tourism in Thailand

Montgomery (2001 in Harrison 2002, 192-192), claims that due to the big sex tourism market and the social tolerance of it in Thailand, the words 'sex tourism' and 'Thailand' are almost synonyms. There are areas in Thailand that exist only for serving foreign tourist looking for sex and certain bars do not accept Thai men. Prostitution in Thailand is illegal, but the industry is still very open. According to Montgomery, even tour operators are happy to market the sex industry, for example by advertising hotels as not being family-friendly. Montgomery refers to Thailand as a sexual paradise, where everything is possible, even if prostitution is illegal. (Montgomery in Botterill and Jones, 2010, 70.)

The history of sex industry in Thailand started in 1930's when Chinese migrants came, and was later expanded by the American military in the 1960's. The situation of child sex tourism before the 1960's is unclear, but Montgomery claims that it has probably been very common. Studies show that in 1950, 90% of prostitutes were between the age of 15 to 20 (Fox 1960 in Jones and Botterill 2010, 70.) The prostitutes were mainly Thai women and children, but there is evidence of foreign women working in brothels, as well as Thai women having foreign customers. After the Vietnam War the sex industry became larger and more organized. After 1975, the Thai government used the tourism industry as a development strategy and used the same ideas that the Americans left behind. Prostitution was illegal, but it was seen as a good way to promote tourism. (Montgomery, 2010, 70-71 in Botterill and Jones 2010.) A study made by Montgomery shows that many child prostitutes think of their clients as friends or even protectors. They do not see them as abusers. Many of these children have tried working in another field but failed. They may not like what they are doing but see it more as a way of fulfilling a duty, keeping their families together and feeding them. (Montgomery in Botterill and Jones 2010, 73-75.)

5.2 Current tourism situation in Cambodia

Cambodia used to be one of the most famous tourism destinations in the 1960's, with 50.000-70.000 tourists arriving annually according to Lam (1966 in Chheang 2008,

281.) Cambodia has experienced war, intervention, colonialism and almost complete destruction of economic and social structures. In 1993 the Kingdom of Cambodia could start growing again. From 1993 to 1996 the GDP grew 6.1 % in real term. In 1997 the growth decreased due to the Asian financial crisis. The GDP grew by 1 % in real terms in 1997 and 1998. From 1999 to 2006 the annual GDP growth was 8 %. The living condition in Cambodia has improved just a little. The current economy is mainly agricultural sector, textile industry and tourism. According to Ministry of Tourism (2007 in Chheang 2008, 284), tourism is the second most important sector in the economy. In 2006 tourism was 6 % of the GDP and provided circa 250.000 workplaces. Tourism has been vital for the economy, the local community development and removing poverty. (Chheang 2008, 281-292.) Over one million tourists visit Cambodia annually. In 2007 to 2011 over two million tourists entered Cambodia and in 2012 the amount was over three million tourists. (Ministry of Tourism of Cambodia, 2013) Negative impacts of tourism in Cambodia are the marketing of child sex tourism on the internet. (Chheang 2008, 293-294.) The international tourist arrivals to Cambodia 2007-2012 can be seen in the chart below.

Year	Tourist arrivals		Average length of stay (days)
	Number	Change %	
1999	367.743	28,3	5,50
2000	466.365	26,8	5,50
2001	604.919	29,7	5,50
2002	786.524	30	5,80
2003	701.014	-10,9	5,50
2004	1.055.202	50,5	6,30
2005	1.421.615	34,7	6,30
2006	1.700.041	19,6	6,50
2007	2.015.128	18,5	6,50
2008	2.125.465	5,5	6,65
2009	2.161.577	1,7	6,45
2010	2.508.289	16	6,45
2011	2.881.862	14,9	6,50
2012	3.584.307	24,4	6,30

Figure 3: Tourist arrivals in numbers, the percentage change compared to the year before and the average length of stay in days for years 1999-2012. (Statistics and tourism information department: Tourism statistics annual report 2012, 2.)

The tourism industry is the second largest industry in Cambodia, with a GDP of 16 % in 2006. Over two million tourists have arrived every year since 2007. (Guiney 2012, 10–11.) The percentage of reasons why traveling to Cambodia is divided as follows: 21.7 % of the tourists that travel to Cambodia, are going there because of the sex tourism, while 32.5% travel for the culture, 12.5% travel because of business and 20.8% are official visits. (World Vision Cambodia, the Ministry of Tourism and the Cambodian National Children’s Council 2001 in John Hopkins University, 2007, 106.)

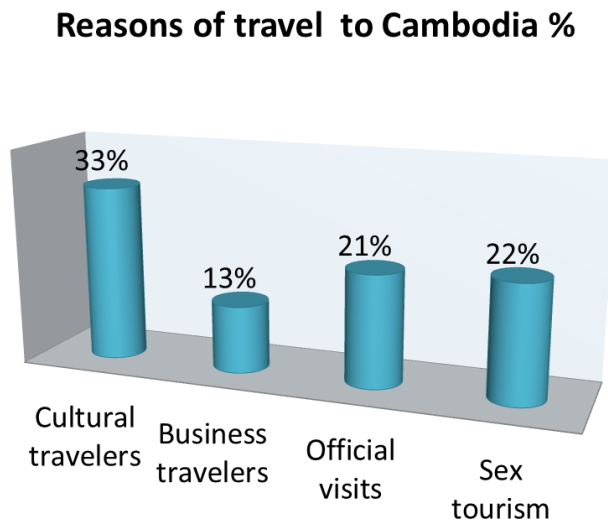


Figure 4: Reasons of traveling to Cambodia in percentages. (World Vision Cambodia and Ministry of Tourism 2001 in John Hopkins University, 2007, 106.)

Main sex tourism destinations in Cambodia are Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Sihanoukville, Battambang and Banteay Mancheay. In all cities there are specific areas that are not child safe and where sex tourists can be found, these are for example areas with brothels and bars, massage parlours and night clubs. In Siem Reap a lot of these places have recently been established due to demand. Sihanoukville is a beach resort and a popular tourist destination. The amount of foreigners living there is increasing. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 108-109.)



Figure 5: The red dots show the main sex tourism destinations in Cambodia. (John Hopkins University, 2007)

5.3 Orphanage tourism in Cambodia

Volontourism is one of the fastest-growing industries in the world. According to critics most orphanages use volunteering as a way of making profit, instead of serving the children. Some of the organizations that organize volunteering or manage the orphanages are claimed to exploit children. (Ruhfus and Haan, 2012.) According to orphanages.no (a2014), the orphanages in Cambodia are more of a problem than a solution. Richard Bridle from UNICEF says that the volunteers are not helping, but supporting institutions that should not exist. UNICEF and the Cambodian Government are working closely together to establish a national protection system. Ith Sam Heng in Aljazeera 2011, the minister of social affairs, says that the majority of orphanages that they have checked are working for the benefit of the children, and there are only a few false orphanages. (Aljazeera, 2011)

The tourists have made the business flourish which leads to children being separated from their parents. Many of the orphanages do not meet the regulations of the United Nation convention on the rights of the child, which makes them unsafe. (Orphanag-

es.no, 2014b) Guiney (2012, 10) defines orphanage tourism as visiting, volunteering and performances at orphanages for tourists. According to research conducted by Guiney (2012, 11) orphanages in Cambodia have to register at the Ministry of Affairs, Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation (MOSVY). After registration a minimum standard should be met, including medical and dental care, three meals per day, clean drinking water, clothing and hygiene material (for example toothbrushes and first aid kits), as well as the possibility to engage in activities such as sport, religious activities, recreation and leisure activities. Children should also be allowed to meet their families, as well as getting counselling if they are traumatised. A minimum of nine years of school should be provided. There are also requirements on the staff, management and buildings. The problem with meeting this is that no one checks whether the standards are met or not. Orphanages in Cambodia do not get any support from the government, which makes them rely on funds and donations. This makes the orphanage tourism grow.

To visit an orphanage while on holiday in Cambodia has become very popular. Hotels, guesthouses, tuk-tuk drivers and tour guides promote the experience in exchange for a per-visitor commission. Anyone can establish an orphanage in Cambodia. (Orphanages.no, 2014b) Many orphanages advertise themselves to tourist via hotels, guesthouses and shops or with brochures. Some even send the children to busy tourist areas, especially common in Siem Reap. Many of the orphanages are mentioned in Lonely Planet and on Tripadvisor. (Guiney 2012, 11) There is even a system where parents can rent their children to backpackers, creating false orphanages due to the visitor's demands. (Stupart, 2013) Many people travel to Cambodia with the aim of volunteering in an orphanage or other child-related organizations. Orphanage tourism has led to a money-making business where children are in danger of being abused and exploited. Uncontrolled volunteering is very harmful for the children. According to thinkchildsafe.com the organizations do not require any skills or knowledge or previous experience in social work or childcare. Some organizations do not do background checks. (Think child safe, 2014) The majority of volunteers are short-term, usually staying for a couple of days or a couple of weeks. Some volunteers stay long-term. The roles of the volunteers vary from orphanage to orphanage, but they are commonly teaching English or other skills (e.g. swimming, playing the piano), organize activities or play with the children. Some orphanages host cultural performances, and some do this every night,

some only for visitor donations. The orphanages that do this seem to have the biggest rate of visitors. Visiting hours varies. Some orphanages do not care at what time visitors come, others have visiting hours, while some do not let visitors come at all. (Guiney 2012, 11–12.)

After being discovered that most of the orphans in Cambodia have at least one living parent, the government started to inspect all of the 250 orphanages in the country. The money the tourist gives to the orphanages is not benefiting the children. The owners of the orphanages want to keep the children poor so more tourist will come and bring more money. (Carmichael, 2011) According to Rana Flower from UNICEF in Davidson 2014, many children arrive to the homes in hope of better education, but some of the institutions will not even provide food or good enough education. Flower claims that the education and social welfare system in Cambodia should be improved. Flowers are directing foreigners to community and education projects instead of orphanages. Orphanage tourism is an industry that is abusive and exploitative of children. (Davidson, 2014)

5.3.1 Increasing number of orphanages

According to Richard Bridle (in Carmichael 2011), only 28 % of children in orphanages have lost both their parents. The increase of orphanages and tourism in Cambodia has happened during the same timeframe. (Carmichael, 2011) According to several sources the orphanages in Cambodia have increased by 75 % since 2005. At the same time the foreign arrivals have increased by 250 %. More than 70 % of the orphans in Cambodia are not orphans, but come from poor families and have at least one living parent. This number varies between 70 – 80%, depending on the source. (Hartley & Walker, 2013, Ruhfus and Haan 2012, Davidson 2014, Aquino 2014) According to Richard Bridle from UNICEF 2012 in Davidson 2014, the number of orphans has decreased, but the number of orphanages has increased from 153 to 269 during the years 2007 to 2012. (Davidson, 2014) 21 of these orphanages are managed by the state, while the rest are privately owned. According to UNICEF 12.000 children are living in orphanages and out of this number only 28% have lost both of their parents. Parents send their children to orphanages in hope of a better life situation. (Pitrelli 2012) As of 2010, 11945

children lived in 269 residential care facilities. About 44 % of these children are put there by their parents or other family member. Ana Baranova (in Aquino 2014), from PEPY Tours claims that some of the children are rented or bought from their families, because it will bring money to the families. Parents believe that by selling their children to orphanages they will get a better life, but mostly this is not the case. (Aquino 2014, Davidson 2014) This means, that the orphans are not really orphans, but are recruited in return for the promise of better education and care. These orphanages are only for business purpose. There are still several orphanages and NGO's working for the best interest of the children, but they are very difficult to find, especially in the tourism areas such as Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. (Hartley & Walker 2013) Birrell (2010) writes in the Guardian, that Westerners who take pity on the poor children end up creating this absurd market. Some orphanages do not have any adult supervision. (Hartley & Walker, 2013) According to Luke Gracie (in Davidson 2014), alternative care manager at the NGO Friends International in Phnom Penh, long-term residential care is not a solution and it should be the last option for a child. (Davidson, 2014)

5.3.2 Children as a tourism attraction

Orphanages and the children have become a tourism attraction and the tourism industry is even including visiting an orphanage in a packaged holiday. According to previous research children are better of living with their parents and within their communities. Volunteers emotionally connecting with the children and then abandon them can cause distress. (Riggins, 2013) Some volunteer placement organizations, universities and hotels promote orphanage tourism to travellers. According to UNICEF the trend has arisen from good intentions. (Pitrelli, 2012)

Voluntourism is increasing the demand for orphanages, which leads to unnecessary family separations. According to Daniela Papi, who lived in Cambodia for six years, violation against the child's rights has increased due to volunteer travel. At the same time as the number of tourist increased, so did the orphanages. Papi claims that the tourism sector is helping in separating children from their parents and keeping them out of school, in order to entertain tourist. She claims that the volunteer industry is trying to find short-term solutions to long-term problems. According to Papi, volun-

teer travel is one of the biggest sectors in the tourism industry, and that orphanage tourism is one of the most popular forms of volunteering. Background checks are usually not done on volunteers before getting access to the children. This means that the children are at risk of abuse, attachment issues and being used as fundraising tools, according to Papi. (Aquino 2014, Papi 2012, Stupart 2013, Tourism concern 2014) This is a huge risk for the children, as well as them getting attached to the visitors which may lead to emotional and cognitive development issues. The monetary donations received tend not to go to the children. (Davidson, 2014)

Some centres are refusing to let tourists visit. Eve Saosarin (in Davidson 2014), who works in a family outreach centre in Sihanoukville, claims that it would be important for collaboration between local people, authorities and tourists in order to improve child protection and education. (Davidson, 2014)

5.3.3 Challenges and negative aspects of orphanage business

According to Gracie, the Cambodian government has introduced policies for minimum standards of child protection, but nothing is done to implement them. Many of the institutions have been accused of exploitation and abuse. Gracie says that it is very simple especially for foreigners to establish an organization or an orphanage in Cambodia, and choose whether they want it registered or not. (Davidson, 2014) Some orphanages are not meeting the government's minimum standards and do not check the identification or criminal background of its visitors. They let the visitors take the children out and choose whomever they want. (Ruhfus and Haan, 2012) According to The Guardian, both child protection and NGO workers want tourist and volunteers to stop going to orphanages in Cambodia. They say that the orphanage tourism damages the children and makes exploitation of them possible. (Davidson, 2014)

The orphanages with open door policy may be damaging for children. Some challenges are ineffective volunteer work. Another concern is the emotional loss the children experience every time a new volunteer or visitor arrives and leaves. Another big issue is the expose to child abusers. There is evidence of cases where the managers of the orphanages have sexually abused the children. Orphanages with open door policies are exposing children to this. Some of the NGO's in Cambodia is only focusing on making

profit and is taking advantage of the orphanage business. (Ruhfus and Haan 2012, Pitrelli 2012) Studies show that short-term volunteering is more harmful than helpful. Tourists take the locals jobs, money is being spent on upgrading facilities and vulnerable children get abandoned when the tourists go back home. (Birrell, 2010)

5.3.4 Damage to children

International research shows that children benefit more of living with their family or in a community than in an institution. There is evidence of young adults leaving orphanages facing problems such as homelessness, exploitation, trafficking, damaged family connections and drug abuse. (Pitrelli, 2012) Most childcare professionals would not let tourists visit orphanages. Even if you give money and not your time, you might still contribute to children being separated from their families. (Aquino, 2014) Unless the volunteers have relevant experience and training, it is better not to volunteer while in Cambodia. If not dedicating a suitable time, having the necessary skills and expertise, the volunteering can be very harmful. Teaching English to children is a popular short-term work, but may be a waste of time. (Aquino, 2014) All researches show that children benefit mostly when living with their parents. Thousands of children who could live with their parents are living in orphanages. (Elgot, 2013) Many researchers, as well as The Convention on the Rights of the Child, the UN Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children and the Cambodian Government's policy on Alternative Child Care all clearly state that to put vulnerable children into institutional care is the last thing to do and should not be final solution. Every time a new orphanage opens in Cambodia it is violence to the Royal Government of Cambodia. The government supports the Convention on the Rights of the Child and agrees that long-term institutionalization of children should be the last alternative. The government is trying to monitor the orphanages better. Children are at risk of abandonment, sexual and physical abuse in orphanages. (orphanages.no, 2014a) Orphanage tourism leads to child protection issues, and especially in Cambodia, paedophiles are a huge issue. According to Coats, 22 % of tourists in 2005 came only for sex. (Guiney, 2012, 11–12.)

5.3.5 A profit-making business

Voluntourism is advertised as “take care of children during the week; learn to surf during the weekend.” (YLE 2013) Many orphanages, especially in Siem Reap, are established to make profit. These business are good at marketing and self-promoting, says one of the workers in the Cambodian development sector. He says that the orphanages claim to have NGO status, a child protection policy and transparent accounting. None of these are true. (Aquino, 2014) Some orphanages even sell souvenirs, such as t-shirts or bracelets made by children, with the name of the orphanage. (YLE, 2013) Sometimes it is even possible that the visitors can take the children with them on holiday to another part of Cambodia, or out for the day to do whatever they wish to do. This is very concerning. (YLE, 2013)

Because of the lack of information about the orphanage business and the fact that most of the orphanages are privately run and managed, it is difficult to find accurate numbers on the annual profits. It is common that visitors leave donate between 10 -20 dollars, but it is possible to donate more, or to donate gifts such as books or clothing. (Hrubhy and Menghun, 2013) It is also possible to keep donating from your home country. Volunteering abroad is expensive, but not all of the money goes to the orphanage. For example, a volunteer can pay up to 3000\$, yet only 9\$ goes to the orphanage per week. (Ruhfus and Haan 2012) According to Kouvelis (2013) it is a multimillion business. Most orphanages are funded by donations. The orphanage business attracts tourists who bring money. The children are there to entertain them, by for example performing and dancing. Tourists are encouraged to donate money or doing short-term volunteering. (Aquino, 2014) Many reports show that the monetary donations made by tourists have led to the orphanage business and the wrong reasons to it. Not only Cambodian orphanages are benefitting from the business, but also international volunteering companies. (Ruhfus and Haan, 2012) There are campaigns that want to stop for-profit organisations sending unqualified travellers to orphanages and creating a demand for the industry. (Elgot, 2013)

5.3.6 Facilitators

When it comes to children and abusers finding each other, there are many ways. Abusers may approach children directly, and ask them to follow them to a hotel or some other quiet place. The children also know what some tourists want, and know how to communicate that they offer sexual services to the tourists. Intermediaries, or facilitators, are also very common. The most common are mototaxi and taxi drivers, but also tour operators, travel company employees, brothel owners, as well as hotel and guesthouse employees. Foreigners can be facilitators when they tell their friends about the experience. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 109.)

In the case of mototaxi or taxi drivers, both the driver and the customer can be active in asking one another if they are interested in these kinds of services. The driver may take the customer to the girls, or go find a girl and bring her back to the customer. It is common in Phnom Penh that the taxi driver gets a \$1-2 commission from the brothel if they bring a customer, but in Sihanoukville it is less common. Sometimes the taxi driver can tell the customer that the girl is more expensive than she actually is, and takes the few extra dollars for themselves. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 110.) For example, tuktuk drivers receive commissions from orphanages when they bring tourists to the centers. Some of the drivers will stop by markets so that tourists are able to buy school supplies for the children. Some drivers arrange daily trips to these centers. Most of the orphanages commissioning tuktuk drivers are scams and merely for business purpose, nothing to do with volunteering and helping the children. (Hartley & Walker, 2013)

Hotel and guesthouse front desk staff can sometimes arrange for a girl, or just turn a blind eye to the ones coming back to the hotel. They are afraid that they will lose customers if they interfere. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 110) Tour guides and operators may tell where the girls and brothels can be found, but usually explain about the laws at the same time, since they are afraid that them not giving the information will lead to bad influence on their business. (John Hopkins University 2007, 111.) Also child victims of child sex abuse, usually in the age of 15-17, can be facilitators who offer children over 10 year olds for abusers. (John Hopkins University 2007, 111.)

5.4 Prevention and campaigns

Several campaigns against child sex tourism in Cambodia. Child Safe Tourism project started in 2001, in collaboration with World Vision Cambodia and the Children Assistance for Mobilization and Participation (CAMP). (John Hopkins University 2007, 115) The Cambodian government launched a campaign with the name "Children are not Tourist Attractions" in 2011. (Ruhfus and Haan, 2012) Tourists are reminded with posters, that the law is watching them as well in Cambodia, as well as in their home country. The Ministry of Tourism (MoT) started fighting sex tourism in 2000 on both national and provincial level. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 115.) The Cambodian law can be seen in attachment 1.

The Ministry of Tourism (MoT) has made a plan for Child Safe Tourism. It is implemented by the Ministry of Tourism themselves, as well as the Ministry of Interior (MoI), the Ministry of Social Affairs, Veteran Affairs and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSAVY), the Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training (MLVT) and the Ministry of Women's and Veteran's Affairs (MoWVA). The plan includes education, raising awareness, training courses and workshops for hotel and guesthouse owners, tour guides and taxi drivers, as well as ongoing education for children, law enforcements, people working in the tourism industry, airlines and residents in tourist areas, as well as booklets and flyers containing information. (John Hopkins University, 2007 113-114.) Collaboration across different sectors is vital. (John Hopkins University 2007, 119.)

People are afraid of reporting suspects to the police, because they are afraid of revenge. The judicial process is very long and costly. (John Hopkins University 2007, 119.)

6 Findings and results

The global recommendation is to not approve of volunteering in an orphanage because of the evidence that many orphanages are a profit-making business and do not work in the best interest of the child. Over 70 % of the children in orphanages in Cambodia have at least one living parent, and in Zimbabwe the same percentage is 40, in Sri Lanka 92% and in Azerbaijan 70 %. (Save the Children, 2010, 6.)

6.1 Model suggestions

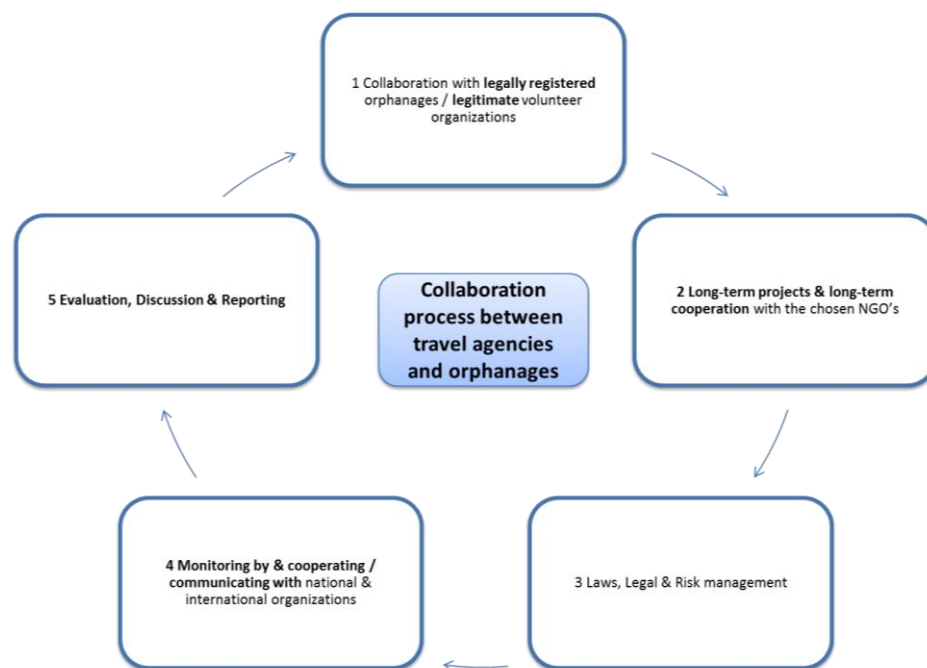
It is possible to manage a successful volunteering experience. To manage successfully, it will require understanding of the current situation, as well as the willingness to work for change. As this research shows, previously used tools are not enough. The suggested process model consists of several important steps. It is vital to recognize what will happen before, during and after the experience, as well as be aware that there is a continuously ongoing process. I have made a model according to my research that will provide practical tips and suggestions to deal with the issue at hand. I have chosen to divide the process into two different levels; the organizational level and the volunteer experience process. This should make it easier to understand the core issues to consider and handle. If an organization is to send volunteers to work in orphanages or any other child-related projects, they should be strict with pre-face activities, such as doing proper background checks on the candidates. Be in contact with both host organization and volunteer during the whole experience and have a follow-up discussion and evaluation after volunteers return.

As the key factors in this thesis are voluntourism and its contribution to orphanage business and therefore to develop a strategy for travel agencies to reduce the illicit work and increase quality of life in the orphanages, the models give proposals for this. After collecting and analysing the data and categorizing the findings into chapters, the key questions were:

- Why has the orphanage business increased and what can be done to reduce the growth?

- How can the volunteering process and experience be made safer for the children without too much work for the travel agencies?
- Is there any recruitment processes taking place and why are the criminal records extract not checked on volunteers?
- What is the difference between the Finnish and the Cambodian laws?
- Why are the travel agencies collaborating with illicit orphanages?

The model suggestions aim to find a solution to the problems. The first model is an ongoing process model that stresses and encourages more cooperation between travel agencies and orphanages.



Collaboration between travel agencies and orphanages, 2014

Figure 6: The collaboration process between travel agencies and orphanages. As can be seen in the figure above, the main issues to consider for the travel agency are long-term co-operations, long-term projects, legal and risk management, monitoring, co-operation and communication, evaluation and reporting.

Step 1: The first step when collaborating with organizations in another country where the laws differ from the ones in the home country is to be sure that the cooperation partner is legitimate. As discussed in chapter 5.3, everyone in Cambodia has the possibility to open an orphanage, which is why it is important to be careful when choosing a

cooperation partner. Illicit orphanages and their problems were discussed in chapter 5.3.3. The Cambodian law considering these issues can be studied in attachment 1.

Step 2: When having assured the cooperation partner is legitimate, long-term cooperation is favourable. Long-term cooperation will be beneficial in several ways: being familiar with their operation strategies and values, as well as seeing own project development. It will reduce the amount of extra work that will be required to find a new organization every time a volunteer is sent abroad and prevent the risk of collaborating with someone who cannot be trusted. Short-term volunteering and its disadvantages and challenges were discussed in chapters 2.5, 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4.

Step 3: Legal and risk management is a vital issue in voluntourism. Understanding the law of the host country is important in order to be able to provide the necessary information to the volunteers. The action plan goes according to the law. This means that if something goes wrong during the experience, for example exploitation of children or other human rights neglect, the organization has an action plans to follow with concrete steps and instructions. It is vital that volunteers are informed about the current situation in the destination, for example the training for Cambodia should include explaining the orphanage business and your company's risk management plan, with practical instructions and guidelines on how to act in any situations, for example if they see abuse or exploitation of children, since there is evidence that some orphanages are exploiting children, as discussed in chapter 5.3.3. Human rights were discussed in chapter 4 and the Cambodian law can be seen in attachment 1.

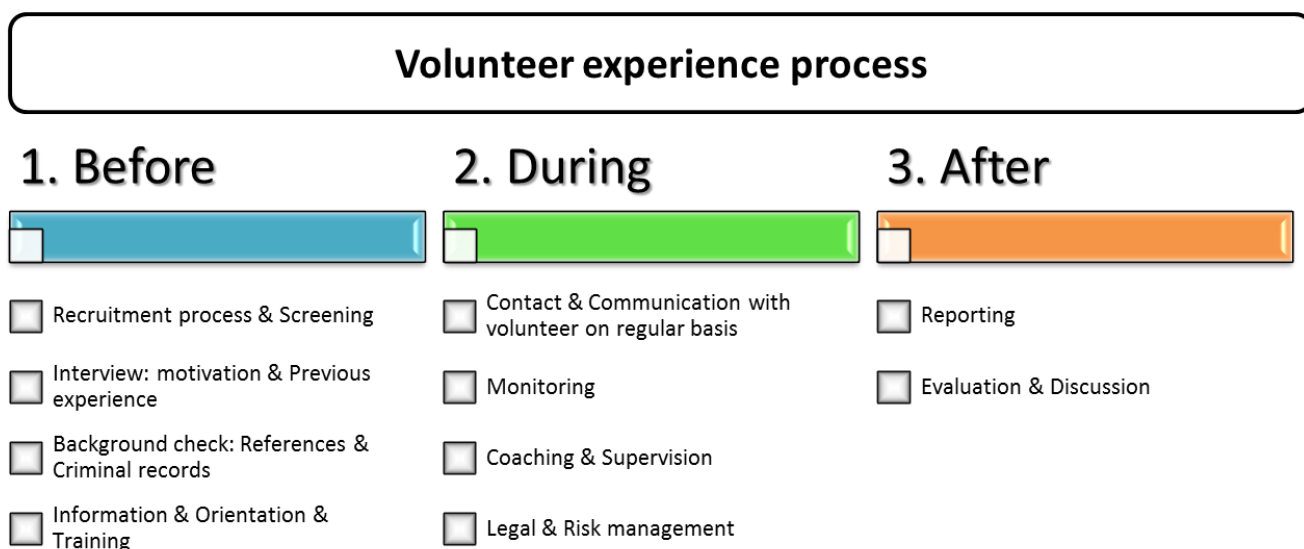
Step 4: Monitoring the cooperating organizations and orphanages should be done both on a national and international level. For example the Cambodian government and international organizations such as UNICEF, ECPAT and Friends International should communicate with each other and work together for a mutual goal. Including travel agencies in the home country and the host organization. The main organizations working for preventing CST were discussed in chapter 4.2. Continuous cooperation and communication is required. During the volunteering it is helpful to be in contact with the hosting organization or host community on a regular basis. This can be done

for example through Skype or e-mails. It will help understand how the work is performed and if it is valuable. The unskilled work of volunteers and its influence on the host community was discussed in chapter 2.5.

Step 5: After the volunteer arrives back to their home country, evaluation and discussion should be conducted. This will help in evaluating the development of the project, the host organization and the work performed by volunteers. The data that is gathered should be restored so it can be used later on if needed. Reporting is important for a number of reasons, firstly the achievements can be used for future projects, the challenges and problems can be identified and solved. The data gathered can be used for highlighting success rate which can be used in future marketing and recruitment.

The second model is divided into three timeframes: before, during and after the volunteer experience.

- Before: an experience starts before traveling and prevention is vital in this field (including information about the destination and recruitment process etc.)
- During: monitoring and possibility to intervene on spot.
- After: makes evaluation and improvement possible.



The volunteering experience process, 2014

Figure 7: Volunteering experience process model. I have divided it into before, during and after the experience.

Step 1: Before the volunteering experience, the company should have a recruitment and screening process. This is where the volunteers are recruited, in a similar way as for any other job. Screen the applications and choose the qualified ones for the interview. The purpose of the interview is to map the motivation and previous experiences of the volunteers. Recognize the volunteer's skills and aims. It is very vital that background check is done on the individuals that will be sent abroad. Get references, for example recommendation letters from a school or a previous work place and check their criminal records extracts, even if it is not required in the host country. It will not require a lot of work on the company's part, but it will reduce the risk of sending inappropriate persons abroad. Mapping motivations and background check is important due to the new booming orphanage industry, as many tourists travel because of sex tourism, as discussed in chapter 5.2. Because most orphanages do not check the background themselves, and as discussed in chapter 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, this can lead to exploitation of children. In chapter 2.5, criticism towards voluntourism was discussed. One of the disadvantages of the field is volunteers who do not have the required skills to perform the necessary work. When working with children who suffer from distress and trauma, it is vital to have the needed expertise, since we do not want to make the situation worse. Many professionals agree on this, as mentioned in chapter 5.3.4.

The orientation and training should include mapping expectations and explaining what can be expected on site. This includes tasks, lodging, expenses, meals, culture, the current situation in Cambodia, as well as practical tips on what is to be done if wrongdoings occur, including contact persons who know how to deal with the matter at hand. The current situation in Cambodia was discussed in chapter 5.2, and the orphanage business in chapter 5.3. For example if the volunteer sees someone abusing a child, the volunteer will know who to contact and tell about the issue, and the person contacted will know what to do in order to help the child. This is vital because of evidence of this happening, as well as of human rights as discussed in chapter 4.

Step 2: During the experience there should be communication between your company and the volunteer on a regular basis. This can be done by phone, internet, via e-mail or

Skype. You should pre-determine when the contacting is taking place. When this is scheduled beforehand it is more probable to take place. It is important that the contact persons back in the home country of the volunteers can give feedback to the volunteers and answer any questions they may have. When coaching and supervising the situation it is less likely that any wrongdoings happen. To have someone they can trust can motivate the volunteers to work better and encourage them to intervene if they suspect abuse of any kind. Having contact on a regular basis will help in monitoring the situation as well.

Step 3: After the experience, discussions and evaluation should take place. This is one way of monitoring what is going on in the destination, including evaluation of the activities, host organization, other collaboration partners and the experience, as well as compare advantages and disadvantages. All information and data that has been collected should be reported and saved for later use and possible improvements. The benefits of storing data were discussed in figure 5, step 5.

7 Discussion

The purpose of this thesis is to increase consciousness and raise awareness of the dark side of voluntourism, as most people are solely aware of the benefits of volunteering and have very little knowledge of the negative aspects of the field, concentrating on Asia and Cambodia. The research objectives are

- What is voluntourism and how is it affecting tourism?
- Is short-term volunteering harmful?
- Are voluntourism organisations and travel agencies operations working in the best interest of the child?
- Does the orphanage business and its profitability have a direct connection to the increased tourism in Cambodia?
- Is exploitation and abuse of children really happening in orphanages?
- What, if any, pre-experience activities take place?

Voluntourism, a combination of volunteering and tourism, that ables the travelers to enjoy leisure and holiday, as well as working to help others at the same time. (Kumaran and Pappas, 2012, E.1 in Connors 2012) Voluntourism is a growing field and the interest towards it has increased during the last couple of years. (Lyons and Wearing, 2008, 3.) There are many advantages to voluntourism, but also a lot of disadvantages that many people in general are not aware of due to lack of research and information. The increasing voluntourism industry has contributed to sex-, and child sex tourism industry. Sex tourism has been around for several years, but when it comes to child sex tourism many ethical questions are raised. The orphanage business and child sex tourism are closely related, as several orphanages have been accused of child exploitation and abuse. (Davidson, 2014) The number of orphans with one or more living parents is alarming. Between 70 - 80 % of the orphans in Cambodia are not orphans, but come from poor families and have at least one living parent. (Hartley & Walker, 2013, Ruhfus and Haan, 2012, Davidson, 2014, Aquino 2014, Orphanages.no, 2014b) This number is alarming also in Zimbabwe, Liberia, Ghana, Azerbaijan and Sri Lanka, where the number varies between 40 % in Zimbabwe and 92% in Sri Lanka. (Save the children, 2010, Riggins, 2013)

More and more orphanages are a money-making business. (Pitrelli, 2012, Ruhfus and Haan 2012) In Cambodia the tourism industry has grown alongside the orphanage business, and according to Kouvelis (2013) this is currently a multimillion business. Many orphanages are not legally registered, and even if they would be they might not follow the standards that are set. (Pitrelli, 2012, Davidson, 2014) It is difficult to find an orphanage that operates in the best interest of the child, especially near the tourist destinations. (John Hopkins University, 2007, 109) Some of these orphanages have an open-door policy, which means that visitors can come and go as they wish. (Pitrelli, 2012, Ruhfus and Haan, 2012) Sometimes there might not be personnel on the venue. The orphanages might even try gaining more profit by having the children perform in the night, or by selling souvenirs such as t-shirts with the orphanages name on it or bracelets. (YLE 2013, Aquino 2014)

Open door policy, institutional care, as well as short-term volunteer contribute to several problems: these children are at risk of exploitation as well as physical, sexual and psychological abuse. Institutional care can lead to physical, social and emotional underdevelopment, as well as low educational levels, including lack of reading skills. (Save the children 2010, 6.) Many of the children that survive sexual exploitation have trauma for the rest of their lives and in the future it can lead to poor health, unwanted pregnancies, behaviour and trust issues, discrimination, physiological distress, substance abuse problems and HIV infection. (The Code, 2012a, UNICEF, 2011b) Studies show that short-term volunteering is more harmful than helpful, because the tourists take the jobs from locals, money is being spent on upgrading facilities and vulnerable children get abandoned when the tourists leave. (Birrell, 2010) According to Guttentag (2009), short-term volunteers may delay or do unsatisfactory work. A majority of the professionals and others agree that children should not be put in institutionalised care and if they do it should not be a long-term solution. A majority of people still want to donate money to orphanages, as they believe they will be able to see where their money is actually going, as well seeing the progress of the children. (orphanages.no, 2014a)

Tourism is affecting locals in the tourism destinations negatively, not letting them have a decent standard of health and well-being. The field is being inspected from the environmental point of view but not from the human rights aspect. One of the reasons that human rights are not getting the required attention, is because civil and political rights are prioritized over economic, social and cultural rights. When it comes to child sex tourism, the international community has come up with laws, codes and practices and are focusing on putting sex abusers behind bars, but not much is done for the reasons leading to this, for example poverty. Academics and text books have ignored the relationship between tourism and human rights, except for when it comes to child sex tourism. According to Branson and Craven (2002) tourism is usually taught in business schools, which makes the field seen as an industry, and business is supposed to gain profit and the customer is always right. According to George (2007) the reason to the absence of human rights in the tourism curriculum, is because they usually concentrate on the size of the industry, the increasing number of tourists and the percentage of employees. (Cole and Eriksson 2010 in Cole and Morganm 2010, 110.)

According to YLE (2013) a criminal records extract is required when volunteering in Great Britain and Ireland, because it is required by law in these countries. This is not, however, required when traveling to Asia or Africa. It is vital that travel agencies are aware of the current situation in voluntourism, but being aware is not enough. Travel agencies need to work hard to end the booming orphanage business, and starting by the small steps mentioned earlier in this chapter is a good start.

7.1 Validity and reliability

In this thesis the desk research method, also known as the secondary research method is used. It is one of the most commonly used research techniques today. The definition of desk research is

...gathering and analysing information, already available, in print or published on the internet. (MSG, 2013, DJS Research Ltd., 2014)

The validity and reliability of this research that was done with the desk research method will be compared to doing research with the field study method. According to dictionary.com 2014, field research is

...any study conducted in person, in a natural setting outside of a laboratory, possibly through interviews.

Field research is qualitative research and can be direct observation where the researcher collects data through observation in natural settings, participant observation where the researcher participates in the everyday life and routines with the members, or interviews which can be informal, semi-structured or standardized interviews. Informal interviews make space for responsiveness and discussion, semi-structured interviews have predetermined questions but open-ended answers, and standardised interviews have carefully planned questions asked in the same order every time. An advantage of direct observations is that the researcher is not influencing the members of the study, but at the same time the disadvantage is that the behaviour can be unusual. Participant observation is timely and costly, but will provide good understanding about the research object. Informal interviews are difficult to analyse and classify, semi-structured interviews are easier to analyse but does not offer much discussion opportunities. A standardized interview gives easily comparable results, but does not give discussion opportunities. (The Regents of the University of Michigan, 2013) To conduct direct observations or participant observations would in the best case scenario bring more validity and reliability to this research, but it would be very timely and costly. It would require flying to Cambodia and observing several orphanages as well as permits to do so. This is not always possible especially if wanting to find out about the negative aspects of the orphanage business and voluntourism, as people may be afraid or unwilling to talk about their experiences. Conducting interviews might bring more understanding to the problems, but it would be more of qualitative research and the researchers own conclusions, which would lessen the reliability of the research.

Advantages of secondary research are

- Inexpensiveness

- Easily accessible information
- A lot of information available
- Immediately available information
- Help in redefining research problem
- Essential background information provided

Disadvantages of secondary research:

- Out-of-date information
 - Not specific information to researcher needs
 - Lack of availability
 - May not get enough information
 - Quality of researcher and previous studies
- (KnowThis LLC, 1998-2014, Slideshare, 2014)

Some of the issues to consider when reflecting the validity of secondary research are the amount of available information, as well as the quality of the researcher. One of the advantages to this research method is that there is a lot of easily accessible information immediately available for the researcher. The question is if the researcher has managed to access all of the information, or at least the most important ones. Quality of research means if the sources and previous researchers are reliable. In the case of this thesis all of the information has probably not been found. Out of all the data that has been gathered many are original sources or the original sources have been quoted in other texts. The use of original data and sources brings validity to the research due to quality of research and information.

There are some limitations to this research. Some of the problems to this research method are the question of finding the wanted information. In many cases it is difficult to find the specific information according to the need of the researcher, as well as finding enough of that information. In the case of this thesis many sources and previous studies showed the same results, which give more reliability and validity to the research. Sometimes the wanted information is not available, which has also been the

case in this research. For example finding information about the profitability and economy of the orphanage business is problematic and many studies have concentrated on the advantages of voluntourism and less on the disadvantages. Some secondary research issues can be the outdated information, which is a normal problem in the tourism sector due to the rapidly changing environment. Due to the relatively new voluntourism phenomena, a lot of the data used is up-to-date.

8 Conclusion

8.1 Suggestion for future research

Since voluntourism is a new field in the tourism industry future research is needed in several issues. There are several studies made on the positive aspects of voluntourism, but not so much on the negative aspects and more specifically on the disadvantages on short-term voluntourism. More research about the disadvantages of short-term volunteering is required to be able to understand the severity of unskilled volunteers working with child related jobs. It would also be useful to identify the exact skills that are needed when volunteering with orphans and traumatized children. This would enhance the real help the children are provided and make the working environment better for the local employees and professionals. This research clearly shows evidence of the orphanage business being a very profitable business but orphanages are still struggling with not having enough resources for the children. Further research on where the profit goes and who is benefitting from the business could be studied to be able to get the bigger picture of the industry and its severity. If research on responsibilities of the host organization and the sending organization would be studied, the cooperation between these entities could be improved in the future for a better and safer environment for the volunteers as well as others that are involved in projects. There are several options for future research some of which are more important than others. As the voluntourism industry is still quite new it will probably take some time to gather enough information on the subject.

8.2 Own professional development

The experience gained from doing this thesis has developed my knowledge on researching as well as being able to skim through information and see the important pieces that requires more attention. During this learning process development and improvement of vocabulary and putting thoughts into words and sentences has happened. Choosing the correct and precise key words to find the wanted information is not always very easy but these skills have emerged during the process. Setting achieva-

ble goals is an important aspect of the learning process and they have been met well on time.

Having an understanding of what is going on in the world around you and globally is important for all people because it decreases biases and other unnecessary battles. Furthermore it is even more important for someone in the tourism industry and hospitality business to have the knowledge that is available. This is important because of a couple of reasons: first, it is important to behave and serve all with the same preferences and from the same starting point, without looking at background, ethnicity, race or gender. Second, having knowledge and accurate information about the situation around you and the world in general will benefit in aiding and improving own businesses to me more CSR.

This learning opportunity and the thesis process have of course deepened my knowledge about the current voluntourism situation around the world which is vital for my future career in hospitality, as well as experience and wellness management.

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Attachments

Attachment 1. Camodian law

The Kingdom of Cambodia Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia 1993

Article 46: The commerce of human beings, exploitation by prostitution and obscenity which affect the reputation of women shall be prohibited.

Article 48: The State shall protect the rights of children as stipulated in the Convention on Children, in particular, the right to life, education, protection during wartime, and from economic or sexual exploitation. The State shall protect children from acts that are injurious to their educational opportunities, health and welfare. Law on the Suppression of the Kidnapping, Trafficking and Exploitation of Human Beings.

Law on suppression of the kidnapping, trafficking and exploitation of human persons, 1996

Article 4: Shall be considered as a pimp (male or female) or head of prostitute, any person:

1. Who supports or protects one or more persons, by whatever means with knowledge in advance of the act of prostitution of such person(s) or seeks customers for such person(s) for the purpose of prostitution, or
2. Who regularly shares the benefits obtained from the prostitution acts in any form, or
3. Who brings men or women by whatever means for a training and convinces them to become male or female prostitutes, or
4. Who acts as an intermediary by whatever form, to create relationships between male and female prostitutes with the head/owner of a brothel or with a person who provides benefits on the prostitution of other persons, or
5. Who confines men or women in his/her house or any place, for the purpose of forcing them to commit prostitution to earn money for him/her

Article 5: Any male or female pimp or head of prostitutes shall be punished with from five (5) to ten (10) years in prison. In case of repeated offence, double term of the above punishment shall be applied. Shall be subject to punishment to imprisonment from ten (10) to twenty (20) years, in case if upon a pimp:

1. Commits an offence onto a minor person of below 15 years old, or
2. Commits an offence by coercion and violence or by threat or weapon, or
3. Who is a husband, wife, boy/girl friend, father or mother or guardian and forces a man or woman to commit prostitution, or
4. Who forces a victim to commit prostitution outside of the country or, a victim who is a foreigner to commit prostitution on the territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The court may, in addition to the above principal punishment term, apply a sub-punishment, by restriction of the civil rights and non-authorization of residence.

Article 7: Any person who opens a place for committing debauchery or obscene acts shall be punished by imprisonment from one (1) to five (5) years and by a fine of five million (5,000,000) riel to thirty million (30,000,000) riel. In the case of repeated offenses, the above punishment terms shall be doubled.

Article 8: Any person who commits acts of debauchery involving a minor below 15 years old, even if there is consent from the concerned minor, or even if the person has bought such minor from someone else or from a pimp, shall be punished by ten (10) to twenty (20) years in prison. In case of repeat offenses, the maximum punishment term shall be applied. The court may, in addition to the above principal punishment, apply a sub-punishment by restriction of civil rights and by the non-authorization of residence.

Tourism Law of Cambodia (not ratified yet) Chapter 12

Article 44:

1. Minors below 15 and 18 year old must be prohibited from entering rooms' accommodation establishments that provide services, unless accompanied by their parents.
2. Minors under 18 years old must be prohibited from adult tourist accommodations

Article 45:

1. Owners or managers of tourism services and businesses must be prohibited from allowing entry of minors below 15 and under 18 years old into the rooms of accommodation establishments without their legal parents
2. Owners or managers of adult tourism accommodations must be strictly prohibited from allowing entry of minor persons under 18 years old into service establishments.

(Sarun, H, Ministry of Tourism, Cambodia, Bali, Indonesia, 2003 in Childsafe International, 2014)