

# The Sweetie Campaign

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Public will campaigns and discourses in the media

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## **Abstract**

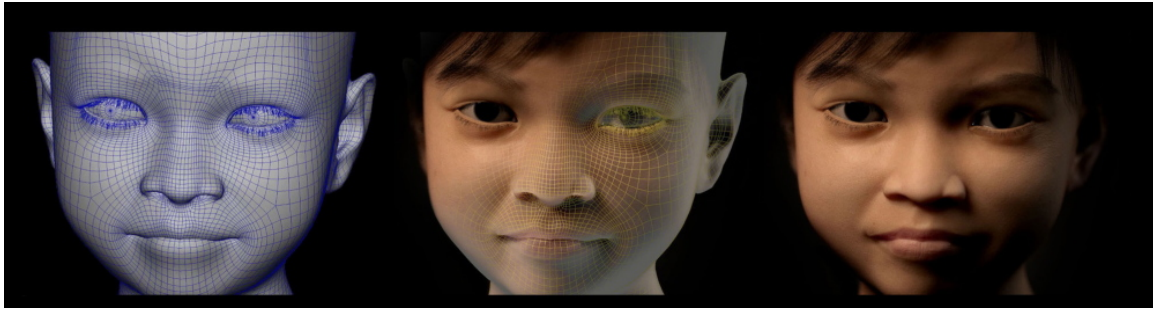
This Master's thesis offers an insight on the media representation of the Sweetie campaign by the non-governmental organization Terre des Hommes. The Sweetie campaign aims to generate awareness on the growing issue of web-cam sex tourism (WCST), advocating for changes in policies in order to fight this problem in the Philippines. The thesis examines how the message of the campaign has been represented in British and Australian media by uncovering the frames used by the media. Moreover, the thesis explores the media discourse of WCST and how this discourse shapes its changing definition. Employing a qualitative content analysis, the study explores the frames used in news reports that concern the Sweetie campaign. The results indicate four emerging frames. The most employed frame was the positive frame, followed by the negative frame, the responsibility frame and the collective frame. Additionally, the findings were discussed on the levels of social change and policy change. Finally, as the aim of the thesis is to reveal the frames used by the media, the findings contribute to the field of framing analysis in media studies, with special attention given to public will campaigns.

**Key words:** Media, NGO campaign, social change, policy change, framing analysis, discourse analysis

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Sweetie, the digitally created 10 year old Filipina girl  
Retrieved from: [www.pressherald.com](http://www.pressherald.com)

## Chapter 1: Introduction

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### 1.1 Sweetie

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 2014, 38 year-old Scott Robert Hansen from Brisbane, Australia was arrested and sentenced to 2 years in prison (“Australian man convicted”, 2014). Hansen was charged with having indecent communication on the internet with a child from the Philippines that was under the age of 16, a child named Sweetie that was the fictitious creation of the Sweetie campaign. This campaign was launched in October 2014 as a global public relations (PR) campaign against web-cam child sex tourism (WCST). The campaign led to impressive results, identifying online over 1,000 male predators in 71 different countries seeking to communicate and abuse under-aged girls (“Case study: Sweetie”, n.d.).

The Sweetie campaign was created by the Dutch non-governmental organization (NGO) Terre des Hommes that is one of the ten national organizations of the International Federation, which has worked for the rights of children since 1960 ([www.terredeshommes.org](http://www.terredeshommes.org)). The aim of the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes is to pressure governments into changing and improving their policies and strategies for dealing with the issue of web-cam sex tourism. Its main message is the implementation of proactive techniques by law enforcement when it comes to investigating online child sexual exploitation (“Terre des Hommes, stops child exploitation”, 2014).

Essentially, the project is a digitally-generated Filipina girl named Sweetie who interacts online with sexual predators on international chat sites, for a period of ten weeks. Through such conversations with men online, the Terre des Hommes team collected information on the identities of over 1,000 men, utilizing public sources like

Google and others (“Case study: Sweetie”, n.d.). These results were made public after the ten-week period.

## **1.2 Public will campaign and social change**

The goal of the Sweetie campaign is social change, which, as defined by Servaes and Lie (2013), is a significant structural action that is taken to improve a situation in a given society, group or country. This is done directly by making the identities of the sex offenders known to law enforcement. However, its broader aim is to generate awareness on the issue of child prostitution in the Philippines, which is done by being conducted as a public will campaign. As defined by Atkin & Rice (2012), public will campaigns are those that aim to gain support from the public by offering information on and a solution to the problem the campaign is fighting for. More than simply providing incriminating evidence on sex offenders to get them to stop, which represents individual-level change, it also aims at structural, societal-level change by bringing the issue to the forefront of peoples’ minds in a proactive way.

## **1.2 Power of the media**

By successfully using a public will campaign as a communicative tool, the Sweetie campaign was able to reach mainstream media. This resulted in the campaign receiving a considerable amount of coverage from big news sources in multiple countries. In the United Kingdom, the BBC reported on it and even tweeted to congratulate Terre des Hommes on their campaign (@BBCWorld, [www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com)). This is significant because the effectiveness of the Sweetie campaign in pushing for social change depends not only on capacity of Terres des Hommes, but also on the media and its influence on the public’s perception.

As explored by Schuck and de Vreese (2006), the media has a significant impact on the way messages and information are understood and as such play a strong role in shaping society’s views. The third actor affecting the effectiveness of campaigns, besides Terre des Hommes and the media, is the audience, which processes and derives meaning out of the media’s messages (Scheufele, 1997). This paper, however, focuses solely on role of the media, which has had an extensive role in the Sweetie campaign, specifically with the way it has framed the message of Terre des Hommes.

“Framing” can best be understood as a lens through which a particular topic is viewed. The framing of the issue affects its “popularity”, playing an important role in the shaping of outcomes in policymaking (Nisbet & Huges, 2006). According to Tucker (2009) media framing is the process in which key words, phrases, images and themes highlight and promote specific facts or specific views and interpretations. Tucker employs critical theory to analyse how media frames work to produce social power by constructing what people believe in, influencing how much they support or whether they decide to participate in social change. Thus, after the difficult process of attracting media attention, there is still no guarantee that a campaign’s message will be received the way it was meant to be, due to media framing. This process, however, is not a random one, but employed as a powerful discursive strategy, which influences how an issue like WCST is communicated to society.

The social and scientific relevance of the study is that currently, few studies have looked at the influence of the media on public will campaigns, with most work being done on campaigns generating individual-level change, such as campaigns to stop smoking. However, public will campaigns arguably require more support from the media, as they are aimed at convincing people that change needs to take place structurally in society at large. They are thus of particular interest in studies concerning the role of the media. Additionally, even though there is a considerable amount of research on framing and the role of the media, the present study aims at looking at frames that are of particular interest for public will campaigns. This is a context in framing research that has not previously been explored in-depth, thus complementing previous framing research.

### **1.3 Research question and sub-questions**

This paper will focus on how the media has framed the message of the Sweetie campaign. A secondary focus is on whether or not the media is participating in the process of social change, done by raising awareness and framing the message in a way that either strengthens or weakens the chances of the campaign generating social change. The aim is to examine the framing of the Sweetie campaign, as well as the media discourse around WCST, highlighting and exploring the power of the media in relation to the challenges of social change campaigns.

Taking the above into consideration this has led to the following research question and supporting sub-questions:

**Research question:** How have the media framed the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes?

**Sub-question (1):** How has Terre des Homes framed their press release?

**Sub-question (2):** How was WCST portrayed in the media discourse?

**Sub-question (3):** How was the message of the proactive policy mentioned?

The first sub-question gives a baseline to the analysis of media frame, while the second sub-question looks at the way WCST is portrayed in each article to get a better understanding of what information the media delivers to the public. Finally, the third sub-question explores how the message of the proactive policy was mentioned.



## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework**

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The aim of the thesis is to investigate what frames were used in the media of the United Kingdom and Australia when it comes to a public will campaign such as the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes. As the central topics of the research are child abuse through social change, policy and the media, it is essential to define these concepts and the relation between each of them. In this chapter each of the terms are discussed by focusing on why studying framing is essential to understanding the role the media has towards social change. Starting with a brief history of child abuse, this is then followed by a review of social change, NGO's and policies to highlight the importance of the media. Lastly, the different media theories that can affect the success of a campaign are explored, mainly focusing on framing theory, as it is the one used for the purpose of the research.

### **2.1 Child abuse**

#### **2.1.1 What is child abuse?**

Child abuse is the intentional maltreatment of a child that is harmful or a threat of harm to his well-being (Wissow, 1995). The very definition of child abuse is important as the way it is defined will shape how others perceive it and will affect how cases are treated (Cicchetti & Carlson, 1989). Nelson (1984) explains that this has been known to be a major dilemma with child abuse as the definition has been reworked and adjusted over the past 150 years. Society has always been aware of children being abused yet no laws were created until the 1970's in most Western countries, it is only then that society saw child abuse as a societal problem that needed fixing that laws were created to protect children (Nelson, 1984). To understand this process a brief history of child abuse is given next.

#### **2.1.2 Initial definition: a medical point of view**

The definition of child abuse has changed from a narrow to a broader one, as it became recognised as social problem. Child abuse used to refer to just the act of physically harming a child. Back in 1970, child abuse was mainly a medical term meaning that the abuse had to be visible as a health problem. Giovannoni and Becerra (1979) state that child abuse was defined as “skin bruising, malnutrition, burns” (p.7).

This narrow definition stuck for a long time as medical practitioners were considered to be part of society's elite and thus their definition was not to be challenged. This focus on the medical side prevented society from viewing child abuse as a social problem (Nelson, 1984).

### **2.1.3 What did it take for child abuse to become a social problem?**

Nelson (1984) discusses the first reported case that started the first child protection society was formed in 1874 in response to the Mary Ellen Wilson case. Mary Ellen Wilson was an illegitimate abused child and her neighbour reported the abuses to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, arguing that as the child was part of the *animal kingdom* she too should receive protection. The case went to court and flooded the media for months, getting people's attention and giving them the knowledge that child abuse was a problem that needed to be dealt with. While the problem of child abuse was brought to the public, the understanding of the definition was still emphasized on the physical harm, but the idea of safe and protected childhood started, which provided the necessary cultural values for child abuse to be considered as a societal problem.

It is in 1984 that Finkelhor with his definition of child abuse started the idea of the "noncontact" incidents, meaning that the child does not have to be physically harmed in order to be considered to be abused (Wyatt & Peters, 1986). This broadened the definition of child abuse to include non physically visible harm such as psychological harm. This broadening of the definition moved child abuse from a medical term that should be treated by doctors to a societal problem that required social intervention and social policy, in other words social change (Cicchetti & Carlson, 1989). The definition and understanding of child abuse continued to develop over the years through researchers to develop our current understanding of child abuse as a social problem, as defined by the United Nations of Human Rights "the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development" (Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, May 25, 2000).

#### **2.1.4 Why do we need to keep broadening our understanding of child abuse?**

Despite the efforts to promote a broad and uniform definition of child abuse new forms of child abuse have emerged creating a need for new ways to tackle the problem. Human trafficking and child prostitutions are still prevalent and with the Internet sexual abuses are facilitated. The online version of child abuse is a relatively new phenomenon and is known under many terms: Child webcam tourism, internet-sex-trafficking or cyber-sex-trafficking, (Rodas, 2014) all these terms stand for the same definition of web-cam sex tourism (WCST) that Terre Des Hommes uses. WCST is a trade between an adult and a child where the child performs sexual acts in return of payment. As explained in the report by Terre Des Hommes, there are psychological consequences to WCST: the children are likely to lose trust in adults, have low self-esteem and have a sense of powerlessness (Report: Terre des Hommes, 2014, p.29). There is no question that it is harmful to their wellbeing and is part of child abuse as a societal problem which requires social change.

### **2.2 Social change**

#### **2.2.1 What is social change?**

Social change is the movement of the values, institutions, or behaviours of society from one state to another. According to Harper and Leicht (2002), this change manifests as significant events, social trends, and “changing institutional settings for everyday life”, in response to external occurrences, like conflict, or because of natural trends, like population growth. The concept of social change is important because the desire for it reflects the discontent of one or more groups in society and their efforts to find a better balance. Social change is a dynamic process that requires active agents, which can essentially be any person, nation, company or organisations in society that influences society through its actions (Schneider, Oppegaard, Zollo, & Huy, 2004; Shove, 2010). Social change is thus a continuous effort to find a more harmonious equilibrium for all in society, the process of which can be passive, as with broad social trends, or proactive, when agents in society take action to enact change. The latter will be the focus of this thesis, looking at Terre Des Hommes’ campaign to tackle WCST.

Such proactive process only happens when the issue is considered serious enough by a large population or its official representation. This is followed by

purposive actions taken by individuals or groups in society to realize social change (Coleman, 1986). According to Ryder (1965), this change can take the form of individual- or societal-level social change, where the former involves initiatives to promote widespread behavioural change within individuals, such as stopping smoking. Societal level social change on the other hand, concerns structural problems with society, such as WCST, which require various collective actions to be tackled.

### **2.2.2 NGO and social change**

Fisher (1997) argues that non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as Terre Des Hommes, are leaders in advocating for social change. He argues that their successes stem from the fact that there are now numerous ways for NGOs to communicate their messages; taking advantage of the rise of the internet and social media, NGOs now have a larger selection of media with which to capture the attention of their audience. However, regardless of the growth of such communication techniques NGOs still face many challenges to gain the support they need to turn awareness into social change, but by partnering with governments can improve their odds (Banet, Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012).

Research by Pallavi (2005) on partnerships between NGOs and governments show that such collaborations, firstly, increase the legitimacy of the NGO's message as it is endorsed by the central authority. Secondly, they bring positive results through the sharing of expertise and information. In her study she looks at two case studies of Indian NGOs that, as a result of working with the government, were better able to have the resources to implement the policy changes needed for improved child rights. Brinkenhoff (2002) defines these types of partnerships as symbiotic, with multiple organisations working together and using each other's resources to achieve a shared goal. This type of partnership is what Terre des Homme aims for in their Sweetie campaign, providing all of the results of its investigation to the police. In a 2014 report, it states, "We hereby offer our help and expertise to all governments and law enforcement agencies that are willing to proactively find and identify online predators that pay money in exchange for sexual acts via webcam" (Report: Terre des Hommes, 2014, p.7). Terre des Hommes does not directly collaborate with the government but as mentioned in the interview conducted with them, the government is now "aware of their work, and is expecting to receive the information collected through their operation" (Interview: Terre des Hommes, 2015).

Besides organisations like NGOs and governments, the other primary agents of social change are the recipients of the campaign message: the public. Niguel Parton (1996) argues that social change involves the interaction of numerous actors, including those on the receiving end of campaigns. Bandura (2003) supports this, emphasizing the realization that all individuals involved are active agents, whose agency needs to be taken into account in social change. She goes to argue that through media tools, such as public will campaigns, such agents can be guided and motivated to engage with a specific social change initiative.

## **2.3 Public will campaigns and policies**

### **2.3.1 Aim of public will campaigns**

Studies by Casswell et al. (1989) and Coffman (2003) have shown that effort should be made on stimulating discussion about the problem, by stimulating public awareness the problem gains interest, coverage and thus a higher chance of being dealt with. These efforts of stimulating discussion are typically advocated through public will campaigns.

Furthermore, Coffman (2003) defines public will campaigns as campaigns that aim at government policy changes, which is where Terre des Hommes' Sweetie campaign fits. The goal of a public will campaign is to give information to the public to increase awareness and concern in order to gain support in the need for change, achieved through policy changes. The Sweetie campaign is thus aiming for policy change, specifically with regard to the "reactive policies", which are commonly used by governments in countries where more than the 70% of the predators have been identified, aimed at stopping webcam-based child abuses (Terre des Hommes, 2014). Reactive policies as defined in the report of Terre des Hommes (2014) mean that governments will only act to protect the child after a complaint has been made by either the child himself or a parent. However, such policies have proven to be ineffective, as it has been shown that complaints are rarely filed. As explained in the Terre des Hommes research report (2014), most children feel ashamed and lose trust in adults, resulting in them not seeking help. Moreover, parents are sometimes not only aware of their children being involved in WCST, or allow it to happen as a way to make money for the family. As reactive policies have failed to protect these

children, Terre des Hommes advocates that it is time for governments to switch to proactive policies, and is doing so through its Sweetie campaign.

### **2.3.2 Policies**

As highlighted in the previous section social change at a societal level through a public will campaign, entails that there is a need for changes in law and/or policies (Friedman & Ladinsky, 1967). What is meant by policy for social change? For the purpose of this research the definition of policy is taken from Titmuss (1974) who states that “policies refer to the principles that govern action directed towards given ends” (p. 138), his definition implies that a policy indicates that action is taken, thus, implying changes. Moreover, that these changes can only be made meaningful if we as society believe that a policy can actually create change. Gregson et al. (2001) also support this idea by stating that through the efforts of communication campaigns policy changes can be achieved. They outline a model (p.55) that shows the structure for policy changes to happen. The model explains that policy changes tend to be the results of incremental steps and that these steps are affected by how the issue is advocated for. Policy changes even when going through the process without any conflict do not happen overnight, thus there are indicators showing that policy changes are still on their way. As highlighted in the article, progress is the main indicator; consistency with small changes shows that overtime policy makers will adopt a new policy. In the case of the Sweetie campaign, progress is seen in the continuation of arrest through the use of the collected information during the operation. At an endpoint of policy change the indicator is the actual document itself, a new law, regulation or way of tackling the law. Though the end point is a document created by governments, the process relies a lot on the public. Public discussion on policy issues is an integral part of the process (Casswell, Gilmore, Maguire, & Ransom, 1989).

In this particular case the aim of Terre Des Hommes in their policy change is to make the switch from reactive to proactive policies. This is a discussion that has been happening throughout a varied range of fields; organisations have been trying to push laws to change to policies that prevent damages rather than acting once it is already done. A field that is actively pushing for proactive policies, giving a good understanding of the difference between the two, is the environmental field. In their paper Tait and Levidow (1992) explain the need for proactive policies, to learn from

past experiences and foresight the damages rather than “risking potential hazards” (p.222). They define proactive policies as those acting to prevent the occurrence of a problem. While reactive policies are easier to put in place, they are only developed in response to already existing problems. The trend of advocating for proactive policies has taken place in the environmental field like pollution control, agricultural, especially for GMOs, but also energy or global warming and children protection (Tait & Levidow, 1992).

More specifically regarding child protection, Covell and Howe (2006) define proactive policies as policies that protect children’s welfare by taking measures to prevent abuses rather than protecting once abused. Furthermore, they argue that the switch to proactive policies is necessary to change a harmful environment that children can find themselves in, thereby reducing the risk of children abuses.

Terre des Hommes’ Sweetie campaign is supportive of Covell and Howe’s (2006) argument, as the campaign demonstrates how it is possible to catch predators with or without an avatar child and to stop that predator before he/she can contact another child. Nevertheless, although the campaign fits the proactive policy model, it still encounters many barriers when trying to achieve its goal. Challenges that public will campaigns experience include the fact that audiences are not always responsive to the message, that the issue may not be of interest of the public, or that the campaign fails to pressure governments enough to change their policies. These issues are closely linked to communication, the success or failures of getting the message of campaigns such as the Sweetie campaign depends a lot on the way the media chooses to play its part (Atkin & Rice, 2012).

## **2.4 Importance of media to social change**

It is in the 1960’s that emerged in various countries the need for a way to foster positive social change. It is within this context that the start of the research on the strategies of communication such as the media emerged (Kraidy, 2002). The main development on the strategies was based on Schramm’s *Mass Media and National Development* (1961) main principle that stated that for positive social change to happen, public will campaigns or communication campaigns need to be produced and shared through the media. Through multiple researchers the importance of media was studied to move from only stating that the media was required to a more developed understanding of the role of the media. Hornik (1980) by conducting in depth research

on development projects in a wide range of countries concluded that communication was a useful complement and functioned as a catalyst to gain support for social change (Kraidy, 2002). Moreover, he concluded that media communication of a campaign can be effective depending on the way it is communicated and that it is only complementary to its success. As the way it is communicated depends on the media, theories of media and the relationship with social change are highlighted next.

Habermas in 1989, in his attempt to understand the role of the media in society, introduces the concept of “public sphere”, which is an ideal of what the media could potentially be (Habermas, 2006). In this ideal role, the media would deliver completely truthful information, providing an optimal situation for campaigns to deliver their messages and gain support for social change. In this utopia, the media is completely independent from the socioeconomic system of which it is part and its only purpose is the delivery of as much accurate information to the public as possible. This information is necessarily truthful and unbiased because the media would be self-regulated, working only as an information tool for the public. Habermas’ (2006) utopian role of the media also requires full participation by citizens, as they are actively engaged and trust in the media. In such a situation, the Sweetie campaign would therefore be guaranteed to make the news and the message would not be distorted. Along with citizen participation and trust, the campaign would stand a strong chance of successfully getting governments to switch to proactive policies.

Another positive view of the media’s relationship with social change is the growth of media platforms, which provides plenty of options for campaigns to successfully promote their messages. Castells (2008) expands on this with the idea of public diplomacy, in which the media as it is today is now a platform that does not only give out information but also is a space for the public to comment and debate, sharing information with each other. In addition to Castells’ (2008) perspective, Wolfsfeld (2013) also adds that because media today has changed into what can be defined as “new media” there are more chances for organisations such as NGOs to communicate their messages without having to go through traditional media. New media technologies are also low-cost and quick, making them an ideal tool to distribute images and messages to a broad audience. Rather than just being recipients of the media, the technology available to people today enables them to be active users of and contributors to it. An example of this is given by Juris (2005) who in his article



discusses media activists Indymedia who used digital networks to mobilize thousands of anti-corporate globalization protesters all over the world in 2011. This anecdote illustrates the new possibilities people and organizations have to create a movement for social change. Media today is not what it used to be and, as said by Juris (2005), media production, communication, digital media and more now have a practical effect that can benefit social change. Waterman and Timms (2004) refer to this new wave of possibilities as “communication internationalism” (p. 195). They define it by pointing out that it is due to the flexibility, the speed and the global reach communication can attain that enhances the chances of successful social movements.

Shirky (2011) illustrates this in his article when arguing the power of social media on political change, in which he gives the example of Philippine President Joseph Estrada who in 2011 withstood an impeachment trial by hiding damaging evidence. A few hours after the decision, thousands of Filipinos were protesting at the main crossroads in the capital, enabled through the use of new media, mainly texting and emailing. Gurevitch and Blumler (1990), through the “political communication system” theory, also further explain how new media changes the traditional structure of the media. In the days where only traditional media existed, there was more top-down power, as the media and politicians had a complementary role in communicating information to citizens. Now social media, among other things, allows citizens to speak back in a transparent way; citizens can create, follow, and support things that are not necessarily given by traditional media. There is now the possibility to go around traditional media in order to communicate directly with citizens. However, while new media gives a new balance to the role of the media and how much power it has over public opinion, traditional media remains the most relevant form of media for social-change (Johnson, 2001). This is because, despite new media growing in popularity, the penetration of traditional media is still far greater, having been the main source of information all over the world for decades. Furthermore, Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2009) add that people not only trust more in traditional media, their political opinions are largely formed from information acquired through media like big news channels rather than from personal experience.

## **2.5 Success of a campaign and the media**

As discussed in the previous section, social change and the associated campaigns are influenced by the media, but face various challenges before being

considered successful. The first challenges to consider are the chances of a campaign to gain media coverage; this is explained through the theories of agenda-setting.

This approach says that the media is not tricking or misleading people into believing and supporting certain things, but that instead the media is persuasive in focusing the public's attention on certain events (Shaw, 1979). Moreover, the agenda-setting approach does believe that the media has an impact on people's awareness but it does not believe that the media plays the role of persuading people. As explained by Shaw (1979), the media is viewed as giving the people an opportunity to access information on world events. McCombs and Shaw (1972), in their study on presidential elections in the United States, prove that there is a strong correlation between what citizens believed was the most important issue and what was broadcasted on national television. From their research, they conclude two main findings: the press does not necessarily reflect reality and they can in fact shape it; and the degree of media coverage influences what citizens perceive as important.

Castells (2008), drawing from the concept of agenda-setting, recognises that the media cannot be unbiased because it is not independent of the system of which it is part. Due to business interests, the media focuses on delivering information to specific audiences in order to maximise ratings. By doing so the media only offers information that is believed to be of interest to that specific audience and leaves out what is not. In the agenda-setting world of Castells, the reporting of the Sweetie's campaign in the media is thus burdened by the influence of other interests that may be more concerned with factors like profit and ratings. As the media are for the highest amount of readerships to increase their ratings, they tend to focus more on infotainments, genre of media that is pleasing to the majority of the public (Surette, 2010).

In addition, Castells (2008) and Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999) state that the coverage of public will campaigns has been shown to be greatly impacted by how "newsworthy" the story is, affecting the opportunity of campaigns to find support through the widely-used media. On top of this, Nisbet and Huges (2006) show that an event or a story needs to make it into the news headlines before people consider it important. However, the media interest in a story requires a "triggering event" that brings the overall issue to the public through an example (Nisbet & Huges, 2006). Fortunately for the Sweetie campaign, it experienced a triggering event, in the form of

an arrest of an Australian man who was sentenced on Tuesday October 21, 2014 to two years in prison for initiating and maintaining an indecent chat conversation (Terre des Hommes, 2014) with the digitally created 10 year-old Filipina, Sweetie. Through the triggering event the campaign received media coverage, creating concerns within the population and collective enthusiasm to solve the problem. For example a known case is the media coverage of the Arab spring in Egypt or Tunisia that ended in policy changes. However, making it to the media is not a guarantee of a public will campaign's success.

In addition to challenges like receiving media coverage, public will campaigns have to contend with the power the media plays in how political, economical or social issues are understood and interpreted and reacted to by the public (Koopmans & Duyvendak, 1995). This in turns affects the way issues will be dealt with in politics and whether or not action will be taken to support social change. When researching the media and public will campaigns, it is thus necessary to consider which aspects of the media give it such power. In other words, if the campaign does indeed find its way to media coverage, there is still no guarantee of how their message will be given to the public. Research has been done on media and public will campaigns, and two scholars, Scheufele (1999) and Tucker (2009), have both related the issue of public will campaigns and media to the act of framing.

Moreover, when discussing the success of a campaign it is as important to understand media-use and media effects relationships. As Schramm (1961) said, "the term effect is misleading" (as cited in Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1974, p.511), as it assumes that the relationship between media and the audience is a one-way street, discounting the active role the latter can have. This denial of the full power and influence of the media is further elaborated by another theory, namely the uses and gratification theory. Although media effects are not the goal of this research, it is worthy to note some of the theories that play a role in the understanding of the role of the media and campaigns. Uses and gratification theory focuses on why people choose to consume media. It assumes that the audience is an active consumer, meaning that the consumer will actively pick the information he gathers from the media (Shaw, 1979). By assuming that the audience are active consumers of the media, the media has to adjust its content to please the needs of the audience, thus both affect each other. Blumler (1979) takes the approach of looking at what the

public does with the information they gather from the media rather than looking at the ways the media contents influences the public (Weaver, 1980).

Thus, the key challenge, as well as opportunity, that public will campaigns encounter is its relationship with the media. Their interaction significantly affects the amount of people they can reach, which affects their chances at gaining enough support for change. This is a crucial challenge, supporting further that media is an important catalyst in social change.

### **2.5.1 Framing**

Whereas agenda-setting focuses on whether or not something is covered in the media, framing theory expands from this, moving from what people are informed of to the ways people are informed about it. Stated by Birkland and Lawrence (2009) policy changes “require framing to focus attention and resources on particular problems to be remedied by particular means” (p2). As discussed previously, social change typically requires policy changes, thus the focus on media framing for this research. In relation to the Sweetie campaign, its success depends on more than just its inclusion in media, but the manner in which it is communicated. As explained by Joachim (2003), the proper framing of problems that NGO’s are fighting for is the most effective tool for political action to happen. When NGO’s are fighting for policy changes such as what Terre des Hommes is advocating for, it contradicts and competes with other political actors and thus require a frame in which the efforts of the NGO can be aligned with other issues that are appealing to their audience. The NGO can gain credibility by having their campaign framed in a way that they are able to make it meaningful to the population.

One way to look at framing is given by Scheufele (1999) who refers to framing as an extension of agenda-setting. He uses the term to describe the importance media coverage has on the audiences’ understanding of news stories. Furthermore, as framing has been given different definitions, sometimes referring to both agenda setting and priming, Scheufele (1999) argues that it is best to look at framing in how it can be used to broaden our understanding of media effects and what it means for social change.

There are many definitions of framing due to the large amount of research done on it, but all seem to have similar characteristics (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). News frames as defined by Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, (2009) are “the

selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and constructing messages that highlight connections among them in ways that promote a particular interpretation” (p.176), according to Newman et al. (1992) news frames are the tools used to structure a story in a certain way to convey information. Similarly, Gitlin (1980) argues that news frames put emphasis on a side of a story, choosing an angle by excluding some information. It is important not to misunderstand this as wrong information; it relates more to putting the information in a context that shapes the meaning or focus of the message.

Moreover, frames have been studied due to their discursive strategy (Tucker, 2009). Entman (1993) explains this further by stating that media frames as discursive strategies perform a specific function. These functions include defining the problem, the evaluation of the policy changes. As the Sweetie campaign aimed at increasing awareness of a specific problem and to put forward the need for policy changes, the research of this study will focus not only on how the Sweetie campaign was framed but a frame analysis of media discourses. Stuart Hall’s (1985) concept of common sense explains how media achieve those discursive effects by framing articulate discourses that are promoted by specific social interests.

The theory of framing has mainly been developed through the work of Goffman (1974), where he argues that studying media frames is necessary to understand the way our social realities are constructed. Building on the necessity of researching frames, Druckman (2001) argues that there is evidence that citizens will base their preferences on the information they are presented, making their judgments subjective and dependent on the way an issue is framed. He bases his argument on the study of Sniderman and Theriault who show in their research in 1999 that depending on the way government spending is framed, citizens will either support or not support the decision, showing the strength framing can have on shaping public opinion (Druckman, 2001). Results of similar research done by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) show that when people are given the same EU issue but framed differently, it affects how significant they consider the issue. The results therefore show that framing can sway public opinion and perception of how important EU related issues are.

Frames are also considered an important part of creating news, as reporters have over time developed tools to speed up the process of delivering the news to the

public. These framing tools enable the reporters to ensure value of their news story (Price, Tewksbury & Power, 1997) when picking a frame the journalists have to decide which frame fits the public's values, which provides them with validity of public opinion (Kanuric, 2014). By promoting a particular problem through a frame, they offer some aspects of reality by making choices to present the issue or event in a certain angle. The context in which information is delivered through the frame shapes the assumptions and perceptions of the readers. Additionally, framing by journalists can help them get their point across by making it easier for the readers to understand the story. For example, they can re-use the same frame over and over again when reporting on the same event making it easier for the audience to follow the story (D'Angelo, 2002). It is also the tool that focuses the story in order to construct images of the world by being selective in the way the story is represented.

The process of framing by journalists is thus done through choosing themes within which they place their news stories to make them *appealing* to the readers. The frames then reflect a broader cultural theme that the readers associate the news with. By placing the story within a theme, the journalists activate certain ideas and values of the readers. Furthermore, Price, Tewksbury and Powers (1997) argue that news organisations are pressured into producing news stories that fit not only within a theme that the audience relates to easily, but that it also needs to follow an *episodic* perspective. In other words, the news story needs to focus on specific examples, something that is "attention-getting" (p.483) instead of covering the background story or the implications of the issues.

Framing as a tool works by repeatedly using the same objects or traits to describe a situation (McCombs, 2005; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). This repetition is what creates the effects of framing, the public creates mental associations between the issue and the previously given interpretation of it, giving as an example the way we all make an association to 9/11 and the war on terror (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Journalists are able to create such associations over time by using the same words or similar ones to cover the same issue, this will form an interpretation in the public's mind. This process of framing is done through choosing key words, phrases, images and themes to highlight and promote specific facts. In other words, through the use of language they focus the reader on a specific view or make a side of a story sound more positive or appealing.

As previously explained, audience's perception and understanding of certain information which is not the focus of this study but was highlighted previously, goes hand in hand with social change, while the frame provides a story line, suggesting what the issues are about and guiding the public into a certain opinion as explained by Druckman (2011). As this can become an issue with the power of media if they decide to frame only aspects of reality that support specific interests. In the context of analysing the Sweetie campaign, the concept of framing is thus vital and will form the basis of this research.

### **2.5.2 Types of frames**

In order to guide the analysis of the news articles, different types of frames are researched and explained. One in particular known as collective frames, have been studied and shown to help gain support and mobilization of the public. These are useful to campaigns, such as Sweetie, that are trying to give awareness as well as gain support. *Collective* frames according to Benford & Snow (2000) can be considered as action frames, as they intend to mobilize the public by focusing on action-orientated goals. They do so by presenting the story in such a way that the public realises that there is a need for change; they present who or what is to blame and offer potential solutions to the issue. In the analysis of the articles finding this type of frame is possible by looking at if and who the media puts the blame on, whether or not a solution is offered and how that solution is presented. Nevertheless, even though these types of frames are considered helpful to NGOs they are not the most common ones found in the media. Instead, according to Tucker (2009) and Druckman (2001), presenting the information within either a *positive* or *negative* frame is the more commonly used framing techniques by the media. *Positive* and *negative* frame present the same information using either a positive or negative tone (Druckman, 2001). The main information presented by Terre des Hommes is the Sweetie operation to fight WCST. Depending on the tone of the article, by either relating it to another example or by using key words to define the operation present the same information in either a positive or negative way.

Another very common technique is the *issue-specific* frame and the *generic* frame (Matthes, 2009), De Vreese (2005), which gives a deep understanding of these two types of generic media frames. The *issue-specific* news frames are found when a story is focused solely on a specific event. These types of frame usually limit the

amount of information gathered from the public. In contrast, the *generic* frames are less limited in the information given to the public as they place the event of topics in a broader cultural context. Applying De Vreese's (2005) typology of frames, *generic* frames in the media coverage of the Sweetie campaign would be, for example, the discussion of child abuse in South-East Asia or the giving of more background information on the types of WCST. An *issue-specific* frame would be found when the article frame is fully focused on the triggering event, namely the arrest of the Australian man in 2014.

Another study, done by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), outline five main media frames that are the most commonly found in news media, thus making them relevant to the analysis of the Sweetie campaign. They base their findings on the theoretical framework research conducted by Iyengar's (1991) as well the study by Neuman et al. which explored media coverage in the U.S in 1992.

The five most common frames according to Semetko and Valkenburg are the *conflict frame*, *human-interest frame*, *economic consequences frame*, *morality frame* and *responsibility frame* (p.95-96). The *conflict* frame emphasizes on conflicts between individuals, institutions or groups (p.95) to grab the attention of the audience. This type of frame tends to also oversimplify the issue or the conflict to make it easier for the audience to follow and understand. The frame is usually found when media news covers political conflicts or election campaigns. In result, the news does not give a broad understanding of the issue that is discussed and does not inform its readers completely. It instead focuses the story on the conflict and can create a negative message (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

The *human-interest* frame uses an emotional angle to present the issue, by doing so they create a story that the audience can relate to. The frame typically dramatizes the story by putting a "human impact" (p.72) according Neuman et al. (1992). The audience that is lured in feels emotional about the story and therefore stays interested. A possible version of this human impact frame in the coverage of the Sweetie campaign is the focus on the victims, the 10 year-old child in the Philippines.

The third frame is the *economic consequences* frame: the issue or event in the news is told in regard to the economic problems or benefits that may arise from it. The language used for this frame is usually abstract and can be complicated to



understand for the audience; this type of frame is typically used in regard to economical policy changes (Neuman, 1992).

The fourth is the *morality* frame, which places the issue in the context of moral prescriptions. This can either be done directly or indirectly by journalists. Some direct moral frames use religion to reference the problems, while indirect ones will use more common morals or norms that are commonly accepted by society (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

The last frame as identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) is the *responsibility* frame, which is particularly interesting when analysing the framing of the Sweetie campaign as it typically presents the issue in a way that it puts the blame on someone. Depending on the amount of information given through this frame, it can affect how the audience understands the blame. For example, as explained by Neuman et al. (1992), if the responsibility frame only focuses on one single event rather than a broader historical background, the audience may not comprehend that there is a larger problem with the government or law enforcements. Even though the blame is usually found to be put on governments or law enforcements that have failed at fixing a specific problem or a larger scaled problem such as poverty, there is the possibility that the audience understands the issue to be coming from the specific person that is given in the example. Analysing this frame properly is important to the framing of the Sweetie campaign, as it is advocating for a change in the way governments are tackling WSCT and the way the audience understands who is to blame can affect the success of the campaign. As this typology is research on news media frames, it is fitting to the study of the media frames of the Sweetie campaign and can be used as a theoretical foundation when conducting the content analysis of the news coverage of the Sweetie campaign. As explained above previous research by Benford & Snow (2000), Tucker (2009), Druckman (2001) and Semetko & Valkenburg (2001) indicate that the positive frame, negative frame, collective frame and the responsibility frame are the four frames that would be useful to a public will campaign or disadvantageous. Thus, for the purpose of this study they are the theoretical foundation for the frames studied.

## Chapter 3: Research Design & Argumentation

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As the previous chapters explained, a framing analysis is conducted in order to answer the research question, namely: *How have the media framed the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes?* The following chapter describes in detail the research design and the methodology applied to conduct the framing analysis. Firstly, an explanation is given on the method of research was chosen and why this method is suitable to answer the research question and sub-questions. Second, a description is given of the method of gathering data. Lastly, the steps taken to conduct the investigation are explained, along with a detailed explanation of the choices made.

### 3.1 Research design and rationale

The topic of the present study is the media coverage of the Sweetie campaign by the NGO Terre des Hommes, and, as explained in the theory (Chapter 2), one of the ways to discover the role the media in informing the public is through the study of frames. The research question is thus: *How have the media framed the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes?* Furthermore, to support and provide more nuances to the framing analysis, three sub-questions were created, with the first sub-question (SQ1) being: *How has Terre des Homes framed their press release?* Sub-question (SQ2) is: *How was WCST portrayed in the media discourse?* And sub-question (SQ3): *How was the message of the proactive policy mentioned?* Framing as explained by Tucker (2009), is part of media practices that construct images of the world, which in turn affect the chances of social change. Therefore, the main goal of the present research is to conduct an analysis of the media coverage of the Sweetie campaign, drawing conclusions about how frames constructed its representation.

Moreover, when conducting framing analysis, the approach assumes that the effect of the frame lies within the description of an event or issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In other words, when doing an analysis of a media frame, it is about how the public thinks about the issue and not whether or not they think about it. As a result, framing is an approach in which the audience is understood to be constructing meaning from the media, guiding the interpretation of the audience (McLeod & Detenber, 1999). As a result, the research method considered best suited to answer this study's research question and sub-questions is a content analysis, which

is nevertheless an appropriate approach for mass media studies (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken, 2002). Additionally, Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) explain this method of qualitative analysis as one that enables the researcher to understand “social reality in a subjective but scientific way” (p.1). Thus, by looking at the way language is used it is possible to explore what it can tell us about the social world.

Most of the frames outlined in Chapter 2 are likely to be present in the British and Australian articles covering the Sweetie campaign. Still, there is the possibility that other frames that were not mentioned become visible after conducting the framing analysis. As a result, the framing research conducted for this study is an exploratory and inductive approach, allowing the media frames to emerge from the coding of the articles. By conducting an inductive content analysis less constraint is put on the research, letting each article speak for itself (Kohlbacher, 2006). Thus, this technique enables frames to be found from the media texts rather than pre-assuming them.

The first inductive content analysis is conducted on the press release by Terre des Hommes published on October 10, 2014. The inductive coding is supported with an interview with the Communication Officer of the Sweetie campaign, in order to get a more in-depth understanding of Terre des Hommes’ campaign and perspective, the topic list of the interview can be found in Appendix B. This first part of the analysis is then used as a baseline for the next step, which involves the analysis of the news articles, using the same inductive and exploratory method. They are analysed with the help of the previous baseline in order to compare how different the frames that are used are or how much the frames resemble the one by Terre des Hommes’ initial framing of the campaign.

The shaping of web-cam sex tourism (WCST) as an issue is analysed by looking at how the language affects the comprehension of the issue. This part of the analysis is done through a discourse analysis as it allows not only to code for recurring themes, but also to look into the deeper meaning of the choice of words in the news articles. Discourse analysis of media content has risen as a research method in the 1970’s through the works of Van Dijk and Wodak, who argue the importance of the role of language to power-relations. Van Dijk (1991) explains in his research that the media holds a position of power, as they are able to create a consensus of symbols in society. Through the use of specific language, the media is also able to create

ideologies that tend to go unnoticed to everyday consumers of news (Selingerova, 2014). Wodak (2002) argues that it is through discourse analysis that it is possible to understand the underlying discourses and the influence the media has in shaping opinions. In this study, discourse analysis is thus relevant, which will look at how the media influence the understanding of WCST.

### **3.2 Sampling**

For the scope of the thesis both British newspapers and Australian newspapers were chosen including both print and online versions (see section data collection 3.3). The Australian news coverage was chosen as due to the Sweetie campaign the arrest of Scott Robert Hansen happened in Brisbane. Them having what can be considered the “triggering event” makes it an interesting coverage to analyse as it suggests that Australia would have broader coverage. The United Kingdom was chosen over the United States as they have the leading papers that cover issues in Europe whereas the United States being further away usually covers bigger world issue resulting in them not paying much attention to the Sweetie campaign.

A total of 55 articles were found, consisting of Kingdom 21 articles from Australia and 24 articles from the United Kingdom. In more detail, from the United Kingdom, four (online) newspapers were found that had written about the Sweetie campaign: The British Broadcasting Company (BBC), The Telegraph, Skynews and The Independent. For Australia, although there is a wider range of newspapers, four main ones were identified: ABC, The Australian, Mail Online and News.com.au. The other newspapers from Australia found are The Guardian AU, Courier Mail, Herald Sun, The Age and The Northern Daily Leader. These make up the total of all the articles found that mentioned the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes.

### **3.3 Data collection**

The first part of the data was collected using the press release by Terre des Hommes and by conducting an interview with the Communication Officer, which was recorded. The next part of the data collection was to conduct the content analysis, done using news articles from major news channels in Australia and the United Kingdom. Each article that was found to mention the Sweetie Campaign was included. They were collected, in English, through the Lexis Nexis database, using the keywords: Sweetie, Sweetie campaign and Terre des Hommes, either in the headline

or in the content. The reason the research was not confined to just one newspaper, is because the amount of information given to the public, represented by how many newspaper reported the story, also affects the chances of social change. However, as the amount of articles was limited, the analysis includes all the articles found to have a better understanding of the media's level of influence on the campaign. Moreover, as some newspapers may not have followed the entire story but only published it in terms of technology, narrowing it to specific newspapers would risk losing some potential input for the analysis (the list of the gathered data can be found in Appendix D).

Besides through LexisNexis, each online newspaper website was researched thoroughly, as well, to ensure that relevant articles were not omitted. Once these articles were collected all the related articles that the website mentioned were also included. These are the articles available at the ends of articles, which contain, for example, information from a previous article of another newspaper. Including these ensured that as many articles on the topic as possible were gathered.

### **3.4 Time period**

The Sweetie campaign was launched in October 2013, marking the beginning of this study's time period. This event was followed by the Australian man being convicted a year later on the October 21, 2014. The time frame looks at period in which the news developed and reported, from the launch of the campaign continuing throughout the arrest in Australia, until the most recent articles that mention the Sweetie campaign. The first article is thus the starting point for the analysis. Through the use of the Terre des Hommes' press release, published online on October 21, 2014, as well as their research report about the Sweetie campaign, a first qualitative content analysis was carried out to find out how the organisation framed itself. This analysis created the baseline that was used to compare and contrast the framing of the media coverage.

Concerning the Australian coverage specifically, as they are the country with the "triggering event", the campaign was mediatized by the development of the court trial, thus giving a clear timeline to follow that has a start and an end. On the other hand, the British coverage of the campaign focused on different aspects of the story: the arrest, child abuse, poverty in the Philippines, with each being of importance to

the research. Thus, there is no specific time period that constricts which articles are included.

### **3.5 Data analysis**

The qualitative content analysis of the study was done following the method described by Braun & Clarke (2008), with some contribution from the method of Zhang and Wildermuth (2009) and Carragee and Roefs (2004). The analysis was divided into two main parts, with the first being the analysis of the press release and the second the analysis of the media articles.

The analysis of the press release was done through a thematic analysis following the six steps of Braun & Clarke (2008) that guide content analysis. Their method of thematic analysis was chosen as it allows the identification of emerging patterns in the data, otherwise known as themes. This is an inductive approach to finding themes, where they emerge from the data itself. This is in contrast to a theoretical thematic approach, where the themes are based on the theory of a given topic. The six steps by Braun and Clarke (2008) are: “familiarization with the data”, “generating initial codes”, “searching for themes”, “reviewing themes”, “defining and naming themes” and “producing the report”. Applying this method to the press release of the Sweetie campaign was done as follows: “familiarization with the data” was done by obtaining the press release and noting down initial ideas. This was supported by the interview that was conducted and transcribed. “Generating initial codes” was done by finding the interesting features of the press release, such as main ideas or the repetition of words. The same process was applied to the interview. “Searching for themes” was the process of turning codes into potential themes, which resulted in the press release being broken down into six parts, each reflecting one theme. “Reviewing of themes” was done by checking how the themes worked in relation to the information gathered from the interview. Refining each theme and giving them each a clear definition represented “Defining and naming themes”. Lastly, “Producing the report” was done through a final analysis of the themes and relating them back to the theory on framing to “find out the frame”.

The analysis of the press release is the initial step, as it forms the baseline against which the analysis of the articles about WCST and the Sweetie campaign is compared. This is the second step in the analysis, which uses the same method by Braun & Clarke (2008), applying the six steps to each article collected, with some

contributing steps from Carragee and Roefs (2004) and Zhang and Wildermuth (2009). The first part of this analysis consisted of reading all the selected articles and noting down initial ideas to familiarise with the data. The second part, following the method of Caragee and Roefs (2004), focused on finding the main topics used to discuss the Sweetie campaign. This approach concentrates first on the headlines of the articles collected as they give the initial understanding of the attitude towards the Sweetie campaign. As it is what first captures people's attention, the title is considered to represent the first item that influences the reader's understanding of the campaign (Selingerova, 2014).

The third step of the analysis, as recommended by Zhang and Wildermuth (2009), was to create a coding manual to keep the analysis as systematic as possible. This process was facilitated by the MAXQDA coding programme (<http://www.maxqda.com>). The coding manual can be found in Appendix C and was utilized in the fourth step. This involved analysing and coding the data and, using Braun and Clarkes' (2008) inductive approach, to arrive at themes. This step was followed by a review of the themes to check if they work in relation to the coded extract, which could reveal that further nuances, like subthemes, are needed. The themes were then properly defined in order to identify the essence of what each represents and which parts of the data it captures. These refined themes were then used in finding the frames of each article.

The frames were discovered using both the inductive analysis, letting the content of the articles speak for themselves, and through the theories by Druckman (2001), Tucker (2009), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Benford & Snow (2000). Through their theories on framing, the themes were organized and assigned a specific frame. Finally, using the MAXQDA coding programme, an assessment of the consistency of frames with their underlying themes was performed.

## Chapter 4: Results & Analysis

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The aim of this study is to discover how the media have framed the Sweetie campaign by comparing it to the way Terre des Hommes framed it in their press release. The following chapter presents the results and analysis of the inductive qualitative content analysis conducted on the coverage of the Sweetie campaign as described in the methodology that is outlined in Chapter 3.

The key takeaways from the theory and previous research show that the most common frames used by the media are positive and negative frames (Druckman, 2001; Tucker, 2009), and that a responsibility frame is of particular interest in the case of the Sweetie campaign, as it puts the responsibility of the issue on the government and law enforcements (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). However, the most effective frame for an NGO campaign appears to be a collective frame, as it is most successful in mobilizing public support as is argued by Benford and Snow (2000). Furthermore, previous research show that media organisations are pressured into presenting stories that focus on a specific attention that is “attention-getting” (Price et al., 1997). These key findings from theory will be used to link to the findings of this study in order to provide insights into the use of framing of the Sweetie campaign specifically.

This chapter starts with an overview of the data to provide a general impression of the patterns found and analysed. This is followed by an exploration of the topics found in the news stories on the Sweetie campaign and an explanation of the key themes and frames, starting with the themes and frame used by Terre des Hommes in their press release, with the support of information gathered from an interview with the communication officer at Terre des Hommes.

### 4.1 Overview of data sample

For this study, a total of 55 articles were used, consisting of 24 articles from the United Kingdom and 21 from Australia. The articles were collected from both online and printed sources, using LexisNexis and the webpages of various newspapers in each country. From the United Kingdom, four (online) newspapers were found that had written about the Sweetie campaign: The British Broadcasting Company (BBC), The Telegraph, Skynews and The Independent. For Australia, although there is a wider range of newspapers, four main ones were identified: ABC, The Australian,

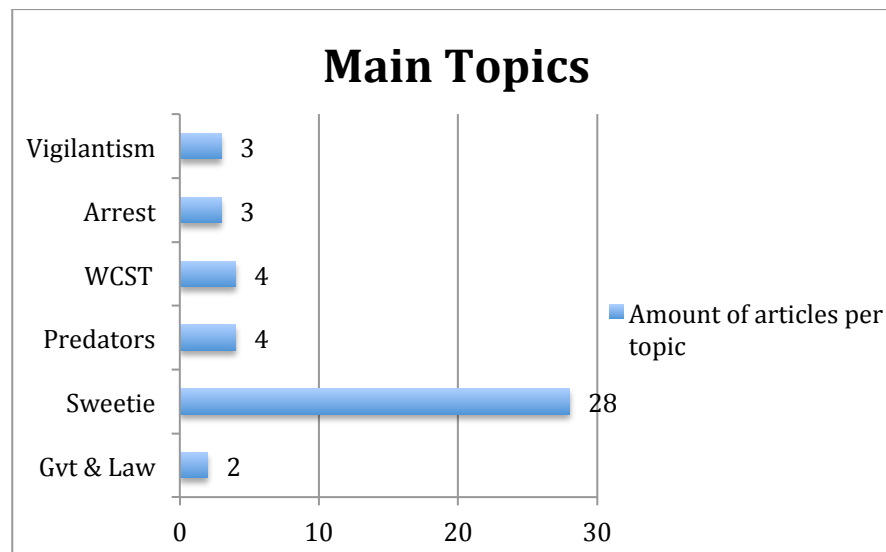


Mail Online and News.com.au. The other newspapers from Australia found are The Guardian AU, Courier Mail, Herald Sun, The Age and The Northern Daily Leader. These make up the total of all the articles found that mentioned the Sweetie campaign in the time frame from September 5<sup>th</sup> 2013 to September 23<sup>rd</sup> 2014. The tables presented in this section represent all of these articles (written as: TOTAL).

#### 4.1.1 Overview of topics found

The first part of the results gives an overview of the topics found, which should not be confused with themes of the articles. As mentioned in the method section, topics only categorize the news story by the subjects they discussed (Carragee & Roefs, 2004), whereas themes construct the meanings of the topics. Nevertheless, getting an overview of the topics gives an insight into what was covered by the media, and considering that the Sweetie campaign is discussed in various ways, it is interesting to get an idea of what were the main topics in the news stories.

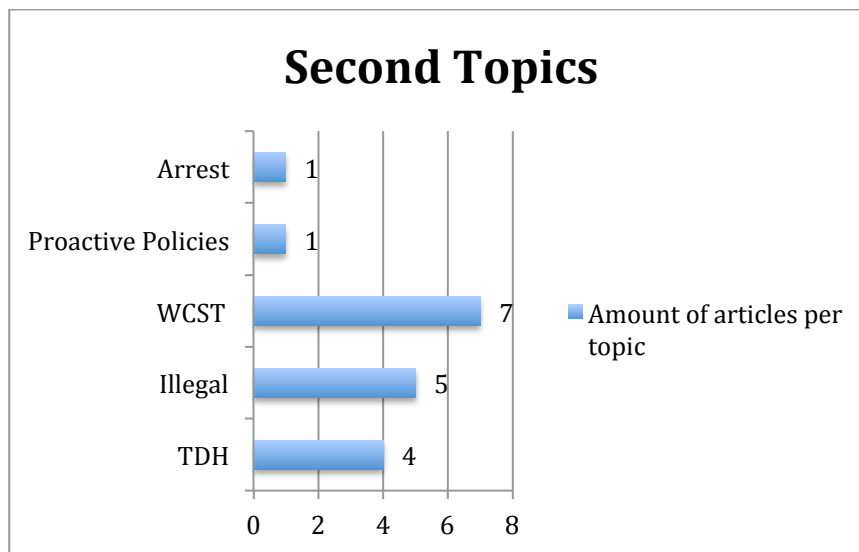
**Table 1: Main topics found in the news stories**



Following previous research by Carragee and Roefs (2004), each article in the sample was assigned two topics so that it would be possible to get a thorough overview of the main topics discussed in the total amount of the articles. The first analysis gave a total of nine main topics and 12 secondary topics for both the United Kingdom and Australian articles combined. These topics were then categorized into broader topics. For example, the topics *Sweetie avatar* and *Sweetie operation* were combined into one topic *Sweetie*. *Civil liberties*, *Government* and *Law* also combined

into one as *Gvt&Law*. As seen in Table 1, the most discussed first topic is Sweetie, either as an operation or as a digital avatar. This signifies that Sweetie as the campaign or as the digitally-created child was the main topic of the news stories. This might be an indication that the framing of the articles construct the meaning of Sweetie. The second most frequent topic also adds to the understanding of how the media framed the stories, as it shows the main topic Sweetie was related too. For example, 28% of the articles that have Sweetie as a first topic have “illegal” as a second topic, as shown in Table 2. Illegal has as three further sub topics: *vigilantism, danger and illegality*. The topics here already give an idea of the context in which Sweetie was placed in. As shown in the Table 1 and Table 2, the main topics discussed are Sweetie, web-cam sex tourism (WCST), Illegal and Terre des Hommes. In the next section further analysis will shed light on how these findings might relate to the found frames.

**Table 2: Second topics discussed with Sweetie as first topic**



#### 4.2 Analysis of Terre des Homme’s press release

The next step of the analysis consists of finding the themes and the frame used by Terre des Hommes, utilizing their October 2014 press release to create a baseline to then compare this to the themes and frames used in the articles. As explained in chapter 2, the four main frames that are researched are positive frame, negative frame, collective frame and responsibility frame.

#### 4.2.1 Framing of Terre des Homme's campaign

The framing analysis of Terre des Homme's Sweetie campaign focused the press release of 21 October 2014 (Appendix A), complemented by an interview with the Communication manager. The press release was broken down into six parts, with the first part, which is the opening of the press release, coding for the theme *triggering event* and *threat of WCST*. The second part codes for *Operation*, and the third part *Conviction*, with sub codes *sharing of information* and *arrest*. The fourth part codes for *breakthrough* with the sub code *proactive policies*, the fifth part *child pornography*, and the sixth, *fast growing problem*. These were then categorized into four main themes as seen in Table 3: *Conviction*, *WCST*, *Child abuse* and *Proactive policies*. The first theme, *Conviction*, is found in the first paragraph of the press release with the code *triggering event*, showing that Terre des Hommes used the arrest of the Australian, Scott Robert Hansen, in the way it was suggested it would be according to theory, in that they took advantage of a provocative news story. As a result, this increased the chances of their campaign being picked up by the media.

The next theme, *WCST*, is looked at in more detail because the way it is presented can differ substantially between Terre des Hommes and the media. Moreover, Terre des Hommes mentions the difficulty in defining web-cam sex tourism, as explained in the interview: "There are some people for whom the word tourism is confusing. Tourism here is not about travelling to a new place but about doing a virtual trip to sexually abuse children" (Interview: Terre des Hommes, 2015). There is thus the risk, associated the misconception of *WCST*, of people focusing on tourism and not the issue of sexual abuse. In the press release, *WCST* has two sub codes, *definition* and *growing of WCST*. The *definition* found in the press release is as follow:

*Webcam Child Sex Tourism is a fast growing and serious form of child abuse. It involves adults paying to see children perform sexual acts, alone, with other children, or with adults, for example in countries like the Philippines, Thailand and Cambodia.* Press Release TDH

The sub code *growing* is considered noteworthy in the press release as it is coded three times and is the subject of the entire last paragraph of the article. There is thus a strong indication that in the press release Terre des Hommes wanted to emphasize the severity of the problem, as well as the need for immediate change to stop the increase of WCST.

*Fast growing problem* <sup>Press Release TDH</sup>

*Rapidly growing threat of Webcam Child Sex Tourism* <sup>Press Release TDH</sup>

*Webcam Child Sex Tourism is a fast growing and serious form of child abuse*

<sup>Press Release TDH</sup>

*Child abuse* is considered a main theme as it was referred to three times in the press release of Terre des Hommes. As argued by Cicchetti and Carlson (1989) the definition of child abuse shapes the way it is dealt with. Thus, the way WCST is emphasized by Terre des Hommes as a form of child abuse, child exploitation and child prostitution broadens the understanding of the definition and understanding of the definition of child abuse. By making those connections between the WCST and forms of child abuse.

*[...] fight against this form of child exploitation* <sup>Press Release TDH</sup>

*The conviction is a breakthrough in the fight against Webcam Child Sex*

*Tourism, a form of child abuse via webcam* <sup>Press Release TDH</sup>

*Proactive policy* is the final main theme, as its importance is highlighted in the interview with Terre des Hommes, the Communication officer stated that, “it is an important part of the press release, a conclusion, a recommendation from our research; there’s a lack of proactive policies to really tackle the problem. For us it was an important part of the message” (Interview: Terre des Hommes, 2015). In the press release, too, the need for proactive methods is mentioned each time the sharing of information or the failure to arrest the men is brought up. Terre des Hommes writes:

*"We wanted to show that it is very easy to fight this form of child exploitation. But in order to do so, authorities must start deploying proactive investigation methods. They cannot wait for the victims to file a report, as is usual for sex crimes, because these victims do not file report. Thus, the perpetrators go about their business unpunished. With Sweetie, we have shown that it is relatively easy to detect, identify, arrest and bring these offenders to justice."*

Press Release TDH

**Table 3. Frames used by Terre des Hommes in their Press release**

Frame	Sub-frame
<b>Conviction</b>	Triggering event
	Arrest
<b>WCST</b>	Definition
	Growing
<b>Child abuse</b>	n/a
<b>Proactive policies</b>	n/a

The frame used by Terre des Hommes is considered to be a positive frame as per the theory on positive frame of Druckman (2001); a positive frame reflects on the main information using a positive or negative tone. In this case the more negative the tone for WCST the more positive the frame. The theory also mentions the importance of the examples used, in this case the example is "the arrest". The arrest not only gives a very positive view on the capabilities of Sweetie but it also illustrates the success of Terre des Hommes. Proactive policies are also part of creating this positive frame as they offer a solution. Despite focusing on a negative topic like WCST, the press release has a more positive tone as it gives a solution and hope that this can be stopped. Thus, the press release by Terre des Hommes is framed in a positive way. The positive frame is the one that will now be used as a starting point to find the emerging frames in the media. The frames from the media are compared to the ones from the press release, the more positive frame the closer to the original frame of Terre des Hommes.

### 4.3 Analysis of the articles

#### 4.3.1 Overview of themes found in the media

Before delving into the analysis of the frames found the articles of the United Kingdom and Australian media, a general overview of the themes is shown below. These observations are important in highlighting the first steps of finding the frames used in the articles. As mentioned in the method section, the themes are directly related to meaning: when writing a story through a certain theme the media create a window through which the Sweetie campaign is placed (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

After multiple codings and recategorising the themes, eight main themes emerged, each with multiple subthemes, with most articles generally having two themes. These eight main themes, which are used to discover to discover frames, are *vigilantism*, *danger*, *WCST*, *crime*, *technology*, *paedophilia*, *campaign* and *government & law enforcements*. These themes are shown in Table 4, after which they will be discussed in detail.

**Table 4. Frequency of themes**

This table shows the frequency (count) of each theme, per country. Also shown is the percentage that each theme constitutes of total number of codes.						
	Australia		UK		Total	
Theme	Code count	% of total	Code count	% of total	Code count	% of total
<b>Campaign</b>	115	46.2%	85	31.8%	200	38.8%
<b>Gvt and Law</b>	39	15.7%	49	18.4%	88	17.1%
<b>WCST</b>	27	10.8%	55	20.6%	82	15.9%
<b>Paedophilia</b>	26	10.4%	26	9.7%	52	10.1%
<b>Crime</b>	19	7.6%	18	6.7%	37	7.2%
<b>Technology</b>	15	6.0%	11	4.1%	26	5.0%
<b>Danger</b>	8	3.2%	13	4.9%	21	4.1%
<b>Vigilantism</b>	0	0.0%	10	3.7%	10	1.9%
<b>Total</b>	249	100%	267	100%	516	100%

## Theme 1: Campaign

The main theme that was coded the highest amount overall is *CAMPAIGN*, which refers to the way the media discuss the operation and goals of the Sweetie campaign. This theme was coded 38.8% of the total of Australian and United Kingdom media. The most interesting results are found in the codes that mention background information, listed below

*YouTube* coded 3.5% of total *CAMPAIGN* for every link to the Sweetie video or mentioning that there is a video on YouTube that can provide more information.

*Link*, which is when an actual link directed the reader back to the Terre des Hommes website or Sweetie campaign, was only found once in United Kingdom newspaper SkyNews (0.5% of total *CAMPAIGN*).

*Report* coded twice (1%, 2 UK, 0 Australia), which was when an article mentioned the report on WCST by Terre des Hommes.

*Petition* coded twice, as well (1%, 1 UK, 1 Australia), when the petition of Terre des Hommes is mentioned, such as:

*“Petition calling for governments and police to do more to crack down on such underage sex shows”* Telegraph 33

These results are noteworthy due to the fact that they only represent 6% of the total codes within the *CAMPAIGN* theme. This shows that for the majority of the time, the articles did not mention any background or extra information on Terre des Hommes or the Sweetie campaign, implying that readers of the articles were rarely informed of the context or organisation behind the campaign.

Complementing these findings are the words used to describe Sweetie. Both United Kingdom and Australian media usually talked about Sweetie in the title or the first few lines of the article, and often go straight to calling Sweetie a digitally-created avatar. The information following is then based on the use of the “avatar” or “computer-generated image” (CGI), and leads the reader to believe that it was the avatar that caught all those men. This then pulls the focus to the avatar and technological innovation, rather than the fight on WCST. This is all in spite of the fact that most of the men were caught using the “digitally-created profile”, without actually showing the image of Sweetie.

The last relevant finding within this theme is that most articles referred to the operation as a sting or international sting operating in both the United Kingdom and Australian media. A sting operation is an operation made to catch someone in the act of committing a crime, and, being a well-known phrase, is easy to relate to as a reader. Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009) explain that this type of simplification helps the reader create an association with the issue.

## **Theme 2: GVT & LAW**

The second main theme is *GVT & LAW*, which represents what was mentioned about governments and law enforcements and in what ways. This theme is coded for 17.1% of the total of Australian and United Kingdom media.

Within this theme two significant findings are observed. First, is that the code *policies*, which is found in the press release of Terre des Hommes, is also found in the newspaper articles. As when looking at the Terre des Hommes press release, the *policies* code was broken down into its two sub codes, *proactive* and *reactive*. The former was coded 68% (17 times) of the total of *policies*, and the latter 32% of the total of *policies*, showing that the majority of articles mentioned that proactive policies are the solution to WCST, but less often mentioned that there are issues with the reactive policies currently in place.

*"We want governments to adopt proactive investigation policies that give law enforcement agencies the mandate to actively patrol public Internet hotspots where this child abuse is taking place every day. The child predators doing this now feel that the law doesn't apply to them. The Internet is free, but not lawless."* Independent 39, Telegraph 33 & Mail Online 50

The next finding, in the code *failure of law enforcements*, which coded 28.6% of the theme *gvt & law*, shows that a substantial number of the articles place the blame on law enforcement. Furthermore, the code *sharing of information* coded 52.4% of *gvt & law*, meaning that a majority of the articles mention that Terre des Hommes gives the information to law enforcements or that it wants to work with law enforcement. This supports the reality that Terre des Hommes is indeed willing to share its findings and collaborate with governments and law enforcement, as discussed in chapter 2.



### Theme 3: WCST

WCST as an overall theme is analysed to see how the issue is portrayed in the media. The code *WCST definition*, representing whether or not a definition is given, was coded for 15.9% of the theme. However, the definitions given in these cases were not always identical to the one found in the Terre des Hommes in the press release. Below are two examples of definitions in the articles.

*Webcam child sex tourism is a new phenomenon that's spreading like an epidemic. Men from rich countries pay children in poor countries to perform sexual acts in front of webcam.* ABC 26

*Predators from wealthy countries are paying to watch in direct children to perform live sex shows via webcam. These children are often forced and many of these children are even as young as only six years old.* ABC 26

Other articles put more focus on the details of the men that use WCST, while others defined it by referring to the low amount of risk for the predators, which usually related to the spread of the *internet* and the code *need for change*. While these definitions may be accurate and beneficial to the campaign, it is worthwhile mentioning that the closer the definition is to that of the actual campaign's, the better the chances of the reader in interpreting the information correctly. This is given the understanding of the media in shaping the public's interpretation of the message (Koopman & Duyvendak, 1995). By defining WCST in a way dissimilar to Terre des Hommes, the articles shape their readers' views in a way that Terre des Hommes may not have intended.

Another code in the theme WCST, *Growing*, which was that was found in the Terre des Hommes press release as well as the newspaper articles, coded for 25.6% of the total. It was used when the article mentioned WCST as a problem that was increasing, growing or spreading. This code is significant, as it relates to the severity of the problem. This is an important part of the press release, reflecting on the goal of Terre des Hommes to inform the public of the need for change by highlighting how bad the situation is getting.

Interestingly, the code most found within this theme was *need for change*, showing that when the articles focused on Web-cam sex tourism they also emphasized the importance of the goal of the campaign.

Complementing these findings are the codes *global problem* and *background information*, which were both found 7.3% of the time in the articles. *Global problem* is coded when the articles mentioned number of countries in which WCST is a problem, while *Background information* coded for information on the context of the issue, such as the growth of online grooming. The relative infrequency of these codes is relevant, as it means that most articles did not provide contextual information to the problem, but rather focus on the specific event. This arguably reduces the chances of social change, as readers are not provided with the bigger picture in which to place the event, and do not see the magnitude of the problem..

#### **Theme 4: Paedophilia**

The next theme, *Paedophilia*, coded for 10.1% of the total themes. The codes within this theme show how paedophilia is presented in the articles. It is found that not every article refers to the men in the same way: 16.0% of the articles refer to them as *paedophiles*, 10.0% as *western men*, 8% as *predators*, and 4% as *groomers*. This is understood as being part of the difficulty of having a uniform definition for child abuse, which may act as another barrier for audiences to fully understand the issue. As WCST is a new phenomenon there are no set terms.

#### **Theme 5: Crime**

*Crime* as an overall theme coded 7.2% of the total themes, and is similar to the theme *conviction* found in the press release. Within this theme, two main findings are worth discussing: First, the code *triggering-event* coded 64.9% of the total theme, showing that most articles mentioned the arrest of Hansen in Brisbane, just as Terre des Hommes did in the press release.

A second finding is that besides Hansen's, other arrests of this nature were mentioned in the articles, coded as *arrest*. *Triggering event* and *arrest* are kept distinct as the former looks specifically at how, and if, the media used the triggering event, by for example focusing on the details of the arrest to create a positive image of Sweetie by giving a negative image of Hansen. *Arrest*, on the other hand, highlights different examples of other crimes to give a broader perspective on the problem, showing that

not only Terre des Hommes is fighting WCST.

### **Theme 6: Technology**

The theme *Technology* coded for 5% of the total amount of themes, and contained the codes *CGI* (coded 53.8% of total), *avatar* and *virtual*, which relate to the different names given to Sweetie in the articles when referring to technological aspect of the campaign. *Technology as solution* is coded when the article conclude that technological innovations such as Sweetie are what can put a stop to WCST:

*But the fact advances in technology are being used to combat the very activities it has facilitated, such as webcams, is undoubtedly positive.*

Telegraph 32

Overall this theme shows that some of the newspaper articles used the technological angle of the campaign, focusing on technological advancement and innovation.

### **Theme 7 & 8: Danger and Vigilantism**

The two last themes *Danger* (4.1%) and *Vigilantism* (1.9%) coded for the remaining 5% of the themes. Even though these are the least common they are noteworthy as they reflect a negative frame of the Sweetie campaign.

## **4.4 Moving from themes to frames**

As mentioned in the theory, the frames that have been researched are the positive frame, negative frame, collective frame and the responsibility frame. As seen in Table 6, each of these frames is associated with the themes that reflect it.

The positive frame is assigned four themes: *WCST*, *Campaign*, *Crime* and *Paedophilia*. These are chosen as they reflect the same framing as the one used by Terre des Hommes. Secondly, the negative frame is assigned *Danger* and *vigilantism* as these themes clearly have a negative connotation. The collective frame, on the other hand, is more complex, requiring different themes to create the frame, including themes related to the problem, the cause of the problem, and the solution. The first relevant theme included in this frame is thus *WCST*, along with its code, *need for change*, representing the problem of WCST and showing its severity. The next to be included in the collective frame is the theme *GVT & LAW* with the code *failure of law*

*enforcements*, representing who is to blame. The final component of the collective frame, the solution, is assigned the themes *Technology*, but more specifically the code *technology as a solution*, *Policies*, and *Sweetie*, through one of its potential positive codes. Lastly, the responsibility frame is assigned the *GVT& LAW* theme, as the government, along with law enforcement, is the body that is responsible for the safety of citizens. The government can thus be blamed for the continued existence of WCST, which is what Terre des Hommes does. The next step was to look through the coding sheets to find the articles that were assigned to the aforementioned themes, which thus related to the corresponding frame. As shown bellow in Table 7, the most found frame was the positive frame followed by the negative frame, responsibility frame and finally the collective frame. Each frame is then discussed in detail.

**Table 6. Frames and themes**

Frames	Themes
<b>Positive frame</b>	WCST, Campaign, Crime, Paedophilia
<b>Negative frame</b>	Danger, Vigilantism
<b>Collective frame</b>	WCST (need for change) GVT & LAW (failure of law enforcements), Technology (technology as solution) or Sweetie
<b>Responsibility frame</b>	Gvt & Law

**Table 7. Percentage of frames found**

Frames	Number of articles	Percentage of total
<b>Positive</b>	22	50.0%
<b>Negative</b>	8	18.2%
<b>Positive (short article)</b>	7	15.9%
<b>Responsibility</b>	5	11.4%
<b>Collective</b>	2	4.5%
<b>Total</b>	44	100%

#### 4.4.1 Positive frame

Positive and negative frames are the most common types of framing found in the news, according to Tucker (2009) and Druckman (2001), and in this research were found in 55.9% (29 articles) of the articles. The positive frame was the most used frame by the articles with a total of 50% (22 articles) of the total of frames found. It was assigned to an article when the Sweetie campaign was framed in a similar way as framed by Terre des Hommes, as Terre des Hommes used a positive frame in their press release. Two factors that were taken into consideration when identifying the positive frame were when the media talked about the campaign as an innovation or as global action. The media also generally supported their positive view of the campaign with how effective it was, stating the amount of men identified, which was coded as *specifics of men*. Negative words or a negative symbolic representation of WCST were also taken into account when looking for positive frames, as generally the more negative WCST is presented, the more positive the work of Terre des Hommes is presented. Examples of negative words are “*sinister phenomenon*” and “*cottage industry*”.

Two other positive codes found are *sharing of information* and *working with law enforcements*, which are similar in what they represent and both considered positive. When an article discussed Terre des Hommes sharing the information with law enforcement, it appeared to give a positive attitude towards Terre des Hommes and the campaign, giving the impression that they have done their part and are willing to collaborate with law enforcements to stop these predators. When the legality of the operation is emphasized, it is also considered to add to the positive framing, considering that there is a lot of controversy around the Sweetie campaign related to the creation of the “fake child”. Articles here made a point to say that the Sweetie operation only used legal techniques, or “nothing the police would not do”.

The *TDH* code, which is within the main theme CAMPAIGN, also adds fits in the positive frame, and refers to words or sentences used to describe Terre des Hommes and its actions. Although technically the code has the possibility to be either positive or negative, it was found to be primarily positive, having the following sub codes: *charity*, *NGO*, *petition to gain support*, *aim* and *global effort*. Such sub codes add to the reader’s knowledge on Terre des Hommes, making the campaign and WCST seem more tangible and not just about the avatar technology.

The theme *WCST* also shows a positive frame when coded for a definition or direct quote used by Terre des Hommes. Furthermore, its codes *global problem*, *growing*, and *internet* add to the positive frame, reflecting the codes Terre des Hommes used in their own press release.

Within the positive frame, the short articles were also categorized as positive, representing 15.9% of the total of positive frames. Interestingly, what most articles of this length chose to focus on was the arrest of Hansen, with the code *triggering event* appearing in five out of seven articles. This highlights that the arrest of Hansen was one of the key factors in helping the Sweetie campaign get media coverage.

### **Summary of positive frame**

The positive frame, based on the positive frame of Terre des Hommes' press release, was the most common frame found in the newspaper articles. This type of frame, as mentioned in the theory, typically looks at the story through a positive lens, found when articles define the problem and emphasize the negativity of it, while at the same time using positive words to describe the solution (Druckman, 2001; Tucker, 2009).

In the Sweetie campaign, the positive frame related to when the articles emphasized how effective the operation was and the gravity of the problem of WCST. Another interesting result is how many articles support what Price, Tewksbury and Powers (1997) argue, namely that media organisations are pressured into producing stories that are "attention-getting". This is seen by how many articles only mentioned the triggering event, following an *episodic* perspective rather than covering background information on the issue of WCST.

### **4.4.2 Negative frame**

The negative frame was found in eight articles, representing 18.2% of the total amount of articles. The negative frame was attributed when the article discussed the controversy behind the campaign, which is if it was coded for *vigilantism* or *danger*. These codes would come up when the article discussed the risks carried by such operations and how they should be left to the police rather, not an NGO. This latter focus, *vigilantism*, was found in three of the eight articles, and used negative words to define Sweetie and the operation, such as *digital sleuths*, *entrapment*, *lure* and *breaking the law*. The key phrases of the text also reflect the negative frame:

*Worse still, vigilante mobs sometimes decide to take against someone for no particular reason and determine that justice should be served.* <sup>Telegraph 14</sup>

*Is this the shape of things to come? The police hope not. They believe these matters are best left to the professionals, that it is potentially dangerous to engage in vigilantism, and that entrapment can result in courts throwing cases out.* <sup>Telegraph 13</sup>

The *danger* theme was assigned when the article coded for words such as *luring* or *entices*, which emphasized the risks associated with contacting the predators., These articles would also often mention previous cases that had gone wrong or had resulted in false accusations. This was the case for four of the articles, which stated:

*Police reacted to the unusual operation with caution, saying that complex undercover work should be left to law enforcement workers. Europol spokesman Soren Pedersen said: We believe that criminal investigations using intrusive surveillance measures should be the exclusive responsibility of law enforcement agencies.* <sup>Daily Mail 31</sup>

*But there are serious doubts about whether the evidence gathered from a fake profile set up by a charity in the Netherlands called Terre Des Hommes would be admissible in British courts.* <sup>Independent 34</sup>

*Controversy surrounds the emergence of smaller groups in the United Kingdom describing themselves as paedophile “hunters”.* <sup>Guardian 28</sup>

*This may prove controversial following the NCA's previous admission that it had failed to pass on information from Canadian police in 2012.* <sup>BBC 17</sup>

An important point is that in two of the articles (ABC 10 and ABC 26) for the code *danger* was not enough to constitute a negative frame. The reason is that the mentions of the dangers of the operation were not made by credible individuals. By not having an expert asserting that the campaign was running risks, the message, and thus the

negative frame, was not conveyed. In contrast, the *Daily Mail 31* quotes individuals from national and international law enforcement agencies, whose opinions carry more weight, and thus more concretely establish a negative frame.

*Andy Baker, of the National Crime Agency, said tackling child sex abusers is best left to specialist law enforcement agencies'.*

*Europol spokesman Soren Pedersen said: We believe that criminal investigations using intrusive surveillance (...)* Daily Mail 31

### **Summary of the negative frame**

The negative frame was relatively easier to find, as it directly used examples with which to compare the Sweetie operation, such as cases of vigilantism or witch-hunts. Moreover, after the positive frame, negative frame is the second most found frame, which supports Druckman (2009) and Tucker (2001). They argue that these two are the most common found frames, presenting the same issue but one in a positive way and one in a negative. Just as for the positive frame, Tucker (2001) and Druckman (2009) mention that the negative frame presents the same issue, but instead of putting a positive solution it highlights the dangers of doing such an operation. Furthermore, this was somewhat expected, as discussed with Terre des Hommes

*“The first time (governments & law enforcements) they were not amused. Because all of a sudden they presented with 1000 people and the way we collected the information they did not amuse them, because they did not know before we gave them the report”*

*“Because we knew police would tell us to not do it that way and it would be gone. So now we do talk to them, we inform them both in the Netherlands and abroad so they know what we are doing but it's not really like working together. But they know what we're going to do and going to hand out the information”*

*(interview: Terre des Hommes, 2015).*

The negative frame from the media that was focused on the dangers of doing such work is thus expected, as this was also part of the plan of Terre des Hommes and considering that only 18.2% of the articles had a negative frame, keeping their operation a secret and using the controversy worked to their advantage. And, as they



mention government & law enforcements are now aware and not putting a stop to the operation. Terre des Hommes have proven showing their techniques are efficient at doing the work that law enforcements are not doing.

#### 4.4.3 Responsibility frame

The responsibility frame was found 11.4% of the time, and was assigned when the article's main theme was *GVT&LAW*. This is because the sub codes of the theme are *sharing of information* and *failure of law enforcements*, which both reflect the article putting the blame on the government and law enforcement. As with the reporting on WCST in chapter 2, when articles provide a great amount of detail on the issue, in this case the failure of government and law enforcement, it becomes more likely that the reader agrees. In the case of the Sweetie campaign, the shortcoming of government and law enforcement is, as stated in the press release, to be the reactive policies, which Terre des Hommes advocates should be changed in favour of more proactive policies. *Proactive policies* and *reactive policies* are sub codes of the code *policies* in the *GVT&LAW* theme. An interesting result of analysing the responsibility frame is that when an article was assigned this frame, it typically coded for every code of the theme, with an example in Australian media shown below:

*Terre des Hommes Netherlands has now handed over to police the identities of those who were willing to pay children in developing countries for online sex, a growing phenomenon, it said. (sharing of information)* <sup>The Australian 18</sup>

*Using this information, researchers identified the abusers and passed the information on to police. (sharing of information)* <sup>The Australian 18</sup>

*"The biggest problem is that the police don't take action until child victims file reports, but children almost never report these crimes," said head of campaigns Hans Guyt. (failure of law enforcements)* <sup>The Australian 18</sup>

*"But OK, we are not prosecutors, we are not judges, it will be for them to decide what to do with the elements we gave them," (Gvt&Law)* <sup>The Australian 18</sup>

*Terre des Hommes said, also announcing an online petition to pressure*

*governments to adopt proactive investigation policies. Yet only six people have been convicted of engaging in webcam child sex tourism in the world, the rights group said. "It would have been easy with greater resources to identify 10,000 people," Mr Guyt said. (Proactive policies)* <sup>The Australian 18</sup>

### **Summary of responsibility frame**

The responsibility frame is one of particular relevance to this research because the task of fighting a societal problem such as WCST is typically something that is entrusted to the government. The articles reflected the opinion of the press release, namely that there is an issue with the way WCST is being tackled currently, but that Terre des Hommes took a proactive approach and was willing to share information and their toolkit with law enforcement. Neuman et al. (1992) further discuss how the amount of information given can affect how the audience understands the blame. As shown in the results of the responsibility frame, the articles not only put the blame on the government and law enforcement but also explain why the blame should be put on them. They do so, for example, by focusing on how successful and easy it was for Terre des Hommes to find the details of the predators. The analysis of these articles thus show that the media conveyed the idea that the government and law enforcement have failed, mainly due to their lack of proactive techniques.

#### **4.4.4 Collective frame**

The collective frame was assigned when the article had the right mix of themes. As explained above, a problem needs to be mentioned (Theme: *WCST*), and it needs to be mentioned in a way that the reader understands the gravity of the issue and feels the need to take action. The article also needs to put the blame on someone or something (Theme: *GVT&LAW*), and it eventually needs to give a solution to this problem (Theme: *Technology; Policies*). The collective frame was found in two articles only (4.5%), but both are considered to be clear examples of what a collective frame is in the case of the Sweetie campaign; both mention every code and theme necessary, using language that emphasize the issue, blame and solution, as shown in the example below from the Independent 35.

*The results were shocking, according to the group's project director Has Guyt.*

*"If we don't intervene soon, this sinister phenomenon will totally run out of control," Mr Guyt said, describing it as a "cottage" industry that needs to be stamped out now*

These two extracts taken from the article illustrate how an emphasis is put on the issue, using words such as “shocking”, “sinister” and “cottage industry”. Such strong language paints a disturbing picture of WCST and shows the gravity of the problem. Saying, “if we don’t intervene soon” also gives a note of urgency and acts as a call for action.

*Using basic online search techniques, Mr Guyt's team at a small, remote office outside Amsterdam was able to compile a dossier of 1,000 named internet users, complete with written and video evidence, engaged in the illegal activity.*

Through the above mentioned quotation the article not only emphasizes illegality of what Terre des Hommes is trying to fight, but also makes the reader realise that something can easily be done, as they only used “basic techniques”. This is already a note of blame in the article.

*The group has begun an online petition calling for action against webcam child sex tourism, and posted a documentary about its 10-week investigation on its YouTube channel.*

With the gravity of the situation emphasized, the article also mentions a way in which people can take action against WCST, namely an online petition.

*Terres des Hommes have passed their findings on to Interpol, but the online abusers will only be prosecuted if police can find evidence in their own investigations. The group said only six perpetrators of what they call "webcam child sex tourism" have ever been convicted of the crime worldwide.*

The article more explicitly references blame, coded as GVT&LAW, through the mention of how Terre des Hommes can only do so much, namely share the

information to governments. In the end it is up to law enforcement, which apparently has only convicted six predators.

*"We want governments to adopt proactive investigation policies that give law enforcement agencies the mandate to actively patrol public Internet hotspots where this child abuse is taking place every day"*

Finally, the mention of proactive policies represents the solution to the problem of WCST, while also linking back to the failure of governments and law enforcement,

Besides Independent 35, the only other article to fulfil all the conditions for a collective frame was Telegraph 32. However, this article was structured slightly differently, as it did not blame the problem on the failure of law enforcement, but on poverty and the internet. As a solution, instead of proactive policies it gave the technological innovation of Sweetie (more on the framing on the article can be found in the Appendix G). Besides these two, no other article fulfilled all the conditions to be assigned a collective frame, usually only focusing on the problem of WCST. Nevertheless, despite being only two, these articles were highly interesting due to the amount of information they covered.

### **Summary of collective frames**

As defined by Benford & Snow (2000), collective frames can be considered action frames, as they are meant to capture the public to mobilize them to join the fight against WCST.

This was also mentioned in the interview by Terre des Hommes who discussed the hope they had in using the media, saying:

*"To involve public, to provide friction so that they could do something about the problem by signing the petition to address the problem to the international community to build our case" (interview: Terre des Hommes, 2015)*

As mentioned, despite being found in only two articles, each covered a lot of information, consisting of problem, the one to blame, and the solution, which is

exactly what is spoken in theory. It is considered to be done very well as each element mentioned in the theory was found. Moreover, in the interview Terre des Hommes mention:

*“We saw that the percentage of people that know Terre des Hommes has increased quite a bit. So, it did help position ourselves as an association that want to fight child exploitation“ (interview, Terre des Hommes, 2015)*

Thus, it can be argued that the results of the framing of the articles do reflect what was expected from what was discussed in the theory.

#### **4.5 Zoom in on WCST**

Framing creates a window with which a topic can be understood, but also creates the space for the discourse. Media coverage of an issue immediately increases concern, but the coverage itself fades and what is left is the discussion that happens through the creation of media discourse (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). It is thus through a discourse analysis that a more in depth look of WCST can be done. Terre des Hommes states that getting media coverage is “meant to get the discussion going” (interview: Terre des Hommes, 2015), but the attention of the public is one thing, while the public discusses it is another. By analysing the media discourse of WCST it is possible to understand the way it was portrayed, and thus the way the public will discuss and understand it, even after the media coverage ends. As mentioned in the theory, this is important as WCST falls under the concept of child abuse but the very definition of child abuse has changed over the years from a purely medical term to psychological abuses. The analysis consisted of finding all the key words and phrases used to describe or talk about WCST mainly focusing on whether or not the article makes the connection to child abuse or child prostitution.

The results show that the most common definition found of WCST is as a trade between a man and a child through the internet. Being an accurate definition, this ensures that readers have a baseline understanding of the issue.

*Predators from wealthy countries are paying to watch in direct children to perform live sex shows via webcam. These children are **often forced** and many of these children are even **as young as only six years old*** <sup>ABC 26</sup>

*Once payment has been received, often via an online money transfer service, they will perform in front of a webcam with the images sent via a private chat room.* <sup>Mail Online 51</sup>

*They target **pedophiles**, who would ask Sweetie to perform **sex acts** in from of a webcam for cash.* <sup>News.com.au 23</sup>

*"They were ready to pay Sweetie for sexual acts in front of her webcam," the rights group's head Albert Jaap van Santbrink told journalists in The Hague.* <sup>News.com.au 24</sup>

*Terre des Hommes Netherlands handed police the identities of those who were willing to pay children in developing countries for **online sex**, a growing phenomenon.* <sup>The Australian 41</sup>

The results also show that some articles mention in detail the harm of WCST to the children. By doing so, the impact of the message increases, as people are likely to become more emotional when reading about the harm done to the children. This can improve the likelihood of WCST being viewed as a pressing issue. Moreover, the harm that is written about accurately describes what happens to children, thereby conveying to readers accurately the risks posed by WCST. For example:

*"They have no idea about normal relationships, they have no idea about sexuality and what makes it worse is that it is on the increase, therefore we have sifted our attention to the demand side," he said.* <sup>Mail Online 48</sup>

*Head of the programme, Hans Guyt says the children they are dealing with suffer from depression, anxiety and aggression.*

It is also worth noting the choice of words often used in the definition of WCST, such as “pedophile”, “online sex”, “sex acts” and “forced”. In the context of children and the internet, these words carry a lot of negative connotation, further increasing the impact on readers. Furthermore, some articles were more direct in relating it to sexual abuse or child abuse:

*In the age of the internet, groomers don't even need to leave the house to sexually harm children.* <sup>Telegraph 15</sup>

Here the article directly links WCST to the sexual harm of children, but even when abuse is not explicitly mentioned, the way it is presented still falls within the scope of child abuse using words such as “predators” and “victims”.

*We know that sexual predators will use the internet to target victims and network with other offenders to share images.* <sup>Telegraph 16</sup>

Occasionally, the articles discuss WCST as sex tourism. This was also mentioned by Terre des Hommes who said it can sometimes confuse the public, as they focus on the tourism rather than child abuse side of the definition.

*Sex tourists in Southeast Asia were increasingly exploiting children from their own homes due to the rise in high speed internet connections.* <sup>Telegraph 32</sup>

In this quotation, WCST is related to sex tourism yet very clearly mentions that it involves the exploitation of children from their own homes, which in line with the definition used by the United Nations (UN) to define child abuse (as shown in Chapter 2 part 2.1).

As seen below, WCST is also sometimes related to child pornography, which is already a well-defined term that makes it easier for the public to comprehend it as a form of child abuse.

*"Our worst scenario is that the same thing will happen with this as has happened with child pornography - that is now a multibillion dollar industry in the hands of criminal gangs."* Independent 39

A final way that WCST is presented is as “child prostitution”, which relates directly to the stated goal of Terre des Hommes: “Combating child prostitution”. What is noted is that child prostitution is still prevalent, but has just moved online with the advent of the internet.

*Terre des Hommes has for years worked to combat child prostitution in Southeast Asia and staff members noticed in recent years that young prostitutes were disappearing from their usual haunts: cafes, restaurants and hotels frequented by sex tourists.* Mail Online 51

*They discovered that sex tourists no longer have to leave their homes to exploit children, thanks to the proliferation of high-speed Internet connections, Guyt said.* Mail Online 51

### **Summary of portrayal of WCST**

As explained in the theory and through the analysis of the results, the definition of WCST is as important as the understanding that people have of it. These two elements both in turn affect the discussion that will take place on the problem. Even though only a brief discourse analysis was conducted, the results are considered meaningful enough to say that WCST, defined as a trade or payment between men and children over the internet, is indeed perceived and represented as a form of child abuse. Conveying this to readers was made stronger as some of the articles were very explicit in the way they defined WCST, connecting it to child pornography or child prostitution. Some of the articles also mention that this is a new phenomenon, one that is a form of child prostitution, but one where predators do not even have to leave their house. This novel form of child prostitution, however, is seen to still fall under the concept of child abuse, and the reader is able to understand it as a next stage in its development.



#### 4.6 Zoom in on proactive policies

The last part of the results focuses on the way the message of proactive policies is mentioned, the analysis of which is important in assessing the position of the media. If there is no mention in the media of proactive policies at all, it would arguably mean that the media is reducing the chances of the campaign to be effective against its key target, as it is not conveying the key strategy to fight WCST. The analysis consisted of finding the amount of times the message of proactive policies was mentioned and to look in more depth at how they were mentioned. As explained previously through the findings of the theme *GVT&LAW*, proactive policies are mentioned 68% of the total of articles that coded for *policies*; reactive policies coded for 32%. This shows that when articles mentioned policies, proactive policies were mentioned more often than the reactive policies. Articles also cited the director of the project at Terre des Hommes when doing so. Furthermore, some of the articles took a very direct approach to conveying the message by directly stating that Terre des Hommes wants governments and law enforcement to adopt proactive policies, but without giving more details as to what proactive policies actually are, as seen below.

*He added that police had to be more proactive. "The only way to try and find these people is to patrol the internet," he said.* <sup>BBC 7</sup>

*"Terre des Hommes said [it is] also announcing an online petition to pressure governments to adopt proactive investigation policies."* <sup>News.com.au 24</sup>

On the other hand, other articles made it clearer to the reader by mentioning that Terre des Hommes wants the police to change tactics, explaining that the current policies are reactive policies and are not best to tackle the problem.

*Will Ockenden: Terre des Hommes says it wants police forces around the world to focus more on proactively tracking down people who start sex- based web and video chats with minors. Reactive: It says currently, many police forces rely on "out-dated models of reactive investigation". That generally means that they have to wait for child victims, or their parents, to report the crimes of online predators.* <sup>ABC 26</sup>

Other articles gave further detail on the rationale for proactive policies, by mentioning

how easy it was for Terre des Hommes to catch the men in the act and find their identity using basic tactics.

*We have found their names, their addresses, their phone numbers, we took photographs and we took video footage as evidence. And today, just today we handed over a hard-disk with all these details of those predators to the police authorities.*

*"If we were able to identify 1,000 individuals in just two and a half months last summer, think how many of these people could be identified if governments took a more active approach," Albert Jaap Van Santbrink, the group's director, told ABC News.* <sup>ABC 10</sup>

Finally, some of the articles mention proactive policies by mentioning the issues related to the use of reactive policies. Although they do not explicitly say “reactive policies”, they highlight the problems with the current techniques and then suggest the solution as proactive policies.

*The traditional investigative operation is they (police) wait for victims to file a complaint and obviously these minors, they're never going to file a complaint. "It's not enough, you have to pro-actively catch the offenders." "We've proved that it's relatively easy to identify people and bring them to court".* <sup>Mail Online 48</sup>

*He said: "The predator won't come forward, the prey won't come forward. "This requires a new way of policing. "We identified ourselves as ten-year-old girl Filipino girls. We did not solicit anything unless it was offered to us."*

*Mr Guyt urged authorities to be more proactive in tackling the problem of webcam sex with minors, which usually involves men from Western countries paying children from poorer nations for sex shows.* <sup>Telegraph 33</sup>

### **Summary of the mention of proactive policies**

The proactive policy message is mentioned in four main ways. The first two are when the articles either went straight to the point by saying that Terre des Hommes wants government and law enforcement to change their ways of tackling

WCST, or they explain the need for proactive policies by mentioning the failure of current reactive policies. Some articles stress this point this by emphasizing the simplicity of using proactive techniques, stating how simple it would be for government and law enforcement to do it, as well. In another article, the reactive policies were assessed as ineffective thus the need for proactive policies. Lastly, some articles did not mention reactive policies, but instead explain the issue of children not reporting the abuse suggesting government and law enforcement should prevent such abuse by patrolling the internet and using proactive techniques.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion & Discussion**

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The following chapter discusses the data analysis presented in the previous chapter and draws conclusions from them. First a summary of the key findings of the results is given, followed by a recapitulation of the theory. Next, conclusions are made based on the basis of the analysis. These results are discussed and interpreted through the use of the theory, answering the research question and sub-questions. This is followed by a discussion about the relevance of the findings. Finally, limitations and future research are discussed.

### **5.1 Conclusion**

#### **5.1.1 Summary of key findings**

In the results presented above, some findings stand out in the way they link to the theories on framing, and will be the focus of the discussion in the following section. Key findings include the use of a positive frame in press release of Terre des Hommes, as do 55.9% of the newspaper articles found. The other 44.1% of the frames are divided between negative frame (18.2%), responsibility frame (11.4%) and conflict frame (4.5%). Furthermore, within the positive frames, 15.9% are short articles that focus on the triggering-event. When focusing on web-cam sex tourism (WCST), it is primarily defined as payment to a child in exchange for sex on webcam. Also, the words used in the articles place WCST within the widely-accepted definition of child abuse. Lastly, it was found that proactive policies are mentioned more often than reactive policies, and that they are mentioned when the article focused on the blame on the government and law enforcement. The proactive policies, on the other hand, were mentioned in four main ways: by using a direct definition or quote by Hans Guy, the director of the Sweetie campaign; by explaining the problem of reactive policies or the reason why no predator is currently being identified; or by explaining proactive policies methods.

#### **5.1.2 Summary of key theories**

As discussed in Chapter 2, the most commonly-used frames are positive and negative (Druckman, 2001 and Tucker, 2009), and the same frame is usually used repeatedly for the story to be easier to follow for the public. Moreover, there is evidence that citizens will base their opinions on the way the information is presented

(Druckman, 2001). Therefore, if the same frame is repeated again and again public opinion will likely be shaped by it. Additionally, frames are discussed to be the tool that construct a story to make it appealing to the reader. A triggering-event is argued to be necessary to initially arouse interest and bring the overall issue to the public through a real-life example (Nibset & Huges, 2006).

Regarding framing and policy changes, theory demonstrates that for policy change to happen the story's main focus needs to be on the problem at hand (Birkland & Lawrence, 2009). Moreover, not only does the framing need to be focused on the problem to enact policy change, but it also depends on the way the problem is explained (Koopmans & Duyvendak, 1995). However, even if the focus is on the problem, and a clear solution is suggested, there is still no guarantee that policy changes will happen overnight. Changes need to be made meaningful to society for policy change to actually happen (Titmuss, 1974). This type of change is known as social change at a societal level (Friedman & Ladinsky, 1967), and for such social change to happen efforts need to be made to stimulate discussion and increase awareness. The way the problem is discussed thus also affects the chances of people to take action for change. In other words, the problem needs to be understood as a societal problem that requires social change (Nelson, 1984). In the context of WCST, this relates to the fact that the issue needs to be defined as child abuse in order to be seen by society as an issue that requires social change.

### **5.1.3 Linking theory to the results**

The results of the media frames found in Australia and in the United Kingdom are presented first as these are directly linked to the research question: *How has the media framed the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes?* Although the study of frames was conducted through an inductive analysis, the results show that known frames, namely, the positive frame, negative frame, responsibility frame and collective frame, were the ones present in the articles. Furthermore, as mentioned in the summary of key findings, the positive frame is the one used by Terre des Hommes, which is also the most used frame by the newspaper articles, supporting Druckman (2001) and Tucker's (2009) argument. Thus, this frame is arguably the most influential to citizens' opinion. Additionally, in further support with theory, the story was constructed around the triggering-event. As public will campaigns face many struggles to gain media coverage, the Sweetie campaign benefitted from the

arrest of Scott Robert Hansen. The results also show that most of the articles did indeed focus on the campaign (38.8%), government and law enforcement (17.1%) or web-cam sex tourism (15.9%). This is a strong indication that media covered the most relevant topics of the Sweetie campaign.

The second most common frame was the negative frame which also follows the theory by Druckman (2001) and Tucker (2009). The articles using this frame took a completely different approach in the way they presented the Sweetie campaign. As opposed to those that had a positive frame, they focused on the controversy of such an operation and dramatized it by portraying it as vigilantism. Additionally, they gave examples of previous tragedies that have happened through such an operation, such as men committing suicide after being falsely-accused of paedophilia. The other two frames, the responsibility and collective frames were used substantially less than the positive and negative frames. They both had roughly the same amount of articles assigned to them.

An important observation on the results is the strength of the message conveyed in the articles with a collective frame articles, despite it being assigned to relatively few articles. As stated by Benford and Snow (2000) collective frames are useful to campaigns as they are considered action frames, providing information to increase awareness and gain support. After detailed analysis, the collective frame was found in two articles, both focusing on WCST as a growing problem that required solving. Additionally, the articles mentioned the petition by Terre des Hommes engaging the readers to join the fight against WCST. The amount of detail presented in these articles was striking, and do appear to have the most chance of mobilizing support. Interestingly however the solutions each article gave to fight WCST were different: one of them argued that the technology advancements represented by the avatar was the cause for the campaign's success; the other stressed the need of proactive policies, highlighting how successful Terre des Homme's approach was. As a frame that effectively calls for action, this is significant because the former solution focuses on something different than what Terre des Hommes does.

The responsibility frame as explained by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) is relevant, as well, as theory demonstrates that policy changes require the focus of the story to be on the issue with current reactive policies (Birkland & Lawrence, 2009). The results show that the articles within this frame place the blame on government

and law enforcement. Additionally, they focused on the reasons why they should be blamed by highlighting the ease of identifying these men if proactive techniques were used. As Neuman et al. (1992) argue, by providing such large amounts of detail to readers, the articles' message is more likely to be believed, which in this case is that governments have failed in the combatting of WCST.

By focusing more on proactive policies, the answer arises to the sub-question: *How was the message of proactive policy mentioned?* It was found that proactive policies were mentioned by giving direct quotes of the project director of the Sweetie campaign, Hans Guy. This is considered influential as taking the quote directly from the source and placing it within the government and law context makes it easy for the reader to understand what is needed to stop WCST, and who is responsible for implementing it.

Another way that proactive policies are mentioned is through explaining that children do not report the crimes, leaving predators at large. Explaining the need for proactive policies by referring to the negative outcome of their absence is considered effective, as it is simple enough for readers with no political background or previous knowledge of reactive policies to understand that the current way of tackling the problem is not working. This relates to the to the final way of illustrating the need for more proactive policies, which is through highlighting how easy it was for Terre des Hommes to catch these predators, collecting their information using legal and basic techniques. Contributing to this is the mention of the successful arrest of Scott Robert Hansen, painting a very positive image of the proactive techniques used.

The next relevant findings answer the sub-question: *How was WCST portrayed?* As mentioned in theory, the way WCST is discussed is an important factor in people understanding it as a societal issue and thus seeing the need for social change. As shown in the results, WCST was discussed as a form of child abuse. The definition was usually explained as “payment to a child in exchange of sex over webcam”, clearly stating that this involves a trade between an under-aged person in exchange of sexual favours. Even though the words “child abuse” were not directly stated, this definition is considered to be more than sufficient for people to understand WCST as a form of child abuse. Additionally, some the words used to define WCST were sometimes supported by evidence of chat logs between Sweetie and one of the predators, making it very clear to the readers that this type of crime is a form of child

abuse. Thus, placing WCST within the context of child abuse as a societal problem. This was compounded by the words used to describe WCST, were negative enough to shock people and appeal to their emotional side, which further convinces them of the need for social change.

## **5.2 Discussion**

Some general insights can be drawn from the findings of the research, the first being that the Sweetie campaign was fortunate for having such media coverage, as explained by Castells (2008) through his theory on agenda-setting. It is rare for NGO campaigns to have such coverage as the media is more concerned with factors such as profit and ratings and therefore typically focuses on infotainments. It can be argued that the Sweetie campaign overcame this by keeping the Sweetie operation and their campaign under the radar until it had the results that would shock society. They also did this by having the right ingredients in place for a positive media framing of the campaign: WCST affecting children from a relatively poor South East Asian country is an emotional issue for many, combined with a strong triggering event of the man from Australia, Scott Robert Hansen. Furthermore, the campaign used new and innovative technology never seen before, captivating the public. Lastly, it was run by an NGO operating with limited resources in a borderless internet world that lacks regulation and legal support, getting quick results when governments and law enforcers are perceived as slow.

Moreover, theory by McCombs and Shaw (1972) adds that the degree of media coverage influences what citizens perceive as important. The issue of WCST managed a large degree of coverage, contributing to its perception as important. Furthermore, even though the media typically used the triggering event, the new technology and the controversy as the attention-grabbers, many articles discussed the problem and possible solutions. In addition, the problem of WCST was portrayed as a severe and increasingly-practiced form of child abuse, and the solution was discussed as being a relatively simple one if law enforcement used the same proactive tools as Terre des homes. Thus, Terre des Hommes and the Sweetie campaign were portrayed as having a positive role, while at the same time portraying governments and law enforcement in a negative way.

These findings have social implications, as the degree to which people are aware of WCST and how Terre des Hommes is portrayed influences the chances of



them actively joining the fight against WCST. As far as the scope of the research shows, the media delivered a high amount of information to the public with a clear understanding of WCST and presenting Terre des Hommes in a positive light, thus facilitating the possibility for social change.

Moreover, concerning policy implications, as discussed in theory through the work of Gregson et al. (2001), policy changes do not happen over time, but a good indicator is to see progress. Terre des Hommes mentioned that arrests based on the results of their operations are still being made today, showing that progress is still happening. Though this does not mean that a switch from reactive to proactive policies will be implemented, it indicates a possible trend towards developing such practices. Furthermore, it is known through the interview that Terre des Hommes is doing a second Sweetie, and that this time law enforcement is aware and expecting the results in a year or two. Even though this is not a full collaboration between governments and Terre des Hommes, it points to a potential for change from reactive to proactive policies, thereby providing hope that WCST will be effectively fought

### **5.2.1 Limitations and future research**

The qualitative content analysis utilized in the thesis encountered limitations, which give rise to ideas for possible future research. =, with the first main restriction relating to the choice of method. As a qualitative content analysis, the research was done according to the author's own interpretation and perceptions. Thus, to strengthen the reliability of the coding of this research, additional research covering the same scope should be done.

The next restriction in this study is that only two countries were chosen to collect media articles and conduct the analysis. Future research should also include a wider range of countries to be able to improve the external validity on the findings of the media frames employed. Additionally, neither the country of origin of Terre des Hommes nor the Philippines was used. This was due to research time constraints. Future research, thus, could fill this gap, with the Philippines and Philippine media being of particular interest, as it is where the issue of WCST is being tackled. Additionally, some fieldwork additional would give a greater understanding of how the campaign is being implemented in the Philippines. This could be done through interviews, to discover what role the coverage of the Sweetie campaign played in people's understanding of WCST. Supplementary research would include exploring

whether or not the messages of the campaign created any measurable changes in the way it is being tackled in the Philippines, at the policy level.

The scope of this research was also limited as it only focused on the Sweetie campaign. As this campaign gained a lot of coverage compared to others, a comparative research between the Sweetie campaign and another public will campaign would be informative, shedding light on how others gain media coverage. Another limitation of this paper is that it was only focused on framing; a similar study could start by doing agenda-setting research, to which would be added the framing analysis. This would strengthen the impact of recognized frames. Finally, an alternative to studying the media frames is to study the effects of the media frames, thus the audience. This would entail conducting research using focus groups in order to discover how the frames used by the media affect and change the behaviour or attitudes of the audience.

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# Appendix A: Press Release by Terre des Hommes

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## Press release

Date 21-10-2014  
Ref. First conviction based on Sweetie project Terre des Hommes

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### Terre des Hommes welcomes first conviction for contact with Sweetie

An Australian man was sentenced yesterday, Tuesday October 21, to one year in prison for initiating and maintaining indecent chat conversations with Sweetie, the virtual minor girl developed by children's rights organization Terre des Hommes in 2013 to denounce the rapidly growing threat of Webcam Child Sex Tourism. "This is a major breakthrough in the fight against this form of child exploitation," said Hans Guijt, Terre des Hommes, project leader of the Sweetie campaign.

During ten weeks in 2013 a team of Terre des Hommes researchers frequented dozens of chat rooms under the profile of minor children, including that of a nine-year-old Filipino girl named Sweetie. Tens of thousands of men sought contact with her, most of them with sexual intentions. The team was able to identify by name and personal details one thousand people from 72 countries.

### Conviction

This information and the chat logs were transferred to Europol which then shared this information with police authorities in the countries concerned. This led to a number of arrests, including that of a man from Brisbane, Australia. The judge convicted this man on three charges, including "using a carriage service to transmit indecent communications to a child under 16". According to the judge it did not matter that in reality it was a virtual child, according to the verdict: "If you believe that's a 9 year old girl, then that's the law, that's good enough".

### Breakthrough

The conviction is a breakthrough in the fight against Webcam Child Sex Tourism, a form of child abuse via webcam, said Hans Guijt of Terre des Hommes, project leader of the Sweetie campaign:

"We wanted to show that it is very easy to fight this form of child exploitation. But in order to do so, authorities must start deploying proactive investigation methods. They can not wait for the victims to file a report, as is usual for sex crimes, because these victims do not file report. Thus, the perpetrators go about their business unpunished. With Sweetie, we have shown that it is relatively easy to detect, identify, arrest and bring these offenders to justice."

### Child Pornography

The convicted man has been convicted several times for child abuse since 1997 and had

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Vestigingen: Bolivia, Peru, Brazilië, Kenia, Tanzania, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, Cambodja, Indonesië en de Filipijnen.

pleaded guilty to all three charges: sending obscene photos to Sweetie, possession of child pornography and violating restrictions imposed by previous convictions. He was sentenced, in total, to two years imprisonment and twelve months of intensive corrective guidance. The man will also follow a sexual offenders treatment programme.

**Fast growing problem**

Webcam Child Sex Tourism is a fast growing and serious form of child abuse. It involves adults paying to see children perform sexual acts, alone, with other children, or with adults, for example in countries like the Philippines, Thailand and Cambodia. Traditional police methods do not tackle this exploitation. Terre des Hommes developed the Sweetie project to demonstrate the extent and seriousness of the problem and to show that another, proactive investigation method can be efficient in the fight against this phenomenon.

- end of press release -

**More information and interviews**

Paul Wolters, Interim Press Officer & Spokesperson Terre des Homes Netherlands  
phone +31 6 23 31 18 17  
mail: p.wolters@tdh.nl

For reports on Webcam Child Sex Tourism and the Sweetie movie:  
[www.youtube.com/user/sweetie](http://www.youtube.com/user/sweetie)

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*Terre des Hommes stops child exploitation in developing countries. With projects in the fields of education, health care and microcredit we give underprivileged children chances again.*

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Vestigingen: Bolivia, Peru, Brazilië, Kenia, Tanzania, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, Cambodja, Indonesië en de Filipijnen.

## **Appendix B: Interview with Terre des Hommes's Communication Officer**

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### **About Sweetie**

1. When did the Sweetie project first started?
2. Did any particular event drive the start of Sweetie? *Was there a particular case? Or event?*

**RQ:** *How has the media framed the Sweetie campaign by Terre des Hommes?*

### **Press expectations – power of the media**

TDH communication with the media

1. How was the communication going on with the media?
2. How does the dialogue with the media for such a campaign usually happen?
3. Did you do press releases? Reports? What was needed from TDH?
4. What kind of response did you receive from the media?
5. Did you alter the way you presented the Sweetie campaign to be able to gain such coverage?
6. Or how did you manage to draw such attention to the Sweetie campaign?

Expectations from the media

7. What were your expectations from the news?
8. How much did you think the press would discuss the Sweetie Campaign?
9. The campaign was discussed worldwide was this what you were aiming at? Or did this surprise you?

What about the way the Campaign was reported on:

The media have a strong impact on the way messages are understood and are able to shape societies opinions and views

10. What are your opinions on the media's messages on the Sweetie Campaign?
11. Were the messages the ones you were hoping for?
12. Were the meanings of the campaign well explained in the media?

The media effects are also limited because of the public's way of processing meaning out of what they get from the news

13. How did the public understand those meanings?

*SQ 1: How was WCST portrayed in the media discourse?*

The problem that is tackled by Sweetie in WCST, how much of this was reported on by the media? Looking at the way WCST is portrayed is to get a better understanding of what information the media delivers to the public, and thus what their participation in shaping the issue is.

14. How would you have WCST portrayed in the media?

15. When you spoke to the media was this something they were interested in?

16. Considering that you are experts on the issue, are you satisfied with the way the media shaped the issue of sex tourism?

17. Was it too little mentioned? Not mentioned correctly?

*Some articles focus on Sweetie as an innovation in technology, is this part of what you were aiming at when doing the campaign?*

*SQ 2: How was the message of the proactive policy mentioned?*

*It says on your report that you're aiming at changing government policies from reactive to proactive. Was this part of what you communicated to the news?*

18. Did you try to raise awareness through the media for the policies to change?

19. Is this the ultimate goal of TDH?

20. In your opinion has the media discussed it enough? Have you had interviews done about the policies? Or more specific reports?

Overall, were you pleased with the coverage you received?

If you could change certain things what would you change?

Have you had more media coverage since?

What do you think the future of Sweetie is?

## Appendix C: Coding Manual

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### 1. Unite number

*Unit number is the name of each saved article file. It is the name of the newspaper followed by a number. Code as.*

*BBC 1*

### 2. Date

*The date the article was published. Code in the format.*

*dd/mm/yyyy*

### 3. Newspaper Country

*The articles are either from the UK or from Australia. Code using the following format.*

*Australia*

*UK*

### 4. Newspaper

*Each article can come from the following list, the specific newspaper can be found at the top of each article. Code using the following list.*

### 5. Section of Newspaper

*Each article comes from a section of the newspaper, some may not be mentioned in which case code as: 'not mentioned'*

### 6. Word count

*The word count is usually stated either at the top of the article or at the bottom.*

*Word count: 9999*

### 7. Author

*Author of article is mentioned at the start of end of the article. Code as follow.*

*First name/Last name*

### 8. Title of article and focus of the title

*Title focus to look for 'Sweetie', 'Terre des Hommes', 'Webcam Sex Tourism' 'Arrest of man' if other code as 'other' and write the title*

**9. Focus or main topic**

*What does the article focus on? Two main topics maximum. The first topic is the main topic of the article, second topic is the topic that relates to the Sweetie campaign if it is not the main topic, if it is it then second topic can be another.*

**10. Sweetie Campaign**

*Does the article mention the campaign? What explanations do they give to the campaign? This can be coded for when the article mentions the campaign by Terre des Hommes or mentioning other parts of the campaign aside of the digitally created Sweetie.*

**11. Words to describe the campaign**

*Example of words that can be found: sting operation, vigilantism, breakthrough*

**12. WCST mentioned**

*Is a definition of WCST given? What are the main words given to describe it, what words are easily relatable to for readers*

**13. Proactive policies mentioned**

*Are proactive policies mentioned? Yes or no  
How are they mentioned? What are the words used to describe the policies?  
Examples given?*

**14. Themes**

*Main themes discussed in the article*

**15. Names and status of individuals presented or interviewed**

*Are people mentioned in the article, if so who are they and what are their status. Are quotes used?*

**16. Framing devices**

*Headlines, key phrases and words, symbolic representation, quotes, leads*

**17. Brief summary**

**18. Comments**

## Appendix D: Overview Of Data Collected

Source dd/mm/yy	Article code	Headline
BBC 05/11/13	BBC 3	Meet Sweetie, the girl catching online predators
BBC 05/11/13	BBC 4	Girl avatar 'Sweetie' catches online predators
BBC 20/10/14	BBC 5	First prosecution over avatar 'Sweetie'
BBC 21/10/14	BBC 7	Technology: Webcam sex with fake girl Sweetie leads to sentence
BBC 21/10/14	BBC 8	Webcam sex with fake girl Sweetie leads to sentence
The Telegraph 06/11/13	Telegraph 12	Undercover operator on 'Sweetie' online child sex sting
The Telegraph 13/11/13	Telegraph 13	How far should we go to stop online paedophiles?
The Telegraph 12/11/14	Telegraph 14	Why people take law into their own hands online
The Telegraph 21/10/14	Telegraph 15	Why 'Sweetie', the fake 10-year-old girl, is the perfect trap to catch a paedophile
The Telegraph 06/11/13	Telegraph 16	Who was Sweetie, the girl who trapped 1,000 paedophiles?
BBC 21/10/14	BBC 17	Webcam sex with fake girl Sweetie leads to sentence
The Telegraph 06/11/13	Telegraph 20	1,000 men offer cash for sex acts with girl in online sting
The Daily Telegraph 13/11/14	Telegraph 21	HOW FAR SHOULD WE GO TO STOP ONLINE PAEDOPHILES?; <i>This week a man was convicted of 'grooming' young girls, after being trapped by internet vigilantes . These digital sleuths get results - but there are dangers, warn Philip Johnston and Jamie Bartlett</i>
The Telegraph 13/11/14	Telegraph 22	How far should we go to stop online paedophiles?; <i>This week a man was convicted of 'grooming' young girls, after being trapped by internet vigilantes. These digital sleuths get results - but there are dangers</i>
Sky News 04/11/13	Skynews 29	Child sex Sting sees 110 Brits caught online
Sky News 04/11/13	Skynews 30	Child sex sting sees 1,000 caught online
The Telegraph 06/11/13	Telegraph 32	Who was Sweetie, the girl who trapped 1,000 paedophiles?; <i>The details of 1,000 alledged sex offenders have been handed over to Interpol, all thanks to a 10-year-old Filipina girl named Sweetie.</i>
The Telegraph 07/11/13	Telegraph 33	Virtual girl 'Sweetie' catches thousands of paedophiles
The Independent 21/10/14	Independent 34	Sweetie, the fake 10-year-old girl designed to catch online predators claims her first scalp

<i>The Independent</i> 06/11/13	Independent 35	Activists use CGI 10-year-old Filipino girl 'Sweetie' to snare thousands of paedophiles
<i>The Independent</i> 05/11/13	Independent 36	Activists ensnare thousands of online paedophiles using 10-year-old Filipino girl 'Sweetie' who does not exist
<i>The Independent</i> 06/11/13	Independent 37	Paedophile hunting and 'Sweetie': <i>the case for luring potential criminals?</i>
<i>The Independent</i> 05/11/13	Independent 38	Campaign group Terre des Hommes say they have identified a sinister phenomenon of internet users who are willing to pay for webcam child sex abuse
<i>The Independent</i> 06/11/13	Independent 39	Activists ensnare thousands of online paedophiles using 10-year-old Filipino girl 'Sweetie' who does not exist
<i>ABC News</i> 05/11/13	ABC 10	'Sweetie' Sting Lures Thousands of Alleged Pedophiles
<i>ABC News</i> 31/05/13	ABC 11	Meet Sweetie the Virtual Little Girl Who Has Identified 1,000 Pedophiles Around the World
<i>The Australian</i> 05/11/13	Australian 18	How computer-generated 'Sweetie' snared 1000 pedophiles
<i>The Australian</i> 05/11/13	Australian 19	Dozens caught in online child sex sting
<i>News.com.au</i> 22/10/14	News.com.au 23	Sweetie sting nabs Brisbane sex offender Scott Robert Hansen
<i>News.com.au</i> 05/11/13	News.com.au 24	Virtual girl 'Sweetie' snares 1000 paedophiles trying to engage her online sex
<i>News.com.au</i> 05/11/13	News.com.au 25	Australia sex predators caught in 'Sweetie' sting
<i>ABC News</i> 05/11/13	ABC 26	Child protection group sets up online sting with computer generated minor



<i>ABC News (Lateline)</i> 05/11/13	ABC 27	Paedophile trap
<i>The Guardian</i> 23/11/14	Guardian AU 28	Civil liberties advocate opposes use of online avatars to catch sex offenders
<i>The Courier Mail</i> 04/02/14	Courier Mail 40	Vigilantes gain child porn arrest
<i>The Australian</i> 05/11/13	Australian 41	Web predators fall for 'Sweetie'
<i>Herald Sun</i> 09/07/14	Herald Sun 42	Social themes take top awards at Cannes creative festival
<i>The Age</i> 05/11/13	The Age 44	Group traps paedophiles; Crime
<i>Northern Daily Leader</i> 06/11/13	Northern Daily Leader 45	PERTH: Details of dozens of would-be Australian sex
<i>AAP Newsfeed</i> 05/11/13	AAP 46	WA: Dozens caught in online child sex sting
<i>ABC News</i> 05/11/13	ABC 47	Paedophile trap
<i>Mail online</i> 22/10/14	Mail online 48	I'm naked, ever seen a guy naked? Australian becomes first person convicted after charity workers posed online as 10-year-old Filipino girl called Sweetie
<i>Mail online</i> 6/11/13	Mail online 49	The ten-year-old called 'Sweetie' who has caught more than a THOUSAND sexual predators including 110 Britons
<i>Mail online</i> 4/11/13	Mail online 50	The ten-year-old girl called 'Sweetie' who has caught more than a THOUSAND predators: How a computer generated child snared pedophiles across the world
<i>Mail online</i> 4/11/13	Mail online 51	Dutch organization creates computer-generated Filipino girl called Sweetie to entice child porn predators - and receives 20,000 offers from 71 countries

## Appendix E: Themes & Codes

This table shows the frequency (count) of each code within each theme, per country. Also shown is the percentage that each code constitutes of the theme under which it falls.

Theme	Codes	UK and Australia		UK		Australia <sup>G3</sup>	
		Code count	% of Theme	Code count	% of Theme	Code count	% of Theme
Campaign	Sweetie operation	94	47.0%	43	50.6%	51	44.3%
	Sweetie	53	26.5%	18	21.2%	35	30.4%
	TDH	31	15.5%	14	16.5%	17	14.8%
	Global campaign	7	3.5%	2	2.4%	5	4.3%
	Youtube	7	3.5%	4	4.7%	3	2.6%
	Raise the alarm	3	1.5%	0	0.0%	3	2.6%
	Petition	2	1.0%	1	1.2%	1	0.9%
	Report	2	1.0%	2	2.4%	0	0.0%
	Link	1	0.5%	1	1.2%	0	0.0%
		Total	200	100%	85	100%	115
Gvt and Law	gvt & law	63	71.6%	39	79.6%	24	61.5%
	Policies	25	28.4%	10	20.4%	15	38.5%
		Total	88	100%	49	100%	39
WCST	Need for change	24	29.3%	13	23.6%	11	40.7%
	Growing	21	25.6%	12	21.8%	9	33.3%
	WCST Definition	13	15.9%	11	20.0%	2	7.4%
	Poverty	12	14.6%	8	14.5%	4	14.8%
	Global problem	6	7.3%	6	10.9%	0	0.0%
	Background information	6	7.3%	5	9.1%	1	3.7%
		Total	82	100%	55	100%	27
Paedophilia	Details of men	50	96.2%	24	92.3%	26	100.0%
	Psychology behind the men	2	3.8%	2	7.7%	0	0.0%
		Total	52	100%	26	100%	26
Crime	Triggering event	24	64.9%	10	55.6%	14	73.7%
	Arrest	13	35.1%	8	44.4%	5	26.3%
		Total	37	100%	18	100%	19
Technology	CGI	14	53.8%	6	54.5%	8	53.3%
	Avatar	6	23.1%	3	27.3%	3	20.0%
	Virtual	5	19.2%	1	9.1%	4	26.7%
	Technology as solution	1	3.8%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
		Total	26	100%	11	100%	15
Danger	Danger	13	61.9%	8	61.5%	5	62.5%
	Controversy	8	38.1%	5	38.5%	3	37.5%
		Total	21	100%	13	100%	8
Vigilantism	Total	10	100%	10	100%	0	100%

## Appendix F: Sub-codes

This table shows the frequency (count) of each sub-code within each code, per country. Also shown is the percentage that each sub-code constitutes of the code under which it falls. Codes that do not have any sub-codes are not shown in the table - the information on these codes can be found in the Codes table.

Theme	Code	Sub-codes	UK and Australia		UK		Australia	
			Subcode count	% of Code	Subcode c	% of Code	Subcode c	% of Code
Gvt and Law	gvt & law	Sharing of information	33	52.4%	14	35.9%	19	79.2%
		Failure of law enforcement	18	28.6%	13	33.3%	5	20.8%
		Just Gvt & Law	12	19.0%	12	30.8%	0	0.0%
		Total	63	100%	39	100%	24	100%
Gvt and Law	Policies	Proactive	17	68.0%	10	100.0%	7	46.7%
		Reactive	8	32.0%	0	0.0%	8	53.3%
		Total	25	100%	10	100%	15	100%
WCST	Need for change	Proof	12	50.0%	6	46.2%	6	54.5%
		Amount of men	9	37.5%	5	38.5%	4	36.4%
		Just Need for change	3	12.5%	2	15.4%	1	9.1%
		Total	24	100%	13	100%	11	100%
WCST	Growing	internet as issue	9	42.9%	6	50.0%	3	33.3%
		Just Growing	5	23.8%	3	25.0%	2	22.2%
		Low risk for predators	4	19.0%	1	8.3%	3	33.3%
		Criminal gangs	3	14.3%	2	16.7%	1	11.1%
		Total	21	100%	12	100%	9	100%
WCST	WCST Definition	Just WCST Def	9	69.2%	8	72.7%	1	50.0%
		Shocking examples	4	30.8%	3	27.3%	1	50.0%
		Total	13	100%	11	100%	2	100%
WCST	Poverty	Internet speeds the process	6	50.0%	6	75.0%	0	0.0%
		Just Poverty	6	50.0%	2	25.0%	4	100.0%
		Total	12	100%	F26	100%	4	100%
Paedophilia	Detail of men	Just Details of men	31	62.0%	17	70.8%	14	53.8%
		Paedophiles	8	16.0%	2	8.3%	6	23.1%
		Western Men	5	10.0%	2	8.3%	3	11.5%
		Predators	4	8.0%	1	4.2%	3	11.5%
		Groomers	2	4.0%	2	8.3%	0	0.0%
		Total	50	100%	24	100%	26	100%

## Appendix G: Collective frame

Collective frame			
Article code	Key phrases	Words	Theme/Subthemes
Independent 35	<p><i>The results were shocking, according to the group's project director Has Guyt. They found that the forums were flooded with people willing to pay to see a young child perform sex acts live online</i></p> <p><i>Using basic online search techniques, Mr Guyt's team at a small, remote office outside Amsterdam was able to compile a dossier of 1,000 named internet users, complete with written and video evidence, engaged in the illegal activity.</i></p> <p><i>Terres des Hommes have passed their findings on to Interpol, but the online abusers will only be prosecuted if police can find evidence in their own investigations. The group said only six perpetrators of what they call "webcam child sex tourism" have ever been convicted of the crime worldwide.</i></p> <p><i>"If we don't intervene soon, this sinister phenomenon will totally run out of control," Mr Guyt said, describing it as a "cottage" industry that needs to be stamped out now</i></p> <p><i>"It's still not too late," Guyt said</i></p> <p><i>The group has begun an online petition calling for action against webcam child sex tourism, and posted a documentary about its 10-week investigation on its YouTube channel.</i></p> <p><i>"We want governments to adopt proactive investigation policies that give law enforcement agencies the mandate to actively patrol public Internet hotspots where this child abuse is taking place every day.</i></p>	<p><i>Results shocking; flooded</i></p> <p><i>Cottage industry; sinister phenomenon</i></p> <p><i>Not too late</i></p> <p><i>Calling for action</i></p>	<p><i>GVT/failure of law enforcements</i></p> <p><i>GVT/Policies/proactive</i></p> <p><i>GVT/sharing of information</i></p> <p><i>WCST/need for change</i></p> <p><i>Campaign/petition</i></p>
Telegraph 32	<p><i>Within the ten week operation, over 20,000 predators approached Sweetie to ask for webcam sex performances.</i></p> <p><i>The group said the 999 men and one woman, from 71 countries worldwide, included fathers, musicians and architects, whose details will be handed to Interpol.</i></p> <p><i>They have also uploaded a video to Youtube explaining the process.</i></p> <p><i>intervention was required before the "sinister phenomenon" of webcam sex shows runs out of control.</i></p> <p><i>He said sex tourists in Southeast Asia were increasingly exploiting children from their own homes due to the rise in high speed internet connections.</i></p>		<p><i>Campaign/Youtube</i></p> <p><i>WCST/need for change</i></p> <p><i>WCST/Internet</i></p> <p><i>Technology/solution</i></p>

	<p><i>He said child prostitutes, and in some cases children forced by their own impoverished parents, offer to perform sex acts online in return for money</i></p> <p><i>But the fact advances in technology are being used to combat the very activities it has facilitated, such as webcams, is undoubtedly positive. Sweetie is so life-like it's unnerving - the way she blinks, breathes and talks makes her appear like a normal little girl.</i></p> <p><i>"We know that sexual predators will use the internet to target victims and network with other offenders to share images. There is also growing evidence of offenders targeting vulnerable families overseas to facilitate live access to children over webcam</i></p> <p><i>Her deployment may have helped to prevent children from being harmed in the future, and should be championed as a valuable tool in the battle against online paedophilia.</i></p>		
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