EVALUATION

ILO-IPEC

Action against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children
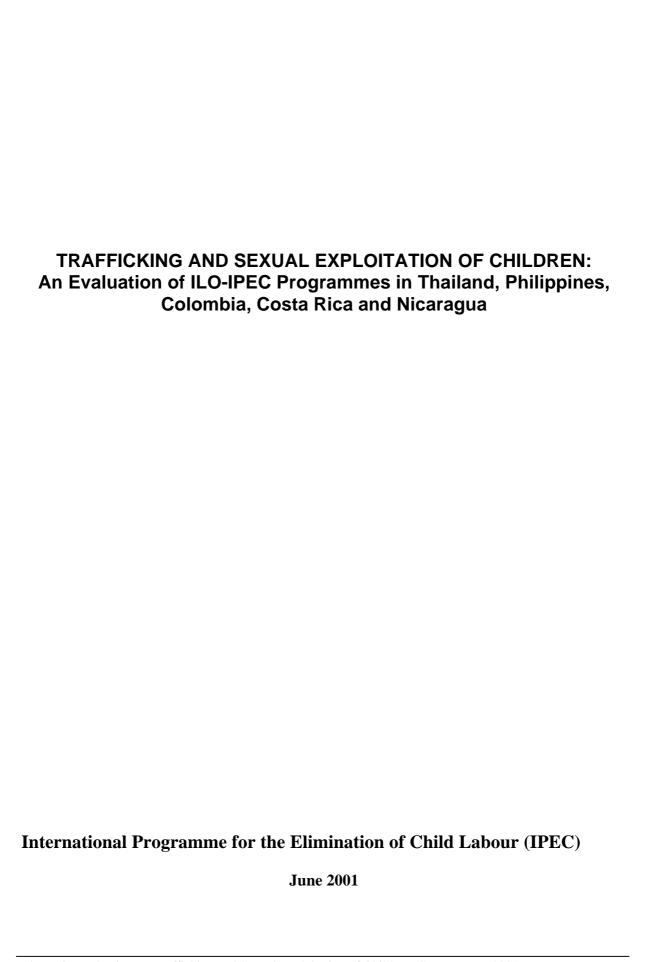
Going where the children are…

An Evaluation of ILO-IPEC Programmes
Thailand, Philippines, Colombia, Costa Rica
And Nicaragua

Geneva, June 2001

Thematic evaluation by independent evaluation team

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN:
An Evaluation of ILO-IPEC Programmes in Thailand, Philippines, Colombia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua

International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

June 2001

P R E F A C E

This report is based on a comprehensive thematic evaluation report prepared by two independent evaluators with extensive experience in the area of action against trafficking and sexual exploitation.

The full report contains annexes with the modalities of the assignment; Terms of Reference; the list of pre-field mission questions; information on evaluators and summary of field visits; and additional notes on regional initiatives just under implementation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADNET	**Philippine NGO**
CSEC	**Commercial sexual exploitation of children**
DEP	**Development and Education Programme for Daughters (Thailand NGO)**
ECPAT	**End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking (international NGO)**
ERDA	**Philippine NGO**
ESCAP	**United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific**
FUNDESIDA	**Costa Rican NGO**
IGO	**Intergovernmental organization**
ILO	**International Labour Organization**
ILO-IPEC	**ILO International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour**
IOM	**International Organization for Migration**
MoLSW	**Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (Thailand)**
NGO	**Non-governmental organization**
NUWHRAIN	**National Union of Workers in the Hotel, Restaurant and Allied Industries Union (Philippines)**
NSC	**National Steering Committee (Thailand)**
OCPWWC	**Operational Centre on the Protection of Working Women and Children (Thailand)**
PANI	**Patronato Nacional de la Infancia (Costa Rica)**
PARTCO	**Partners in Research, Training and Community Organization (Philippines)**
PIA	**Philippine Information Agency**
SIMPOC	**ILO Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour**
STOP	**Stop Trafficking of Pilipinas Foundation Inc. (Philippine NGO)**
TSE	**Trafficking and sexual exploitation (in this report, of children)**
TWT	**Thai Women of Tomorrow (Thailand NGO)**
UN	**United Nations**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Programme**
UNESCO	**United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**
UNICEF	**United Nations Children's Fund**

Thematic Evaluation on Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children. Geneva, June 2001

iv

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Lessons learned and building for the future

The report contains, in detail, ideas for models – or rather components of programmes – that might be suitable for replication, expansion or further development. Below is a summary of those suggestions, but does not attempt to be exhaustive.

Programme elements worthy of adaptation and replication

- Interrupting the flow of children for exploitation by intervening where the children are;
- Engaging groups of people who come into contact with trafficked children, eg ships' captains, and helping them develop as 'social protection networks';
- Community and street outreach by volunteer/other dedicated people, particularly if the community is more widely and creatively defined;
- Outreach as a means of making alliances with non-traditional target audiences in order to have first-hand contact with sites of sexual exploitation and the opportunity to contact children;
- Coalition-building with law enforcement agencies to change attitudes that seek to punish victims, not exploiters;
- Working with the media as actors, not contractors;
- Provincial plans, although their implementation needs collaborative support and follow-up;
- Reinforced networks supported by focal points and information resource centres;
- Providing direct financial subsidies, scholarships and prizes;
- Community-level mobilization and groupings.

Programme elements that have potential to be developed or redirected

- To develop: trade union engagement, including training and awareness-raising;
- To update: alternative work skills programming;
- To develop the potential of: communication programmes;
- To refine: programmes aimed at effecting attitude change.

Programming that has not been successful

- Prevention programmes in a context in which there is no attempt to simultaneously deal with demand;
- Prevention programmes that do not squarely confront immediate goals of disease-prevention, health education and birth control;
- Running institutional 'homes' and long psychotherapy processes for victims;
- Unmeasurable processes aiming at attitude change within traditional institutions;
- Untargeted information campaigns and materials, and expensive educational materials that are simply handed out with no strategy, follow-up or feedback;
- Media programmes not done by the media;
- Vocational training that is not relevant to the interests of the participants or the reality of the employment market;
- Gender programming that leaves male-dominated demand and supply untouched;
- Rescue and prevention projects that focus solely on classic forms of prostitution such as the street, bars and brothels, when other forms are proliferating, including among non-poor children;
- Research and analysis of research undertaken without taking into account the specificity of TSE.

Areas that should be considered in future programming

- Getting better value from the labour mandate;
- Child-centred strategic frameworks and planning at central level;
- Baseline research/cause and effect analysis that is specific and sensitive to TSE;
- Developing tools in support of other programme activity;
- Better and more impact analysis and evaluation;
- Transnational/regional/cross-border (widely defined) programming to deal with trafficking;
- Rethinking of gender issues within a specific TSE framework.
- Tackling the demand side, including working with boys;
- More workplace-based programming, including in commercial sex outlets;
- Factoring HIV/AIDS and drugs into the equation and tackling their prevalence in tandem with TSE programmes;
- Focusing more on adolescents as a pressure group and as contributors to the solutions, not only as victims.

Summary of recommendations

A.   Recommendations on programming process

Understanding of TSE and its causes

1.   ILO-IPEC country and headquarters project officers must be sensitive to the potential for misunderstanding resulting from the use of unfamiliar terms or concepts, or those that are not in common usage outside United Nations, government or NGO circles.

2.   ILO-IPEC should consider how the lack of use/understanding of the term and phenomenon of 'trafficking' in Latin America limits its potential for programming in this area and how this conceptual gap might be bridged through research and awareness-raising, including among ILO-IPEC staff and programme partners.

3.   ILO-IPEC should consider research findings that suggest that mitigating the effects of family breakdown, tackling substance abuse, targeting sexual abuse by parents and care-takers, reducing the demand for under-age sex, and working to reduce the impact of consumer pressure on children and young people are the most immediate areas for programme response to TSE in many if not most countries of Asia.

Identification of target groups

4.   ILO-IPEC should clarify its target population to ensure that programmes do not only target poor children and that field staff and partners are encouraged to consider the wider range of causes and nature of TSE.

5.   ILO-IPEC programmers should pay particular attention to all children working in entertainment and tourism-related industries known to provide multiple situations of vulnerability.

6.   More consideration should be given to involving young people themselves as active participants in programmes, and not just passive beneficiaries. Young people are particularly effective partners in programmes targeting other young people.

Strategic planning

7.   As ILO-IPEC considers further the complex, covert and differentiated nature of TSE, and appropriate TSE-specific planning and programming responses, particular attention should be paid to ILO-IPEC's mandate-specific strengths to providing such responses.

8.   In pursuit of a reinforcement of its labour-related strengths, ILO-IPEC should consider tackling the demand side of TSE through innovative programming in workplaces, vocational institutions, trade

unions and work associations and other male-dominated employment/labour-based groupings, as well as men's clubs and other venues where men gather, including brothels.

9. ILO-IPEC headquarters programme staff should consider initiating policy- and strategy-level discussion with other UN agencies working in TSE, at headquarters level.

10. Prevention programmes should have built into them or should be followed by medium-term monitoring and/or follow-up of the children and families in order to ascertain both short- and long-term developments in their lives.

11. Sexual health and disease prevention should be squarely addressed in all ILO-IPEC programming in TSE.

12. Awareness-raising programmes must be more clearly targeted and focused to be effective as protection-building mechanisms; for example, they should target groups known to be prime actors in either protection or exploitation, such as police in border areas or men in areas of high prostitute use.

13. ILO-IPEC should commission an investigation of the most appropriate kinds of programming that might be undertaken in the general area of communication activity and media engagement. This should include a review of desired outcomes, target audiences, appropriate formats and implementing partners.

14. Given the importance of improving effective implementation of legislation, ILO-IPEC should consider targeting awareness-raising and training at groups involved in making laws work: the police, judicial authorities, community leaders, and supporting community-level structures for reporting and monitoring, such as telephone hotlines.

15. ILO-IPEC might consider, as it further develops frameworks for TSE programming, focusing on 'movement': travel, migration, tourism and transport, since these all offer clear potential for a range of innovative TSE-related programmes.

16. TSE framework planning for Central America should be developed with consideration to regional movements, and include Panama, Belize and the Mexican border in their scope.

17. TSE requires that 'gender dimension' be reconsidered not in terms of positively targeting girls/women as beneficiaries, but in differentiating between the needs of girls and boys as beneficiaries and, in particular, in considering the role of both men and women as perpetrators of abuse and exploitation. This differentiation should be done at both analytical and programming levels.

Planning procedures

18. ILO-IPEC country offices and national selection mechanisms put in place by ILO-IPEC should consider encouraging more innovative programming through well-publicized 'calls for proposals' outlining project areas desired and specifying eligibility criteria that do not limit candidates to agencies with long experience and traditional goals.

19. A renewed effort should be made at the planning levels of ILO-IPEC – both in Geneva and in the field – to consider to what extent the planning, programming, monitoring and evaluation approach taken to child labour in general is appropriate or inappropriate to TSE, where and how new paradigms might be identified and followed, and where existing guidelines/frameworks need specifically to be modified/not applied.

B. Recommendations on IPEC's Interventions

Implementation strategy

20. ILO-IPEC might well include some element of prevention of TSE in all projects aimed at child domestic workers in Latin America.

21. ILO-IPEC should consider moving away from general funding of organizations to collaborative development and funding of those areas of activity in which the organization has clear strengths and which are best suited to ILO-IPEC's defined directions and approaches.

22. ILO-IPEC might explore the potential of working with high-profile role models in its education and awareness programmes targeting young people.

23. ILO-IPEC should consider developing further its funding of modest information resource centres in support of regional plans, networking and coordination; and ensure that the regional plans developed with its support pay due attention to TSE as an almost inevitable component of any labour exploitation of children.

Advocacy and social mobilization

24. It is important to note that engagement of media professionals in ILO-IPEC actions against TSE is not 'media activity' nor strictly 'awareness raising', but rather coalition building and, as such, needs follow-up either through ILO-IPEC or sustainable mechanisms built into the programme itself.

25. Targeted, strategically conceived and produced TV and radio programming to raise awareness and understanding of TSE are potentially high impact and low cost when made by professional broadcasters as part of their normal programming. NGO-made programming is unlikely to have the desired impact and is therefore not good value for money.

26. ILO-IPEC should fund communication projects that look beyond traditional formats and use innovative, entertaining and participatory techniques knows to have an impact on specific groups. For young people, non-printed formats are crucial to education efforts.

Knowledge management

27. Where ILO-IPEC commissions research, more effort should be made to ensure that *analysis* of it is clearly TSE-specific, so that appropriate TSE responses can be planned. This implies also that the researchers/analysts will have a *general* TSE expertise and not be specifically linked to a particular programming area or partner organization.

28. ILO-IPEC should consider commissioning research at country level to identify sites where general awareness raising and coalition building might work, and to become familiar with the kinds of information and communication methods likely to encourage behaviour change in users of prostitutes and sexual exploiters.

29. To complement 'pure' research, ILO-IPEC should consider undertaking 'bottom-up' participatory action research projects at community level (community being understood not only as a group of people living in proximity but also relating to workplace or social groupings) in order to mobilize communities and obtain grassroots insights into problems and possible solutions.

30. All ILO-IPEC literature should be reviewed for use of stigmatizing language to describe situations of TSE.

31. ILO-IPEC at all levels must ensure that, given the risks incurred by children (and perhaps others) who are subjects or informants of research, no names, locations or vulnerabilities of the children should be divulged or otherwise made accessible.

32. Given the specific high-risk nature of collection and, above all, storage of data on victims and informants of TSE, International Labour Conference Recommendation 190, III.5(1) and (2) should not apply to TSE-related studies and research.

Service delivery

33. ILO-IPEC should ensure that any alternative work/skills programmes are developed in the context of the realities of the local job market and the aspirations and expectations of the young people involved. To support this, ILO-IPEC might usefully commission surveys on the job market in the region of activity.

34. Alternative skills programmes should be combined with education and training that both improves the girls' educational standards and also helps them to understand why high-risk jobs are not desirable options.

C.   Recommendations on IPEC's Partnerships

Selection and assessment of partners

35. ILO-IPEC headquarters and country programme staff should search for new partner agencies capable of making innovative, non-traditional proposals (some suggestions are given in this report), or help countries to develop innovative, cost-effective projects and build capacity to implement them.

36. ILO-IPEC country offices should identify opportunities for working with other members of the UN system in-country to develop programme consultation and cooperation and avoid duplication, conflicting messages and wasted resources.

37. Wherever people are brought together by their work affiliation, and their employment has relevance to the issue of TSE (particularly, for example, the entertainment professions, sectors that have consistent contact with children, male-dominated communities such as transport, or opinion-influencing groups such as journalists' professional associations ILO-IPEC should investigate whether it has a potential partner.

Relationships with various partners

38. ILO-IPEC might profitably nurture closer and more child-focused relationships with its 'traditional' partners – Ministries and Departments of Labour, trade unions, professional associations, vocational training institutes, and such-like.

39. In Thailand, the potential of the MoLSW relationship with ILO-IPEC, including the mechanism of the NSC, warrants a full study. Ways of strengthening the role of the NSC and linking it more closely to a strategic framework for ILO-IPEC should be explored as part of the review, as should consideration of the workings of the National Child Labour Committee of the Philippines.

40. ILO-IPEC might logically focus on working with the police as workers, rather than as law enforcers, and to develop with appropriate bodies new work norms for police in regard to TSE.

41. ILO-IPEC country offices should seriously consider any potential for working with brothel owners and employers in the entertainment industry, to develop programmes that protect children from entering commercial sex. Such programmes, however, must take into account the conflicting interests of such agents.

42. Workplaces, workers and employers can be the focus of projects to increase awareness of TSE, including the vulnerability to sexual exploitation inherent in other kinds of child labour. Beyond awareness raising, ILO-IPEC could encourage projects that promote buddy systems among workers to watch out for and protect working children from sexual pressures.

D.   Recommendations on IPEC Impact Evaluation

43. ILO-IPEC should consider commissioning an investigation of reliable measurement indicators – qualitative as well as quantitative – that can be used to evaluate the impact of programmes in TSE.

44. In addition to impact measurement, consideration needs to be given to evaluating the cost-effectiveness of programmes and to selecting those which help the largest number of children in the most cost-effective way.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

This thematic evaluation, one of the first that ILO-IPEC has conducted, focuses on a particularly difficult area of activity: the trafficking and sexual exploitation of children (TSE). It discusses findings from study of programmes in Asia (Thailand and the Philippines) and Latin America (Colombia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua). The body of this report contains, in detail, ILO-IPEC programmes in TSE, ideas for components of programmes that might be suitable for replication, expansion or further development. It also discusses programming that has not been successful and additional issues that should be considered in future programming.

1.2. Methodology

TSE is a non-negotiable violation of the most fundamental human rights that not only undercuts the basis of human societies but also does severe damage to the children who are victims. It is a criminal act not subject to hierarchies of 'seriousness' and not defensible, whoever the perpetrators and whatever the circumstances. Various international instruments address TSE, including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the ILO Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999), the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (2000) and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000). While the evaluators undertook this exercise in full cognisance of the relevant international instruments, they also approached TSE as a moral issue.

Statements and judgements in this report consequently reflect the evaluators' overarching view of TSE as a fundamental issue of human rights, irrevocably linked to the adult sex market and worthy of exploration from any and all angles, not only those imposed by individual institutional mandates. The evaluators believe that these premises are important not only to contextualize the judgements made in this report but as a matter of strategic and effective programming.

The evaluation involved a brief desk review of materials relating to ILO-IPEC programmes in TSE in the countries nominated for review (Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Colombia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua), field visits organized by ILO-IPEC field staff, drafting of a first version of this report for circulation to relevant headquarters and field staff in ILO-IPEC, and a final report. Additionally evaluators provided detailed mission reports that included recommendations on conduct of future field visits.

The countries in which evaluation was to take place were selected by ILO-IPEC, based on a number of factors including the desire to balance long-running country programme experiences with more recently initiated programmes; receive recommendations that might contribute to development of regional programming initiatives in both areas; complement internal evaluations already carried out in Nepal and an intended internal evaluation mission to Africa; and sample a wide range of different programming, in part as a contribution to the lessons-learned focus of the 2nd World Congress against Commercial

Sexual Exploitation of Children, scheduled for December 2001 in Yokohama, Japan. The evaluators believe that the information compiled, visits undertaken and lessons and ideas generated confirm the relevance of the choices made and, indeed, the value of the whole exercise.

Indeed, while the countries selected provided the opportunity to draw valuable lessons with wider application, it would undoubtedly be logical and useful to complete this external evaluation

exercise in due course with more and different country experiences, particularly in Africa, where programming in TSE has been slow to get off the ground and where less strategic analysis has been undertaken, and in South Asia, analysis of which is too often subsumed into work focusing on Southeast Asia.

Following the preliminary desk research at headquarters, the two evaluators together drew up and submitted to ILO-IPEC an outline of the proposed final report structure and a detailed list of questions for which answers would be sought during the field visits (ie not questions to be necessarily posed directly, but to be used as a framework for discussions).

In each country, the evaluators spent time discussing general programming issues with ILO-IPEC staff and visited both ILO-IPEC programmes (mostly run by NGOs but sometimes by government departments; and not only projects in progress but sometimes to discuss completed projects) and partner agencies working in TSE (for example UNICEF and UNDP). In Latin America, ILO-IPEC field staff arranged interviews with interested agencies not directly working with ILO-IPEC in order to provide the government and social context. Working with the list of agreed questions, the evaluators explored the specific programme experience of the interviewees and also wider questions relating to funding, partnerships and working relationships with ILO-IPEC, in order to see whether these impacted on the effectiveness of programming or the potential for future collaboration.

The evaluators did not consider ILO-IPEC programmes solely on the basis of the internal evaluation indicators written into the project, but additionally according to commonly accepted non-ILO-IPEC criteria. In part this was in order to provide some positioning of ILO-IPEC achievements and weaknesses within the broader experience of work in TSE (not least in order to be able to make recommendations for future activity); in part it was to allow ILO-IPEC to benefit from the wide and varied programming experience of the external evaluators themselves; but also it was in part because one of the most important observations made by both evaluators is that the essentially labour-focused evaluation indicators that ILO-IPEC has been using for internal project evaluation may not be wholly appropriate in the case of TSE.

The evaluators considered ILO-IPEC programmes as far as possible in relation to external realities affecting TSE in the countries in which the programmes were run, and not only in relation to ILO-IPEC internal priorities. This is because the ultimate measurement of a programme's success must remain whether or not it made a difference to children.

Research and field visits related to this report took place in September 2000 (Asia) and January 2001 (Latin America). There will already have been modifications to strategy and programming since then, including as a result of recommendations made in earlier drafts of this report. The conclusions and recommendations made here, therefore, must be taken in the context of both time and wider applicability.

2.   TAKING STOCK

This section briefly describes both TSE and ILO-IPEC's overall strategy for responding to it at the time the external thematic evaluation took place. It thus provides the substantive global indicators against which the strengths and weaknesses of the individual projects could be measured. In short: given the problem of TSE and the strategies chosen by ILO-IPEC to respond to it, did ILO-IPEC programmes make a difference?

Two distinct regions are covered in this evaluation and there are very evident differences between them. Asia has a much longer experience with TSE than Latin America does, and fieldwork there is much more developed, as is the ILO-IPEC programme. Additionally, general understanding of TSE in the two regions is at different stages of development. For Latin American projects, in particular, the fact that most research on sexual exploitation and prostitution is published in English creates a certain analytical isolation, while in Asia English has long been an important language for communication both inter-regionally and with the West and so analysis there has had a much broader resource base, more dynamic exchange between the country and external partners, and larger pool of contributors. It is potentially dangerous, therefore, to broad-brush experiences and 'solutions' across these cultural and historical boundaries, although particular lessons can be learned this way.

2.1.   Sexual exploitation of children

Although much has been written about TSE in Asia, much remains to be learned about these phenomena. Much of the research remains anecdotal – which is not to say that it is not accurate, only that such accuracy is as much coincidental as founded in data collection and objective analysis. Despite numerous reports on the subject, there is almost no reliable baseline data for Asia as a region, for the various sub-regions (e.g. the Mekong) now being considered, or even for countries.

This circumstance is not surprising, given that trafficking and sexual exploitation (and abuse[1]) of children are criminal offences in all the countries concerned and remain largely hidden. Moreover, the very nature of sexual violence means that it is not only covert but rarely denounced even when it becomes known. 'Many of the worst forms of child labour taking place in the region – e.g. children in trafficking, in drug trade, child soldiers, child prostitutes [sic][2] – are not included in the regular labour force surveys, are illegal and hidden, and require appropriate new research methodologies' (ILO-IPEC, 1999a).

In the absence of such new research methodologies, the most reliable statistics and indicators are derived at a micro level – the village or community – but they are rarely

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[1] Throughout this report, 'sexual abuse' is used to denote sexual aggression against children by members of their family or circle of acquaintances, and differs from 'sexual exploitation' which is generally accepted to denote sexual aggression towards children by strangers, usually in return for payment or in-kind (often paid to a third party rather than the child).

[2] The first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, held in Stockholm in August 1996, recommended that great care be taken in use of terminology in discussion and documentation of the sexual abuse and exploitation of children. In particular, it was recommended that terms such as 'child prostitute' be avoided, since they obscure the fact that, in almost all societies, and certainly as denoted in the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, minors trapped in commercial sex have not exercised free choice but have been 'prostituted' by person or circumstance.

built up into a more comprehensive picture. Indeed, this would be a complex task since data collected, samples and even base definitions vary widely across countries. Although the ILO's SIMPOC initiative aims to contribute to remedying this situation in general child labour terms, there is as yet no mechanism or body of research that reliably paints a picture of TSE in Asia, Latin America or, for that matter, elsewhere.

In Latin America, there is the added complication that TSE has historically been dealt with within the general programming and discourse heading 'street children'. Even the prostitution of children has not been a major topic, and the discourse of 'sexual exploitation of children' has arrived very recently via international agencies. Few native NGOs have projects working directly with sexually exploited children and these are still mainly religion-based or -influenced concepts of rescue and protection. This means finding the children, getting them away from prostitution *milieux* (whether brothels or the street) and putting them in 'homes' in institutionalizing projects. NGO approaches also emphasize psychotherapies as a way to help the children, but few relate to other potential approaches, such as protection, or to demand.

Only a handful of people in the countries under study in Latin America are genuinely familiar with the issues involved in TSE, which means the work of interested agencies has largely to do with awareness-raising in society and drafting relevant national laws and codes. Words and phrases in use by government and NGO workers are unfamiliar or have different meanings for ordinary people; there needs to be sensitivity on the part of ILO-IPEC to the misunderstandings generated and efforts to clarify them.

With all these caveats in mind, and given the limits imposed by the introductory and contextual nature of this section, some general comments on TSE in the countries visited can nevertheless be made:

- Children in considerable numbers are being used for sex – not only commercial (exploitation) but also non-commercial (abuse).

- Girls and young women are the major victims, although boys and adolescent males are also targeted.

- Demand is mostly homegrown and men and male adolescents are most often the perpetrators.

- The commercial sex trade is big business[3] and, as a result, becoming better organized including, in both Asia and Latin America, in parallel with the trade in drugs.

- Widespread corruption – is rampant and difficult to mitigate, and provides a context in which TSE can prosper.

- The movement of children (and women) is increasing to match supply with demand.

- Demand is growing, fuelled by, among other things, lower moral standards, growing objectivization of children, less respect for human/children's rights, dysfunctional families, consumerism and globalization especially of the media, and all these in confrontation with growing economic disparities, conflict and disaster.

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[3] In Cambodia, for example, virgins are reported to sell for up to US$800 – three times the annual per capita GDP of the country (ESCAP, 2000).

This latter point illustrates clearly that there is no single cause of TSE but that a complex series of often inter-linked factors may contribute to a child's becoming trapped in the sex trade. This is important not only because it points to the need for similarly broad-ranging, multi-disciplinary and complex programming responses, but also because it puts into context the much repeated but highly simplistic notion that poverty is the root cause of TSE.[4]

Poverty as one contributing factor to the sexual exploitation of children is an increasing reality in both Latin America and Asia.

Latin American countries share a general history from the late 1970s of social impoverishment caused by the imposition of 'structural adjustment' policies by the International Monetary Fund. Government reduction of spending on the social sector (schooling, health services, public transport and legal services) has been documented to lead to the gradual feminization of poverty and the increase in women's migration, both within their own countries and abroad.

Latin economies are widely understood to be 'healthy' only for the country's elite and for international investors. Of the three countries studied, Colombia is often described as experiencing economic crisis, Nicaragua to be chronically poor and Costa Rica to be better off at the cost of becoming a paradise for expatriate and visiting investors controlling a burgeoning tourism industry.

A series of Asian economic crises in the closing years of the 20th century have had a clear impact on the numbers of children being exploited both for labour in general and sexual exploitation in particular. Children living or working on the streets, young domestic workers and child workers in sweatshops and the transportation sector – all 'placed' in these vulnerable situations as a multi-faceted response to poverty – are particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation. In many countries, including Thailand and the Philippines, the movement of children from villages and rural areas to cities in the guise of earning money for the family is a major factor in TSE.

An ILO-IPEC research report of August 1999 indicated that there was an increase of 20 per cent in the number of minors working in prostitution in Thailand between January 1998 and January 1999 – although it is important to note that these figures, from the Ministry of Public Health, relate only to *reported* cases (Berger and van de Glind, 1999, p.7). This coincides with the aftermath of the economic crisis in Thailand. Although the report gives only a percentage increase and no actual figure, the Public Welfare Department set the number of minors engaged -in prostitution at between 12,000 and 18,000 in 1998, while the Office of Women's Affairs is cited as calculating the number of under-18 year-olds in prostitution as between 22,500 and 40,000. Discrepancies such as this are common, given the illicit nature of the activity, although all the figures clearly indicate the enormity of the problem.

The most comprehensive survey undertaken in the Philippines was similarly hesitant on statistics. The report, jointly commissioned by UNICEF and the Philippines Department of Social Welfare and Development (1998, p. 31) explains that 'estimates on the number of children in commercial sex were drawn primarily from the approximate number of street

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[4] Sexual exploitation has been explained as occurring through the equation 'vulnerability + demand + opportunity', with vulnerability potentially resulting from one or several factors, including poverty, abandonment, sexual or physical violence, disability, tradition and culture, and not least the very fact of being female.

children all over the country. Figures were largely derived from records of centres or institutions catering to this group of children. This must be considered with caution since there was high probability of double or triple counting as street children tended to go from one centre to another for services.'

The report complements these figures, however, with supplementary estimates from NGOs and figures extrapolated from survey interviews. On this basis, a figure of 40,000 children in prostitution in the Philippines in 1992 is attributed to ECPAT, rising to between 60,000 and 100,000 in 1997. The Department of Social Welfare and Development quotes the ECPAT figures, so presumably there is not major disagreement by this government department.

A 1997 University of the Philippines study also quotes a figure of 100,000 for 1997 in that country, 5,000 of these prostituted children being in Metro Manila. The same report estimated that 3,266 children between seven and 15 years of age entered the sex trade each year – clearly an extrapolated figure, since it is unusually unrounded. A further extrapolated figure is derived from local studies of prostitution in general: in 1993 this placed the number of prostitution (not disaggregated) as between 400,000 and 500,000; a number of different sources give the proportion of minors in prostitution as 18 per cent of the total, and on this basis the number of under-18s in prostitution would be between 72,000 and 90,000.

In short, all the figures quoted are in the same general range, and 100,000 does not seem an exaggerated figure. The number of cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children reported to the Philippines Department of Social Welfare and Development increased from 102 in 1991 to 493 in 1996, although this may also reflect an increased willingness to report (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998, p. 33].[5]

Most of the sexually exploited children are provided to clients through brothels, hotels, guesthouses, teahouses, bars, nightclubs, pubs, karaoke lounges, cocktail lounges, massage parlours, saunas, coffee shops, cafés, restaurants, beauty salons and male hair salons. In addition, in Latin America, they are provided via parties with sailors on freighters and organized parties and excursions with tourists.

In Latin America, one form of sexual exploitation truly limited to poor children occurs in the case of live-in maids. The assumption that young girls in domestic service will be available to someone in the house for sexual services is widely held, particularly when the young girl is viewed as having no other options. The hidden nature of this exploitation means it receives little or no attention from projects to eliminate TSE.

At the same time, children from non-poor families are also entering the commercial sex trade, for reasons that range from *increased consumerism* to *peer pressure* and *emotional deficiencies rooted in family dysfunction and isolation.*

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[5] Perhaps the most telling passage in the UNICEF report is this one: 'internal traffic in young native girls is being carried out mainly by so-called employment agencies which bring poor and ignorant young girls from the country districts to the large cities, particularly Manila, apparently as servants. Here they are lured into dance-halls and houses of prostitution...[and] are turned over to pimps and panders' (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998, p. 16). The quotation is dated 1932.

ILO-IPEC projects in Latin America currently focus on the most obvious forms of sexual exploitation, found on the street and among poor people. However, studies in a variety of countries suggest that street prostitution constitutes less than 10 per cent of the total trade in sex. In Latin America, children who are not necessarily from poor families are known to be involved in 'modelling' shows, cargo-ship parties, tourist excursions, shopping-mall contacts, erotic telephone services, independent prostitution with cellular phones, truck-stop networks, massage parlours and beauty salons with sexual services, pornographic pictures, shows and films as 'actors' and models and/or as victims, and individual or group cruising in a variety of upscale locations such as discothèques, cafés and night-clubs. Much of this takes the form of part-time or occasional activity.

It is important for ILO-IPEC to move beyond the uninformed assumption that the poorest children must by definition be the targets of programming 'because they are at higher risk'. Research findings do not fully support such statements; if the poor are to be targeted by ILO-IPEC, then another justification is needed. The point is not to take away help from the poor but to recognize the need to consider the complexity of the relationship between poverty and TSE and to base programming on this and not on unverified assumptions or conventional wisdom.

There appears to be confusion, for example, about concepts of economic class and 'the street'. There are not two well-defined groups of children in prostitution, poor ones on the street and richer ones inside. There are numbers of poor and less poor alike exploited in all sorts of establishments, from brothels to beauty parlours. If those exploited 'on the street', who are visible to society, are assumed to be the only ones needing help, then other exploited children who are less visible will be neglected: a morally questionable outcome. Similarly, the assumption that 'street prostitution' is the worst form is a moral prejudice.

The role of *education* of children is not so clear-cut. Seventy-six per cent of the sexually exploited children interviewed in Thailand for the ESCAP report, for example, were still enrolled in or had completed education at the primary level. Some were enrolled in or had studied in secondary school. This seriously calls into question the long-held belief that education, and particularly girls' education, is a primary protection measure. In fact, as in the case of poverty, the role of education – or lack of it – in TSE may not be determinant but contributory, and needs to be looked at on a country-by-country basis and as part of broader-ranging protection strategies. In the Philippines, for example, although 92 per cent of the respondents in the UNICEF survey were out of school, more than half (53 per cent) had reached secondary education and only one was completely unschooled. The rest had reached elementary school (26 per cent) and college (19 per cent). The children had dropped out of school before they had entered commercial sex (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998, p. 36), but had had relatively good access to educational opportunities. In Latin America, outreach educators consistently talk about increased participation in paid sex by middle-class children still in school.

If poverty and lack of education are fairly consistent characteristics of TSE, then the most frequently recorded trigger factor – taking 'major cause + trigger factor(s) ' as determinant – was *breakdown of the family*, including divorce or death. In Thailand, the ESCAP research reported that family breakdown was found among 80 per cent of the children interviewed. This rupture resulted in neglect and then flight, putting children on the streets or in labour, thereby increasing their vulnerability to all forms of exploitation. In the Philippines, 76 per cent of the children interviewed for the UNICEF report lived with

non-family members (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998, p. 37). This analysis is complicated in segments of Latin American society where the model of mothers living with children and no husband, or with a series of husbands, is accepted as non-problematic.

In both Latin America and Asia in general, the role of *tourism* in TSE is multi-faceted and prominent. In Thailand and the Philippines, despite stringent laws governing TSE since the mid-1990s, and much improved law enforcement including the pursuit of foreign tourists in collaboration with the 'sending' countries' police authorities, tourism in general and sex tourism in particular continue to play an important role in TSE. For reasons too diverse to consider in the context of this report, male visitors to Asia and to Latin America regularly include the purchase of sex as part of their 'holiday package'. For some specific groups, this includes sex with children.

As a result, children in regions or sectors involved in tourism are particularly at risk. Studies of tourism and work in the tourist industry demonstrate that less developed countries using tourism development to vitalize their economies soon see more children in prostitution, even where 'sex tourism' itself is not common. 'Some government officials and businessmen … still feel that the provision of every kind of sexual service, including children in prostitution, to foreign tourists is a necessary part of tourist development' (Lim, 1998, p. 183).

The vulnerability of children working in hotel and restaurant businesses is well documented, including by ILO-IPEC itself. At tourist sites, there is likely to be an ambience of pleasure and sensuality that encourages exploitation in general. Many children who become caught in prostitution began as waiters, maids, tourist guides or beach vendors. These are likely to be seen as 'easy' objects by older children, local employees and hotel staff and not just by tourists (Black, 1995) Consequently, 'children involved in tourism occupations requiring personal services need increased protection and appropriate prevention to keep their careers from ending in sexual exploitation' (Plüss, 1999, p. 65).

Costa Rica demonstrates what can happen when tourism development is given precedence over tourism's social impacts. Cartagena de Indias, on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, also illustrates this. As Nicaragua looks toward the possibility of developing tourism in an effort to dynamize its economy, it is possible the same could happen.

It is important to point out, however, that the majority of customers continues to be local. This is true of Asia as well as Latin America. The demand for child sex in the Philippines, for example, comes from both local men and foreigners (including tourists). Tourists are concentrated in big urban areas but, according to the ESCAP study, local men frequent sex establishments in all the provinces of all the countries studied. In the Philippines, nine out of ten customers of children in commercial sex are Filipinos (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998, p. 73).

However, tourist development means new businesses such as massage parlours or nightclubs spring up and so also become available to locals. In this regard, the longer experience of Asia – and Thailand in particular – in balancing the need to develop the tourism sector while protecting children from exploitation and pursuing exploiters can inform strategic planning in Latin America. Because tourism development is likely to become more important in all parts of Latin America, and because tourism and, more generally, the entertainment and tourism sectors continue to be prominent risk factors in TSE in Asia, ILO-IPEC TSE programming should pay particular attention to all children

working in entertainment and tourism-related industries known to provide multiple situations of vulnerability.

But none of these traditionally accepted 'causes' of or ways of viewing TSE addresses the role of demand. Prostitution and exploitation sites are so numerous everywhere that customers cannot be exceptional cases (though they are often spoken of as either perverted or criminals). Rather it is clear that there are adult and adolescent men everywhere who consider it permissible to participate in sexual exploitation without regard to the age of those involved. Moreover, social science research and programming experience have clearly demonstrated that commercial sexual exploitation of children is linked to the adult sex market (O'Connell Davidson, 1998; IOM, 1995).

2.2. Trafficking

In Asia, the phenomenon generally labelled as 'trafficking' has been recognized for more than a decade. This term, borrowed from the long-described phenomenon of moving contraband goods across borders, in TSE most generally describes the recruitment of children from one place to another, and their subsequent exploitation including in the commercial sex trade. The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), declares the trafficking of children to be a practice similar to slavery and, as such, one of the worst forms of child labour.

Most recently, the 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, defines trafficking as: 'the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation'.

Trafficking in all the countries of the Southeast Asia sub-region takes place both inside and outside the respective countries. Cambodia and Thailand, for example, are both receiving and sending countries. Given the specific topographical make-up of the Philippines, children are moved from island to island by sea and so easily slip through the cracks in port-based oversight. Such 'invisibility' puts the children, especially girls, at risks of recruitment into commercial sex. It is worrying that a 1999 ILO-IPEC report (Abrera-Mangahas, 1999, p. 9) confirms that 3 per cent of heads of household interviewed in the Philippines did not know where their children were working, and 5 per cent did not know what kind of work they were engaged in. Once they are moved around, children easily fall through the cracks, even of parental oversight.

The term 'trafficking' is not in common use among any of the people interviewed for this evaluation in Colombia, Costa Rica or Nicaragua, and those who were familiar with it had seen it primarily in the press. When the various kinds of situations that can be called trafficking were described to them, most people offered an anecdote: a story of 'disappeared' girls who were said to be working as prostitutes in Guatemala, comments about women stopped at the airport, and so on. The word 'trafficking' was generally thought to apply to schemes to export women to other countries. Movements of people to look for employment in other parts of the country were accepted as normal, even movements by young people to sell sexual services (for example, to workers on plantations or to sailors on freighters). Sometimes informants thought children travelled on their own

and sometimes that they were moved around by adults, but the terms 'internal migrations' and 'internal trafficking' were not common. As a result, the concept of 'trafficking' was not included in any of the ILO-IPEC projects evaluated there, and combating trafficking does not form part of any of the projects' goals *per se.* NGO and government informants were just beginning to seek more information on the subject.

A programming focus on general conditions of vulnerability may consequently be better adapted to these societies at this time. For example, children travelling alone are widely understood to be susceptible to the proposals of adults. In addition, informants may be using the words 'pimp' and 'pimping' to cover many activities others would call trafficking. In the case of parties or 'shows' held by 'modelling agencies' and buses taking girls to hotel complexes and cruise ships, someone is organizing the travel but, apart from reports in the news, little research has been done to document how this actually works.

2.3.   Reflections on ILO-IPEC's approach

2.3.1. ILO-IPEC's approach

ILO-IPEC activities to eliminate child labour, especially its worst forms, are conducted in more than 60 countries and, since 1995, efforts to combat TSE have been concentrated in some 87 Action Programmes.

Over time, these have been repositioned within cross-border frameworks, including the Greater Mekong sub-region (Cambodia, China, Laos, Thailand and Viet Nam); the South Asian sub-region (Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka); a Southeast Asia trafficking framework (Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand); West and Central Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Togo); a Brazil/Paraguay prevention programme; and a forthcoming Central American regional project.

In brief, ILO-IPEC activities have a threefold focus: (1) targeting children below the age of 18 but girls under 14 as a priority; (2) targeting children and families living in poverty; and (3) aiming prevention programmes at girls at risk of being exploited or trafficked, including those whose siblings or other relatives are already in prostitution, living on the streets, living without family members for whatever reason, or in/escaping domestic service. They comprise complementary projects chosen: to tackle the recruitment and coercion of children at the *point of origin* (e.g. through awareness-raising among families, children and communities); to rescue and recover children at points of *exploitation or transit* (e.g. at border crossings or in brothels); and to facilitate the *reintegration* of exploited children into family or community or an alternative safer future (Renaud and Sood, 2000, pp. 4-7).

The specific action programmes, however, are not always necessarily plotted within this fairly logical framework. Generally, they are categorized according to five 'intervention areas': (1) direct action (prevention, education, life skills and vocational training, rescue and rehabilitation); (2) institutional development and capacity building (of government agencies and civil society groups, for example in developing, monitoring and evaluation programmes, and in financial and human resource management); (3) awareness raising and advocacy (social mobilization and awareness); (4) research and programme development (research, data collection, dissemination and analysis); and (5) policy and legislative support

(to strengthen legislative and implementation procedures with reference to international instruments).

It is perhaps a gap between the logic of the framework and the imposition of categories of action that led representatives of partner agencies almost uniformly to describe ILO-IPEC's programming as being 'solid' but 'fragmented'. These two adjectives were used in different contexts by different groups of people and describing different elements of the work, so it is particularly telling that they should reappear so often. Variants on this theme – 'missing links' and 'scattered activities' – appear in evaluations of ILO-IPEC programming as early as 1996 (Thammasat University Labour Development and Welfare Department, 1996, p. 30).

While most informants saw the logic of the substantive analysis of TSE on which a broad programming framework is predicated, the same respondents looked at individual programming decisions and concluded that they led to 'fragmentation'. Undoubtedly this occurred because in practice programmes seem to be selected and initiated primarily according to their ability to fit in one of the intervention categories and rather than because they fit in ILO-IPEC's strategic framework.

Ideally, aims and objectives in TSE programming should be based on the problem and solutions, not the desired operational shape of the programme. This should also be reflected in measurement indicators, which need to deal with impact, not quantity of output. In short, a more appropriate model might be developed with questions such as:

- *What problems do children face?* Baseline research should be conducted across the broad area of TSE phenomena in a given country, region or community, with an emphasis on research that includes the participation of children and adolescents (where appropriate).

- *What appropriate strategies can be applied to remedy these problems?* A cause/effect analysis needs to be done across the same broad area, so that individual actions have a clear place within a wider framework of actions and actors from a range of different sectors are working in complementary activities.

- *How are these particular strategic actions to be measured?* Strategies need to be tailored to this programming. These might include on-site monitoring visits, target-group feedback, external evaluation and ex-post evaluation. A question to ask is whether this particular action has clear short-, medium- and long-term indicators of success (quantitative *and* qualitative).

Such an approach allows individual actions to be funded as part of the wider, encompassing strategic framework for action. In this way, each individual action is complementary to other actions in the strategy and there is added value. In other words, if two people are trying to get two pieces of string through two holes in a fence, it is more efficient if they are helped to work together in slightly different activities – one pushing the first string, the other pulling, then repeating for the second string – rather than being supported as stand-alone actors, with each pushing a string into a hole and no one pulling it through on the other side.

2.3.2. Project selection/commission

Selection of ILO-IPEC programming might then involve the following steps:

- Identify areas in which ILO-IPEC has a comparative advantage for success. Identify partners best placed to work in these areas or learn to work in them in new ways.

- Work with the partner to identify the most appropriate action to take, to determine evaluation indicators and to set targets. Successful models of intervention should be considered here. ILO-IPEC remains responsible for ensuring that each individual action contributes to the overall strategy.

- Draw up and seek funding for the programme based on identified need, comparative advantage, most suitable implementing partner, agreed impact targets and budget.

The final selection of programmes may be skewed by somewhat arbitrary submission procedures. Yet in several of the countries studied it is carefully done by multi-sectoral national committees. In Thailand and Colombia a national inter-institutional committee coordinates proposals and resources, but in other places, the process is less formal and/or more diffuse. In the Philippines, there is an annual 'call for proposals' in the Metro Manila newspaper. This 'non-system' might work at times but is open to subjectivity and abuse.

While ILO-IPEC may not wish to impose a way of working on local agencies, more innovative programming could be stimulated through very open and well-publicised 'calls for proposals' outlining project areas desired and specifying eligibility criteria but not limiting candidates to agencies with experience and traditional goals.

Many agencies work this way and there are several models that might be followed. The Colombian model includes a twice-a-year training workshop on the formulation of Action Programmes that is open to any agencies working on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. Projects later presented are reviewed by the Inter-institutional Committee and if approved form part of a group of projects for which funding is sought. If such funding is found, the projects become Action Programmes. Another model is the European Commission's Daphne Programme process, which has worked with more than 200 NGO projects in this area since 1997[6]

For the kind of innovative prevention programming recommended in this evaluation, additionally, ILO-IPEC will have to actively search out new agencies capable of making creative, non-traditional proposals or help countries to develop innovative, cost-effective projects and build capacity to implement them. This will allow ILO-IPEC to: (1) create its own impact; (2) encourage NGOs that have long been working their own way to be creative and build on their traditional knowledge and practices; and (3) encourage new players to make proposals.

ILO-IPEC in the Philippines has moved in the direction of a more strategic model, with serious attempts to develop programming within a comprehensive framework, although it has been hampered by the focus on format of programme (capacity building, advocacy, etc.) rather than on analysis of problem. It has also faltered, to some extent, because the framework oversight and the partnerships and network building that have contributed to

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[6] The European Commission's Daphne Programme, which ran from 1997 to 1999 as a pilot initiative and in 2000 became a four-year programme, has performed much experimental work in the areas of cross-border cooperation, networking, information exchange, training, research and general programming activity. NGO/public authority projects, each of which had to involve organizations in a least two EC Member States, have been completed and a number of lessons-learned exercises have been undertaken. The Daphne database of projects and reports is accessible through the EC website: www.europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/project/daphne.

its implementation have centred on the person of the former National Programme Coordinator, rather than being systematized. What this means is that, when staff move on (as in this case), there is a risk that frameworks and networks will begin to fall apart. A number of interviewees in the Philippines commented on the strength of the partnerships that had been built up, and there was a real sense that these collaborations and emerging networks went beyond the many working groups and committees that everyone complained of. But the same interlocutors universally expressed fears that the momentum would be lost if it did not become systematized. It is extremely important that, sooner rather than later, the management strengths that have been developed in field offices should be systematized, i.e. become structural and administrative. This could be done through a short-term consultancy specifically charged with recommending such structures and procedures, and/or through internal mechanisms such as regional management retreats and consultations.

Sustainability is required according to ILO-IPEC standards for programming. How is this to be understood when projects provide basic services to victims that the State might properly and ideally assume? The transfer of such responsibilities where this seems possible should be written into proposals, or dependencies will be created that are inappropriate to development goals. An example of this is Costa Rica, where a widely lauded project receiving logistical support from a government agency has not been taken up for direct funding from that agency now that ILO-IPEC support has ended. Because Latin American economies are not generally strong and governments may not be able to provide direct services to citizens, the requirement of sustainability may need to be reviewed.

2.3.3. Refining analysis beyond child labour

Because of the covert nature of TSE, analysis of the problem as well as appropriate responses to it are inevitably different from those which apply to child labour as a whole.

This can be illustrated by considering TSE research conducted in 2000 in Thailand. Overall, the contributing factors to TSE ranked as follows: (1) family breakdown; (2) substance abuse by parents or guardians; (3) poverty; (4) sexual abuse by a family member; (5) consumer pressure/earning power; and (6) pressure from acquaintances in the sex industry.

This hierarchy of causes is not atypical, although in some specific regions (e.g. in parts of Africa) conflict and natural disaster would also figure in the list of contributing factors. What is significant here is the fact that the list of contributing factors to TSE differs quite significantly from the factors that have been identified as prompting children to enter the workforce in general: (1) to supplement family income/pay off debts; (2) to gain experience or acquire training; (3) to pay for education or school materials; (4) to gain economic independence/acquire capital for own business; (5) having no parents, abandonment or neglect; and (6) consumer pressure/desired change in lifestyle (ILO-IPEC, 1999c, p. 9).

This illustrates very clearly how programming conclusions based on general child labour analysis may be inappropriate, incomplete or inadequate in the case of TSE. On the basis of the indicators relating to general child labour listed above, for example, the study from which this list is drawn understandably concluded that: 'Effective poverty reduction policies and programmes and the provision of universal basic education are critical in

ensuring the elimination of child labour' (ILO-IPEC, 1999, p. 10). This reasoning has remained essentially unrefined, resulting in statements such as: 'educational programmes and in particular the provision of vocational or pre-vocational training to children remain an important cornerstone of IPEC's efforts in the region to prevent children from entering employment at an early age or to wean them away from hazardous employment' (ILO, 1998, p. 59). While such a conclusion may be entirely appropriate and relevant to child labour in general (both hazardous and non-hazardous), as the indicators clearly show, it is not adequate in programming against TSE because it does not take into account the fact of demand for sex, which is a personal impulse, and in particular for child sex, which is not an economic imperative.

However, sexual exploitation does take place in labour contexts. When children are working in hazardous situations among adults they are exposed to the kinds of pressures (e.g. exhaustion, confusion and loneliness) that increase their vulnerability to sexual exploitation. In such situations, a child may accept 'help' from an adult co-worker that later has to be 'paid for'. Sexual exploitation also commonly occurs around the edges of workplaces such as plantations or hawker centres, which migrations and trafficking often supply with workers. Here TSE programming enters the grey area between commercial and non-commercial exploitation. Difficult concepts of coercion, protection and obligation need to be recognized and consideration widened to take in more than traditional, obvious situations. So, while a purely labour focus is inadequate, so too is one that frames TSE as a purely sexual problem of individuals.

2.3.4. Disinterested analysis and better research

Perhaps because ILO-IPEC analysis and response are often taken within a more overt child labour framework, and given the TSE-specific analysis vacuum that seems to exist, there is no doubt that much of the research that ILO-IPEC has undertaken has subsequently been used to justify foregone conclusions or programming decisions. Beyond the lack of reliable baseline research, and a perhaps incomplete analysis of appropriate programmatic responses to the knowledge we do have, what is clear from a careful review of the applied research that has been undertaken is a tendency to draw skewed conclusions.

For example, a research survey (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998) of the motivating factors underlying the incidence of adolescent girls entering the commercial sex trade in the Philippines showed clearly that by far the most important factor in the girls' decision was peer pressure[7]. Yet the conclusion drawn from the research was that the most appropriate programming to prevent adolescent girls from entering prostitution would be 'attitude change' targeting families and the general public, rather than the group exerting the pressure.

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[7] An illustration of this mismatching of cause and response is shown in the table relating organizational responses to parameters that contribute to commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), where 'peer influence' heads the list of factors contributing to CSEC, but 'value formation' – the most appropriate response among those listed to the problem of peer pressure – comes fifth in the list of responses, behind community outreach, networking and referral, advocacy and general educational programmes (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1998, p. 68). Significantly, the 'factors' column is based on field surveys among children; the 'responses' column is based on the responses of organization representatives.

It is difficult not to draw the conclusion from this *non sequitur* that the programming recommended had more to do with the fact that most of the work done to date had been awareness-raising with these general target groups. Closer targeting of adolescent groups (through schools, clubs or media and entertainment venues, or through role-model association) would clearly have been a priority but was not suggested.

A further recommendation, therefore, is that, where data do exist, more effort should be made to ensure that *analysis* of it is clearly TSE-specific, so that appropriate TSE responses can be planned. This implies also that the researchers and analysts will have a *general* TSE expertise and not be specifically linked to a particular programming area or partner organization.[8]

Allied to this is the need for studies and research to take clear account of the risks incurred by children (and perhaps others) who are subjects or informants of the research. Disclosing the names, locations and vulnerabilities of children and informants puts them in a precarious, at times perhaps even life-threatening situation.

Indeed, there are other serious ethical considerations that must be taken into account in all studies and surveys of TSE, and these may contra-indicate the application of International Labour Conference Recommendation 190, III.5 (1) and (2), which requires that detailed data be kept, including personal data on children. Given the risk to children of threats, abuse or even death if such data are abused or fall into the wrong hands, as well as the reality that recording of

information on their participation in prostitution could harm their chances of being otherwise employed and so prevent their exit from exploitation, TSE and prostitution programmes should be exempted from this requirement and database or other storage of data that might identify children should be avoided.

Research often proposes to compile statistics on sexually exploited children, yet this concept has been questioned and condemned by members of the international research community who work on prostitution and TSE. The risk is very real that children's futures could be harmed this way, despite researchers' insistence that privacy will be maintained. In many places, a person may not be hired for 'normal' employment if they have any kind of record of prostitution, official or unofficial. This often condemns the person to remain in prostitution. Researchers will not always own their results, and functionaries will move on or forget the crucial issues at stake, while people who once were involved in prostitution stand to suffer permanently if such data are accessible to even one person in a position to misuse it.

In any case, reliable statistical data on sexual exploitation are virtually impossible to obtain, and when researchers try to do so they are always forced to publish disclaimers. When people are involved in any marginalized or criminalized activity – and even more so when sex is involved – they are highly unlikely to give correct, unambiguous answers to direct, personal questions. This has been shown repeatedly in sexuality and prostitution research. Moreover, if children need to keep earning money, they will deny what they are doing.

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[8] A clear example of this is found in an ILO-IPEC study on alternative skills training as a protection response. Despite no clear indicators of impact, the researcher, a specialist working in the field of skills training, concluded not only that 'most of the [alternative skills training] action programmes were successful in offering child workers a new lease of life' but that 'the children will have a better quality of life and more self-confidence, be less exploited and safer from hazardous working conditions, and have a better future to look forward to' (ILO-IPEC, 1998).

Attempting to keep data on sexual exploitation and prostitution businesses will be viewed as threatening to those involved, with the result that information will not be accurately provided. Relationships of confidence with business owners take a long time to nurture; outreach workers who have spent valuable time on this cannot be expected to hand over contacts or give out information at the risk of losing business owners' confidence. Furthermore, most businesses involved in sexual exploitation are not registered as such or offer both licit and illicit services, which makes them difficult to identify; international police history is full of failures to prove the nature of sex businesses. Prostitutes and even sexually exploited children found in such places usually deny involvement in any sexual activity.

Research also often proposes to obtain data on clients and exploiters of children, sometimes through asking children for information about their sexual exploiters. This reflects a worrying unfamiliarity with accepted ethical and methodological concepts. Second-hand information is not acceptable as a serious research methodology; there is also no reason not to get first-hand information. Children in situations of vulnerability, emotional involvement and economic dependence with adults may not be expected to tell the truth about them. Many children are in complex, long-term, exploitative situations with adults in which revealing details about them would be an unethical demand and could place them in dangerous situations. Children's judgements about age and nationality of adults are also not necessarily reliable, and many adults will not have revealed a correct version of their own personal details to children.

To date research has generally concentrated on victims themselves (to know the extent of the problem, to know who the children are and where they come from). Other kinds of research are not only possible but also recommended, including identification of sites where general awareness-raising and coalition-building might work and familiarization with the kinds of information and communication methods likely to influence users of prostitutes and sexual exploiters.

Non-traditional research methods are indispensable; interviews conducted by people identified as disapproving or pitying often result in untruthful replies to questions. Researchers need to have some contextualized understanding of issues of sexual exploitation, prostitution, labour migration and trafficking, and their interrelation, before embarking on research.

To complement this, studies could be undertaken 'from the bottom up', through action-research projects at community level (community here being understood not only in the sense of a group of people living in proximity but more widely, for example, relating to workplace or social groupings). With agreed standard definitions, sampling and methodology, research and studies could then be built piece by piece into a comprehensive picture of TSE in all its complexity. Only then will we really be able to understand and programme appropriately.

2.3.5. Positioning of ILO-IPEC within the labour paradigm

It seems clear that the TSE elements of ILO-IPEC have a quite complex position within the labour mandate and experience. The specificity of ILO-IPEC's mandate and experience, therefore, must be carefully reviewed in relation to TSE.

It might profitably be considered in terms of the comparative advantage and strengths that it offers for programming in the area of TSE. For example, if the demand side of the equation is largely untackled by agencies traditionally working in children's welfare and rights, then this is an area where ILO-IPEC could carve out a clear role. Tackling demand means, for example, that beyond direct action programmes with children, more programming could be devised in workplaces, vocational institutions, trade unions and professional or work associations and other male-dominant employment or labour-based groupings where demand is based.

It is consequently recommended that, as ILO-IPEC considers the complex, covert and differentiated nature of TSE, and appropriate TSE-specific planning and programming responses, particular attention should be paid to ILO-IPEC's mandate-specific strengths to providing such responses.

2.3.6. Working partners

One such strength is the traditionally close working relationship ILO has built up with groups in the labour sector including employers to trade unions. It is therefore valid to question whether, by working through NGOs and governments, ILO-IPEC might be missing some opportunities to be more innovative, create a valid 'market niche' for itself, and create new programming.

Judging by the traditional victim-rescue projects funded in Latin America, it is essential for ILO-IPEC to reconsider how partners are identified. In all three countries, NGOs and government employees projected a certain doubt, if not outright disbelief, about being able to branch out into prevention via innovative strategies, and particularly those that would work with clients, exploiters and business people in the sex industry. Project identities are based on a traditional, victim-oriented model of direct services not provided by governments; this model has its roots in religious missions to help the poor and marginalized. It is possible that these agencies should continue to work within this paradigm, which serves a valid purpose, but it is also possible that they could be interested in or be helped to achieve change within innovative TSE programming.

In Asia, NGOs are a more obvious choice of partner when the activity to be undertaken is direct contact with victims (or young people at risk), although other sectors will of course also be involved in direct protection, treatment and/or rehabilitation, such as health workers, social service employees or child-friendly police units. The question to be asked here is not so much whether these particular actors are appropriate partners, but – given the longer history of activity in this area – what the modalities of such partnerships are.

There was an evident frustration on the part of some other United Nations agencies in the field that ILO-IPEC in some countries had intervened in partnerships with NGOs without consultation. No one 'owns' a particular implementing partner, of course, but acting unilaterally and perhaps causing ill feeling is unfortunate, particularly since three-way consultation, planning and implementation would undoubtedly work to the benefit of efficient implementation and impact. Care should be taken when 'predictable' partners are chosen not to frustrate existing partnerships but to build on them.

International NGOs and IGOs

ILO-IPEC needs to consider ways to improve working alliances with other international organizations working in sexual exploitation of children to take advantage of different strengths, avoid duplicating efforts, coordinate programming, avoid projecting conflicting messages to participating countries and take advantage of scarce funds.

For example, since UNICEF has been funding research in Latin America, maybe ILO-IPEC should not fund research and instead concentrate on funding more innovative prevention projects. In this same vein, ILO-IPEC might wish to consider the need to encourage state governments to fund direct services such as emergency housing or trauma therapy, which are properly the job of social services, not NGOs. There is an argument that funding NGOs to 'take over' government services allows governments to shirk responsibilities.

It might be useful to consider working with other UN partners to explore means to streamline cooperation and collaboration and better define comparative advantage and appropriate niches. This is particularly true and timely given the role assigned to UNDP, both within the reformed United Nations system (as the focal point for UN presence in-country), and in particular in Asia (as a coordinating agency for issues relating to trafficking in the Mekong sub-region). It is true that UNDP has not yet fully defined what this sub-regional role should be, but there are signs that it may be leaning towards a clearing house-type function, aiming to help to improve information sharing, the research base and advocacy/awareness-raising. At the same time, ESCAP in Bangkok has launched its major project on sexual exploitation of children centred on training and capacity building, the areas in which it has identified its own strengths. With UNICEF's focus on children's rights, particularly as they relate to the right to and role of education and primary health, and ILO's undoubted strengths in the area of labour and participation, all the ingredients seem to be in place for a unique multi-agency team working on a collaborative strategy with a shared vision.

There are good working relationships in the field among these different partners, and it would be to the benefit of children to explore further the potential that the seeming consolidation of roles offers. Beyond current working groups, consultation mechanisms and isolated efforts at cooperation, perhaps consideration could be given to initiating specific policy- and strategy-level discussion at headquarters level.

Traditional labour sector partners

Is important to ask whether ILO-IPEC is getting maximum leverage from its own 'traditional' partners – in particular Ministries of Labour and labour-related groupings such as trade unions? ILO-IPEC might profitably nurture closer and more child-focused relationships with its 'traditional' partners – Ministries and Departments of Labour, trade unions, professional associations, vocational training institutes and the like.

ILO-IPEC seems to work well with Ministries of Labour and related government departments. Such partnerships could clearly be developed further, since they allow differentiation between ILO-IPEC and other agencies such as UNICEF. In Thailand, for example, although work with the Ministry of Education has been positive, the resulting programmes have not been particularly ILO-specific and have brought only moderate added value to ILO as a labour-focused organization. ILO-IPEC has also had some success

in working with trade unions, despite the challenges this raises, and could well carve out a quite distinct and innovative niche for itself in this sector with regard to TSE.[9]

Moreover, given the labour mandate, another concept of prevention seems possible and logical: projects to work with male labourers as potential if not actual clients, customers and sexual exploiters of children. Rather than viewing these as unregenerate criminals, ILO-IPEC might take innovative, positive steps to deal with issues of exploitation with groups of male workers (an identity that gives them an understanding of exploitation themselves, in many cases). Rather than focusing on an ideal of nuclear families in homes – problematic in Latin cultures where many mothers live with children and without spouses (without this being identified as 'family breakdown') – ILO-IPEC could focus on the workplace, men's clubs and other venues where working men gather, including brothels.

There is no work group that does not include clients of prostitutes and sexual exploiters, so there need be no stigmatizing of particular occupations. This strategy must not be limited to working-class men's groups, as middle-class men are also users of prostitutes and have more available income to spend on them. Therefore, employers and managers need to be included as participants in projects.

This could be extended to other, looser labour-related groupings, such as cooperatives of taxi drivers, groups of workers at, for example, ports and airports, nurses and auxiliary staff in hospitals and university teachers' associations. Wherever a group of people are brought together by their work affiliation, and their employment has relevance to the issue of TSE (particularly, for example, the entertainment professions, sectors that have consistent contact with children, male-dominated communities such as transport, or opinion-influencing groups such as journalists' professional associations[10]), ILO-IPEC should investigate whether it has a potential partner.

In Latin America, ILO-IPEC might well and logically focus on working with the police as workers, rather than as law enforcers, since the actions of the police in the line of duty have a considerable impact on sexual exploitation. Police officers have a historically antagonistic and problematic relationship with prostitutes as the relation of power is very badly skewed. For children the situation is even worse; for example, when police departments have a policy of making raids on people in the street or in prostitution *milieux*, children are often indiscriminately rounded up and placed in a new vulnerable situation with adults in police vans, police stations and jails. Moreover, repressive police policies such as 'clean-up' campaigns drive children underground to more hidden places where those wishing to protect them cannot reach them. New work norms for police are needed in regard to TSE, and ILO-IPEC could consider this.

Employers' organizations are reportedly 'difficult to encourage to join in the fight against child labour' (ILO, 1998, p. 67), and this is no surprise in relation to child labour issues in general. However, even employers who turn a blind eye and employ children illegally may wish to protect these children from sexual abuse and exploitation. An example of this was given in Thailand, where a grouping of brothel owners has offered to become active to

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[9] There has recently been an example of successful trade union/multilateral cooperation in Europe, where the European Commission's Daphne Initiative funded a project by the UK-based General and Boilermakers' Union, working with a Spanish trade union, to pilot awareness-raising campaigns and shop-floor reporting mechanisms in protection of victims of domestic violence.

[10] The International Federation of Journalists has a very active Bangkok sector.

keep minors out of prostitution. Clearly, it is in their business interests to present themselves as *bona fide* institutions that do not exploit children. Whatever the motive for such an offer, however, it is clear that it should be explored to the benefit of children. If this is to happen, however, it will be important to take into account the conflicting interests of workers – something that does not currently seem

to happen. Owners of bars, hotels and modelling agencies, travel agents, guides and taxi drivers, among many others, are also working in the sex industry, making money for themselves and their own families.[11] Projects that do not take this issue into account will not receive the support of such workers, who need to be directly involved in negotiations and feel that their interests count as well.

The ILO has a unique opportunity to break from the traditional treatment of sexual exploitation by religious, protectionist or feminist groups. Using a different focus, workplace projects could provide a frame of ethics and morality without being associated directly with traditional religions. This is not to say that projects should not take a firm stand on the wrongness of sexually exploiting children. On the contrary, with full knowledge of this wrongness they would simply function from a different point of view, aiming for cultural transformation.

Beyond awareness raising and advocacy/mobilization, workplace projects could promote buddy systems among workers to watch out for and protect working children from sexual pressures.

Whichever partner is chosen, it is vital that their strengths are used and their weaknesses recognized. NGOs, for example, are not media experts. Although NGOs all over the world (and increasingly) attempt to put together media-related programmes, these are generally doomed to be ineffective and, usually, costly. A documentary, for example, produced by an NGO will have neither the professional polish of a piece produced by a television station nor be likely to fit in to the editorial guidelines of the proposed end-users. If a TV station does agree to air the product, it will be for financial reasons, and the NGO will have to pay for a non-prime slot. In contrast, working directly with television journalists and editors in a partnership arrangement would result in a more polished product (which could perhaps then be disseminated more widely), more chance of prime-time airing, and lower costs. It is important, therefore, to identify the strengths (and weaknesses) of potential implementing partners, and match these to the specific programme to be undertaken – in short, be 'true to their special identity' (Fyfe and Jankanish, 1997, p. 71).

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[11] An ILO study estimates that the 'sex sector' of the economy of four Asian countries accounts for 2‑14 per cent of GDP in the region. Figures for Thailand indicate that, of a total of 104,262 employees in 7,759 establishments where sexual services were available, 64,886 people sold those services while 39,376 were 'support personnel', a term that includes owners, managers, intermediaries and procurers. More than a third of employees were not sex workers but they lived off the industry. The report cautions against thinking that Asian countries are worse than others in this respect; rather they are considered 'illustrative' of a global tendency (Lim, 1998, p. 9).

3. ILO-IPEC PROGRAMMES IN TSE

3.1. Programme scope

The problem of inadequate or misleading labelling of programmes[12] and the somewhat incomplete or inconsistent nature of the documentation provided on programming in the countries visited[13] makes it difficult to compile a complete list of ILO-IPEC programmes in TSE. In Thailand, for example, only ten programmes run between 1992 and 2001 referred to TSE in their titles. However, many of the programmes that aimed to combat child labour in general – for example by providing alternative income-generating skills for needy families and children so that children might remain in school – should also reduce vulnerability generally and so have some impact on the likelihood that a vulnerable child might end up in prostitution. Similarly, programmes aimed at capacity-building of institutions, regional planning or broad advocacy and awareness-raising about child labour in general might also be expected to have some impact on TSE.

ILO-IPEC's TSE programming in Latin America is very new, expressed in a handful of projects across the whole region. There seems to be a general understanding that TSE is an issue in other kinds of ILO-IPEC projects, which has led to at least one project including the concept in its title but not proposing anything specifically related to the issue. On the other hand a Colombian project aimed at child domestic workers shows awareness of TSE issues without naming them in the title.

Beyond names and numbers of programmes, therefore, it seems more relevant to look at the general thrust of the programming in the two regions, its validity and continued relevance, and at specific areas of programming that are worthy of further consideration.

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[12] Labelling of programmes is important. Names must not be misleading. Thus, a programme that has no TSE component should not bear the name of one (the case of one Latin American project). On the other hand, it is important that definition of the programmes funded by ILO-IPEC goes beyond the title given to the project by the implementing agency. Some of the programmes considered in this evaluation exercise did not specifically refer to TSE nor, indeed, purport to have TSE elements in them. Yet it is clear that many programmes did – or should – include elements of TSE prevention. In fact, almost all programmes designed to tackle the most hazardous forms of child labour might reasonably be expected to include some reference to TSE, since children working in hazardous situations are, by definition, vulnerable to other forms of exploitation.

[13] Before any overview of ILO-IPEC's global strategy and programming could be fully appreciated, it became necessary to reconstruct the list of programmes undertaken by ILO-IPEC since it began in 1992. In some cases, documents were missing, records were dispersed and overview reports were incomplete.

3.1.1. Asia

In both Thailand and the Philippines, the emphasis in TSE programming has long been and continues to be on prevention. In the Philippines, four of the nine TSE programmes considered are prevention projects, three are rescue/recovery/reintegration, and two aim to address both prevention and rehabilitation. Of the ten programmes aimed specifically at TSE in Thailand, eight are proposed as prevention and two are general research studies. The prevention programmes generally involve awareness raising, mobilization of relevant groups (eg the police), and capacity building of the implementing agencies. Only two programmes – a multi-year programme by the Development and Education Programme for Daughters (DEP) and part of a multi-year programme of the Thai Women of Tomorrow organization (TWT) – are designed to intervene directly with children at high risk of exploitation.

This emphasis on awareness-raising is common in NGO and indeed IGO programming. It is long established and anecdotally proven, but in reality has over the years remained largely unmeasured and untested. By definition, it rests on a presumption of possible future entrapment and can therefore never be fully empirically tested. How is it possible to claim that exposing a young woman to a certain project, or a community to specific information, has stopped something from happening that might never have happened in the first place? The programmes therefore depend on something of a leap of faith, supported by knowledge of the general vulnerability of children/families/communities in a given town or region, and a belief in certain strategies to influence their behaviour and lifestyle. This undoubtedly has some validity, even if it cannot be empirically measured over the short life span of a project, but, disconcertingly, the realities and modalities of the clients and exploiters are rarely factored into the equation. Programmes designed to prevent exploitation by tackling vulnerability of children are rarely accompanied by programmes designed to prevent exploitation by tackling demand for children for sex.

Given so many intangibles, it is extremely important that prevention programmes have built into them medium-term monitoring and/or follow-up of the children and families. Only five years later, when the child's 'fate' is known, can a programme be said to have been effective or not. And even when this is done, it can at most prove only that a certain child or group of children are not in prostitution – it requires another leap of faith to conclude that their non-exploitation is a result of a particular programme. Additionally, if demand has not been addressed, then the fact that this child or group of children is not in prostitution logically means that another child or group is.

And yet such programming must continue, since the inability to measure its success also implies inability to measure its failure. However, it is important to build into such prevention programming the few certainties that we do have. For instance, in awareness-raising programmes it is crucial to target groups that are known to be prime actors in either protection or, indeed, exploitation (e.g. adult men in areas where frequenting of brothels is common, or the police in border areas where both ignorance of child rights and corruption are common, or adolescents in communities where consumer pressures are strong and unmitigated by tailored school curricula). It is with this general approach in mind that some of the recommendations on elements of ILO-IPEC prevention programmes that might be developed further have been made.

3.1.2. Latin America

In the three Latin American countries evaluated, in contrast to the programming in Asia, projects funded consist largely in provision of direct services to children who have already been exploited. These projects belong to a long protectionist tradition that aims to rescue and reinsert children into society. These projects, which rely on institutionalization and psychotherapeutic processes for the children, do not challenge exploitation itself in any way.

The truth must also be faced that many sexually exploited children have neither good past memories nor present desires to be reinserted into families, and pious aims to 'give them back their lost childhoods' (or 'innocence') do not face the reality of children who, despite their age, have had important experiences of independence and decision-making. ILO-IPEC-funded projects in Latin America all contain aspects aimed at elimination, such as working with the mothers of victims (in an effort to keep families together) or attempting to raise awareness in societies at large of the dangers to children in sexual exploitation. But these efforts are diffuse, fragmentary and not given the same importance as the rescue-and-rehabilitation projects.

To address prevention, the ILO-IPEC-funded projects refer to general changes in attitudes that must be brought about through an application of gender perspective from early years of schooling, awareness-raising on the rights of the child and conceptions of childhood and transformation of cultures of violence. These are worthy but vague goals, and the projects in question do not address them in specific ways.

3.1.3. Internationally agreed strategies

Another concept of prevention growing in some of the projects in Latin America focuses on laws to make sexual exploitation of children a punishable crime, underlining the fact that exploited children are victims, not 'perverters' of others. This is a commendable plan. It is not, however, precisely prevention but rather a theory of deterrence which hopes that, if exploitation is criminalized, potential exploiters will choose not to risk committing the crime. A long history of overflowing prisons and recidivist criminals demonstrates that deterrence is a psychological theory that has not been proved.

The experience of Thailand and the Philippines is of value here, since both countries reviewed legislation relating to TSE in 1996 and introduced stringent new laws. Evidence from NGOs in these two countries is that the new laws themselves have reduced the public face of exploitation and driven it underground (for example, in the Philippines brothel-based prostitution of children has been giving way to pimping of children in shopping malls). At the same time, in instances where there has been effective implementation of the new laws, for example through well publicized arrests and convictions, this has encouraged better public understanding and intolerance of TSE (although not necessarily reduced criminal activity). Public understanding is an important support to implementation of laws, since it leads to better reporting of crime, more pressure on authorities to follow through police action (important in instances where local-level authorities might be corruptible and ready to intervene to interrupt legal process), and better awareness of the need to protect children.

The challenge of effective implementation of legislation remains, however. Therefore, this is another area where careful targeting of the groups involved in making laws work (e.g.

police, judicial authorities and community leaders) and the support of community-level structures for reporting and monitoring (e.g. telephone hotlines and a vigilant, well informed media) may be considered appropriate programming options.

It is worth noting here that all the countries included in this thematic evaluation, except Costa Rica, were present at the first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, in Stockholm in 1996, and are party to the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action. This includes the commitment 'to criminalize the commercial sexual exploitation of children, as well as other forms of sexual exploitation of children, and condemn and penalize all those offenders involved, whether local or foreign, while ensuring that the child victims of this practice are not penalized' (Host Committee for the World Congress, 1996).

Additionally, the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action calls for national plans of action to be drawn up to combat TSE, focal points to be established in each country, and disaggregated data to be compiled on vulnerability. As of August 2000, Costa Rica did have a national plan. Nicaragua was in the process of developing one, and Colombia had not yet taken action. Both Thailand and the Philippines have national plans of action against TSE.

3.1.4. Balancing protection and recovery/rehabilitation

The focus on trafficking as one factor in the sexual exploitation of children raises questions related to the balance between protection and recovery/rehabilitation programming. Prevention programmes and recovery/rehabilitation programmes (in addition to wider programming such as legislative reform, support of cross-border agreements and training of customs and border police) need to exist side-by-side and simultaneously if trafficking as a phenomenon is to be eliminated. Yet trafficking is not a single act: it involves recruitment of children, their transfer to different towns, regions or countries, and their exploitation. Each of these can involve multiple agents and stages. Clearly, there can be no one response to what are very different actions, often involving different actors (e.g. the village recruitment agent, a 'shipper' and a pimp or brothel owner).

ILO-IPEC has recognized this in the approach it has taken, for example, to the Mekong Sub-regional Initiative to combat trafficking. Although in the early stages of development and experimentation, this initiative is essentially a framework in which a range of different programmes aimed to address the diverse components of the trafficking phenomenon are built into a strategically focused response. This seems to be a sensible general approach to combating trafficking of children, whether for the purposes of sexual exploitation or for labour exploitation more broadly defined. However, there is also potential for dedicated cross-border programming that is particularly suitable to tackle problems that are by their nature also cross-border (with a border not being necessarily defined as a place where two countries meet, but also as a separation between two towns, or the urban/rural divide).

Another kind of focus on protection and recovery is exemplified by Fundación Restrepo Barco's project in Colombia, which aims to change the stigmatizing, institutionalizing cultures of groups that work with exploited girls, as well as to encourage self-esteem in victims ('personal development'). Progressive within a psychotherapeutic framework, this project may help participating individuals in the very long term, but it should not be confused with efforts to 'prevent' sexual exploitation of children. For the children reached

directly (a necessarily small percentage compared with the total of those in need, given the cost of the process), there are no indicators of impact, but this is true of all protection projects. More important is the impossibility of knowing whether the adults reached actually reflect attitude change in their treatment of exploited girls. Furthermore, because non-institutional actors work with the children, a non-institutionalizing attitude may come about naturally. The Restrepo theory rests on the intransigent nature of traditional social workers; if these are not involved in TSE projects, the problem is avoided. Such a project is a sophisticated attempt to make profound cultural change, but in the context of the ILO's labour mandate, sparse TSE programming in Latin America and limited funding, it is not a programming direction to take at the present time.

3.2. General comments on ILO-IPEC programmes in TSE

In Latin America, ILO-

report, there is less assessment of activities in Latin American because there have only been

first projects funded, carried out by local NGOs self-
prostitution and children, have been traditional even institutionalizing providers of direct

ILO-   *Creation of a model for t*
development of girls in prostitution
of service providers to girls. While interesting, this psychologically oriented project does

if ILO IPEC takes the present opportunity to come up with a truly innovative

nascent efforts (both mini programmes) to do more innovative work that should be
t upon: one carried out on the Guatemala Mexico border that shows

(   ) and the other
ttempt by a small NGO in Nicaragua to promote networking and sharing of
A space for reflection and action against sexual
). In the second case, the funded group was not able

funding and connections; the necessity for such networking is, however, commented on by
follow up on

themselves are only now really looking at issues of TSE; to a great extent, the topic is still

ILO IPEC has been
years and is therefore still a relative 'newcomer' to this issue. When programming began in

generous
years. It did this to some extent by forming alliances with organizations already working

ely, it meant that ILO IPEC very quickly became a player in TSE in all the

international debate on TSE. It also allowed ILO-IPEC to build quickly on ILO's broader presence with regards to relations with governments and authorities at various levels.

Negatively, however, it meant that in the countries where it first began working in TSE, ILO-IPEC had to take some risks as it became programmatically active without taking time to identify specific needs and help develop new partners and partnerships. As a result, some of ILO-IPEC's early partners were selected because they were already established groups in TSE, had proved their sustainability, and could offer ready-made projects. ILO-IPEC entered these partnerships in order to become active and with a view to supporting and developing existing competencies. These might be considered 'non-child-focused' decisions, and they tend to relegate evaluation of the actual impact of the programmes on children to second place, behind ILO-IPEC's institutional needs. This is not intended to suggest any judgement of such decisions, but to put into context the evaluation of several important project partners' ILO-IPEC-funded work.

It is also important because one issue raised in a number of interviews with non-project people interviewed was the relatively large amounts of money that ILO-IPEC provides to some NGOs that are perceived by many not to have proved their efficacy. There is a fear that funding activity that is beyond the realistic ability of the NGO to achieve – or at least to achieve in the stated, externally published aims – can corrupt the NGO or at the very least put burdens on its administration and so adversely affect its functioning. This might also be considered in relation to what seems to be under-performance of most implementing partners in terms of their documentation of projects, reporting effectively and accounting on time.

In Thailand, for example, two Action Programmes funded in 1992 received continuing funding over seven or eight years, despite what appears to be minimal measurement of output and less than perfect reporting. Clearly ILO-IPEC chose to invest considerable trust and funds into these two programmes, and they are therefore worth looking at closely.

3.2.1. Strengthening the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare programme on child labour

The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MoLSW) programme on child labour, which is not TSE-specific but clearly has TSE relevance, represents ILO-IPEC's biggest investment in Thailand. Through it, ILO-IPEC has not only participated in formulating the five-year National Plan of Action on Child Labour (1997-2001), but also in developing the capacity of the MoLSW to implement the plan. In addition to underpinning this vital programmatic (and advocacy-enhancing) relationship, ILO-IPEC's support of this programme has contributed to some moderate concrete output: a set of child labour indicators, training for 20 child labour inspectors, 20,000 copies of a child labour cartoon booklet and a series of newsletters (target group not specified).

Continuing some form of relationship is inevitable, and the MoLSW might welcome ILO-IPEC's continued technical input. The nature of the relationship should be reviewed to ensure both that ILO-IPEC's funding to date continues to yield results and that the MoLSW is able to perform effectively with regards to child labour/TSE issues, including without ILO-IPEC funding and technical support.

In 1998/99 already, for example, questions were raised whether the inevitable turnover of

partnership (ILO-
end by the funded creation of a liaison office for IPEC within the Ministry, with a full time
staff member.   There are no clear indications of whether or not this makes a difference.
                                                                -IPEC's par

the relationship is monitored, back-
action is taken speedily.

Steering Committee (NSC) on which ILO-   pends for the selection of programmes
to be funded in Thailand.   Some questions have already been raised in this report on

However, the NSC mechanism has some flaws
resourced, being unable for example to commission specific research that it may need to be
able to take programming decisions within an informed framework (for example updated
                                        ources to react to submitted projects rather than
commission much needed gap-
consideration be given to finding ways to support the NSC more effectively, and that
perhaps this could be done by a sho   -focused consultancy that focuses both

ILO-

The strength of the National Child Labour Committee of the Philippines   -
backed group that includes UNICEF and ILO representation, has also contributed to more
                -related planning and programming.   Given the recommendation that the
                                                                s, perhaps the
Philippine model could be considered as part of that review.

3.2.2. Preventing northern girls from enticement into forced labour:

The Development and Education Programme for Daughters was first fu
when the NGO concerned was called the Daughters Education Programme, or DEP, the
acronym by which it is still generally known. Since 1992, and through to 2000, ILO IPEC
supported DEP with more than US$250,000, an enormous sum for a modest NG
Moreover, DEP is noted in documentation as a regular partner of ILO-
surprising, therefore, that no thorough evaluation of DEP's work has been done.

                   -evaluations have been undertaken, mostly by other NGOs or by ILO
IPEC itself.   The mini evaluations have generally concluded that DEP's programme
approach is successful, yet none has given any reasons for this judgement nor, indeed, are

issues that have been raised that do not seem to have then been addressed. For example,

of assistance. Questionnaires were then used to recruit applicants...despite the fact that the
                   -tribes, the majority of whom could not communicate well in the
                                                     -third of the parents could
                                        -thirds c

(ILO IPEC, 1998, p. 26). This apparent methodological flaw does not seem to have been redressed.

Even in the best of circumstances, it is extremely difficult to judge action that is intended to prevent someone from being entic
be asked is: What is the quantitative likelihood of such enticement? Certainly young people in the north of Thailand are more likely to be enticed or trafficked into prostitution
dle-
translate so readily into individual vulnerability measurement: how do we measure the likelihood of an individual child's entering the commercial sex trade? DEP clearly works
stinct in this as the rest of us would, and their long experience suggests that their instincts are probably more finely honed than usual. Nevertheless, such an

many judgements of success that have been documented therefore potentially misleading.

number of girls from entering prostitution'.

is one should ideally be run alongside complementary projects that attempt to simultaneously deal with the demand side of the equation. If the

(to girls in a different part of the region or girls who are not involved in prevention

programme 'saves' ten girls, then ten girls somewhere else become victims, and this does not therefor *eliminate* hazardous child labour.

DEP's experience over a number of years is undoubtedly valuable and should not be underestimated. However, it needs to be better analysed and directed into work that fits
d measurably into a regional framework of action, with much broader goals and better defined targets. Urgent consideration also needs to be given to factoring in the demand side of the equation in such wider framework programming. Reliable
dicators – – also need to be developed,

Eradication of sexual exploitation of children in Cartagena and Barranquilla:

Fundación Renacer

In Colombia, ILO-
which offers direct services to children in the form of outreach, skills workshops, psychotherapy and institutional 'homes'.

This project represents a tradition of institutionalization attempting to change. Fundación

the poor and marginalized. Renacer itself began as a religiously oriented project; later, the founders realized
began to promote children's rights. They also realised that schooling and occupational training were not enough for sexually exploited children who are seen to have distorted
ies and to need a slow therapeutic process that will 'lead them to reflection'.
Renacer's ideal is to facilitate the child's return to the family; though this seldom is possible
tic
community' but rather a home, a sense of belonging for the children. In Cartagena and

Barranquilla, ILO-IPEC has partially funded Fundación Renacer's operation of daytime centres for therapy and occupational training and permanent 'homes' for children, as well as a restaurant in Cartagena where some children work.

The theories forming Renacer's work are psychotherapeutic and protective, resulting in children who have been in the programme, and even in the 'homes', for periods as long as two years. As with most traditional 'homes', the children have few opportunities to leave unaccompanied. This is a very great change for children who have been working and living outside families for some time and may be perceived as detention by some. Certainly this perception is found among children who do *not* want the protection of such a programme, and who may associate such 'homes' with the carrying out by police of forcible removal of children from street and prostitution environments. With the aid of Fundación Restrepo Barco's funded project, institutionalizing theories such as Renacer's are slowly undergoing change but this, too, is envisioned as a slow therapeutic process.

A related unfortunate consequence of institutionalization is the breaking of any positive ties children may have had with workmates, friends and family members found even in sites of sexual exploitation. The occupational training offered involves traditional activities such as hairdressing and dressmaking, with service in restaurants and computer skills newer additions.

One aspect of Renacer's outreach work, which focuses on the situation of children displaced from areas of armed conflict to new marginal *barrios*, on the outskirts of Cartagena, might be encouraged by ILO-IPEC. These are sites of almost complete vulnerability for children with few links in new homes and few options for occupying their time, children by definition vulnerable to exploitation.

However, ILO-IPEC should not be funding Renacer's institutional projects. The emphasis on a long therapeutic process for victims means heavy expenses and attention to a small proportion of the total of children in need. Such processes are characterized by high dropout rates and the impossibility of measuring success in the form of future non-participation in prostitution. For many children, long residence in institutions means continued dependency on key adults. While potentially valuable processes on the individual level they are inappropriate for ILO-IPEC's goal of prevention of sexual exploitation and focus solely on victims.

Moreover, Renacer has experienced problems in Cartagena that point to an ironic weakness in the conceptualizing of their work. Because of neighbourhood opposition to a permanent Renacer home being located in the city, a site was found far outside the city limits. Not only does this isolate child residents, it indicates the kind of stigma attached to participating in the programme, the intense 'othering' of child participants by adults. Similarly, the opening of the Renacer restaurant in the colonial zone of the city met strong opposition (neighbours saying they feared the restaurant would be a site of prostitution). These attitudes are of course unjust, but they form an important negative context that must be taken into account when considering support for this type of project. Additionally, Renacer acknowledges that many children offered the opportunity choose not to participate in projects or, after spending time in classes, return to prostitution *milieux*.

While the Renacer target in Cartagena and Barranquilla was originally 600, only 160 children were reached directly, with 30 of these participating in the more innovative restaurant project. These figures indicate the highly personalized nature of the project,

which is necessarily long-term, expensive and slow. Indirect beneficiaries include 320 family members of the children. The Fiscalía de la Nación has meanwhile estimated there to be 1,500 sexually exploited children in Cartagena alone.

Traditional occupational training such as hairdressing and dressmaking is part of the Renacer programme. However, there is no longer-term follow-up to show that children have moved on to stable employment in these fields. Computer training needs to be focused on particular skills related to known market opportunities where children might realistically find employment (which implies research beforehand). Renacer acknowledges that occupational training that lasts only three months is inadequate to achieve the kind of 'socialization' process needed for these children. The restaurant provides a different and more publicly oriented form of occupational training, but until self-sufficiency is reached (as in Renacer's Bogotá restaurant), it is an expensive one. ILO-IPEC should reconsider supporting such traditional projects as Renacer in general, though it could fund specific outreach components.

3.3. Programming elements that might be replicated

No single programme is suitable for simple replication in its entirety. On the other hand, several projects have elements that are clearly working well and which could be expanded and developed further, and potentially replicated elsewhere. If these elements, moreover, are developed in a more all-encompassing strategic framework, they could well build into country and regional programmes with considerable impact.

3.3.1. Going where the children are

Large numbers of exploiters are active in truck and bus stops, customs and border checks, and ports of call for working boats and cruise ships. At such transit points, children who are travelling or vending are placed in unstable environments where people are unknown to each other. Changing faces and vehicles means it is difficult to keep track of individuals and there is less commitment to do so, for example by customs inspectors. People on the road are known to feel freer to do what they would not do at home. At ports, children come into contact with sailors who have been some time away from women as well as tourists who are anxious to 'party'. Many of these zones are also international borders with fairly lax requirements about allowing children to cross (well known in Central America) and thus lend themselves to trafficking.

Workplace projects involving truck and bus drivers, customs workers, dockworkers and sailors, as well as vendors at these sites, could have a strong component on sexual exploitation of children. A good framework for future IPEC programming on sexual exploitation would address travel, migration, tourism and transport.[14]

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[14] Within this framework, Central American movements need to be understood as continuing north through Guatemala and into Mexico, where large numbers of migrants and refugees are found. Transport, job opportunities, permeable borders, labour migrations and trafficking (of arms, drugs and goods as well as people) occur fluidly throughout the area. A proposal to research and plan trafficking projects in Central America that omits Panama, Belize and the Mexican border is missing significant opportunities. ILO-IPEC should follow up on the beginning made by a well thought-out mini-programme carried out on the Guatemala-Mexico border in 1998/99.

Similarly, programming in the Dominican Republic logically belongs with a Caribbean initiative, regardless of languages spoken on different islands. The area from Cuba over to the Virgin Islands and in a great curve south to Venezuela and west again to the Dutch Antilles represents a cultural whole for sex exploitation and trafficking (Kempadoo, 1995, 1999). Therefore, regional movements need to be more coherently considered in TSE programming.

Example: the Visayan Forum in the Philippines

A good example of this is an ILO-IPEC programme in the Philippines. The geography of the Philippines – a group of islands linked by nationhood, trade and social ties – means that travel by sea is a way of life for families visiting relatives, for traders widening their outreach and for children being sent to work away from home. Many children arrive at seaports to be met by the receiving agents of trafficking networks. Many also arrive expecting to be met by family or employers, only to be left abandoned at the docks and so vulnerable to recruiting agents and pimps.

The Visayan Forum, a regular implementing partner of ILO-IPEC that concentrates specifically on the protection of children in or entering domestic service, runs a programme to identify and receive these vulnerable children and to provide them with basic information that will reduce their vulnerability (eg about accommodation, available services, their rights), as well as access to social services if they need them. The model of identification of at-risk children, reception and introduction to multi-sectoral services at the point where the children become most vulnerable is an extremely effective protection mechanism, since it effectively interrupts the chain of trafficking. It could clearly be replicated and developed at other points where children become vulnerable to predators (e.g. airports and bus stations).

A second element of the Visayan Forum project also seems to be effective and open to further development and expansion: the NGO has built strong links with the captains of the ships on which the children travel, with the crews of the ships and with the shipping lines. Some captains give free passage on board to allow the children to return immediately to their homes if they are not met by the family members they were expecting to meet. Beyond the direct assistance that this offers, again interrupting the trafficking flow, it is also a good example of coalition building and awareness-raising among groups directly involved in the movement of children. There is no reason why this team-building approach could not be extended to airline crews, bus and truck drivers, hotel staff and others who may knowingly or unknowingly come into contact with children being or at risk of being trafficked. Such contacts might be made at the point of work, as in the Visayan model, or perhaps through trades unions or workers' and employers' associations.

Example: Asociación Mary Barreda in Nicaragua

Intervening at points of travel and commerce is also used in Central America by the ILO-IPEC funded project *Elimination of child labour and the risk of sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents in the León bus station*. The promoter of this project, the Asociación Mary Barreda, basically runs a traditional project targeted at identifying and aiding girls at risk of sexual exploitation. These girls are offered psychotherapy and occupational training, and their mothers are counselled in an attempt at family reunification. Barreda is an example of good traditional programming on sexual exploitation, but the orientation remains institutional and focused on rescuing individuals; personnel wish they could set up other sites for working with girls in other parts of town. They have reached 100 girls and 75 families.

The aspect of the Barreda project that ILO-IPEC could replicate relates to the work carried out within the bus station, one of many important commercial and social travel junctions within Nicaragua. Barreda uses the concept of the 'social network', promoted among all interested parties in the bus station (terminal authorities, security personnel, vendors, drivers and mothers), with the aim of raising awareness about the sexual exploitation of girls and acting to prevent it. Mothers who are vendors in the station report that where in the past they felt passive about the exploitation of girls in the station, now they actively watch out for and feel empowered to report cases of exploitation to Barreda. Despite success in promoting awareness and action, Barreda does not have plans to replicate the social network in other locales, such as the main León marketplace, which would seem to be an easy target for them. Barreda also does some outreach with owners of private houses where girls are exploited, but does not have plans to replicate this less traditional activity either.

ILO-IPEC could encourage the association to see itself as a possible base for outreach in an area larger than León. The social network project is clearly replicable, including in other parts of Central America, and it could be improved by including more members of the community and moving the denunciation of exploitation away from Barreda itself to other social and municipal leaders. Barreda educators could be encouraged to use their considerable skills to make proposals for dealing with clients/exploiters, for doing outreach in workplaces of all kinds and in general for extending their work to concentrate on 'demand'. Barreda employees are women and their target is girls and women. ILO-IPEC could urge them to consider a different kind of gender perspective that would include men and boys in their project.

3.3.2. Outreach by staff and volunteers

If TSE renders children effectively invisible, then one way to begin to combat it is to make sure that children remain visible, and this means strengthening their presence in their family, community, school, on the streets. One way to do this is to mobilize groups of people who take on the responsibility of either keeping in touch with them (as in the case of the Fundación Renacer example given below) or working to ensure that other potential care-takers are informed and mobilized, as is the case of a project funded by ILO-IPEC and run by TWT in Thailand.

Example: Thai Women of Tomorrow (TWT) in Thailand

In the north of Thailand, TWT has worked successfully to create a volunteer force of teachers and former teachers to take information on the hazards of the commercial sex trade and the realities of life for young girls and women traded into it into village communities. The volunteers are committed to the task, well prepared and determined. They have great credibility within their communities and so their message has more chance of being listened to. The success of the work is shown in the fact that the volunteer group is still growing, with younger teachers, members of women's groups, NGO representatives and other community members asking to join. Critical mass is important in any work to influence community attitudes.

It is clear that the model of recruiting committed volunteers within a community, training them in the issue, spreading messages and advocacy methods within their community,

equipping them with basic information materials and providing minimal but ongoing backstopping to their work, is replicable in other situations and could be further developed.

Community could be more widely defined to include workers on shop floors, youth groupings, professional associations, schools, whole sectors of business such as hotels, airline companies, travel agents' associations. All of these could be defined as communities in which volunteer teams could be set up to transmit information and influence peer opinion. This would be much more effective than general so-called mass media campaigns, which scatter untargeted messages over a wide area in the hope that they reach someone.

Volunteer groupings could be given incentives to recognize and encourage their work, and this could be used for awareness-raising action. Note that any overt recognition of individuals must be done in an informed manner so that 'winners' do not become targets for those who would wish the trading of children to continue. (In general the volunteers interviewed during the evaluation mission were very aware of their own positioning within their communities and conscious of safety considerations; they should be fully consulted on the planning and implementation of any awards scheme.) Several interviewees mentioned that it is common in Thai tradition to acknowledge achievement and that prizes for recognized performance are looked upon favourably. Any award given could be the focus of media activity and event-based community information campaigns. In short, it should be seen that achieving change on behalf of children, especially as a volunteer, brings rewards.

Training and information materials could be updated and refreshed periodically, perhaps by other groups in partnership with the organization running the volunteer project. For example, TWT has noted that the videos it prepared with ILO-IPEC support in 1996/97 are now out of date and technically behind the times. (The northern villagers of Thailand increasingly have access to television programmes and are increasingly sophisticated about media campaigns; to them, the TWT videos look amateur and dull). University educational media departments, television journalists and film producers, among others, could cooperate in updating or producing new materials for TWT and wider use. This would improve the impact of the volunteer groups while also bringing in new players, thereby widening and strengthening networks.

High-profile role models for young people – musicians, television personalities, sports stares and even fictional characters from cartoons, books and video games – have potentially great influence on young people and could comprise another group of volunteers. They could work specifically to mitigate the kind of negative peer pressure that has been documented in both Thailand and the Philippines. (This evaluation exercise was too limited to be able to explore this possibility in depth, but related experience in other Asian countries suggests that it might at least be worth looking at.)

Young people themselves, of course, are also prime candidates for forming volunteer outreach teams, and are uniquely placed to work to influence other young people and thus mitigate against the kind of negative peer pressure that has been positively identified as being a contributing factor to young people's entering commercial sex. Teams of young volunteers – provided with training, materials and ongoing backstopping – could be formed in higher educational institutes, sports clubs, vocational institutions and other places where young people form 'communities'. Education officials in Thailand singled out work among university student populations as being necessary.

Within this same context, a recommendation made in 1998 might also be picked up: a need was noted in Thailand for 'the provision of specific services such as counselling for dysfunctional families whose children are at risk. Issues such as gambling and drug addiction, and parents' expectation that they can 'retire' at a relatively young age and live off the earnings of their children, all need to be addressed' (ILO, 1998, p. 89). One possible solution to this was given: 'Efforts need to be made to enlist all influential grassroots people, and a core of professional social workers and similarly trained individuals needs to be created to assist families and communities with particular problems' (ibid). Clearly a professional person could be attached to an appropriate volunteer group in order to reach targeted communities.

To ensure backstopping of volunteer teams, and to provide them with information, a focal point for study and reflection, and the opportunity to network, information resource centres could be set up. The TWT information resource centre funded by ILO-IPEC seems to be functioning effectively, although the fact that it is located on the campus of the university means that it is not necessarily accessible to all those who would benefit from its existence. The TWT centre is comfortable but not extravagant, well stocked with information, and offers computer and Internet access – including to the associated website, which seems to function well and to be maintained. Locating modest centres such as this – perhaps even just two rooms in a shared building – in central areas, where access for users would be easy but also other people would pass by (offering good opportunities, for example, for poster campaigns, a notice board of upcoming events and similar awareness-raising potential) would give even more added value to the investment.

Example: Fundación Renacer on Colombia's Caribbean coast

The forms of outreach used in Latin America relate to concepts of *educación popular*. This educational theory emphasizes the possibilities for revolutionary change for poor and exploited people through consciousness-raising (*concientización*) and the creation by these subjects of possible avenues to solve their own problems. Although many formal NGOs in the region had their beginnings in this movement, most have become professional, with the result that they now offer more packaged and/or institutionalized solutions. Many people who work in outreach still value participative consciousness-raising, which may blend into psychotherapeutic theories as well as new discourses on the 'invisibility' of poor social sectors. In the ideal working out of *educación popular*, promoters or animators who become outreach workers and educators come from the target population itself. ILO-IPEC's partners in Latin America belong in different ways to this tradition, and outreach is the strong point of three projects evaluated.

Renacer works in Bogotá as well, but ILO-IPEC funded its projects in Cartagena and Barranquilla, on Colombia's Caribbean coast. Outreach workers are on the streets and in commercial prostitution sites most nights of the week, working to identify vulnerable children and offer them participation in Renacer projects or return to their families. Outreach personnel also work hard to maintain amicable relationships with owners of sex businesses, necessary for being allowed in to look around as well as to attempt influencing them not to employ children. In both cities, Renacer outreach workers are moving to identify non-traditional forms of prostitution, as they realise that they are contacting a small portion of the total sexual exploitation of children, even in their own cities.

These outreach teams are excellent and courageous in their work and open to thinking of sexual exploitation in a wide variety of situations. They clearly could be trained to deal with clients, business owners and workers' groups in a new focus on prevention and demand. The outreach teams need to be much larger, including a variety of individual personalities and strengths that would make the work more flexible, and more replicable, perhaps integrating volunteer members of communities. Systems using promoters/animators who are themselves young, perhaps including those with personal experience of exploitation or prostitution, would by-pass the issue of traditional social workers' "victimizing' children. Outreach with tourists should be undertaken in Cartagena, and in general Renacer should be supported in branching out to deal with clients and exploiters. Their contacts in the marginal *barrio* of Nelson Mandela should be expanded to other areas, but there needs to be a clearer focus on influencing the demand side and not only working to identify at-risk children.

Example: FUNDESIDA in Costa Rica

In San José, FUNDESIDA, an NGO with experience in AIDS prevention among prostitutes, was the lead agency of the ILO-IPEC-funded project, with support from Patronato Nacional de la Infancia (PANI). The FUNDESIDA project focused specifically on children found in the street in San José, offering outreach and direct services. The outreach workers are excellent and dedicated, but the clear problem is the lack of anywhere to send girls after finding them, as PANI's institutional 'homes' are the only present alternative.

Even though FUNDESIDA focused exclusively on girls found in the street, it reached only 200 girls in two years, while between 2,000 and 3,000 sexually exploited children have been estimated in San José alone. As with Renacer's programming, the psychotherapeutic approach used with victims is by definition long, slow and personalized, as is a 'prevention' component carried out for girls considered to be at risk of entering prostitution. As these are children from very poor segments of society with few if any options for education and work, the long-term effect of such processes cannot be claimed.

Perhaps the most significant element of the FUNDESIDA project has been the demonstration to institutions that something not thoroughly institutional can be achieved, and that PANI could be involved. I LO-IPEC could attempt to follow up on this instance of cultural transformation by supporting PANI's supplying of outreach workers to expand into working on prevention and demand rather than direct services to victims.

Example: Asociación Mary Barreda in Nicaragua

One aspect of the Barreda project with important possibilities involves outreach to private houses where owners invite girls to socialize with adult men from the town. These are clandestine and ambiguous situations of sexual exploitation where relationships between NGO workers such as Barreda's and exploiters represent an innovative attempt to work with the demand side of TSE. At the same time, Barreda workers themselves are not aware of their abilities in or the importance of this area.

The most effective outreach programmes are likely to be those that are moveable and willing to go wherever sexual exploitation is taking place or where children are particularly at risk. Projects should not be limited to traditional sites of street prostitution. Instead,

they should enter workplaces, neighbourhoods and bars, combating the invisibility of the problem with visibility. The very act of talking about sexual exploitation in 'normal' situations is powerful; this capacity, which has been developed by street educators and outreach workers, should be shared widely.

Outreach educators have also developed knowledge of sexuality issues that would enable them to flourish in innovative new roles. All of the street educators met in Latin America, for example, demonstrated appropriate understanding of situations of sexual exploitation and sexuality issues as well as the courage to enter sexual *milieux* and talk to owners, managers and clients. Consequently, agencies that value street and community outreach education should be considered particularly appropriate partners in TSE programming in Latin America.

Finally, it is crucial to underscore the interface between outreach to find sexually exploited children and outreach to prevent infection with HIV/AIDS and other STDs. In health campaigns worldwide, outreach has been shown to be a powerful tool for getting prevention messages to marginalized groups. In all countries outreach workers in health projects are those likely to know most about where to find exploiters and exploited alike. Similarly, outreach workers in non-health projects often use condom and information distribution as an entrance to work on other issues. This alliance should be strengthened and facilitated.

3.3.3. Building alliances

A number of ILO-IPEC programmes in both Asia and Latin America contain the seeds of important coalition-building activity. As has already been noted, while critical mass is important if TSE is to be effectively tackled, blanket awareness-raising projects and untargeted information and mobilization campaigns are unlikely to be as effective as tailor-made alliances that inform, engage and equip specific groups of actors to identify and be motivated to play their own particular part in eliminating the sexual exploitation of children.

Example: Cooperation in Costa Rica

In Costa Rica, the sexual exploitation of children has been a major subject of public discourse for some time but was particularly so following the December 2000 airing of a documentary made by the US television network ABC, the president's published objections to it and the subsequent public debate, much of which appeared in the press. No fewer than 44 government agencies and NGOs belong to a network aimed at combating sexual exploitation of children in Costa Rica.

Enforcement of the national law against sexual exploitation of children (passed in 1999) is considered of prime importance in ILO-IPEC's work, along with a policy aimed at deterrence via the diffusion of information about this crime. ILO-IPEC in San José helped FUNDESIDA coordinate a two-day activity for 200 municipal police officers that focused on changing their perception of girls from exploiters of adults to victims of them. Although impact of the training cannot be demonstrated, police abuse of power among adult prostitutes and sexually exploited children is well known in all cultures. In the Costa Rican context, ILO-IPEC should expand awareness-raising to reach the national police

force, using peer education principles rather than attempting to send everyone to workshops. It should also assist in integrating such awareness-raising into normal police training. In other words, police should be engaged with as actors in this field rather than subjected to passive programming. The participation of the 10,000 member police force in dealing with sexual exploitation is an opportunity.

Example: working with the media in the Philippines

In the Philippines, ILO-IPEC has formed some solid working relationships with influential media-related organizations, and these are well worth building on.

A number of awareness-raising programmes have been conducted. In 1994 and 1995, ILO-IPEC supported a project to raise awareness and mobilize public support in the campaign against child labour through TV and radio, implemented by the Philippine Information Agency (PIA). The programme comprised a series of radio and TV spots, plus press releases, aimed at raising the awareness of working children and their parents on child labour issues. Projects like this, of course, have a relatively short shelf life, since the impact of TV and radio spots is not sustained through extended repetition. Beyond the content of the programme, however, it is the working relationship between the PIA and ILO-IPEC that is worth exploring further.

The same is true of collaboration with the Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism, which created a video documentary in 1996 with ILO-IPEC support. The video was launched at the Asean Summit of Child Rights and the Media and was intended largely as an advocacy tool. There is no record in the documentation of whether the video also reached television audiences (which would have added to its value). Again, it is the collaboration as much as the product that is worth replicating.

Investment in building a relationship with the Philippine Children's Television Foundation should also be viewed in this way. Television materials produced for children's television in 1995/96 and a longer version for use in schools and as advocacy materials reflect the quality of output of the Foundation, whose collaboration is well worth nurturing, since the engagement of the media as influencers of public opinion and of decision-makers is enormously important.

There is also potential in these relationships in an area of TSE that the media have not intensively explored. Since evidence suggests that sexual exploitation is not as widespread a problem in the Philippines as sexual abuse, there is a great media opportunity in tackling sexual abuse as an issue. This would not be easy; in addition to the taboos inherent in speaking openly about sexual abuse of children, there is also the problem that it cannot be depicted easily on television (or translated into radio). But the debate on sexual abuse of children in the family or close circle of friends must be taken into the home, and that is where television has its most potent impact. This is a challenge for broadcasters, but the Philippines media are known to be extremely competent and are particularly engaged in children's rights issues. This is an option that might profitably be explored.

3.3.4. Provincial plans

Designing and implementing regional plans against TSE has become an important part of ILO-IPEC's work in several regions. Between 1997 and 1999, ILO-IPEC funded pilot

provincial plans in five provinces of Thailand: Chiang Rai, Srisaket, Kohn Kaen, Chiang Mai and Songkhla.

Example: Chiang Mai regional plan and support office in Thailand

As part of this evaluation exercise, a visit was made to the Provincial Governor's office in Chiang Mai to discuss the resulting five-year plan with its instigators, the Operating Centre on the Protection of Working Women and Children (OCPWWC). Additionally, the evaluator reviewed in detail the Chiang Mai plan itself as well as that produced for Srisaket Province. These programmes clearly have both strong and weak elements:

The first element that is clearly replicable is simply having a plan. Both the Srisaket and the Chiang Mai plans are based on modest information gathering, consultation, discussion, reflection and strategic thinking. By their very nature, therefore, they are commendable actions towards eliminating TSE, since they put otherwise isolated, fragmented activity into a wider, cooperative framework and move in the direction of strategic action and critical mass.

The second aspect of the provincial planning exercise that is extremely positive is the networking and cooperation it encourages among not only different children's organizations but also the different sectors involved. To be fully realized, this networking ideally needs a focal point – not necessarily a place but a person or a regular event. Basing the provincial planning exercise in the OCPWWC in Chiang Mai, for example, provided such a focal point, and ILO-IPEC's additional support to building the capacity of the centre was well placed. Consideration should be given both to upgrading capacity further and to considering (on a case-by-case basis) whether creating such a focal point could not also coincide with the need for a focal point for volunteer activity outlined above.

Provincial planning is a good idea and ILO-IPEC has supported it well. There are clearly areas that could be developed further, including improving the capacity of the coordinating body, engaging more partners in the process (better research could be pursued, for example), expanding networks and looking for ways to tie this programme to other programmes to add value. There are also some weaknesses that need to be addressed.

The first is the need to focus more specifically on TSE in provinces where it is a serious problem (all of those supported to date). TSE is sadly almost absent from the plans consulted, at least explicitly. This not only leaves a major problem unaddressed, it also might exclude from the network those organizations working mainly in this field, and limit cross-referencing to other programmes.

The second is the vital need for inter-agency consultation and information sharing among funding agents, particularly between ILO-IPEC and UNICEF. While the OCPWWC has coordinated the provincial plan with ILO-IPEC funding, another group of university-based individuals have since sought and received UNICEF funding to devise a competing plan. Local politics are inevitable – there will always be someone who doesn't want to be part of the team but to lead it. It is therefore vital that funding agencies do not underpin this by providing competing funding. There should have been closer cooperation between UNICEF and ILO-IPEC. Certainly both agencies should meet to discuss whether they could now put up a united front and insist that the various implementers work together to make the plans complementary. Otherwise, neither plan will be fully funded, fully operational or fully sustainable.

3.3.5. Direct financial subsidies and scholarships

Handing over money to beneficiaries – to put it bluntly – is always seen as a last resort option for programme planners. In the right circumstances, however, it is a valid element of programming. It is therefore useful to highlight two areas where direct financial assistance has been shown to be valuable as a protection measure.

Example: providing emergency support in Thailand

The first arises again out of an assessment made by ECPAT (on behalf of ILO-IPEC) of the impact of the TWT volunteer teachers in Thailand. ECPAT's conclusions on the TWT model were realistically positive. Their assessment remained well within the boundaries of what could be reliably measured and assessed. ECPAT documented a number of difficulties, two of which related to funding. The first was the simple fact that volunteer teachers, although they do not expect any payment, should be able to expect that their expenses be covered. This is important to bear in mind when the needs of the programme itself dictate minor extraneous expenses such as petrol and the provision of drinks at meetings, and should be built into the project.

More significantly, the teachers themselves advised of a significant obstacle to sustaining their impact: '60 per cent of the parents/care-takers who were formerly willing to accept their children entering the sex industry would today opt for alternative work. With more economic support...the remainder would change their attitudes' (ECPAT, 1997, p. 15). No one would advocate directly paying parents to keep their children out of TSE, but some model that provides emergency funding when parents who already show a desire to protect their children find themselves suddenly in a worse financial situation – i.e. who are facing a trigger situation – might be considered.

Example: helping children to remain in education in Thailand

The second financial incentive that might be paid directly is the scholarship model used by a number of NGOs, including TWT and the Ministry of Education in Thailand. The model has some variants, but what seems to work is empowering children themselves to finance their schoolwork, fend off pressure from their families to earn an income and, in a small way, satisfy consumer pressures that they might experience or that peers might transfer.

The TWT model is simple: young girls nominated by the volunteer teachers are given cash in an envelope, with guidance and support in saving and using it wisely. A number of other support activities – such as introducing the girls to older girls who used their money intelligently and have made good progress as a result – transform this effective payment into a relatively wide-ranging protection activity. What is also interesting in this model is that TWT, obliged for sustainability to find ongoing sponsors to provide the money, has built a large pool of donors, including local businesses and individual philanthropists. TWT encourages the girls to write to thank the donors for their support, thus reinforcing the engagement of the donors and potentially enlarging the pool.

This model of sponsorship could be widened to provide the incentives to volunteers, as described earlier. ILO-IPEC could use its influence and credibility to support named awards from businesses, including multinationals (thereby potentially opening up potential for ILO-IPEC in other countries).

3.3.6. Community mobilization

The organization of Philippine society into *barangays* (community-level governance structures that also have increasingly decentralized responsibility for social welfare issues) has allowed for very effective community mobilization on behalf of children. Some *barangays* now have Councils for the Protection of Children (Abrera-Mangahas, 1999, pp. 28-29). Although the model is not perfect, there are elements of it that are clearly working and others that have potential to be developed.

These include micro-level planning, neighbourhood watch-type teams that monitor abuse of children and report or intervene according to the gravity of the situation, multi-sectoral task forces that respond in emergency cases and, in some instances, telephone helplines (for advice and counselling or for referral to other services) and/or hotlines (for reporting abuse and criminal activity) for dealing with child labour and exploitation reports.

Beyond this direct action, working at the level of the *barangay,* perhaps through discrete project activity or through general policy-level or other support, facilitates awareness-raising activities and coalition building.

Example: ADNET in the Philippines

ILO-IPEC has supported a number of *barangay*-focused action programmes in which NGOs and *barangays* have cooperated across a wide range of activities, including a 1997 action-research project focused on children in quarrying (CO-train and *Barangay* San Rafael); and in 1998/99 provision of school supplies – picked up by local government for ongoing funding (implementing partner ERDA). More important perhaps than the short-term output of these programmes is the reinforcing of community-level coalitions and the empowerment, raised awareness and capacity building of grassroots actors.

ADNET, another NGO partner of ILO-IPEC, has run specific projects to achieve such outcomes in *barangays* in Caloocan city, giving training to outreach volunteers such as day-care teachers, health workers and community officials. Since 1996 they have reached more than half of the 188 *barangays* in Caloocan city. Moreover, the project has had multiplier effects, since each group of three volunteer outreach workers signs a Memorandum of Understanding with ADNET to offer at least three advocacy sessions within their *barangay*.

ADNET reports that, as a result of this community outreach, there has been a marked increase in the reporting of child sexual abuse – an important outcome with relation to this 'hidden' problem.

3.4. Project components that have potential to be redirected/further developed

While some ILO-IPEC programmes contain elements that might be transplanted and adapted, there are several other programming features that are of continuing interest to ILO-IPEC's work to eliminate TSE, including the engagement of rarely motivated partners and the need to reconsider activities that may have been misdirected.

An example of partnership to be developed: trade union engagement

ILO-IPEC in the Philippines has had some positive experiences working with trade unions as implementing partners and has sown seeds that might grow into significant programming opportunities.

The National Union of Workers in the Hotel, Restaurant and Allied Industries (NUWHRAIN) reaches into government policy-making organs and tourism-related businesses including major hotel chains. Apart from influencing policy and operations – both directly through the training materials developed with ILO-IPEC support and indirectly through the awareness raising and mobilization that training and dissemination imply – NUWHRAIN can also mobilize its members for direct action, identifying and removing children from hazardous employment situations. The quality of the research undertaken to underpin NUWHRAIN's action programme is very high, reflecting the professional nature of the organization.

This relationship clearly should be explored further. The challenge would be to see whether NUWHRAIN could extend the training and materials into the shadier side of the tourism industry, perhaps by mobilizing high-end establishments to influence sectors with which they have contact (eg five-star hotels have to work with taxi companies and other service suppliers). To do this, NUWHRAIN might also have to simplify its materials somewhat. The possibility of mobilizing individual workers into workplace watch groups might also be possible.

An example of programming to be updated: alternative work skills

ILO-IPEC has supported in both Thailand and the Philippines projects to provide alternatives skills training to young girls in high-risk groups. The Philippines model seems quite under-developed. For example, the project implemented by the NGO Stop Trafficking of Pilipinos Foundation Inc. (STOP) is a very simple programme, training a small number of girls at high risk of exploitation with skills in candle-making (a high demand sector, given the large number of churches and altars in Manila). It is virtually a one-woman operation.

Many of the older girls in this group, despite the alternative skills they were acquiring, still felt that finding work in the entertainment industry – putting them at acute risk of sexual exploitation – was still a goal to be pursued. There is a huge gap between the skills the girls are acquiring and the earning potential they see in more hazardous work.

Alternative work skills programmes that take this into account need to be developed. There is a market for candles and there will always be work for seamstresses and hairdressers and others in areas considered not particularly high risk. But these jobs do not offer the glamour or earning potential of higher risk work, and do not have the same pulling power. Many girls will learn how to make candles and go to work in bars anyway.

To develop this useful activity more productively, therefore, ILO-IPEC should in each project area commission a survey on the current job market and the sectors where people from poor families might actually gain the skills necessary to upgrade their earning potential.

At the same time, alternative skills programmes should be combined with education and training that both improves girls' general educational standards and also helps them to understand why seemingly glamorous, high-risk jobs are not all they seem to be. Adult commercial sex workers and others entertainment-sector workers might be mobilized (with all safeguards in place to ensure that the contact is legitimate and non-threatening) to help younger girls understand the reality of such work. Receiving information from well-meaning NGO or church staff is unlikely to have quite the same impact (although, for other forms of information, and in relevant countries such as the Philippines, the credibility of the church should not be underestimated).

In short, alternative skills and occupational training is not by itself a prevention strategy. Such initiatives must be rooted in the realities of the job market, young people's aspirations and a broader effort to help young people participating in alternative skills projects to know why the broadening of options is important to their futures.

To understand what alternative occupations might truly interest children, research would have to be done among them, in a non-moralistic, realistic research setting truly open to hearing children's desires and needs. Part of the involvement of sexually exploited children – those not in the most miserable bars and streets – derives from the glamour and prestige associated with night life, tourism and travel, ships and sailors, hotels, parties, fashion shows and modelling. This glamour is felt among all classes and cultures and is widely promoted in television and in films; the desire to participate in or be close to it should be recognized as natural (Walkerdine, 1997). Current occupational training projects offer none of the above but rather, usually, poor-paying and domesticating work.

An example of potential not yet realized: communication projects

One area where ILO-IPEC has experimented, and where there is clearly both potential for development and a clear need to pursue activity, is in the area of communication projects, widely defined to include mass media such as television, radio and newspapers as well as more targeted media such as niche-specific information products and audience-directed performance. There are a number of compelling reasons why programming concentrated on communication activities should be further explored. Messages must be transmitted through appropriate communication vehicles to influence opinion and achieve the desired objective of attitude change across a wide range of target audiences. Given the important role of peer pressure in motivating the move into commercial sex, it is important to target young people in particular, and they are specifically influenced by a number of different media. There is also a general need to improve and develop information-sharing and dissemination across a number of areas.

To date, ILO-IPEC's experiments in media programming in Thailand have centred on four action programmes: (1) *Media actions to create social awareness to stop the worst forms of child labour,* which was implemented in Bangkok in 2000 by the Hotline Centre Foundation; (2) *Community theatre to empower children, communities and schools to influence the sex sector in preventing trafficking,* run by the National Council for Child and Youth Development in

2000; (3) *Enhancing capacity of radio programme producers in coverage of child labour*, which was funded in 1992/93 and 1994/95 for the National Youth Bureau to (the evaluator was able only to view third-party comment on this programme in implementation reports); and a programme by Child Workers in Asia in 1994/95 to produce a video entitled *Working with working children.* In addition, in 1999/00, ILO-IPEC supported the *Child Workers in Asia newsletter to publicize the situation of working children in Asia.*

For any of these communication programmes to be successful, they should fulfil some basic criteria of good communication practice. They should be strategically designed to reach and influence a specific target group (identified through study as being appropriate), which entails definition of the group, appropriateness of the medium to this particular group and means of transmission that reaches this group. They should be of a quality sufficient to compete with other media vying for the attention of this group and to attract and hold the attention of the target group. Communications programmes should also have a clear message whose suitability is based on analysis of the nature of the response desired, and should direct the receiver to this response.

Given these primary criteria for media projects, it is clear that the programme *Enhancing the capacity of radio programme producers in coverage of child labour* is not a media project as such. Rather it is a coalition-building exercise, intended to engage radio producers as players in the combat against TSE and to improve their capacity to be thus engaged. Re-definition of the action programme is extremely important, because recognizing this project as coalition- and capacity-building (rather than awareness-raising, as it is designated in all the related documentation) indicates how important it is to continue developing this coalition and enhancing capacity. In short, as an awareness-raising activity it might have been sufficient as a one-off activity; as a coalition-building exercise, it demanded follow-up.

In fact, there seems to have been no follow-up to this project since 1995. So what was achieved? Was the capacity of the radio producers who participated in the project enhanced? Did they become active players against child labour or was their engagement confined to the duration of the project? It is impossible to say, precisely because there was no follow-up.

Information and message dissemination should be considered in the light of current social realities. For young people who may not belong to a culture of reading (i.e. they may be *able* to read but are not *motivated* to learn through reading), traditional leaflets and pamphlets are not useful. On the other hand, comics (the name given to a wide range of picture books published in many languages) are the preferred reading of millions of children and adults.

Animated cartoons have been shown to work well in disseminating information on sensitive subjects such as sexuality and AIDS, in places as diverse as Japan, France and Mexico. Comics and cartoons are vehicles for adults as well as children and provide a bridge between generations (even within the same houses).

Street theatre is also a well-received method of transmitting social messages, carried out in high-density areas like central plazas or shopping streets and in areas of travel such as bus stations, ports and truck stops. These techniques are not expensive and they represent opportunities for children to participate actively, not only in the conception but also in the execution.

Song lyrics, particularly in the genres of rap and hybrid forms such as reggae-rap and salsa-rap, comprise a key method for transmitting social messages to teenagers. Latin Americans, for example, identify strongly with music; this should be capitalized on in education programmes. And some Latin cultures – notably for this evaluation, Colombia – are dancing cultures, which means significant opportunities exist for awareness raising through music and in musical venues.

As mobile/cellular phone use increases in all the areas covered by this report, short message service (SMS) messages are being recognized as a good way to reach young people with brief snippets of information such as dates of films, workshops, exhibitions and meetings as well as campaign slogans crafted to become catch phrases on which curiosity and then understanding can be built.

In short, communication projects and campaigns should look beyond traditional formats and use innovative, entertaining, participatory techniques known to have an impact on specific groups. For young people, non-printed formats are crucial to education efforts.

The corollary to media as actors and partners is that action programmes that are effectively service contracts and television and radio commercials that are purchased do not provide the same added value. In this regard, for example, funding of a mobile child labour exhibit by DocuPro in the Philippines in 1995/96 and commercials produced by McCann Erickson, although documented as having been based on a 'communication plan' for ILO-IPEC, seem not to have been a plan as such but rather project-related treatments. In fact, a recurrent request from interviewees during the Philippines mission was for a joint communication strategy that might form the basis of collaborative advocacy, awareness-raising and media activity. This should be considered and all the ideas outlined in this section should be borne in mind.

An example of activity that needs to be refined: attitude change

The influencing of attitude is extremely important given the essentially values-driven specificity of TSE. It is, however, incredibly difficult to achieve and subsequently measure. A key element of successful attitude change is highly concentrated targeting of appropriate messages.

It is clear, for example, that the Hotline Centre Foundation's project mentioned above, which transmits varying messages during late-night television is too dispersed to have any substantial impact. Although the Hotline Centre Foundation quotes a potential viewing audience of 1.2 million to 1.3 million people, including 'teenagers below 15 years old both within and out of the educational system, teachers and educators, government officials and employees all over the country, clients of government services, government authorities and policy makers, the general public who are the audience, all non-government and government organizations in Thailand and the neighbouring countries', it is most likely that a relatively small group of already interested viewers would tune in late at night to watch a panel discussion on a health- and social values-related issue. Market research indicates that this group is likely to be middle-class, middle-educated people in the 30-60 age range. The possibility that adolescents facing life decisions motivated by peer pressure, family dysfunctionality and lifestyle challenges would sit and watch a group of mature, middle-class academics and psychotherapists discussing the health challenges of under-age prostitution is remote.

But the idea of a televised or radio-based series of panel discussions on serious issues – especially if such a programme is accompanied, as the Hotline Centre's is, by the opportunity for viewers/listeners to phone in and ask questions – is not a bad one. To work, however, such a series would have to be designed to target the particular audience; be broadcast at a time when the target audience is most likely to be tuned in; have focused topics, advertised in advance, to attract viewer/listener attention; and be of professional broadcast quality.

For these criteria to be met, the series would have to be conceived, produced and transmitted by professional broadcasters. This would either be expensive – involving substantial production costs and prime-time transmission charges – or absolutely free of charge, with the broadcaster involved producing the programme because it wanted to (i.e. could see both the social and commercial value of such an exercise). Clearly this latter option is preferable and highly desirable, since it reflects real commitment of the broadcaster in the work of ILO-IPEC against TSE. In short, targeted, strategically conceived and produced programming to raise awareness and understanding of TSE is potentially highly effective and inexpensive when made by professional broadcasters working as partners. NGO-made television and radio programming is unlikely to have the desired impact and is therefore not good value for money. Funds are better directed to building commitment and capacity among professional broadcasters, who should be encouraged to become partners in the fight against TSE.[15]

Media programming can be very effective. Yet it can also be expensive and wasteful if it is not appropriately planned and implemented and very dangerous if it does not have built-in protection mechanisms, since it raises the profile of children and can be highly motivating, potentially of the wrong people to do the wrong things.

3.5.   Some areas not targeted by ILO-IPEC that might be considered for future action

A number of potential areas for action arose during the course of the evaluation missions that might usefully be considered and might have wider relevance to ILO-IPEC activity in other areas. These include:

- Educating, mobilizing and raising the awareness of the police in the Philippines. The evidence seems to suggest that implementation of a comprehensive set of child protection laws is weak and that corruption is rife.

- Expanding multi-sectoral task force coalitions into all regions of the Philippines. There is a general feeling that outside Metro Manila the powerful groupings that are

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[15] The planning of programmes leading to broadcast output on issues affecting children should be undertaken with due regard to Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which aims to 'assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child'. In practice this means that television and radio programmes should include children not only as victims of TSE but also as active participants in the programme. Since, in reality, most TV and radio stations resist including child and youth presenters and interviewees except in programmes specifically aimed at children and young people and shown during their viewing hours, then this would suggest that children and young people's television and radio are the most likely areas where participatory programming might be achieved. This is fine, because it also means that young people would also constitute the most likely audience, and this would allow very close targeting of messages aimed to mitigate the kind of peer/lifestyle pressures that have been identified as being triggers to entry into under-age commercial sex.

being built up, with UNICEF and ILO-IPEC as central players, do not exist or do not have clout.

- Working with adolescents. Sex clients in the Philippines are becoming younger and the tradition of buying commercial sex to initiate male adolescents is thriving; women's groups are doing some work in this area, but the children's angle needs also to be addressed.

- Viewing the church as a protection agent. The power of the church in the Philippines is impressive; it has great potential as a mobilizing force, but needs to be brought into multi-sectoral groupings where its strengths can be used and its weaknesses mitigated.

- Working with groupings of men such as the military and police, masons' chapters, sports federations and boy scouts. NGOs claim that these groupings are largely untouched by those attempting to promote attitude and behavioural change; academic interlocutors believe that this is partly because NGOs are seen as anti-men and so do not have easy access to such groupings. ILO-IPEC's labour focus might be an advantage here, and working through trade unions, community mechanisms and workers' cooperatives might be possible.

- Developing tools to support other programme activity. For example, outreach volunteers might need information materials tailored to the people they are trying to reach; trade unions might need posters for workplaces; community groups might need high quality videos for meetings or briefing sessions; coalition-building projects might benefit from information bulletins or newsletters to encourage ongoing commitment.

All of these possibilities would be new and therefore to some extent risky, but they would provide ILO-IPEC with a chance to break new ground and carve out some very specific niches in an area of activity that is becoming quite crowded.

4.   CONCLUSION

4.1.   Building for the future

The almost decade-long experience of ILO-IPEC in programming to eliminate trafficking and sexual exploitation of children has produced a wealth of valuable experience that can be built on. The challenge now is to address the 'solid but fragmented' character of the experience noted by many informants in different areas and contexts. In short, the diverse, good and bad, successful and not so successful, immeasurably and un-measurably effective programming experience of ILO-IPEC needs now to be built into a comprehensive and strategic framework of action that allows cross-fertilization of ideas among the different country offices and, above all, value-added development that takes into account the lessons learned.

This requires not only evaluation exercises such as this one, which focus largely on the programmes that have been run, but also due consideration to the structures and processes of management of the programmes, from country-level selection of projects to headquarters-level financial and documentation procedures. The effect of unmanageable financial processes on a grassroots project, for example, is substantial. Similarly, the unstrategic selection of a project at country level impacts upon the overall strategic aims set by policy-making units at headquarters level. No part of the ILO-IPEC programme, from the smallest NGO project run essentially by volunteers to the interlocutors with government funding departments that work out of headquarters, works in isolation.

The paragraphs that follow deal with overview issues that are not project- or country-specific, but have relevance to the overall direction that ILO-IPEC takes and to considerations that the evaluators consider to be of particular importance in developing the programme further in the area of TSE.

4.1.1.   Refining understanding of gender analysis

An important issue that warrants comment in regard to ILO-IPEC's general approach to TSE is understanding of the gender dimension. In most operational organizations, this is now used to indicate paying particular attention to the needs of women and girl children who, in so many countries, areas and ways, are discriminated against or otherwise short-changed.

With regard to TSE, there is also no doubt that in most countries girls are more abused and exploited than boys, although this does not suggest in any way that boys should not be similarly protected, treated and supported in recovery and rehabilitation. There is also no doubt that the majority of abusers and exploiters are men, although it is clear that women are also active as procurers, recruiters, intermediaries, suppliers, heads of needy families and, to a lesser extent, customers.

At the same time, there is general confusion or ignorance about how the exploitation of boys takes place, and they seem to be included only as an afterthought. This was true in Thailand and the Philippines, where the specific needs of boys (as both victims and potential future abusers) was lacking from almost all programming, and in both Nicaragua and Costa Rica, despite the fact that the prostitution of boys is well known. Moreover,

there is a tendency to focus on more 'effeminate' boys, while more conventionally 'masculine' ones are excluded.

In short, in TSE both girls and boys need protection and intervention, with the specific nature of the action dependent more on the circumstances of the abuse or exploitation rather than on the gender of the child. On the demand side, the role of women needs to be taken into account as much as the role of men, again with the specific intervention depending on the circumstances of their involvement and not solely on their gender.

Prioritizing girls, as ILO-IPEC Recommendation 190 does, need not mean neglecting or misunderstanding boys. Both young girls and boys are future adults; a gender analysis that makes no attempt to have an impact on this future will not reduce exploitation.

TSE, therefore, requires that the gender dimension be reconsidered not in terms of positively targeting girls and women as beneficiaries, but in differentiating between the needs of girls and boys as beneficiaries and, in particular, in considering the role of both men and women as perpetrators of abuse and exploitation. This differentiation should be done at both analytical and programming levels.

Similarly, if workplaces or male groupings are to become new venues for awareness-raising or other programming, then it is important that this is also taken into account in a review of the concept of gender analysis, since such projects must avoid the oversimplified notion that men are always evil and women are always victims. Projects in workplaces must not be presented by NGO feminists with a superior attitude any more than they must be presented by nuns or priests. If subjects of programming suspect they are being looked down upon, they will not pay attention and all effort will be lost.

4.1.2. Ensuring that health issues are considered

The World Health Organization has defined sexual violence to children as a health issue, and it must be always remembered that premature sexual activity, particularly when accompanied by force or coercion, not only damages the reproductive health of girls and young women but also exposes all children to the risk of infection, including HIV/AIDS. Although in many parts of the world myths abound about the curative and rejuvenating power of sex with a child, it is ironically true that children are in fact at high risk of infection: their fragile bodies damage and tear more easily, and they are rarely able to insist on safe sexual practices.

Given the possibilities of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and becoming child mothers, sexually exploited children deserve immediate health education and access to condoms in all projects. Irrespective of long-term goals to get children out of prostitution or sexually exploitative situations, ILO-IPEC programming should include a component to promote basic understanding of sexual health. In addition, sexually exploited children need information on birth control.

Moreover, although HIV/AIDS is not yet considered a significant disease threat in the three Latin American countries under study (and infection rates are not high), it is still possible to contract syphilis and other STDs in a brothel. At the moment, however, disease prevention projects are not yet involved on any scale with the issue of sexual exploitation. Social agents scandalized by the idea of distributing condoms to prostitution sites where there are children express the traditional moralistic idea that this encourages

children to have sex. On the contrary, not distributing health messages and condoms encourages the spread of STDs and unwanted pregnancies. A change is needed in attitudes to health education and condom distribution, including when minors are involved.

4.1.3. Evaluation and measurement

This report has already touched on the importance of trying to develop qualitative indicators and impact measures for the specific needs of evaluating TSE-related programming. Given the covert nature of TSE, this is not an easy task, but experience shows that there are some mechanisms/indicators that might be considered.

Barometer surveys

Since a fair number of ILO-IPEC-supported action programmes aim to achieve attitude change, or include attitude change as part of the intended outcome, then barometer surveys might be considered either across broad demographic samples or within specific target groups. Barometers attempt to measure attitude and opinion. They are normally fairly wide-ranging – sometimes comprising a hundred questions on and around the topic being surveyed and can be particularly helpful to survey prevalent attitudes within a target group (e.g. adolescent men aged 15 to 20).

A good example is the 1998 Eurobarometer conducted by the European Commission on European attitudes to violence. The survey was carried out in the 15 Member States of the EC, across the full range of demographic groups, and aimed to record Europeans' attitudes towards violence in all its forms – what it is, how it occurs, when, where and why it happens, what responses should be and so forth. The data collected were disaggregated so that, for example, a clear picture could be drawn of whether women in northern Europe in the age range 35 to 45 believed that verbal insults were a form of violence. Such detailed surveys allow better understanding of the attitudes prevalent in a country, region or target group; they also permit measurement of attitude change over time.

ILO-IPEC might well consider commissioning barometer surveys, perhaps in collaboration with other UN agencies working in this area, such as UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP.

Increased reporting of TSE
Given the covert nature of TSE and the importance of individual responsibility as a protection and response mechanism, increases in the incidence of reporting of cases of TSE by the general public or specific target groups (eg teachers, medical workers) can be a good indicator of impact. This, of course, presumes regular, centralized and consistent recording of statistics on reports received.

The issue of children/adolescents themselves denouncing their exploiters is a much more risky and, indeed, complex issue, and should not be seen as a reliable indicator.

Dissemination and demand for information

The impact of awareness-raising projects can be measured in part by the level of interest in available materials, more information and follow-up requests for materials. As in all awareness-raising exercises, this presumes that the materials have, from the outset, been researched and designed with the target audience, appropriate format and message in mind. If this baseline strategizing work has been done, then the success of the project can in part be measured by the demand for the product.

Institution-building

An increase in the number of committed actors, especially volunteers, and the organized grouping of actors into coalitions, taskforces, monitoring groups and the like may be taken as a fairly reliable indicator of impact, although this is subject to regular checks on the continuity and sustainability of such commitment and groups.

These measurement processes must be carried out at country and regional levels, but at central level they can be compiled into extremely informative surveys of overall impact of ILO-IPEC activity, and can be particularly valuable for resource mobilization and stakeholder information.

4.1.4. Measuring the cost-effectiveness of projects

The financial aspect of funding victim-rescue needs to be considered dispassionately. Rehabilitation is expensive because it proposes to house and feed people, bring them to sites other than their own, provide them with one-to-one and group services such as psychotherapy, keep a close watch on their progress and attempt to bring about profound kinds of cultural and personal change. A variety of professional workers is needed to carry out these projects, which, as all current funded projects admit, are expensive and slow. Very few of the total potential participants in projects can be attended to.

Money spent on awareness-raising, media campaigns, the production of brochures and posters cannot be measured at all as they are currently conceived. Asked about the response to the video produced at a cost of US$8,000 to show on television and in meetings and workshops, for example, ILO-IPEC in San José said they had no way of knowing how it was received by audiences beyond that there was silence on the part of viewers after the programme aired. This silence is assumed to represent an 'impact', but this impact is undefined: it could be embarrassment, shame or disgust, all without attitude change on the main issue (i.e. without people learning that sexual exploitation damages children).

In addition to impact measurement, therefore, consideration must be given to evaluating the cost-effectiveness of programmes and to selecting those which help the largest number of children in the most cost-effective way.

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International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour IPEC

IPEC's aim is the progressive elimination of child labour worldwide, emphasizing the eradication of its worst forms as rapidly as possible. It works to achieve this in several ways: through country-based programmes which promote policy reform and put in place concrete measures to eradicate child labour; and through international and national campaigns intended to change social attitudes and promote the ratification and effective implementation of ILO Conventions on child labour. Complementing these efforts are in-depth research, legal expertise, policy analysis and programme evaluation carried out in the field and at the regional and international levels.

Evaluation in IPEC

Evaluation in IPEC is seen as contributing to building the knowledge base through identifying good practices to be used in action against child labour. It demonstrates accountability through showing how IPEC and its partners constantly learn more about the most effective and relevant action. Evaluations in IPEC are done as evaluations of global programmes, including IPEC as a whole; as thematic evaluations for interventions across IPEC within a specific theme; as country programme evaluations for all interventions in a given country; and as project specific evaluations, including the components of a project implemented by an individual implementing partner through an action programme. Ex-post evaluations of specific projects and broader impact assessments provide further knowledge on sustainability and fundamental changes. A combination of evaluations by independent experts and IPEC staff members and partners are used to balance the need to provide external verification of achievement and lessons learned with the need to ensure that lessons from evaluations can be used immediately by other parts of IPEC and its partners.

Further information on IPEC evaluation can be found at
http://www.ilo.org/childlabour/english/standards/ipec/publ/monitoring/index.htm