



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Child Sex Tourism

Ambiguous spaces in Bali

Hulsbergen, F.; Nootboom, G.

DOI

[10.1111/tesg.12539](https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12539)

Publication date

2023

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie

License

CC BY-NC-ND

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Hulsbergen, F., & Nootboom, G. (2023). Child Sex Tourism: Ambiguous spaces in Bali. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 114(1), 28-42.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12539>

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

CHILD SEX TOURISM: AMBIGUOUS SPACES IN BALI

FLIERTJE HULSBERGEN* & GERBEN NOOTEBOOM**

*Graduate School of Social Science - International Development Studies, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

**Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.
E-mail: g.nootboom@uva.nl (Corresponding author)

Received: April 2021; accepted September 2022

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of child sex tourism (CST) is intensified by the increased mobility of people worldwide. Current approaches to fight CST predominantly focus on enforcing legislation and disrupting the cycle of demand and supply, yet they have proven largely ineffective. This paper highlights the enabling properties of CST spaces in Bali and takes a new approach by focusing on the ambiguity of place, authority structures and actors. The analysis identifies four CST spaces – private homes, brothels, spa massage parlours and orphanages – which enable the persistence of CST. Understanding the ‘socio-spatial properties’ of risk locations is key to disrupting and fighting CST more effectively.

Key words: child sex tourism; Bali; risk locations; ambiguous spaces; enabling spatial properties

INTRODUCTION

Millions of children are sexually exploited worldwide in the tourism industry for commercial purposes (Newman *et al.* 2011; Kosuri & Jeglic 2017). In the literature, little attention has been given to the spatial dimensions of child sex tourism (CST). Theorization on, and empirical evidence of, the spatial properties of CST will aid a better understanding of the persistence of CST in tourist places such as Bali. In this paper, CST is defined as ‘the (commercial) sexual exploitation of minors committed by people who travel and engage in sexual acts with children in the traveller’s tourist destination’ (ECPAT 2011, p. 14). For the purpose of this study, we define a minor according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as ‘a human being below eighteen years old’ (UNICEF 1989, p. 2).¹ While CST is not a new phenomenon, the issue is dynamic and embedded in a rapidly changing field, leaving gaps in our knowledge (Davidson 2004). Geographers

argue that mobility, place and space are central in the creation of sex and sexuality (Bailey *et al.* 2011, p. 162; Shah 2014; Browne & Brown 2016). ‘How space and place are organized and used is directly related to sex and sexualities’ (Browne & Brown 2016, p. 1).

Although CST is considered illegal the world over, the implementation of extraterritorial laws and strategies to fight the issue remains a challenge (Panko & George 2012, p. 67). There is a risk that existing policies and laws overlook new forms of CST. This paper aims to understand the structural embeddedness of CST and highlights the properties of CST spaces in Bali, Indonesia by focusing on the ambiguity of place, authority structures and actors.

Background – Placing CST in Bali – Sexual exploitation of children, trafficking and CST impacts over two million minors a year (Kosuri & Jeglic 2017) and the industry is growing at an estimated rate of 20 per cent annually worldwide (Project Karma 2019).

Between 2010 and 2014, 137 offenders have been convicted for child sexual abuse in Indonesia, of which 21 per cent CST related (Davy 2017, p. 43). Between 40,000 and 70,000 minors are estimated to be the victims of sexual exploitation in Indonesia alone (ECPAT 2016). Java accounts for 21,000 of these minors (Sofian 2014, p. 12), while Bali and Batam are also becoming increasingly popular destinations (Sofian 2014, p. 12). The number of minors involved in CST in Bali is difficult to assess due to underreporting. The most recent information is given in two reports from ECPAT (2016) and UNICEF (2014). Between 2011 and 2014, 30 per cent of sex workers in Indonesia were underaged, some as young as 10 years old (UNICEF 2014). There were 51 reported cases of child sexual abuse in Bali Province in 2013 (ECPAT 2016, p. 15). Between 2001 and 2013, 12 foreigners have been caught for child sexual abuse in Bali, among which three Dutch-, two Italian-, two Australian-, two German, one Swiss- and one South African citizen(s) (ECPAT 2016, p. 8).

Globally, Bali is not a well-known CST risk space. This is in contrast to Thailand and the Philippines, where CST was identified a decade earlier and strong legislation has been enforced. This resulted in CST moving to neighbouring countries, including Cambodia and Vietnam (Sofian 2014, p. 2) and Indonesia. In Indonesia, research has focused mainly on Batam (Williams *et al.* 2008). Limited research has been conducted on CST in Bali.

The sociospatial dimensions of CST have not received attention so far. CST cases have been discovered in Bali's red-light districts, but also in tourist areas such as Kuta, Legian, Seminyak, Denpasar and Sanur, as well as Lovina, Singaraja and Ubud (ECPAT 2016). Spa massage parlours and other bodily service-related spaces, such as tattoo shops, have also been identified as CST risk spaces, as well as (karaoke) bars, discotheques, brothels and bungalows (Sofian 2014; ECPAT 2016). Understanding the spatial properties of these risk spaces is crucial in order to better understand the persistence of CST.

Alleviation interventions as well as academic research typically follow two approaches: enhancing and enforcing legislation and disrupting the cycle of demand and supply. In

the first approach, CST is viewed as an illegal practice that needs to be eradicated through the development of stronger child protection laws (Hodgson 1993; Klain 1999; Newman *et al.* 2011; Panko & George 2012; Chemin & Mbiekop 2015; Suwarnatha 2016). However, when the focus is on legalistic and inherently top-down perspectives, in-depth knowledge and understanding of the motives and strategies of CST actors remains limited. Viewing CST only as an illegal practice that needs to be prevented through laws does not prevent it from happening. In the second approach, the persistence of CST is often explained by market dynamics of demand and supply (Jhappan 2005; Tanielian 2013; ECPAT 2016). While the market metaphor provides the opportunity to fight CST by disrupting supply or demand, it also tends to depict child sex as a commodity, with the child reduced to a sexual and commercial object (ECPAT 2016, p. 48). Using market metaphors also runs the risk that the unequal power relations in the 'exchange', as well as the practice's embeddedness in structural inequalities in the region, are obscured (Davidson 2004; Hurst 2015). It further carries the risk of portraying minors only as victims and does not acknowledge that they may be active agents who might also play a role in the persistence of CST.

In contrast to these dominant approaches, this paper focuses on the enabling properties of ambiguous spaces (Kuyucu 2014). Although CST is illegal in Bali and punishable by law, the ambiguous meanings of practices, spaces and legal frameworks are often overlooked by government policies, law enforcement agents, neighbours, family members and other involved actors, while offering opportunities for abuse simultaneously. In analysing this complex interplay between actors, factors and spaces, we first draw upon literature that focuses on illegality and ambiguity. Our analysis of productive ambiguity is based on the analytical frameworks of Abraham and Van Schendel (2005) and Aspinall and Van Klinken (2010), which help to understand the role of ambiguity that enables illegal practices to persist (Nooteboom 2011, 2015). In analogy of these frameworks, each space in which CST occurs is dominated by a set of informal rules, which are valued and sanctioned by the

involved actors (Aspinall & Van Klinken 2010, p. 2). Second, the ambiguous space is made up by the interplay of the specific multi-functional qualities of the place, the double-faced unclear and equivocal roles, strategies and interests of actors involved, and the multi-interpretable social and legal norms and expectations which characterize the place. Analysing these complex notions underlying the interplay of (il)legality and spatial properties provides the basis for understanding how ambiguity can be used for accessing, acceptance and the persistence of CST.

AMBIGUOUS SPACES AND CHILD SEX TOURISM

Abraham and Van Schendel (2005, p. 1) assert that cross-border crime is closely intertwined with a nation-state's understanding of illegality. States demarcate their own concepts of legality and illegality and have the power to enforce their own laws (Aspinall & Van Klinken 2010, p. 2). As a result of decentralization, deregulation and privatization, state's abilities to fight transnational illegal activities have become more complex (Naim 2003, p. 30). Increasing transnational legal complexity allows individuals or groups to take advantage of ambiguous legal frameworks and loopholes (Chemin & Mbiekop 2015, p. 170).

Several authors argue that space also matters in the constitution of illegality. In this respect, Browne and Brown (2016, p. 15) speak of the 'geographies of sexualities in public and private spaces', Williams (2013) highlights spatial 'ambiguity' in Bali and on Batam and Bailey *et al.* (2011, p. 162) focus on the 'spatial-cultural configuration of sex work as constituted by the places where sex is negotiated and transacted [as well as], the crucial roles of clients and the role of facilitators'. Our analysis is based on an interplay among three dimensions within the structural inequalities and processes of Bali's global tourist hub which produce enabling spaces. The three dimensions focus on *authority structures*, *spatial properties* of private spaces and the involved *actors and their multiple roles*. Figure 1 summarizes the conceptual model applied in this study.

Abraham and Van Schendel distinguish two structures of authority that influence understandings of illegality in the social sphere: the political and the social (see Figure 2). Political authority is focused on the state's ability to create an understanding of legal and illegal phenomena. Social authority entails a bottom-up perspective on how criminal behaviour is understood through notions of licit and illicitness, about what is acceptable and legitimate, and where. The intersection of these two understandings in specific spaces can provide insight

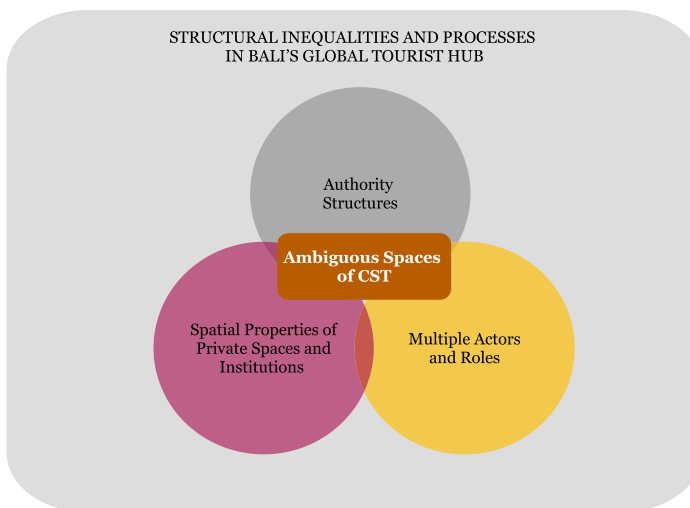


Figure 1. Conceptual model of the ambiguous spaces of CST in Bali.

		POLITICAL AUTHORITY	
		LEGAL	ILLEGAL
SOCIAL AUTHORITY	LICIT	Ideal state	Underworld / Borderland
	ILLICIT	Crony capitalism / Failed state	Anarchy

Figure 2. 'Space of competing authorities' of Abraham and Van Schendel (2005, p. 20).

into the multiple meanings of global and local issues around for instance illegality and trafficking (Ford & Lyons 2011, p. 295). Even though CST is considered an international crime the world over, in particular places, it is tolerated and governed by powerful actors with space-specific social authority. There is a large body of literature on sex work which notes how red-light districts in urban areas are facilitated and policed (Browne & Brown 2016, p. 15).

The interplay between the illegal and the licit is described by Abraham and Van Schendel (2005, p. 20) as inherently productive, facilitated by ambiguous spaces such as borderlands, underworlds or underground spaces. These ambiguous spaces make illegal practices such as CST possible, and sometimes licit, to the actors involved.

The concepts of (il)legal and (il)licit are not absolute and fixed entities, but are bound to time and space while being formed and changed through their symbiotic relationships (Hall 2013; Hudson, 2014; Boland *et al.* 2018; Hudson, 2019; Hudson, 2020). In such spaces, the boundaries between legal and illegal activities easily blur (Boland *et al.* 2018, p. 182). Moreover, the distinction of licitness and illicitness becomes meaningless if political authority is eluded (Hall 2013, p. 373). Hudson (2020, p. 17) refers in this respect to illegal and licit practices as 'spaces of exception' which are specifically created spaces within national boundaries in order to abolish political authority. Such spaces have been controlled through 'social mechanisms ranging from kinship and friendship relations, trust and tolerance to bribery, extortion, physical force and fear and violence' (Hudson 2019, p. 23) often facilitated by state actors who turn a 'blind eye' to illegal practices (Hudson 2020, p. 173).

While CST is legally banned and not tolerated, as the state's legal and moral regulations

decide what is tolerated and permissible, key actors have the power to exclude those who do not tolerate CST practices in private spaces. Kilian (1998) and Hubbard (2001) describe how power relationships in public and private spaces affect social authority and social structures in a spatial and particular way. Kilian (1998, p. 124) argues that every space exists of a duality containing a 'physical space' and a 'socially constructed space'. 'Morality – what is right or wrong in the eyes of the state and its citizens – creates sexual geographies at a variety of spaces' (Hubbard 2001, p. 58–59). In analogy, in CST spaces, the focus lies on invisibility rather than visibility [and on ambiguity which enables illegality]. CST actors, who make use of visibility by expressing moral and legal understandings within the public space – might use this visibility as a tactic in order to keep CST practices invisible in other spaces.

The actors in our conceptual model are understood as the people who are involved in CST, and who enable its persistence, namely, minors, organizers, facilitators, but also tourists, expats and volunteers. Their roles can be ambiguous if on the one hand they execute illegal practices and on the other hand use legitimate roles to cover such practices. In order to perform these roles, the actors execute strategies in specific spaces; of the tourists² who wish to access child sex, of the intermediaries who facilitate interactions between tourists and minors, and of the minors who are caught up in CST.

Ambiguity and space matter in the persistence of CST in Bali's global tourist hub. Ambiguous spaces are defined as twilight zones where licit and illegal understandings cross-sect and permit actors to access, sustain and benefit from illegal practices which would be visible and sanctioned elsewhere. All three dimensions of the ambiguous

space – authority structures, spatial properties and multiple actors and roles – have multiple connotations: Authority structures are ambiguous when licit and illegal understandings of CST practices intertwine; CST takes place in spaces where public legitimacy is used to hide illegal practices; and CST spaces have different meanings to different people from different backgrounds and nationalities and this ambiguity makes permissive practices possible. Lastly, CST actors have multiple roles which create ambiguity about their intentions, actions and legitimacy.

METHODS

This paper draws on data collected by the first author in Bali between August 2019 and December 2019. Data collection involved the triangulation of multiple qualitative and quantitative methods, such as semi-structured interviews, court case and police and NGO report analysis, discourse analysis, participant observation in Bali's entertainment district and participant observation within the police team of Project Karma. Project Karma is a non-profit police organization that combats child sexual exploitation and abuse in Southeast Asia.³ Comparing the data gathered from all of these sources allowed us to cross-check information, rumours and numbers, and identify commonalities and differences.

Based on purposeful sampling and a snowball method to find informants, 14 semi-structured interviews were conducted with NGO workers, social workers, researchers, legal officers, government employees, investigators and police officers. The participants were identified and selected based on their particular knowledge on and/or experience with CST. In order to give a fair representation of different worldviews, variety within the sample (in terms of respondents' age, gender, ethnicity and occupation) was assured.

For the study, two legal documents and 16 NGO reports were analysed using Atlas-Ti. Furthermore, data were collected when the first author joined on-going investigation meetings, as well as through informal conversations with police officers. As the author

signed a document confirming that information about on-going investigations would not be shared, knowledge on on-going CST-related investigations is not part of this paper. Naturalistic observations were conducted in the environment of Kuta's nightlife and entertainment areas, as were informal conversations with tourists, social workers and employees in Bali's tourism industry. These conversations often focused on nightlife, entertainment, criminal activities in the area, street children, spatial aspects of sex work and poverty.

Researching a sensitive topic, such as CST, implies numerous ethical considerations. Research and data collection activities were only carried out after free and prior informed consent was given. All data – such as fieldwork notes, regarding participants and the content analysis – were protected and anonymized. The research was supervised and approved by officers of the Project Karma police team, as well as by the University of Amsterdam.

Minors, child sex tourists and intermediaries were excluded from the study, and it could be argued that we thereby denied these actors agency. The decision to study CST from an ethic perspective is grounded in three ethical considerations focused on researching themes as 'illegal activity', 'child-related issues' and 'sexual abuse'. At first, researching groups which operate in the illegal realm and where violence is influenced by conflict, the lack of trust and territorial inaccessibility causes ethical concerns (Pawelz 2017). Concerns on danger and safety were of major importance for the well-being and security of the respondents, the children and the researcher. We were, however, unable to guarantee safety to all actors, informants and ourselves as a result of their inclusion; therefore, CST actors were excluded from the sample. Second, the inclusion of minors who have experienced rape, for instance, would demand a careful response from the researcher that would cause no further harm or trauma (Leach 2006, p. 1138). Even with a background in trauma therapy, we could not guarantee that there was no risk to re-traumatization considering the short time of fieldwork. The risks outweighed the benefits, and therefore minors were also not actively

part of the study. Lastly, conducting research on a sensitive topic, such as sexual abuse, also presents ethical concerns. It is important to consider cultural interpretations and taboos as well as protection mechanisms. Strong cultural taboos might result in emotional distress among respondents (Dayal *et al.* 2018). Moreover, protection mechanisms are often in place to keep the illegal activities silent (Nooteboom 2011, p. 222). Most studies on illegality fail because informants maintain silent (Aspinall & Klinken 2010, p. 15). This study was structured based on Aspinall and Klinken's (2010, p. 14) insights on studying illegal activities through informal as well as official and available sources. This approach was complemented by understanding the public transcript of legislation concerning CST in order to pick up on rumours and stories about CST. These insights and contacts brought us close to participants who are knowledgeable and able to discuss practices of illegal behaviour.

AMBIGUOUS SPACES AND CST IN BALI

This study identifies four places for child sexual exploitation in Bali: private homes, brothels, spa massage parlours and orphanages. To understand how and why CST occurs and persists in these four spaces, each space is described and analysed in order to examine ambiguity created by the interplay of authority structures, spatial properties and the involved actors and their roles.

Private homes – One of the places in which sexual exploitation of minors is often reported in Bali are private homes (Panko & George 2012; ECPAT 2016; Hoque *et al.* 2020). Private homes have multiple functions, such as recreation, relaxation and as a place to receive visitors. It is also a hidden space where social appearances and norms do not have to be maintained and where illegal behaviour is less visible. The ease of renting private property as a tourist, volunteer or expat in Bali, in combination with the freedom to have your own private space, are contributing factors that help child sex offenders to keep the abuse hidden. The properties of these

spaces, both private and social – embedded in webs of cordial relationships with neighbours, community members, (residential) personnel, housekeeping and the availability of neighbourhood minors who can visit easily without adult supervision – enables private homes to become conducive to CST. Most of the child sex tourists who use private homes to sexually abuse minors act alone (ECPAT 2016). The difficulty of tackling the modus operandi of child sex tourists in private homes is illustrated by a quote from a researcher on child protection:

There were non-profit organizations who shadowed a suspect for a week. When the door is closed nobody in the outside world knows what happens behind that door until the victims speak up. With the result that the suspect is still at large.

The secrecy that can be maintained behind closed doors makes a private home or hotel room more attractive for child sex tourists than child brothels (Atwell 2008, p. 173). Physical spaces, such as private houses, show that the socially constructed space of privacy has the power to exclude public normative and legal authority (Kilian 1998, p. 124).

The case of Robert Ellis, which drew a lot of attention in the international media, illustrates well how private homes can become spaces where CST can occur. Ellis, a 70-year-old Australian man, was arrested and convicted in 2016 for the sexual abuse of several Balinese minors over a period of 2 years (Reuters 2016). He had a private villa in Tabanan, where he invited Balinese minors whom he met at the market and provided them with treats and toys. He paid some of the girls who came to his home between \$20 and \$30 to let him bathe them (Hawley 2016). Stories related to Ellis about underaged sexual abuse circulated in the neighbourhood for a long time, but no action was taken until one of the minors started to talk.

Evidence against Ellis piled up and eventually he was arrested. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison for abusing 11 girls aged between 7 and 17 over a period of 2 years, the highest possible sentence for this type of crime (Reuters 2016).

In this case, family members of the girls were also (unknowingly) involved in the

process – they regularly visited his house and Ellis gave them money and motorcycles – yet they overlooked or neglected signs of sexual abuse and grooming. The authorities stated that the parents did not know about the abuse until Ellis' arrest (Topsfield & Rosa 2016). In Ellis' case, multiple forms of ambiguity exist, regarding the nature and meaning of a private home and using its facilities, friendship, gifts, reciprocity and loyalty.

Upon analysing other reported cases of child abuse by expats, volunteers or child sex tourists in rented villas or private homes in Bali, a pattern emerged. People using private homes often act alone and make use of grooming. They look for and try to come into contact with minors through social relationships connected to home, daily activities or work. Some child sex tourists take a job as a teacher or coach to get in touch with the underaged (ECPAT 2016, p. 34). Others make contact at their private villa, such as when parents bring their children with them when they come to clean or perform other domestic tasks. Usually, the offender gives the minor or his or her family gifts, such as candy or clothes. These gifts often get bigger over time, and a family may eventually receive a motorcycle or the money to build a house. All of these gifts are given under the guise of the tourist helping the minor or his or her family to mitigate poverty (ECPAT 2016, p. 33). In this way, the offender tries to gain the trust of the minor's family and create dependency. In this process, normative understandings, such as privacy, friendship and mutual assistance, become ambiguous.

A child sex offender might also use minors to recruit others. Recent research has shown that this has happened in Buleleng, Karangasem and Denpasar (Hoque *et al.* 2020). The support of intermediaries is also indicated in Robert Ellis' case: two women were involved in bringing the victims to Ellis' villa, and they received push bikes and money in return (Devlin 2016). The women never faced trial because of a lack of evidence.

Brothels – The second place in which sexual exploitation of minors occurs in Bali are brothels. These are often licensed brothels and adult places in which minors can also be

found. In February 2019, a child brothel was discovered in the area of Sanur (Coconuts Bali 2019a), and this case illustrates how (child) brothels operate in Bali, and how adult brothels can also be or become ambiguous spaces that enable CST. The underaged girls were displayed behind glass in the backyard of the brothel (Coconuts Bali 2019b). One of the girls mentioned that she had to work until five in the morning and served eight to ten men each night (*ibid.*).

Identifying a (child) brothel is challenging. Often, the minors never go outside, and there are guards who prevent them from running away (Davidson 2004; ECPAT 2016). Moreover, outside appearances might not reflect the real age and both minors and customers do not wish to talk about age to maintain ambiguity. Ong (2018) has described a new practice concerning child brothels in Batam, where the number of minors within regular brothels has decreased over time through regular surveillance. As a result, the minors are now more commonly sent straight to customers in hotels. This relatively new protection mechanism to keep the minors offsite is harder to trace, and there is a decreased risk for foreigners of drawing attention to themselves in their search for sex with minors. Our research found similar patterns in Bali, with minors being brought to their customers by drivers from the brothel.

Two types of recruitment methods for child brothels were found. The first brings minors to brothels through trafficking syndicates and false job promises (*ibid.*). This was seen in the Sanur case discussed above. A girl who ran away had been recruited in Java under the premise of becoming a waitress. When she arrived in Bali, however, she was immediately put to work in a brothel (Coconuts Bali 2019a). Most of the minors who work in brothels are, furthermore, bound to the work through debt (Klain 1999, p. 32); the girls in the Sanur case, for instance, had to pay back the brothel owner for their plane tickets (Rosidin 2019).

A second recruitment mechanism relies on underaged girls (and sometimes boys) working as freelancers in brothels. The minors try to look older and might fake their identity cards themselves in order to show a higher

age (ECPAT 2016). There were several reasons given why minors might be enticed to engage in sex work: they might come from large, poor families who depend on the support of their children, or they may see how others, especially their peers, are able to live comparatively luxurious lifestyles by engaging in sex work, which arouses their own curiosity (Mekinc & Mušič 2020, p. 117). This is illustrated by one of our NGO respondents:

Poverty makes people make tough choices, and a lot of teens work in brothels by choice. That's a don't-ask-don't-tell situation. They send money home, and the parents don't ask where it came from. In those situations, no one wants to report the traffickers because they are still benefitting from them.

Our study also found evidence for a relatively new pathway to CST that focuses on underaged vocational students from other Indonesian islands doing internships in Bali (Ari 2020; Gandhi 2020; Sutiawati 2020). Enabling factors such as a shortage of money, a lack of schooling and parental supervision, not being on the radar of anti-CST initiatives and social workers, and the lure of a luxury lifestyle all increase these students' vulnerability to become involved in CST.

Brothels that exploit the underaged persist through an assemblage of interdependent relationships between pimps, gangs, hotel owners and staff, security guards, alcohol and drug sellers, among others, all of whom benefit from the persistence of CST. The ambiguity of (child) brothels is concealed in the intertwining of legal and illegal practices, in combination with the blurring of boundaries in terms of the sex workers' age, their consent, as well as their dependency on money and pimps. In addition, a lack of evidence regarding the involvement of intermediaries in CST often means that they cannot be arrested or charged. A police investigator argued that intermediaries, such as taxi and motorcycle drivers, do not easily get caught. Corruption and a lack of understanding of the laws by law enforcement officials, or inadequate laws, increase the difficulty of establishing evidence (Hodgson 1993; Davidson 2004; ECPAT 2011). This is also argued by an NGO member on child protection:

In Bali, only two cases of child trafficking have been successfully prosecuted. One of them resulted in no jail time, only restitution at the cost of a motorcycle. The other, resulted in five-year sentences. That brothel reopened the day after the arrests by a different family member.

The economic benefits of running a brothel might also play a role in its persistence as an ambiguous space. The two suspects in the Sanur case made over \$14,000 a month (Coconuts Bali 2019b). This money was divided between the two owners, the cashier, the security guards and other brothel employees; only \$3.40 a day went to the underaged girls (Rosidin 2019). Several informants mentioned the financial advantages for the many people involved in CST – due to the high demand for sex with minors and the involvement of extended families or gangs. The police do conduct checks, but after receiving money from the brothel the checks generally stop (*ibid.*).

Among the strategies used by the involved actors to enable CST is the hybrid practice of pimps or brothel owners controlling minors by using emotional, sexual and/or physical deprivation and intimidation (Klain 1999, p. 5); a cycle of abuse that serves to establish power and fear. In Bali, these minors are isolated from their family and friends, and pimps may threaten to hurt their family if they do not obey them. These control mechanisms are illustrated by an NGO worker who combats child trafficking:

The girls don't necessarily even want to be rescued. Often, they are drugged. They are full of alcohol. They are brainwashed, vulnerable and full of shame. They think the man who is trafficking them is the one that loves them. It is not only physical and sexual, but also just emotionally.

The ambiguity of CST in licensed brothels is founded on the interplay between illegal and licit understandings of the space and practices. Brothels are often set up out of sight, because these places might interfere with moral (and legal) understandings (Hubbard 2001, pp. 58). Families, people in the neighbourhood or hotel staff might be aware of the brothel's existence, yet the function of the space and practices remain unclear and the financial benefits they receive as well as the fear of criminal networks

and gangs who are involved in the brothel mean they turn a blind eye. The lack of prosecution of intermediaries presents another ambiguity. Due to corruption, a lack of understanding by law enforcement officials, lack of evidence or a mixture of these factors, intermediaries have a low risk of being arrested and prosecuted gaining legitimacy by close relations with police officers. Once a brothel is shut down, often it will simply reopen in another area with the same group of intermediaries.

Spa massage parlours – The third ambiguous space in which sexual exploitation of minors occurs in Bali are spa massage parlours. Under the guise of the legal umbrella of a spa massage parlour, additional sex services are provided to customers (Wiryawan & Bunga 2018). The massages offered in these ‘spa plus’ parlours by underaged therapists – most of whom are female, though there are also some young men (*ibid.*) – are often a euphemism for sexual services (Nicholls & Cheek 2006, p. 2341). Research in Jakarta shows that CST in spa massage parlours concerns mostly girls aged between the 14 and 16 (ECPAT 2016, p. 41), though respondents claimed that the minors in Bali are mostly older, around 16 and 17 years.

Our research revealed two types of recruitment processes: the first involves minors who know that the spa offers additional sexual services, while the second involves minors who are promised a good job in a spa and do not know in advance about the sexual services. In the latter case, the minors only find out once they start the job, at which point they are already in debt with the spa owner (Wiryawan & Bunga 2018, p. 2). Working in Bali’s tourism industry offers prestige and economic benefits (Howe 2006, p. 9). These elements might encourage girls to work in a spa, and might enable the recruitment of young people and the tendency for their parents to allow it. There is a lot of money to be made in the massage business while the sexual services of underaged workers can remain hidden.

Spa massage parlours have more discretion and ambiguity, by virtue of their hidden character and multiple functions, than brothels (Bryant & Palmer 1975, p. 231). The covert form of sex work in spas offers

the opportunity for sex tourists to go in without shame, because they are simply going in for a ‘massage’ (Wiryawan & Bunga 2018, p. 3). Tourists may not even always know beforehand about the sexual services provided and might only find out during the massage. Furthermore, workers in a spa or parlour can proudly tell their family and friends at home that they work in the beauty or tourism industry.

Many salons protect the privacy of their clients by providing massages in closed (bed) rooms. Closed massage rooms or bedroom-like places are ambiguous spaces par excellence, as their functions remain unclear and ambiguous, yet the set-up might raise certain expectations. The lack of clarity of the functions of a spa massage parlour can also be used as a protection mechanism to disguise the true nature of the services. The private rooms of a spa plus and a focus on sensual massage therapy produce ambiguity over purpose and function.

CST actors in spa massage parlours thus make use of public legitimacy while controlling a private space on their own terms (Hubbard 2001). Those involved therefore have multiple roles: the minor works under the guise of being a masseuse, while the pimp hides behind the role of spa owner and the sex tourist acts as a spa client. The owner might pretend not to know about the sexual services being offered. If the massage therapy session occurs in a closed room, there is no supervision or witness, which might give the owner a free pass to not know. Furthermore, the age of the therapist remains often unclear. This is a common issue in Bali, where young girls often do internships at spa massage parlours and beauty salons. It is a common practice for girls working in these jobs to have fake identities with falsified ages (ECPAT 2016, p. 43). The roles between workers and employers are also ambiguous. The minors’ boss might also act as a caregiver. In addition, law enforcers and government officials, taxi drivers, bodyguards, recruiters and people in the surrounding neighbourhood, all of whom benefit from the industry, enable this ambiguous space to persist.

Orphanages – The last and most complicated place in which sexual exploitation with

minors occurs in Bali are orphanages. Orphanages were regularly mentioned as places where expat or tourist volunteers abuse minors sexually. So far, only one case of sexual assault within an orphanage in Bali has been discovered in the Buleleng district (Indonesia Expat 2019), but many more stories circulate. The court case involved an orphanage director sexually assaulting the minors in his care (Dagur 2019). To control his victims, the orphanage director threatened to throw them out on the streets if they spoke out about the abuse (Dagur 2019; Indonesia Expat 2019).

While there are documented cases where foreigners have established their own orphanage with the aim of sexually abusing minors (Moerenhout 2013; ECPAT 2016), a more common pattern among child sex tourists is to take on the role of benefactor. This type of perpetrator acts with relatively invisibility. The person volunteers as a staff member to support the minors in the organization, which allows time and opportunity for sexually abuse to occur (Koning & Rijksen-Van Dijke 2017, p. 25). Volunteering is often accompanied by a financial contribution to the orphanage. The orphanage directors might be aware of rumours or the risk of abuse, yet they may turn a blind eye in order to maintain the flow of donations. (Financial) contributions from a foreign donor might also result in a lack of supervision or the waiving of background checks; the organization might simply be grateful for – and in need of – the donations, and will therefore ignore the usual protocols (Koning & Rijksen-Van Dijke 2017, p. 25). Perpetrators can use this enabling environment to enter the orphanage with little oversight and relative anonymity (Moerenhout 2013).

In general, the spatial ambiguities in orphanages raises concerns over the extent to which the minors therein are protected from exploitation. The blurring of friendship, care, aid and volunteering in these spaces creates ambiguity in relationships, maintains inequality and provides a potentially dangerous mix in which abuse can develop and persist. Orphanages depend heavily on donations, often made by foreigners. In most studies, over the last years (UNICEF 2014;

ECPAT 2016; Rotabi *et al.* 2017; Cheer *et al.* 2019), it has been argued that minors in orphanages are seen by the owners as a source of income. The fusion of charity, care, volunteering and profit-seeking creates further ambiguity which might enable exploitation. A quote from a researcher on child protection illustrates concerns:

Donors took their sponsor child to the zoo or something like that, it was all possible. Without staff supervision, who could check that a child was not sexually abused.

In some of the Balinese orphanages, these donors are allowed to take the children on unaccompanied trips or overnight in a hotel (ECPAT 2016, p. 48; Knaus & Lamb 2018). ECPAT (2016) state that the Bali Regional Police investigated these occurrences but did not find strong evidence of sexual abuse. Nevertheless, taking children overnight to a hotel without supervision increases the risk of sexual exploitation.

In short, cases of CST in orphanages show that the characteristics of this space hide behind publicly accepted forms of the building and daily non-suspicious activities while also excluding public normative legal frameworks.

ANALYSING AMBIGUOUS SPACES

The research findings demonstrate that the persistence of CST in Bali thrives on the multiple forms of ambiguity in the different risk spaces, which are further enhanced by practices and opportunities of border-crossing; not only physical borders, but also legal, cultural and normative ones. All four spaces – private homes, brothels, spa massage parlours and orphanages – are characterized by ambiguity in terms of having multiple functions and meanings. The sources of ambiguity reside in the existence of multiple understandings of functional spaces that are concealed in the association between licit and illegal practices and appearances simultaneously.

Most CST practices take place within recreational spaces which are characterized by a set of informal norms and values that often contradict the official regulations. This vagueness within a space allows people to make use of multiple interpretations of reality.

For example, to outsiders, a spa massage parlour might appear to be a legitimate therapeutic business, yet other actors who tolerate and justify sexual practices by minors within the spa interpret the space differently. Under such social-spatial conditions, as Abraham and Van Schendel (2005) asserted, illegal and licit practices can coexist as competing authorities. Unequal power formations result in spatial regulatory regimes in which CST is legitimized by its actors. CST persists through an assemblage of interdependent relationships and blurred roles between multiple actors who all benefit from the persistence of CST and who execute multiple strategies to make use of the ambiguity of each space. This places the minors, their family members, facilitators or other intermediaries, and the foreigner in unequal positions (Davidson 2004). The minor might even feel a sense of duty to support family members financially, while shame may also play a role in remaining silent about abuse.

CST is enabled in the particular ways space is used and controlled. The analysis of the four CST spaces demonstrate two important factors in the persistence of CST and CST spaces. First, while CST is legally and morally banned by the State and its citizens in public spaces, private spaces offer the opportunity for CST actors to control the space on their own terms by excluding the ones that threaten CST, while giving access to those who do not (Hubbard 2001, pp. 66). Privacy can serve as a mechanism to realize tolerance (Kilian 1998; Hubbard 2001). This results in an alternate order, where the social authority of the ambiguous space rules out the authority of the public space. Second, building on Hudson's studies (2014, 2020) on how criminal organizations make use of the blurring line between legal and illegal, CST actors make use of legal businesses and actions in order to be able to persist CST practices with the result that 'illegal sanctions the legal' (Hudson 2014, p. 778). In this way, CST becomes a licit aspect of how an ambiguous space can be used and controlled through a mixture of legal and illegal practices (Hudson 2020, p. 171).

The foregoing analysis of the multiple sources of ambiguity underlines our point that space matters in understanding the persistence

of CST. In turn, actors make use of multiple strategies to exploit the ambiguity of the space. In Bali, CST is embedded in these ambiguous spaces, via an assemblage of interdependent relationships and blurred roles between multiple actors all of whom benefit from the persistence of CST. The social authority of the ambiguous space is grounded in an on-going system of social relations that produces a mechanism of shared social and cultural proximity (Rutten & Boekema 2007, p. 1839). As a result, ambiguous spaces that enable CST to persist have the potential to change and adapt to new circumstances under increased law enforcement or policing.

CONCLUSION

This paper presents two important findings which are pivotal for the fight against CST. First, the persistence of CST is enabled by the paradoxical coexistence of licit and illegal practices within ambiguous spaces. A spatial approach provides the opportunity to identify risk spaces and eradicate unequal relationships, the (il)licitness of actors' actions, and the (financial) benefits of all actors involved. Second, we should look beyond market metaphors, since CST cannot be explained solely in terms of demand and supply. Such an approach denies minors agency and treats them as commodities, and also excludes minors who engage in the sex industry (partly) by choice, with the consequence that this group goes unaddressed in eradication initiatives.

Although CST is per definition an international phenomenon, locality does matter. Despite the fact that the practice of CST is morally and legally unacceptable in Balinese society, people might become (un)knowingly and (un)willingly part of its persistence for economic reasons, or simply when trying to do good through the establishment of schools or orphanages. It is important to keep in mind that CST is embedded in a constantly changing environment and that every action produces an outcome and has the potential to change the existing properties of ambiguous spaces. Focusing on the sociospatial properties of ambiguous spaces in which CST takes place addresses the problem at its core. NGOs, governments, investigation

units, private companies and researchers might benefit from this insight by focusing their initiatives and studies more on the spatial properties of social authority, legitimation and interdependencies in the multiple ambiguous spaces where CST takes place.

Endnotes

¹Here, ambiguity is created by multiple and overlapping forms of legislation concerning age. “Some violations of the human rights of children in Indonesia [are] related to the unclear limitation of the age of children” (Hermanto & Yusa 2018, p. 61). Due to a lack of clarity on the age of sexual consent, local and cultural understandings of reaching maturity, and the minimum age for minors to be allowed to work influence whether the minor is protected by the child protection laws which is accompanied by the risk of a child sex tourist to take advantage of legal frameworks in Bali (Chemin & Mbiekop 2015). For Indonesian citizens, the age of sexual consent is 15 (ECPAT 2011, p. 3). Child sex tourists, however, may come from jurisdictions where the age of sexual consent is 16 or 18.

²In this paper, the notion of child sex tourists also includes volunteers and expats.

³More information on Project Karma can be found on www.projectkarma.org.au.

REFERENCES

- ABRAHAM, I. & W. VAN SCHENDEL (2005), Introduction: The Making of Illicitness. In: I. Abraham & W. Van Schendel, (eds.), *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders and the Other Side of Globalization*, pp. 1–37. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- ARI (2020), Siswi PKL di Sektor Pariwisata, Potensial Jadi Korban Eksploitasi Sex. *Bali Citizen*. Available at <<https://balicitizen.com/siswi-pkl-di-sektor-pariwisata-potensial-jadi-korban-eksploitasi-sex/>>. Accessed on 18 January 2020.
- ASPINALL, E. & G. VAN KLINKEN (2010), *The State of Illegality in Indonesia*, Leiden: Brill.
- ATWELL, M. (2008), Combating American Child Sex Tourism in Cambodia under the 2003 US Protect Act. *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 26, pp. 163–187.
- BAILEY, A., I. HUTTER & P.P. HUIGEN (2011), The Spatial-Cultural Configuration of Sex Work in Goa India. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 102, pp. 162–175.
- BOLAND, P., L. FOX-ROGERS, S. MCKAY & B. MURTAGH (2018), Illegal Geographies and Spatial Planning: Developing a Dialogue on Drugs. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8(2), pp. 177–203.
- BROWNE, K. & G. BROWN (2016), An Introduction to the Geographies of Sex and Sexualities. In: K. Browne & G. Brown, (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities*, pp. 1–12. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- BRYANT, C.D. & C.E. PALMER (1975), Massage Parlors and “Hand Whores”. Some Sociological Observations. *Journal of Sex Research* 11, pp. 227–241.
- CHEER, J.M., L. MATHEWS, K.E. VAN DOORE & K. FLANAGAN (2019), *Modern Day Slavery and Orphanage Tourism*, Oxfordshire: Centre for Agriculture and Bioscience International.
- CHEMIN, M. & F. MBIEKOP (2015), Addressing Child Sex Tourism: The Indian Case. *European Journal of Political Economy* 38, pp. 169–180.
- COCONUTS BALI (2019a), Bali Police Raid reveals Child Prostitution Syndicate Sanur. *Coconuts Bali*. Available at <<https://coconuts.co/bali/news/bali-police-raid-reveals-child-prostitution-syndicate-sanur/>>. Accessed on 10 April 2020.
- COCONUTS BALI (2019b), Bali Backyard Brothel Madams Behind Child Prostitution Syndicate Earned Monthly Incomes Excess IDR 200 Million. *Coconuts Bali*. Available at <<https://coconuts.co/bali/news/bali-backyard-brothel-madams-behind-child-prostitution-syndicate-earned-monthly-incomes-excess-idr200-million/>>. Accessed on 10 April 2020.
- DAGUR, R. (2019), Protestant Pastor in Bali accused of Child Sex Abuse. *Union of Catholic Asian News*. Available at <<https://www.ucanews.com/news/protestant-pastor-in-bali-accused-of-child-sex-abuse/86309>>. Accessed on 15 March 2020.
- DAVIDSON, J.O.C. (2004), Child Sex Tourism: An Anomalous Form of Movement? *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 12, pp. 31–46.
- DAVY, D. (2017), Regional Overview: Sexual Exploitation of Children in Southeast Asia. *ECPAT*, pp. 1–112. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Regional-Overview_Southeast-Asia.pdf>. Accessed on 18 November 2021.
- DAYAL, R., S.K. AMEETA, V. CHOUDHRY, D. PILLAI, K. BEIER & V. PATEL (2018), Ethical and Definitional Considerations in Research on Child Sexual

- Violence in India. *BMC Public Health* 18(1), pp. 1144–1157.
- DEVLIN, P. (2016), Australian Man, 69, accused of molesting at least 11 Underage Balinese Girls, paid them \$30 to let him Bath them. *Mail Online*. Available at <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3668107/Australian-man-Robert-Ellis-paid-Balinese-girls-30-let-bathe-bought-gifts.html>>. Accessed on 22 April 2020.
- ECPAT (2011), Questions & Answers about the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: An Information Booklet by ECPAT International. *ECPAT*. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/04/faq_eng_2008.pdf>. Accessed on 1 May 2019.
- ECPAT (2016), Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism: Country-Specific Report, Indonesia. *ECPAT*, pp. 1–62. Available at <<http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/docpdf/global-report-offenders-move-final.pdf>>. Accessed on 19 May 2019.
- FORD, M. & L. LYONS (2011), Narratives of Agency: Sex Work in Indonesia's Borderlands. In: K.M. Adams & K.A. Gillogly, (eds.), *Everyday Life in Southeast Asia*, pp. 295–303. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- GANDHI, W.M. (2020), Kisah Miris di Balik Pariwisata: Siswi PKL Terjebak Sex Tourism. *Surabaya Online*. Available at <<https://surabayaonline.co/2020/01/21/kisah-miris-di-balik-pariwisata-siswi-pkl-terjebak-sex-tourism/>>. Accessed on 20 May 2020.
- HALL, T. (2013), Geographies of the Illicit: Globalization and Organized Crime. *Progress in Human Geography* 37(3), pp. 366–385.
- HAWLEY, S. (2016), Australian Man Robert Ellis Insists on Innocence Ahead of Bali Child Sex Abuse Sentencing. *ABC News*. Available at <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-10-18/australian-man-insists-on-innocence-ahead-of-bali-trial/7944626>>. Accessed on 22 April 2020.
- HERMANTO, B. & I.G. YUSA (2018), Children Rights and the Age Limit: The Ruling of the Indonesian Constitutional Court. *Jurnal Kertha Patrika* 40, pp. 61–70.
- HODGSON, D. (1993), Sex Tourism and Child Prostitution in Asia: Legal Responses and Strategies. *Melbourne University Law Review* 19, p. 512.
- HOQUE, A., M.W. HASANAT, I. ARIF & A.B.A. HAMID (2020), Sex Tourism in Digital Age, a Dark Side of Paradise, Bali Indonesia. *Global Journal of Management and Business Research* 20(1), pp. 8–11.
- HOWE, L. (2006), *The Changing World of Bali: Religion, Society and Tourism*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- HUBBARD, P. (2001), Sex Zones: Intimacy, Citizenship and Public Space. *Sexualities* 4(1), pp. 51–71.
- HUDSON, R. (2014), Thinking Through the Relationships Between Legal and Illegal Activities and Economies: Spaces, Flows and Pathways. *Journal of Economic Geography* 14, pp. 775–795.
- HUDSON, R. (2019), Economic Geographies of the (Il)legal and the (Il)licit. In: T. Hall & V. Scaliapp, (eds.), *A Research Agenda for Global Crime*, pp. 11–27. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- HUDSON, R. (2020), The Illegal, the Illicit and New Geographies of Uneven Development. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8(2), pp. 161–176.
- HURST, T.E. (2015), Internalized Racism and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC). *Race, Gender & Class* 22, pp. 90–101.
- INDONESIA EXPAT (2019), Bali Orphanage Director Found Sexually Abusing Kids for Years. *Indonesia Expat*. Available at <<https://indonesiaexpat.biz/featured/bali-orphanage-director-found-sexually-abusing-kids-for-years/>>. Accessed on 15 May 2020.
- JHAPPAN, R. (2005), Of Tsunamis and Child Sexual Exploitation: The Political Economy of Supply and Demand in the Sex Tourism and Trafficking Trades. *Asian Women* 20, pp. 137–174.
- KILIAN, T. (1998), Public and Private, Power and Space. In: A. Light & J.M. Smith, (eds.), *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, pp. 115–134. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- KLAIN, E.J. (1999), Prostitution of Children and Child Sex Tourism: Analysis of Domestic and International Responses. *National Center for Missing & Exploited Children*, pp. 1–109. Available at <<http://www.uvm.edu/rsenr/rm230/sex%20tourism%20report.pdf>>. Accessed on 2 May 2019.
- KUYUCU, T. (2014), Law, Property and Ambiguity: The Uses and Abuses of Legal Ambiguity in Remaking Istanbul's Informal Settlements. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, pp. 609–627.
- KNAUS, C. & K. LAMB (2018), 'Most of the Children Still Have Parents': Behind the Facade of a Bali Orphanage. *The Guardian*. Available at <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/05/most-children-still-have-parents-bali-orphanage>>. Accessed on 12 November 2021.
- KONING, A. & L. RIJKSEN-VAN DIJKE (2017), Child Sex Tourists: A Review of the Literature on the Characteristics, Motives, and Methods of (Dutch)

- Transnational Child Sex Offenders [English translation]. *Research Report: Police and Science Research Programme*. Universiteit Leiden.
- KOSURI, M.D. & E.L. JEGLIC (2017), Child Sex Tourism: American Perceptions of Foreign Victims. *Journal of Sexual Aggression* 23(2), pp. 207–221.
- LEACH, F. (2006), Researching Gender Violence in Schools: Methodological and Ethical Considerations. *World Development* 34(6), pp. 1129–1147.
- MEKINC, J. & K. MUŠIČ (2020), 8. Child Sex Tourism—Trend or a Permanent Fact of Global Tourism? In: L. Novacká & G. Ivanković, (eds.), *Tourism & Hospitality*, pp. 117–131. Zeleneč: Profess Consulting s.r.o.
- MOERENHOUT, L. (2013), *Kinderseksstoerisme*, Zoetermeer: Dienst Landelijke Informatie-organisatie, Landelijke Eenheid Nationale Politie.
- NAIM, M. (2003), The Five Wars of Globalization. *Foreign Policy* 134, pp. 28–37.
- NEWMAN, W.J., B.W. HOLT, J.S. RABUN, G. PHILLIPS & C.L. SCOTT (2011), Child Sex Tourism: Extending the Borders of Sexual Offender Legislation. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 34, pp. 116–121.
- NICHOLLS, D.A. & J. CHEEK (2006), Physiotherapy and the Shadow of Prostitution: The Society of Trained Masseuses and the Massage Scandals of 1894. *Social Science & Medicine* 62(9), pp. 2336–2348.
- NOOTEBOOM, G. (2011), Out of Wedlock: Migrant-Police Partnerships in East Kalimantan. In: E. Aspinall & G. Van Klinken, (eds.), *The State of Illegality in Indonesia*, pp. 217–238. Leiden: Brill.
- NOOTEBOOM, G. (2015), Living Dangerously: ‘Oplosan’, Gambling and Competition as Everyday Risk-Taking in Java and East Kalimantan Indonesia. *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 24, pp. 523–538.
- ONG, J. (2018), Batam Child Sex Prostitutes Exploitation Abuse Singapore. *Channel News Asia*. Available at <<https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/batam-child-sex-prostitutes-exploitation-abuse-singapore-10244372>>. Accessed on 14 April 2020.
- PANKO, T.R. & B.P. GEORGE (2012), Child Sex Tourism: Exploring the Issues. *Criminal Justice Studies* 25, pp. 67–81.
- PAWELZ, J. (2017), Researching Gangs: How to Reach Hard-to-Reach Populations and Negotiate Tricky Issues in the Field. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 19(1), pp. 1–24.
- PROJECT KARMA (2019), *Homepage*. Available at <www.projectkamera.org.au>. Accessed on 20 April 2019.
- REUTERS (2016), Australian Robert Ellis Jailed for 15 Years for Child Sexual Abuse in Bali. *The Guardian*. Available at <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/australian-robert-ellis-jailed-for-15-years-for-child-sexual-abuse-in-bali>>. Accessed on 22 April 2020.
- ROSIDIN, I. (2019), Kronologi Prostitusi Anak di Sanur. *IDN Times Bali*. Available at <<https://bali.idntimes.com/news/bali/imamrosidin/kronologi-prostitusi-anak-di-sanur/full>>. Accessed on 22 March 2020.
- ROTABI, K.S., J.L. ROBY & K.M. BUNKERS (2017), Altruistic Exploitation: Orphan Tourism and Global Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work* 47, pp. 648–665.
- RUTTEN, R. & F. BOEKEMA (2007), Regional Social Capital: Embeddedness, Innovation Networks and Regional Economic Development. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 74, pp. 1834–1846.
- SHAH, S.P. (2014), *Street Corner Secrets*, Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- SOFIAN, A. (2014), Legal Aspects of Child Sex Tourism in Southeast Asian Countries. In: M.G. Faure, N.K.S. Dharmawan & I.M.B. Arsika, (eds.), *Sustainable Tourism and Law*, pp. 151–167. The Hague: Eleven International Publishing.
- SUTIAWATI, H. (2020), PKL di Sektor Pariwisata, Potensial Jadi Korban Eksploitasi Sex. *Metro Bali*. Available at <<http://metro.bali.com/pkl-di-sektor-pariwisata-potensial-jadi-korban-eksploitasi-sex/>>. Accessed on 20 May 2020.
- SUWARNATHA, N.N. (2016), The Model of Countermeasures Criminal Offenses Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. *International Journal of Business, Economics and Law* 11, pp. 70–75.
- TANIELIAN, A.R. (2013), Illicit Supply and Demand: Child Sex Exploitation in South East Asia. *National Taiwan University Law Review* 8, pp. 97–132.
- TOPSFIELD, J. & A. ROSA (2016), Accused Australian Paedophile Robert Ellis Says He Doesn’t Deserve Jail. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Available at <<https://www.smh.com.au/world/accused-australian-paedophile-robert-ellis-says-he-doesnt-deserve-jail-20161018-gs59yd.html>>. Accessed on 22 April 2020.

- UNICEF (1989), *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Available at <<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/bitstream/handle/1813/98856/crc.pdf?sequence=1>>. Accessed on 5 April 2019.
- UNICEF (2014), Factsheet About Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking of Children. Available at <http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/id/Factsheet_CSEC_trafficking_Indonesia_Bahasa_Indonesia.pdf>. Accessed on 10 April 2020.
- WILLIAMS, E.L. (2013), *Sex Tourism in Bahia: Ambiguous Entanglements*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- WILLIAMS, S., L. LYONS & F. FORD (2008), It's About Bang for Your Buck, Bro: Singaporean Men's Online Conversations About Sex in Batam, Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review* 32, pp. 77–97.
- WIRYAWAN, I.W.G. & D. BUNGA (2018), Sex Massage Therapy at Spa: A New Form of Prostitution. *SHS Web of Conferences* 54, pp. 1–5.