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ORIGINAL PAPER[1]

Cebu's 'Glocal' Challenge: How Non-state Actors can Better Assure the Rights of Child Victims of Sex Trafficking in the Philippines

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on a 'glocal' problem arising from globalization: sex trafficking as a consequence of intensified mobility within and beyond national borders. The movements and displacements associated with this characteristic are situated in the economic and socio-political dimensions of globalization. Intensified mobility in these dimensions poses a challenge to the idea of civilizing glocal politics by which traditional conceptions of security are questioned. Sex trafficking has been identified as one of the consequences by which an increasingly mobile world provokes a re-thinking of security as a value in international relations. Of particular concern in this research are child victims of sex trafficking due to their greater vulnerability as age-incapacitated persons. Drawing from Bauman's concept of 'liquid modernity', sex trafficking of children is theorized as a 'liquid' problem by which the role of the nation-state, as a creation of 'solid modernity' and traditional insurer of security, is problematized. With Cebu, the Philippines as a case study, this dissertation inquires as to whether or not non-state actors are better placed to assure the welfare of child victims of sex trafficking.*

Introduction

Globalization, which incorporates the globalization of capital and labor, is inter alia marked by the intensification of mobility. As Bhabha points out: "In an increasingly interconnected world, movement is easier."[3] This ease in movement is manifested by trans-border flows of capital, commodities, information, ideas, culture and people.[4] However, heightened mobility turn does not necessarily generate desired or desirable outcomes since "there now exist globally interconnected systems of vulnerability and capability"[5] among actors of global politics. This uneven and divisive attribute of globalization creates winners and losers between and within states. Moreover, the consequences of globalizing processes have the propensity to impact local developments in what has been described as "glocalization"[6]. Pertinently, this paper interrogates the concept of the mobility turn vis-à-vis the challenge of civilizing glocal politics, i.e. how economic and human flows in the context of human trafficking have impinged upon the traditional role of nation-states as guarantors of their populations' security as against the onus of attaining and maintaining economic growth in a globalizing world.

The case of Cebu, Philippines is studied owing to the potential to generate a glocalized effort to protect and promote the rights and welfare of child sex trafficking victims other than being an epicenter of victimization. However, in view of the clandestine nature of human trafficking, especially when involving minors, statistics presented are not necessarily disaggregated on the basis of age.[7] These statistics are also widely based on 'robust estimates' which may be inflated or skewed towards advocacy issues.[8] Nevertheless, certain accounts are soundly based on the researcher's involvement in the Children's Legal Bureau (CLB), a pro-children's rights Cebu-based NGO with its advocacy network.

As informed by the concept of "liquid modernity,"[9] this paper contends that human trafficking is a "liquid problem" which nation-states, as creations of "solid modernity," cannot fully address. It employs the *cosmopolar approach*, a security framework that deconstructs globalization's attribute of heightened mobility by locating and juxtaposing attendant tensions in order to determine contextual polarities. It further theorizes and inquires on how non-state actors can better assure the welfare of child victims of sex trafficking for a civil society-guided policy-making for governments of origin, transit and destination points. It is collaterally argued that global locales such as cities hold the potential to generate an alternative governance that is "glocally" and "intergenerationally" responsible to child victims of sex trafficking.

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[3] Jacqueline Bhabha. "Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights." (Migration Policy Institute, 2007), http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/migration_funda_1007.pdf.

[4] Stephen Castle, "The International Politics of Forced Migration," *Development* 46, no. 3 (2003): 15.

[5] Des Gasper and Thanh Dam Truong, "Development Ethics through the Lenses of Caring, Gender, and Human Security," *Working Paper* 459 (The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 2008).

[6] Zygmunt Bauman, "On Glocalization: or Globalization for some, Localization for some others," *Thesis Eleven* 54, no. 1 (1998a): 37-49.

[7] Lisa Kurbiel, "Implementing the UN Trafficking Protocol to Protect Children: Promising Examples from East Asia," *Children's Legal Rights Journal* 24 (1): 24 citing UNICEF 2003.

[8] Vidyamali Samarasinghe, *Female Sex Trafficking in Asia: The Resilience of Patriarchy in a Changing World* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008).

[9] Bauman, Zygmunt, *Liquid modernity,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

TIP's Glocal Challenge

Based on the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, the anatomy of trafficking in persons (TIP) comprises an act, a means and a purpose[10]. As an act, TIP entails the movement of persons from place to place. As means, it is characterized by coercion or deceit regardless of the victim's consent. Meanwhile, the exploitative purposes in the Protocol include trafficking for sex, labor, sale of organs and child soldiers for war.[11]

TIP conceptually admits multiple understandings. It has evolved from the intersecting discourses on prostitution and "white slave traffic" to "traffic in women and children".[12] Contemporarily, it is deemed as "modern-day slavery" or part of the "new global slave trade"[13] with an estimated 2.5 million victims at any given time.[14] TIP is also variously understood as a transnational crime or the epitome of the globalization of crime, a migration problem, and/or a human rights challenge.[15]

The evil of TIP has been anchored upon the 'illicit productivity' and profitability of vulnerable victims[16] by which exploitative means adapt to market forces in defiance of law enforcement.[17] It is "marked by temporary ownership, low purchase cost, high profits, debt bondage and forced labour [*sic*]".[18] Worse, victims of trafficking (VoTs) treated not only as disposable but also recyclable human commodities for resale.[19] These economic incentives make TIP a lucrative enterprise such that crime experts have predicted that within the next decade, TIP's incidence, profitability and cost to human well-being will surpass drug and arms trafficking.[20] More recently, in the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2012, the United

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[10] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Human trafficking," 2014b, http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html?ref=menuside, (accessed 14 Mar. 2014).

[11] Min Liu, "Human trafficking and feminist debates," in *Migration, Prostitution, and Human Trafficking: the Voice of Chinese Women* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011).

[12] Steve Charnovitz, "Two Centuries of Participation: NGOs and International Governance," *Michigan Journal of International Law* 18, no. 1 (1997): 183-286.

[13] Earlier study includes Barri R. Flowers, "The Sex Trade Industry's Worldwide Exploitation of Children". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 575 (2001):147-157. A more recent work is by Frances P. Bernat and Heather C. Winkeller, Human Sex Trafficking: The Global becomes Local. *Women and Criminal Justice* 20, nos. 1-2 (2010): 186-192.

[14] United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT), "Human Trafficking: The Facts," *UN.GIFT,* n.d., http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/issues_doc/labour/Forced_labour/HUMAN_TRAFFICKING_-_THE_FACTS_-_final.pdf, (accessed cited 13 Apr. 2012), citing ILO 2007.

[15] Maggy Lee, *Trafficking and Global Crime Control* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd. 2011).

[16] Elizabeth M. Wheaton, Edward J. Schauer, and Thomas V. Galli, "Economics of Human Trafficking," *International Migration* 48, no. 4 (2010): 114-141.

[17] Mary Soledad L. Perpiñan,, Maria Eugenia Villareal, and Ursula Oswald Spring,. "Gender Security in South East Asia and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation in Central America: HUGE Security Challenges," *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* 4, no. IX (2009): 1191-1214.

[18] Maggy Lee, *Trafficking and Global Crime Control,* 21, citing Bales 2000.

[19] Kathleen Dunn, "Human Trafficking: Children or Commodity? International and Domestic Child Sex Trafficking," *Sociology* (University of Colorado, Denver, 2007), 32.

[20] Wheaton et al., *Economics of Human Trafficking*.

Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has considered TIP as a "complex crime of global reach".[21]

Cogent to TIP's complexity and reach are the effects of globalization which are among the structural factors that impel the movement of populations arising from or resulting to trafficking.[22] Its attribute of heightened mobility has exposed the disparate treatment of capital and human flows. For instance, over three-quarters of these economic assets "flowed within the North"[23] while there is a politics of exclusion vis-à-vis human flows.[24] That is, human flows to developed countries are generally unwelcome in view of border security and/or social cohesion considerations.[25] The exception is where moving populations either redound to labor productivity as high-skilled workers[26] or as supply of low-skilled workers to unattractive jobs or working conditions.[27] This labor market flexibility has helped instill in jobseekers the 'Cinderella syndrome'[28] by which structural conditions create among the poor the perception that "mobility brings the chance of wealth".[29] The structural factors have also engendered a "migration industry,"[30] whether legal or illegal. Worse, the nation-state's dependence upon capital and growth is making it complicit to the treatment of surplus labor as an exportable commodity for the accumulation of hard currency. Illustratively, the billions of dollar remittances from overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) comprise about 9% of GDP making the Philippines the world's third-largest recipient of remittances in absolute terms.[31] Accordingly, the Philippine Government hails its OFWs as the 'bagong bayani' or new heroes.[32]

The resultant outmigration from countries of origin and increasing border control overheads in destination countries have been perceived as an assault on human capital and on government resources respectively.[33] This realization has directed research and policy that stem outmigration. Consequently, studies turned to "securitizing" potential victims at the home front by ensuring people's economic sustenance and advancement as exemplified by Southeast Asia's

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[21] UNODC. "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons," 2012a, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/Trafficking_in_Persons_2012_web.pdf, (accessed 1 Jun. 2014), 9.

[22] Sally Cameron and Edward Newman. *Trafficking In Humans: Social, Cultural And Political Dimensions* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008), 21.

[23] Jan Aart Scholte, "Global Trade and Finance," in *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 4th ed., eds. J. Baylis and S. Smith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 462.

[24] Katja Franko Aas, *Globalization & Crime* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd. 2007).

[25] Antoine Pecoud, "The UN Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights and International Migration Management," *Global Society* 23, no. 3 (2009): 333-350.

[26] Stephen Castles, "The International Politics of Forced Migration," *Development* 46, no. 3 (2003): 11-20.

[27] Pecoud, *The UN Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights and International Migration Management*, 334.

[28] Sally Stoecker, "The Rise in Human Trafficking and the Role of Organized Crime," *Demokratizatsiya* 8, no. 1 (2000): 131.

[29] Castles, *The International Politics of Forced Migration*, 16.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Cameron and Newman, *Trafficking In Humans: Social, Cultural And Political Dimensions,* 26, citing Burgess and Haksar 2005.

[32] Jose Ramon G. Albert, "Counting and Monitoring the Contribution of OFWs (The Nation's New Heroes)," 12 October 2012, http://www.nscb.gov.ph/beyondthenumbers/2012/10082012_jrga_ofw.asp, (accessed 5 Jun. 2014), 137.

[33] Wheaton et al., *Economics of Human Trafficking*.

"3Ps and 1R" or prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, prosecution of traffickers and repatriation of victims.[34] However, this approach continues to be almost exclusively supply-focused.[35] The need to trace TIP's root cause exposes the obscurity in the demand side from destination countries as opposed to the visibility of VoTs. Thus, research and policy inroads have been made towards the demand side given that exploitation of VoTs is generally carried out in destination countries.[36]

The demand for sex has been identified as sustaining the market for sex trafficking. Among the primary sources of demand are patriarchy[37] and sex tourism.[38] Sex tourism has become entwined with legitimate tourism such that the tourism industry's infrastructure the same infrastructure which supports sex tourism.[39] Pertinently, tourists' demand for sex drives child trafficking between tourist destinations.[40] Meanwhile, statistics reveal that men comprise 52% of traffickers[41] while of the estimated 2.5 million VoTs, 43% are victims of commercial sexual exploitation where 98% are women and girls.[42]

Children are peculiarly vulnerable to TIP. Their perceived 'purity' and age-related vulnerability is precisely what drives trafficking in terms of "demand for cheap labour [sic], young brides, sex with children and adoption".[43] Consequently, children's physiologic, psychological and psychosocial immaturity renders them particularly susceptible to diseases such as HIV/AIDS and TIP-associated traumata.[44] Moreover, poverty and economic inequality, gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, rural against urban location, family dysfunction and

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[34] Kurbiel, *Implementing the UN Trafficking Protocol to Protect Children: Promising Examples from East Asia.*

[35] Maruja M. B. Asis. "Human trafficking in East and Southeast Asia: Searching for Structural Factors," in *Trafficking in humans: social, cultural and political dimensions* eds. S. Cameron and E. Newman (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008), 191.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Samarasinghe, *Female Sex Trafficking in Asia: The Resilience of Patriarchy in a Changing World.*

[38] Carmen R. Zafft and Sriyani Tidball. "A Survey of Child Sex Tourism in the Philippines," *DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln* (2010),
http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1021&context=humtrafconf2&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com.au%2Furl%3Fsa%3Dt%26rct%3Dj%26q%3Da%2520survey%2520of%2520child%2520sex%2520tourism%2520in%2520the%2520philippines%26source%3Dweb%26cd%3D1%26ved%3D0CFMQFjAA%26url%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Fdigitalcommons.unl.edu%252Fcgi%252Fviewcontent.cgi%253Farticle%253D1021%2526context%253Dhumtrafconf2%26ei%3D8kDGT-69M6K3iQfQ0pD3Ag%26usg%3DAFQjCNEIi2-XqQmMMdb94Njq5EapPMTN1Q#search=%22survey%20child%20sex%20tourism%20philippines%22, (accessed 22 Apr. 2012).

[39] Laura Barnitz, "Effectively Responding to the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Comprehensive Approach to Prevention, Protection, and Reintegration Services," *Child Welfare* 80, on. 5 (2001): 15. Also in Zafft and Tidball, *A Survey of Child Sex Tourism in the Philippines*, 4-5.

[40] Zafft and Tidball, *A Survey of Child Sex Tourism in the Philippines*

[41] UN.GIFT, ibid., citing International Organisation on Migration (IOM) 1999 statistics.

[42] Ibid., citing International Labour Organisation (ILO) 2007 statistics.

[43] Jacqueline Joudo Larsen, "The Trafficking of Children in the Asia-Pacific,". *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* 1, no. 6 (2011): 3 citing UNICEF 2009.

[44] Frances P. Bernat and Heather C. Winkeller, "Human Sex Trafficking: The Global Becomes Local," *Women and Criminal Justice* 20, nos. 1-2 (2010): 186-192. Also in Kurbiel, *Implementing the UN Trafficking Protocol to Protect Children: Promising Examples from East Asia.*

inadequate family protection have been identified as risk factors associated with child trafficking in Southeast Asia.[45] Larsen also points out how cultural contexts continue to treat children as property of parents, i.e. financial burden or source of income.[46] Pertinently, Beyrer argues that "much trafficking begins at home."[47] Accordingly, Dessy et al. argue that both the private (by families) and public (by governments) spheres must invest on child protection in order to mitigate children's vulnerability to TIP.[48] This argument is challenged by varying protective capacities of families and governments. That is, poor families in troubled economies are likely to pass the burden of investing in child protection to the government which in turn, can ill-afford child protection. This situation explains the tendency for poorer countries to be the supply centers of trafficked children to a demand for sex from affluent countries.

Governments of nation-states further contend with the reputation that they are complicit to TIP arising from corrupt practices by authorities such as border guards and diplomatic officials.[49] For instance, the collusion between organized crime groups such as the Yakuza and the Chinese Triad and government officials to enable TIP has elicited calls for TIP-specific anti-corruption measures in the Philippines.[50]

Security Polarized

The complexity and global reach of TIP affirms its status as a "non-traditional security challenge".[51] TIP exposes how the imperatives of penalizing the transgressor and of protecting the victim sway upon the security fulcrum, i.e. border versus human security. The tension lies at the locus of victimization. Thus, the sanctimonious view to a nation-state's territorial borders and the cohesiveness of its national identity tends to engender a hostile view upon irregular migrants including VoTs. Their breach of borders usually carries the presumption that the nation-state is the "aggrieved party".[52] Yet, these moving populations may themselves be

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[45] Yvonne Rafferty, "Children for Sale: Child Trafficking in Southeast Asia," *Child Abuse Review* 16, no. 6 (2007): 401-422.
[46] Larsen, ibid. 2, and Zafft and Tidball, ibid. 18.
[47] Chris Beyrer, "Global Child Trafficking," *The Lancet* 364 (2004): 17.
[48] Sylvain E. Dessy, Flaubert Mbiekop, and Stephane Pallage, "The Economics of Child Trafficking (Part II),"
Working Paper no. 05-06 (Centre interuniversitaire sur le risque, les politiques economiques et l'emploi [CIRPEE] 2005).
[49] Louise Shelley, I, *Human Trafficking : A Global Perspective* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) citing Pomfret 2006.
[50] Andrew P. Guth, "Human Trafficking in the Philippines: The Need for an Effective Anti-Corruption Program," *Trends in Organized Crime* 12, nos. 2-3 (2010): 147-166.
[51] Irene Susan B. Natividad, *Trafficking In Women as a Non-Traditional Security Challenge: Philippine Cases and Responses,* eds. by M. G. Curley and N. Thomas. (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, the University of Hong Kong, 2005). Also in Ralf Emmers, "Globalization and Non-Traditional Security Issues: A Study of Human and Drug Trafficking in East Asia" (2004), http://www.dr.ntu.edu.sg/handle/10220/4461?show=full, (accessed 30 Mar. 2012).
[52] Asis, *Human trafficking in East and Southeast Asia: Searching for Structural Factors.*

victims of TIP's exploitative circumstances.[53] Thus, counter-trafficking norms and policies seem to have been influenced by how the variance in locating victimization is framed.[54]

Addressing TIP has tended to polarize state and civil society. That is, nation-states' solutions tend to have been punitively designed according to a criminal view to trafficking while most civil society groups demand rights-based measures according to a human rights perspective.[55] Civil society has been defined as the organized expression of views in the public sphere in which political association and public action is not encompassed by the state or the economy.[56] Where these organizations possess global reach, they become known as 'global civil society' (GCS) of which non-government organizations (NGOs) figure prominently.[57]

While GCS groups tend to be non-profit and resource-constrained, they are recognized for better addressing the transnational nature of TIP. They are known for their links with communities, networking and influencing states to take a particular policy direction also known as the '"boomerang pattern of influence".[58] The End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT) and other organizations have been recognized for successfully lobbying for laws such as the U.S. PROTECT Act that curb male demand for child sexual services.[59] Indeed, these non-state actors' involvement in global anti-trafficking networks demonstrates their recognition of TIP as a global, non-parochial problem and their greater ease of cooperation as opposed to sovereignty-constrained states. However, the continued primacy of the nation-state in addressing new security threats such as TIP has largely influenced its widespread criminalization across the globe. The USA's Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) whose offshoot, the annual TIP Report of countries' anti-trafficking ratings, has veered most nation-states towards criminalizing TIP regardless of their non-ratification of the UN Trafficking Protocol. The possibility of U.S. aid cuts due to poor country rating illustrates a 'carrot and stick' strategy which tends to raise aid dependency issues that constrain countries to stick to the punitive frame while occluding solutions from alternative perspectives.[60] The frame's pervasiveness particularly through 'migration management' tends to reify the nation-state's privileged position in international relations despite increasing capacity

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[53] Kurbiel, *Implementing the UN Trafficking Protocol to Protect Children: Promising Examples from East Asia.*

[54] Beth Simmons and Paulette Lloyd. *Subjective Frames and Rational Choice: Transnational Crime and the Case of Human Trafficking* (2010) http://government.arts.cornell.edu/assets/psac/fa10/Simmons_PSAC_Sep10.pdf (accessed 16 Jan. 2012).

[55] Ibid.

[56] Manuel Castells, "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 78.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics.* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[59] Barnitz, *Effectively Responding to the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Comprehensive Approach to Prevention, Protection, and Reintegration Services.*

[60] Simmons and Lloyd, *Subjective Frames and Rational Choice: Transnational Crime and the Case of Human Trafficking.*

constraints vis-à-vis non-traditional security threats.[61] This situation has provoked a re-thinking of its role as traditional guarantor of security for itself and its people.

The 'glocal' complexity of TIP along with the tension between nation-states' concern for borders and non-state actors' emphasis on VoTs' rights has inspired eclectic approaches[62] in crafting solutions. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that the perceived schism between criminalization and rights-centered frames lies along the tension between the traditional, state-centric need to secure borders from unwelcome human flows and the human rights imperative to secure moving populations in the face of "new insecurities".[63]

The Cosmopolar Approach

New insecurities arising from intensified mobility particularly on the part of moving populations tend to demonstrate tensions in the global cosmos. Zygmunt Bauman locates a pivotal tension in modernity itself, i.e. between the solid and liquid phases.[64] This tension is the overarching premise of the cosmopolar approach.

Solid modernity is typically identified with the Westphalian international order of sovereign and territorial nation-states while liquid modernity exposes how state borders are becoming increasingly porous. Modernity's liquefaction has been traced from nation-states' disengagement from welfare economics in favor of market economics.[65] The resulting fission between nation-states' social and economic dimensions of power consequently caused diminution of state control over factors of production such as capital and labor concomitant with the market's rise to actor-prominence. The consequence has also vested mobility upon global fluids.

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[61] Jacqueline Berman, "(Un)Popular Strangers and Crises (Un)Bounded: Discourses of Sex-Trafficking, the European Political Community and the Panicked State of the Modern State." *European Journal of International Relations* 9, no. 37(2003): 38.

[62] These diverse approaches include comprehensive, multidisciplinary, global governance, human, gender and environmental security, and globalizing security for human security approaches as typified by the following works: Barnitz on comprehensive approach in *Effectively Responding to the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Comprehensive Approach to Prevention, Protection, and Reintegration Services.* Adolfo Gonzales, Manolo Guillén, and Eric Collins. "A Multidisciplinary Approach is the Key to Combating Child Sex Trafficking," *The Police Chief* 78 no. 10 (2011): 26. Tom Obokata, "Global Governance and International Migration: A Case Study of Trafficking of Human Beings," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2010): 120-136. Mary Soledad L.Perpiñan, Maria Eugenia Villareal, and Ursula Oswald Spring, "Gender Security in South East Asia and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation in Central America: HUGE Security Challenges," *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* 4, no. IX (2009): 1191-1214. Cornelio Sommaruga,"The Global Challenge of Human Security," *Foresight* 6, no. 4 2004): 208-211.

[63] Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, "New Threats to Human Security in the Era of Globalization," *Journal of Human Development: A Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centred Development* 4, no. 2 (2003): 172.

[64] Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*.

[65] David Balaam and Michael Veseth, "A Beginner's Guide to International Finance," in *Introduction to International Political Economy* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005).

Mobile global fluids have been viewed as emerging actors in the global cosmos. This perception is due to their capacity to self-organize and inundate borders, among others.[66] Accordingly, they openly challenge nation-states' insistence on border security inasmuch as globalization forces have rendered these borders porous. Contextually, the global fluids juxtaposed for the purpose of this study are market forces on the one hand and human flows on the other.
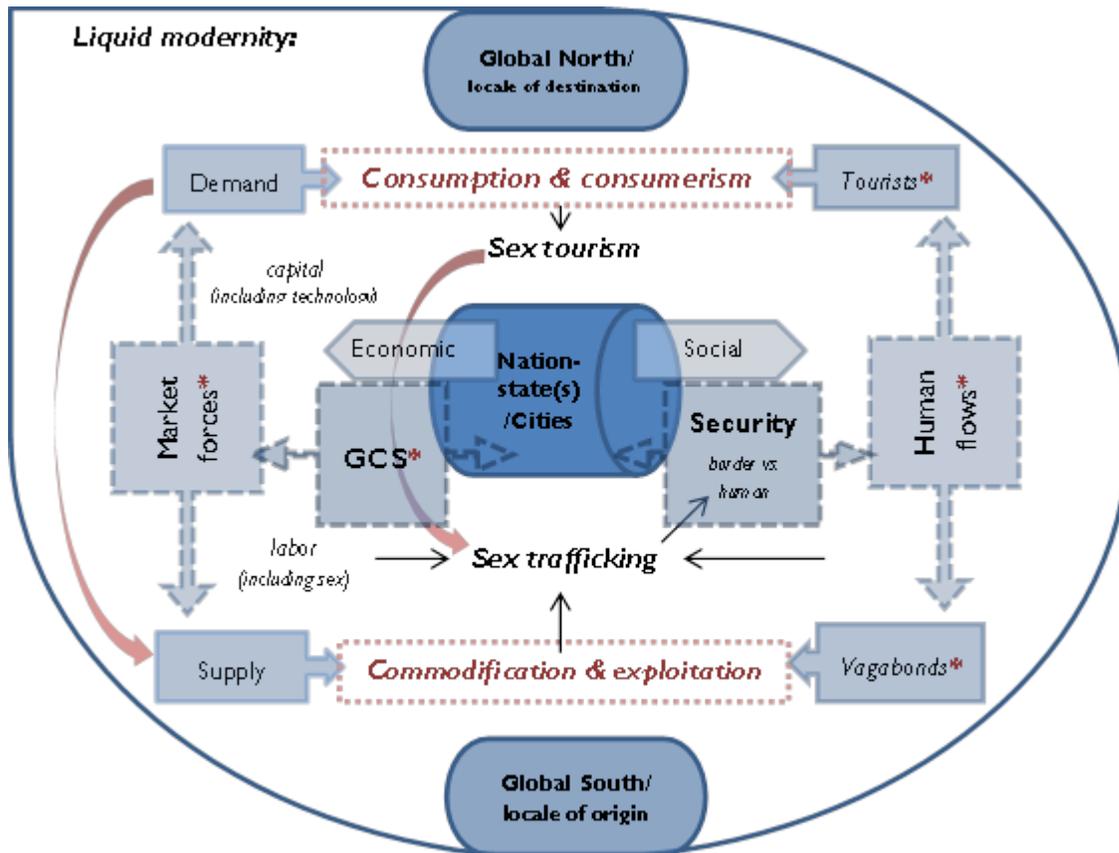

Figure 1. The cosmopolar approach to deconstructing mobility in globalization

The cosmopolar approach admits to the uneven character of globalization. It depicts how capital and technology tend to flow more towards the global North and its microcosmic versions in urban centers across the globe. The politics of exclusion in the case of human flows is also depicted by the differentiation between the regular and irregular flows. Accordingly,

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[66] John Urry, "The Complexities of the Global," *Theory, Culture and Society* 22, no. 4 (2005): 246. Examples of global fluids are world money, automobility, social movements, digitized information, the internet, the anti-globalization movement, international terrorism, and smart mobs.

human flows as global fluids are polarized between "tourists and vagabonds"[67] whose mobility is enabled by convenience on the part of the former, and by necessity on the part of the latter.

The vagabonds are susceptible to commodification and exploitation. Most of them are at locales of origin in the Global South. They are typified by economically dislocated persons who are in search of livelihood outside of their country. This "Cinderella syndrome"[68] impels vagabonds to gravitate as supply towards a perceived demand for their services in locales of destination by which their mobility towards labor demand includes a resort to illegal means of entry. This risk-taking mindset tends to make vagabonds fall prey to exploitative circumstances such as underemployment and trafficking. Meanwhile, traffickers and "end-users" of trafficking victims in or from locales of destination represent a significant portion of the demand for sex. These tourists enjoy affluence and ease in mobility that enables them to meld anonymously with regular human flows. Their facelessness and impunity in exploiting vagabonds for sexual consumption contrasts markedly with the latter's more visible mobility as part of irregular human flows. Accordingly, the consumerist "demand pull" as exemplified by sex tourism fuels the exploitative "supply push" through sex trafficking of commodified victims.

Current literature suggests the need to civilize glocal politics by securitizing from TIP as a non-traditional security threat. Its glocal presence within, across and beyond nation-states has engendered attempts to unhinge the nation-state as the dominant, if not sole, locus of security. Consequently, state-centric, conflict-based analytics have come to include a more people-centric, victim-sensitive, rights-based outlook as exemplified by the "securitization of migration,"[69] human security,[70] and "civilizing security".[71] Nevertheless, despite the conceptual expansion, measures and solutions have tended to be state-directed.[72] As such, the security framework has been largely unable to theoretically account for the dynamics of mobility in globalization.

In juxtaposing border and human security, the cosmopolar approach privileges the latter. Notwithstanding the criticism on being rhetorical rather than analytical, a narrower perspective of human security is said to hold research and analytic potential of being a 'distinct branch of security studies'[73]. This is especially true in terms of identifying serious new existential threats whether upon individuals or collectives that calls for appropriate action on the part of states and international organizations.[74] Moreover, Rijken and Romkens ratiocinate that a

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[67] Zygmunt Bauman, "Tourists and Vagabonds," in *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998b).

[68] Stoecker, *The Rise in Human Trafficking and the Role of Organized Crime,* 131.

[69] Jef Huysmans, "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, no. 5 (2000).

[70] Amitav Acharya, "Human security," in *The Gobalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 5th ed., eds. by J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens. (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2008).

[71] Ian Loader and Neil Walker, *Civilizing security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[72] Castells, *The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance.*

[73] Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 87-102.

[74] Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, "Human Security: Undermining Human Rights?" *Human Rights Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2012): 88-112.

human security framework not only facilitates a comprehensive understanding of victims' needs but also potentially reconciles the divide between punitive interests and victim protection.[75]

TIP and the Global in the Locale

Cosmopolitan Cebu exemplifies a geographic junction for tourists and vagabonds. Cebu City has been recognized as a crossroads for trade and migration for centuries.[76] It is the urban core of Metro Cebu, a major urban centre which comprises the cities of Mandaue and Lapu-Lapu.[77] Export-oriented manufacturing and tourism were identified as key sectors in its development plan.[78]

The cosmopolarity attributable to Cebu is illustrated in its microcosmic projection of the accoutrements of globalization while being unable to fully integrate into the global/world city system. This partial yet manifest melding with globalization forces as manifested in Metro Cebu's urbanization tends to foster perceptions of better and readily accessible jobs in the metropolis. Illustratively, a study of the entertainment trade in major Philippine cities notes that 52% of the entertainers in Cebu City grew up in Cebu itself while the rest come from other areas of the country.[79]

Cebu has been recognized as a significant national center next to Manila owing to its "better public security, well-educated English-speaking work force, and good transport and communications."[80] With two export processing zones, IT and other industrial zones, an airport for domestic and international flights, ports and overland transport that ply to and from rural areas, larger cities and other countries and the status of a tourism hub, it depicts a cosmopolitan ambience attractive and accessible to tourists, jobseekers, traffickers and VoTs.[81] Thus, it is among the urban center destinations where trafficked children from rural regions are sent. In 2005, the Consortium Against Trafficking of Children and Women for Sexual Exploitation (Catch-Wise) reported that in the Visayas, Cebu has been the destination of international and domestic trafficking of children, aged 11 to 17 most of whom come from

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[75] Conny Rijken and Renee Romkens, "Trafficking for Sexual Purposes as a Globalized Shadow Economy: Human Security as the Tool to Facilitate a Human Rights Based Approach," in *The New Faces of Victimhood: Globalisation, Transnational Crimes and Victim Rights*, eds. R. Letschert and J. Van Dijk. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011).

[76] Peter Rimmer and Howard Dick, *The City in Southeast Asia: Patterns, Processes and Policies* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009).

[77] Andrew Jones, Rhonda Schlangen, and Rhodora Bucoy, "An Evaluation of the International Justice Mission's 'Project Lantern': Assessment of Five-Year Impact and Change in the Public Justice System," *IJM*, 21 Oct. 2010, 9, https://www.ijm.org/sites/all/modules/paragonn/pagemod/files/project-lantern/120610-Project-Lantern-Impact-Assessment-AJ.pdf?v=1.2 (accessed 16 Jan. 2012).

[78] Rimmer and Dick. *The City in Southeast Asia: Patterns, Processes and Policies*.

[79] WEDPRO, and Asia Partnership for Human Development. 1994. *From Manila, Angeles and Olongapo to Cebu and Davao : the continuing lives of women in the èntertainment industry'*. Quezon City, Philippines: Women's Education Development Productivity and Research Organization, 12.

[80] Rimmer and Dick. *The City in Southeast Asia: Patterns, Processes and Policies*, 97-98.

[81] Jones et al., *An Evaluation of the International Justice Mission's 'Project Lantern': Assessment of Five-Year Impact and Change in the Public Justice System*, 19.

Samar, Bohol, Leyte, Negros and Bacolod.[82] A USAID publication also reports that women and girls are trafficked to more developed nations in Asia, the Middle East and Western Europe for commercial sex.[83] Strategic location and transport infrastructure are the primary justifications used in explaining the 2006-2007 DSWD statistics, which reveal that 557 or 61.9% of child victims originated from Central Visayas.[84] In 2008, a provincial prosecutor has declared Cebu as a transit point of VoTs from Mindanao and other parts of the Visayas who are then brought to Manila.[85] It is also a "training ground" for aspiring entertainers *en route* to Manila or popular out-of-country destinations, i.e. Japan and South Korea.[86] In April 2012, Malaysia was identified as a destination country for the trafficked women and girls from the Visayas and Mindanao through the country's southern backdoor for prostitution. This incited calls for the labor department to investigate some local placement agencies' involvement in TIP.[87]

The demand-supply structure of the trafficking market is analogous to Bauman's concept of "tourists and vagabonds". That is, demand is said to be highest in areas that have benefited from globalization with high flows of tourism and migration while the pressures of globalization and/or collapse of local economies, endemic poverty, and political conflict expose a supply of desperate and vulnerable women and children. This situation is exemplified by the Philippines's infamous entrenchment in child sex trafficking and prostitution. That is, in 2005, it ranked fourth among nine countries with the most number of children trafficked for prostitution.[88] In 2010, it received the same ranking among countries having high child prostitution.[89] It seems to be the *status quo* in the UNICEF website along with the report that prostitution may now be the country's fourth largest source of GNP.[90]

Cebu seems to host a bustling sex tourism industry. Its commercial ports and tourist-friendly reputation has placed it among the top five areas for child prostitution and sex tourism.[91] Of the UNICEF-based statistics of 100,000 sexually-exploited children in the

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[82] Mars W. Mosqueda Jr, "Human Trafficking Rampant in Cebu, Women's Group Says" *Manila Bulletin,* 3 Dec. 2008, http://mb.com.ph/articles/193367/human-trafficking-rampant-cebu-women%E2%80%99s-group-says (accessed 20 Apr. 2012).

[83] Chemonics International Inc. *USAID Anti-Trafficking in Persons Programs: A Synthesis.* (USAID, 2009), http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/Asia_Synthesis_Anti_Trafficking_508.pdf (accessed 17 May 2012), 50.

[84] Jay A. Yacat, *Child Protection in the Philippines: A Situational Analysis* (Bangkok: Save the Children Child Protection Initiative in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2011), 42.

[85] Mosqueda Jr., *Human Trafficking Rampant in Cebu, Women's Group Says.*

[86] Samarasinghe, *Female Sex Trafficking in Asia: The Resilience of Patriarchy in a Changing World.*

[87] Jocelyn R. Uy, "Job Recruiters Supplying Girls to Metro Sex Dens". *Inquirer.net,* 2 Apr. 2012, http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/170797/job-recruiters-supplying-girls-to-metro-sex-dens (accessed 20 Apr. 2012).

[88] Mars W. Mosqueda Jr., "Philippines is 4th in Trafficking of Children," (ECPAT International, 12 Feb. 2005) http://web.archive.org/web/2006222113433/http:/www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/IRC/newsdesk_articles.asp?SCID=1580 (accessed 20 Apr. 2012).

[89] Philippine Daily Inquirer, "PH Ranks 4th on List with Child Prostitutes," *Inquirer Plus Digital Newsstand*, 19 November 2010, http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/breakingnews/nation/view/20101119-304080/PH-ranks-4th-on-list-with-child-prostitutes (accessed 1October 2014).

[90] UNICEF Philippines, "Stop Child Pornography Today," *UNICEF Philippines*, n.d., http://www.unicef.org/philippines/support/sup_12.html (accessed 1 October 2014).

[91] Mosqueda Jr., *Philippines is 4th in Trafficking of Children.*

Philippines, an estimated 10 to 40 thousand minor girls have been trafficked into prostitution in and around Metro Cebu.[92] A survey of child sex tourism in the Philippines has featured an excerpt from Lolicon Land, a Japanese pornographic magazine which referred to Cebu as one of "the treasure lands of girl prostitutes".[93]

Child abuse statistics from the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) reveal that next to prostitution (48.5%), most sexually-exploited children fall victim to cyber pornography or "cyberporn" (33.8%) with Central Visayas as one of the hotspots.[94] Despite the enactment of RA 9775 or the Anti-Child Pornography Law in 2009, Cebu-based, pro-children NGO CLB remains vigilant given the ready supply of victims from impoverished communities for child pornographers to exploit.[95] Foreigners commonly finance the cyberporn business. It has a low startup and risk given that an internet connection and approximately 50,000 pesos or USD 1,000 capitalization can enable any interested entrepreneur to set up a cybersex den in private residences. Yet, per performance, the operator can collect $50 to $300 while the child "performer" gets 100-300 pesos. The neighborhood knows of the business and families replicate it thereby making child cyberporn a family business, even a "virtual cottage industry".[96]

Cybersex and cyberporn have been described as "modern day trafficking". This reference has been anchored on the crimes' facilitation by the ready availability of computers worldwide and the "unregulated" use of computer networks.[97] This form of cybercrime committed against children is arguably within the purview of child sex trafficking given the manifest recruitment of children for sexual exploitation or "sexploitation".[98] The difference is that no actual physical transport of the victim is made. Rather, "virtual mobility" characterizes the abuse. The internet as a global fluid presents a swinging interface between physical and virtual mobility which can render impoverished persons, especially children, "virtually vulnerable" to sexploitation. Currently, the Virtual Global Taskforce has ranked the Philippines among top ten countries with rampant child cyberporn.[99]

Poverty has been identified as the primary driving force behind sexploitation in the Philippines. Children have been identified as the poorest basic sector of Philippine society

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[92] Mark Langham, "Cebu, Philippines: A Focus on Human Trafficking," *A Conspiracy of Hope* (blog), 12 Jan. 2011, http://aconspiracyofhope.blogspot.com.au/2011/01/cebu-philippines-focus-on-human.html (accessed 1 May 2012).
[93] Zafft and Tidball, *A Survey of Child Sex Tourism in the Philippines*.
[94] Romulo A. Virola, "Abused children," (National Statistics Coordination Board [NSCB], 2011) http://www.nscb.gov.ph/headlines/StatsSpeak/2011/101011_rav.asp (accessed 10 May 2012).
[95] Children's Legal Bureau, "Child Cyber Pornography in Cebu," *CLB,* 12 Oct. 2011, http://www.clbphils.org/index.php/content/newsmore/1/11 (accessed 16 Jan. 2012).
[96] Children's Legal Bureau, "CLB launches the Child Protect Movement," *CLB,* 13 Aug. 2011, http://www.clbphils.org/index.php/content/newsmore/1/9 (accessed 16 Jan. 2012).
[97] Tweeny Malinao, "CDN's Mayol Bags Justice Award," *Cebu Daily News*, 13 Dec. 2011, http://cebudailynews.wordpress.com/2011/12/13/cdns-mayol-bags-justice-award/ (accessed 1 May 2012).
[98] This word was coined by Flowers in *The Sex Trade Industry's Worldwide Exploitation of Children*.
[99] Elizabeth Marcelo, "PHL among Top Producers of Child Pornography, International Task Force Says," *GMA News Online,* 17 Jan. 2014, http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/344345/news/nation/phl-among-top-producers-of-child-pornography-international-task-force-says (accessed 1 Oct. 2014).

behind women, fishermen and farmers with a poverty incidence of 34.8% in 2006.[100] In 2009, children accounted for more than 40% of the total Philippine population while the poverty incidence among children rose.[101] This deterioration of children's development indicates a corresponding deterioration in the quality of human capital of the country.[102] This situation further commodifies children and renders them more vulnerable to sexploitation. In 2010, the Child Protection Unit revealed that an estimated 75,000 children in the Philippines were forced into prostitution due to poverty.[103]

Aside from the primacy of poverty as a factor in child sex trafficking, the centrality of the family's role in children's victimization cannot be decoupled from the issue. For instance, the mothers of four children rescued from an Australian national in 2011 were reportedly sympathetic to the suspect.[104] The suspect has been known in the neighborhood to have been financing the children's education. Ultimately, the victims' parents executed an affidavit of desistance and the charges were dropped.[105] This account epitomizes "philanthropic exploitation" by which pedophiles conspicuously engage in charitable acts towards impoverished children and their families in anticipation of gaining sexual access to the targeted children.[106] In 2008, affidavits of desistance were signed mostly because the perpetrators were relatives or even parents of the victims.[107] This situation is especially true in child cyberporn since children who perform sexual acts online do so at the behest of their parents who are actually convinced that poverty led them to such kind of livelihood.[108] Indeed, "[m]uch trafficking begins at home".[109] The adverse effects upon child VoTs as reported also affirm their entrenchment in victimization.

Children have become even more commodified in a cosmopolar and liquid modern world since they are "sold for the good of the family".[110] Bauman argues that another characteristic of the liquid phase of modernity is the transition from a "productionist society" to a "consumerist society".[111] He further argues that in order to enable consumption by individuals in this new society, they must recalibrate themselves as 'products' capable of drawing attention to themselves. Accordingly, persons contemporaneously become marketers of commodities and the commodities that they market. These identities are polarized yet

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[100] Virola, *Abused children*.
[101] Romulo A. Virola, "Our Christmas List for our Children," (NSCB, 2009) http://www.nscb.gov.ph/headlines/statsspeak/2009/121409_rav_joe_children.asp (accessed 1 May 2012).
[102] National Statistics Coordination Board, "Children in the Philippines," (1997-2012) http://www.nscb.gov.ph/children/index.asp (accessed 1 May 2012).
[103] Philippine Daily Inquirer, *PH Ranks 4th on List with Child Prostitutes*.
[104] Ador Mayol, "Good, Bad Neighbor?," *Cebu Daily News*, 22 Jul. 2011, http://cebudailynews.wordpress.com/2011/07/22/good-bad-neighbor (accessed 20 Apr. 2012).
[105] Idem., "Four Girls Rescued from Australian," *Cebu Daily News*, 21 July 2011, http://cebudailynews.wordpress.com/2011/07/21/four-girls-rescued-from-australian/ (accessed 20 April 2012).
[106] Zafft and Tidball. *A Survey of Child Sex Tourism in the Philippines*, 6.
[107] Mosqueda Jr., *Philippines is 4th in Trafficking of Children*.
[108] Marcelo, *PHL among Top Producers of Child Pornography, International Task Force Says*. Also in Children's Legal Bureau. *Child Cyber Pornography in Cebu*.
[109] Chris Beyrer, "Global Child Trafficking," *The Lancet* 364 (2004): 17.
[110] Paula S. Fass, "Children and Globalization" *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 974.
[111] Zygmunt Bauman, *Consuming life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

entwined in the glocal cosmos of the sex market as exemplified by the child sex trafficking problem in Cebu. Meanwhile, the perceived complicity of families and governments to this "commodification turn" seems to epitomize the assertion that the state's inaction encourages a market for "privatized human rights violation" in the family.[112]

Child sex trafficking in the Philippines is among the manifold consequences of globalization. It has been reported that every twelve minutes, a Filipino child is sex trafficked.[113] Moreover, of the estimated 1.2 million children victims of the sex traffic annually, 100,000 are Filipinos.[114] The Philippines's seeming incapacity to adequately protect its moving population exemplifies the unintended consequence of its disengagement from its traditional role as guarantor of security. The 2014 TIP Report attests at how "negligible" government efforts are in curbing demand for commercial sex acts.[115] Bauman contends that disengagement is the defining trait of liquid modernity.[116] That is, the disengagement of the state from welfare economics for free markets, of human authenticity for productivity and of people from territoriality for economic security. The nation-state's disengagement from its exclusive control over wealth creation, resource allocation and social redistribution in favor of free markets has 'liquefied the solidity of state power' with a considerable expanse gravitating towards the economic dimension. The rise of markets to actor-prominence in general and of labor markets elsewhere in the globe in particular, resulting from this liquefaction continues to engender regular and irregular migration from countries like the Philippines. This intensified mobility of labor migrants along with the facelessness of organized criminal entrepreneurs of the trafficking business epitomizes global fluids who openly challenge border security in the liquid phase of modernity.

Addressing the Glocal Challenge

A global consensus that children have fundamental rights to live free of sexual exploitation is evidenced by 191 signatory countries to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), including the Philippines.[117] However, the harsh realities of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) as facilitated by child sex trafficking raises serious questions as to which actors and scheme of governance can better secure children's rights. For as earlier

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[112] Raquel Antoinette Romans, *Human Trafficking and the Role of Government In Combatting a Thriving Enterprise: A Comparative Look at Government's Response to a Growing Problem,* (William Paterson University of New Jersey: UMI Dissertation Publishing, ProQuest LLC, 2011), UMI no. 1500590, 19.
[113] Helen Flores, "Group Against Sex Trafficking Launched," *Philippine Star,* 13 May 2011, http://www.philstar.com/Article.aspx?articleId=685522&publicationSubCategoryId= (accessed 1 May 2012), citing Called to Rescue Foundation (CTRF) President Cyndi Romine.
[114] Ibid. citing CTRF Board Member Anthony Pangilinan.
[115] U.S. Department of State, "Philippines 2014 Trafficking in Persons Report," (U.S. Department of State, 2014a) http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2014/226799.htm (accessed 1 October 2014).
[116] Bauman, "The Great War of Recognition," *Theory, Culture and Society* 18 nos. 2 & 3 (2001), 139.

[117] ECPAT International, "A Network for Children: End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes" (ECPAT International, 2011) http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Publications/ECPAT/ECPAT%20brochure_2011_Final.pdf (accessed 5 Apr. 2012).

noted, the glocal issue of TIP is challenging the nation-state's capacity to fully and effectively address the liquid problem involving human flows and organized crime.

The TIP Reports consistently point out unemployment, pro-migration culture, sex tourism, and weak rule of law as TIP's enabling factors in the country. Corruption is the primary weak link to rule of law, particularly by immigration officials. Of particular magnitude was the finding that 95% of about 600 OFWs repatriated due to the 2012 crisis in Syria were VoTs with 67% having no overseas employment certificates.[118] Meanwhile, the slow dispensation of cases makes the judiciary another weak link in the country's anti-trafficking efforts. For instance, of six active cases filed before 2012 by Cebu-based NGO Children's Legal Bureau, five remain active while the lone case terminated was an acquittal.[119] So far, despite the open challenge to the solidity of borders by global fluids, the punitive frame has dominated efforts to civilize the glocal politics of child sex trafficking.

The quantity of TIP-related convictions as a key consideration in the TIP Reports' tier rankings tends to reify the punitive frame. That is, reference to prosecution, conviction and other similar words, overwhelmingly outnumber words that suggest victim after-care. A scrutiny of the Philippines's tier rankings in the TIP Reports since 2001 reveals that the country is generally situated in Tier 2. It has been downgraded twice to Tier 2 Watch List in the years 2004-2005 and 2009-2010.[120] In each of these downgrades, the country narrative reported minimal or no conviction of traffickers. After its first descent to the Tier 2 Watch List for failure to demonstrate efforts in combatting severe forms of TIP in 2004, the country maintained the status with no reported convictions of traffickers, among others.[121] The country's second descent to the Watch List in 2009 was chiefly due to having no recorded conviction for labor trafficking while the record of only 4 individual convictions in 3 sex trafficking cases is grossly non-commensurate to the problem's magnitude.[122] Ironically, this downgrade came a year after the Philippines's anti-trafficking efforts have been lauded in a report for being "more advanced and effective" than, and utilized as model by, the rest of Asia.[123]

The centrality of quantifying convictions in the tier rankings has received criticism. The notable consequence of non-upgrade after two consecutive years in the Tier 2 Watch List

[118] Ina Reformina. "16 Immigration Officers Linked to Human Trafficking in Syria," *ABS CBN News.com,* 7 April 2012. http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/global-filipino/04/04/12/16-immigration-officers-linked-human-trafficking-syria (accessed 1 May 2012).
[119] Joan Dymphna Saniel, "Children's Legal Bureau Inc. Accomplishment Report January - December 2012" (Cebu City: Children's Legal Bureau Inc., 2012).
[120] See U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Ppersons Report," (U.S. Department of State, 2014b) http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/ (accessed 1 October 2014).
[121] U.S. Department of State. "IV. Country Narratives: East Asia and Pacific - Trafficking in Persons Report," (U.S. Department of State, 2004), http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2004/33191.htm (accessed 1 May 2012).
[122] U.S. Department of State, "Country Narratives -- Countries L through P," (U.S. Department of State, 2009), http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2009/123137.htm (accessed 1 May 2012).
[123] GMANews.TV, "RP having 'One of Best' Anti-Trafficking Drives in Asia," *GMA News Online,* 9 Sep. 2008, http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/119025/news/nation/rp-having-one-of-best-anti-trafficking-drives-in-asia, (accessed 20 May 2012).

means a downgrade. A Tier 3 status adversely affects a country's eligibility for humanitarian and non-trade aid unless the U.S. Secretary of State grants a waiver.[124] Dessy et al. contend that these implications have the tendency to pressure financially-challenged countries such as the Philippines to invest in child protection when they can ill-afford it. It may only exacerbate aid dependency.[125] Moreover, convicting a trafficker will not necessarily halt the influx of aspiring criminal entrepreneurs into the trade of humans.[126] A study on the trafficking of girls from the Philippines to Malaysia reveals the involvement of Chinese syndicates and a Malaysian official's denial of the issue's existence. Its net effect was to affirm the impunity of organized criminal groups. Meanwhile, the VoTs were subjected to arrest and criminal treatment as violators of Malaysian immigration acts.[127]

The enormity of TIP as a liquid problem has somehow rendered state-centric solutions as inadequate. Thus, while states tend to privilege the punitive approach, GCS groups and their local counterparts demand for rights-based measures according to a human rights perspective. Their brand of governance has been identified as the "boomerang pattern of influence" by which they bound back their advocacy to the international community to pressure nation-states not to tolerate certain activities instead of direct adversarial engagement.[128] As such, these organizations have been reputed to be international watchdogs for governmental accountability.[129]

Prominent anti-TIP GCS groups have influenced anti-TIP legislation and child-friendly tourism. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women – Asia Pacific (CATW-AP) and its network have been reputed to have the strongest presence in a developing country and region in terms of influence in national and regional law and policy-making. In the Philippines, it is among the NGOs that actively lobbied for the passage of the country's anti-trafficking law.[130] Meanwhile, ECPAT Philippines launched its anti-child trafficking campaign in the country in 2004.[131] Moreover, it signed a code of conduct for anti-CSEC child protection with a cybercafé

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[124] Ina Reformina, "Human Trafficking Syndicate Falls, Teen Rescue," *ABS-CBN News.com*, 4 Apr. 2011, http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/nation/metro-manila/04/04/11/human-trafficking-syndicate-falls-teen-rescued (accessed 1 May 2012).

[125] Dessy et al., *The Economics of Child Trafficking (Part II)*.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Gusni Saat, "Human Trafficking from the Philippines to Malaysia: The Impact of Urbanism," *South Asian Survey* 16, no. 1 (2009): 137-148.

[128] Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*.

[129] Peter Uvin, "Scaling Up the Grass Roots and Scaling Down the Summit: The Relations Between Third World NGOs and the UN," *Third World Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1995): 509.

[130] Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, "Projects & Campaigns, Accomplishments: Asia," *Coalition Against Trafficking in Women,* 1 Feb. 2013, http://www.catwinternational.org/Home/Article/525-asia (accessed 1 October 2014).

[131] Medge Olivarez, "ECPAT Philippines launches the anti-child trafficking campaign in the Philippines," *Child Protection in the Philippines: Philippine Resource Network,* Feb. 2004, http://archive.today/K7yl1 (accessed 20 May 2012).

chain having over 600 branches in the country pursuant to its Make-IT-Safe campaign against child cybersex and pornography.[132]

In Cebu, some 15 NGOs engage in anti-trafficking efforts indirectly or directly.[133] A prominent example is the Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation-Integrated Development Centre (JPIC-IDC), an NGO managed by the religious order of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD). It has implemented a prevention, care and response project in partnership with UNICEF Manila for vulnerable children in Kamagayan, Cebu's red light district.[134]

The International Justice Mission (IJM) is an international NGO whose local presence has figured prominently in almost all TIP-related raid and rescue operations in Cebu. Its "Project Lantern", a 5-year anti-child sex trafficking project, was undertaken in Cebu after a $5 million grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in November 2005.[135] It employed a law enforcement-based strategy to reduce the prevalence of sex trafficking and CSEC for the improvement of the public justice system (PJS).[136] Its hallmark contribution is a 79% drop in the number of minors available for exploitation in Cebu's commercial sex industry from initial findings 4 years prior to the project.[137] However, external researchers have pointed out that traffickers and pimps may have made greater efforts to conceal the supply of children.[138] Meanwhile, the project design has been criticized as 'replicable model' for combatting TIP given the enormity of the problem, i.e. corruption and police complicity, which tends to render the PJS inadequate.[139] Meanwhile, the focus on the quantity of rescued VoTs has been contrasted with its disproportionality to the service capacity of shelters along with the prison-like confinement of rescued victims. The seeming inclination to privilege raids and their concomitant coercive consequences of brutality and detention have been viewed as ineffective in stemming victims' return to sex work as the only viable means of coping with economic hardships.[140]

The efforts of Bidlisiw, another Cebu-based NGO, have been contrasted with those of IJM's. These efforts were found to be less drastic and holistic such as comprehensive

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[132] ECPAT International, *The Use of Information and Communication Technologies in Connection With Cases of Child Sex Tourism in East and Southeast Asia* (Bangkok: ECPAT International, 201059) citing PDI.

[133] Raquel Daria, "Trafficking and Prostitution in Asia and the Pacific*," Augustinians of the Midwest Province of Our Mother of Good Counsel of the Augustinian Order* (blog) 1999-2012, http://www.midwestaugustinians.org/justpaxhumtraffic08.html, (accessed 5 May 2012).

[134] Ibid.

[135] Jones et al., *An Evaluation of the International Justice Mission's "Project Lantern": Assessment of Five-Year Impact and Change in the Public Justice System*, 9.

[136] Ibid. According to the report, the PJS encompasses law enforcement, prosecutorial, judicial, various local government and administrative bodies, and social service systems.

[137] International Justice Mission. *Project Lantern: Game-Changing Results in the Fight Against Trafficking* (IJM, n.d.), http://www.ijm.org/projectlantern (accessed 20 April 2012).

[138] Jones et al., *An Evaluation of the International Justice Mission's "Project Lantern": Assessment of Five-Year Impact and Change in the Public Justice System*.

[139] Noy Thrupkaew, "Working with the Victims in the Complex Struggle to Fight Sex Trafficking," *The Nation,* 13 Oct. 2009 http://www.alternet.org/sex/143264/working_with_the_victims_in_the_complex_struggle_to_fight_sex_trafficking/?page=entire (accessed 20 April 2012).

[140] Ibid.

psychosocial counselling for children and their family, tutoring and vocational training and even livelihood and microloan opportunities. In 2008, 140 families graduated from the program with initial indicators showing that 30% of the children have left prostitution. However, Bidlisiw does not enjoy the same kind of financial support and international links that IJM does.[141]

The problem of sustainability is also a constant challenge to the CLB. As member and Chairperson of CLB's Board of Trustees, this researcher personally knows how CLB struggles for sustainability particularly at the height of euro crisis given that most of its funding comes from GCS groups in Europe such as Terre des Hommes Netherlands. In July 2014, CLB is among a select few NGOs which was granted USAID funding for anti-trafficking.[142]

Sustainability of NGOs demonstrates a tension between their autonomy for advocacy and funding dependence for service. Securing organizational funding has the tendency to erode NGOs' independence while holding the potential of compromising services to the people that they serve.[143] This tension is illustrated in IJM's subscription to the punitive (law enforcement) approach instead of greater attention to servicing the needs of VoTs beyond raid-and-rescue operations. This situation seems to suggest GCS co-optation by the state instead of the GCS engaging in "critical cooperation" with government.[144]

Contra co-optation, obtaining government support for coordinated anti-trafficking efforts can be a challenge. For instance, as then Vice-Chairperson of CLB in 2010, this researcher personally underwent 'thorough grilling' before the Cebu Provincial Council NGO re-accreditation due to our office location in Cebu City.[145] The province-versus-city enmity which threatened to exclude CLB from government re-accreditation is rooted from the conflict between the former provincial governor and city mayor.[146] The issue still lingered in CLB's 2014 application for re-accreditation though the questioning was not as adversarial as before. Nevertheless, NGOs have been instrumental in fostering a climate of creative dissent that is conducive to developing a sense of government transparency and accountability. For instance, the Children's NGO Network's (CNN) alternative report on the Philippines's compliance with the UNCRC as posted at the Children's Rights International Network website by CLB exposes how the various UNCRC-compliant programs were NGO-initiated and not strictly the

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[141] Ibid.

[142] USAID. "Phil-Am Fund Awards First Batch of Grants," *USAID,* 2014, http://www.usaid-philamfund.org.ph/index.php/page/view/news/view/895/newsid/2/philam-fund-awards-first-batch-of-grants.html (accessed 21 September 2014).

[143] John Casey and Bronwen Dalton, "The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: Community-Sector Advocacy in the Age of 'Compacts'," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 1(2006): 23 - 38.

[144] Ibid., 23.

[145] Gregg M. Rubio, "After Thorough Grilling: City-Based NGO Gets Capitol Accreditation." *The Freeman*, 12 Oct. 2010, http://www.philstar.com/Article.aspx?articleId=620234&publicationSubCategoryId=107 (accessed 14 December 2011).

[146] Gregg M. Rubio," Gwen-Tom Word War Flares Up Again,". *The Freeman*, 5 Jan. 2011, http://new.philstar.com/freeman/news-cebu/645444/gwen-tom-word-war-flares-up-once-again (accessed 21 May 2012).

governments' accomplishments since the agencies were "only asked to participate".[147] This endeavor demonstrates the potential for NGO influence upon governance according to the boomerang pattern of influence by GCS upon nation-states.[148]

The GCS is better placed in securing the rights of VoTs through their advocacy and service. Victim rights and protection is central to GCS as opposed to the punitive preoccupation of nation-states as shown in the marked contrast between the TIP Reports' 3-tier rankings and ECPAT's "country progress card" categorization of countries making "notable efforts," "some progress," "limited measures" or "slow progress" in combatting trafficking. The Philippines is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with those standards. It is among the 53% of countries which have made some progress to stop child sex trafficking in ECPAT's categorization which means that it has generally taken anti-TIP measures and initiatives but these may not adequately protect child VoTs.[149] Indeed, while violations of VoTs' human rights by their own families and their origin and/or destination states tend to be condoned for the sake of economic and border security, the fluid activism of GCS in terms of networking, advocacy and service as characterized by NGOs' grassroots engagement makes them better able to securitize for the rights and welfare of VoTs especially children.

The rise of 'self-regulating markets' in a globalizing and cosmopolar world may seem to have colonized society specifically via the sex market. However, there is a counter-movement which has gone beyond the nation-state and rests with GCS groups such as those earlier mentioned. The "governance without government"[150] ideal that these groups represent in the face of global fluids still needs the "hardware" of nation-states and the network state. However, this importance of nation-states can no longer be sovereignty-centered monopolistic. Rather, it must be in collaboration with the "software" fluidity of GCS groups as non-state actors.

Conclusion

This paper has theorized and inquired into how non-state actors can better ensure the welfare of child VoTs for a civil society-guided policy-making in Cebu, Philippines. It has focused on child sex trafficking as a glocal problem arising from globalization. Pertinently, it has identified globalization's attribute of intensified mobility as the core concept that drives the problem. Accordingly, tensions that underlay contemporary mobilities have been juxtaposed by employing a cosmopolar approach. That is, the welcome mobility of economic assets such as capital was contrasted with the differentiated treatment of human flows on the part of nation-states by utilizing Bauman's concepts of liquid modernity and "tourists and vagabonds".

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[147] Children's NGO Network. "Philippine Alternative Report on the Implementation of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)." *Children's Rights International Network,* 2004, http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/crc.39/Philippines_CNN_ngo_report.pdf (accessed 16 Jan. 2012).
[148] Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics.*
[149] ECPAT International, "Philippines Country Progress Card," *ECPAT International,* 2010a, http://www.ecpat.net/TBS/PDF/2010_Philippines_Progress_Card.pdf (accessed 20 May 2012).
[150] Dryzek, John S. 1999. Transitional democracy. *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 7 (1): 30-51.

Pertinently, uneven globalization has capacitated the mobility of the tourists inasmuch as it has forced the mobility of the vagabonds.

Labor markets' tendency to include sex markets has rendered populations, especially women and children, vulnerable to the demand for sex which fuels sex trafficking. In a country with a very young population and whose workforce has already been commodified as exportable goods, it is alarming to have children as the most impoverished sector. This condition of Filipino children renders them highly vulnerable to sex trafficking. As objects for sexual consumption, sex-trafficked children constitute sex commodity mobility on the supply side while sex tourists represent consumer mobility on the demand side. This global pathology of mobilities is perceivable in locales having the accoutrements of globalization that the case study of Cebu illustrates.

The security implications of TIP upon nation-states and their increasingly mobile populations have provoked a rethinking of the value of security in civilizing glocal politics. Nation-states' capacity in the face of the glocal complexity of the issue has become openly challenged considering that as creations of solid modernity, they and their concomitant institutional security arrangements remain captive to parochial and punitive interests to the detriment of VoTs' rights. Accordingly, a hybrid conceptualization of security in relation to TIP is endorsed such as the cosmopolar approach. It is deemed as holistic and inclusive enough to cover the contending frames of transnational crime and victims' human rights. It looks at both the side of the state/urban center in terms of border/urban security and the side of moving populations in terms of human security. Where it looks at high politics, it is able to rationalize relations of power and inequality in the structure. Where it looks at low politics, it is able to explain the power relations of, between and among agents and between agents and structure in terms of human rights.

GCS groups and their local counterparts in Cebu have initiated the critical initial steps in securing the welfare of child victims of sex trafficking. They have done so by forging networks and working collaboratively with each other in terms of matching law enforcement and punitive measures with aftercare sensitivity for VoTs. Despite resource constraints, these organizations' efforts are better informed by the best interests of the child. Thus, they are better placed in securing the welfare of child victims of sex trafficking. As an urban center possessed with the accoutrements of globalization but tempered by the considerable involvement of GCS groups, Cebu embodies the cosmopolitan and holds the potential of incubating these critical aspects of an alternative governance that is glocally and intergenerationally accountable to children.

This paper's findings by no means advocate the end of TIP criminalization or do away with the nation-state. Rather, it highlights the imperative to veer glocal anti-TIP efforts closer to a human rights frame and recognize the indispensable role of non-state actors. In this way, there is a better and more sustainable chance of moving towards the ideal of glocal governance that civilizes security by securitizing the rights of child victims of sex trafficking. Meanwhile, a greater emphasis on the structural issues that promote child sex trafficking and a more focused gaze on those who are in a position of power to exploit with impunity should sit alongside

accountability for family-based violations of the rights of children who are "…humanity's most vulnerable population".[151]

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[151] Sara K. Andrews, "U.S. Domestic Prosecution of the American International Sex Tourist: Efforts to Protect Children from Sexual Exploitation," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 94, no. 2 (2004): 452.

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