

**Narratives of child trafficking survivors in
rehabilitation: conceptualisations of freedom for
human rights education**

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degree *Doctor of Philosophy in Education Sciences* at the
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A. J. J. J.', is centered on the page.

Signature

Date: October 2017

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I dedicate this thesis to Lucy, Maya and Carla.

ABSTRACT

Children are being trafficked for sexual exploitation in virtually every country in the world (USDS, 2016:340). As yet, however, qualitative studies have not produced a clear conceptualisation of child trafficking for sexual exploitation, especially not ones that can be applied to the curriculum (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013; Lumadi, 2012; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005). As Du Preez and Simmonds (2013:109) argue, qualitative engagement with this complex phenomenon is also necessary to reveal best practices of addressing child trafficking as a human rights violation by means of human rights education curriculum interventions.

In South Africa, there is a dearth of research on child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation programmes. Hence, this study addresses the research question: "To what extent, if any, can the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation shed light on the conceptualisation of freedom to contribute to human rights education?" Theoretical-philosophical and empirical exploration was used to respond to this question.

Drawing on Ricoeur's (1966) philosophical conceptualisation of freedom, child trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is viewed as a human rights violation in liberal-capitalist societies. The empirical study was situated in critical theory. The research methodology used is life design narrative inquiry, the result of a synthesis between life design and narrative inquiry.

The research environment, a safe house, was identified by means of purposive network sampling. Three trafficking survivors there were invited to participate in the research. Data were generated by means of semi-structured interviews, narrative interviews and from my researcher's journal. The data were analysed in two stages: exploration and Critical Discourse Analysis. First discourse practice was applied to the research environment. Next, the narratives of the participants were analysed using discourse as text, foregrounding the voices of the participants. The analysis of the narratives was interpreted through the lens of the theoretical-philosophical frameworks and discourse as social practice.

This study provides a unique account of the experiences of an adult and two child trafficking survivors. These experiences are compared and contrasted with the existing theory, without losing sight of the essential difference between child trafficking and human trafficking. What is evident from the data is that relationships with the traffickers often make victims vulnerable and subjective participants in their exploitation. In such cases, it becomes much more difficult to determine whether a case of sexual exploitation should be classified as domestic abuse or as child or human trafficking.

The analysis of freedom in the context of child trafficking provides an understanding of the role of two basic human rights in the narratives of the survivors; how they entered and escaped trafficking; and how they made decisions. It seems that the survivors in this study were stuck in the cycle of trafficking because they were unfree in their minds.

The analysis of the narratives reveals that the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to pursuit of pleasure could trap victims in trafficking. It also reveals that pursuing this right could sustain the existence of trafficking in liberal-capitalist societies because of the strong demand from clients as a pull factor.

The scholarly engagement with critical theory, human rights in liberal-capitalist societies, freedom and HRE curriculum contributes to an in-depth understanding of the freedom discourses in the narratives of trafficking survivors in rehabilitation through the scholarly engagement. The theoretical-philosophical engagement with the narratives of survivors in rehabilitation also contributes to a collective narrative of their experiences in a particular time, space and place. The discourses of freedom that emerged create possibilities of combating trafficking through the HRE curriculum. This study is the first to philosophically theorise the freedom discourses of child trafficking survivors from the perspective of the HRE curriculum.

The thesis makes two contributions to methodology. Firstly, it provides empirical research on child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation. Secondly, it has created a new research methodology, life design narrative inquiry, which can be used to conduct research on vulnerable people.

This thesis also contributes to an in-depth understanding of child trafficking from the perspective of human rights education in the South African context. The results of this study can be used as a departure point for curricula interventions by means of human rights education in South Africa. They also have wider application because child trafficking is a global phenomenon.

Key concepts: child trafficking, curriculum, freedom, human rights education, human rights violations, life design narrative inquiry, sexual exploitation, survivors in rehabilitation

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| AIDS | - | Acquired immune deficiency syndrome |
| CDA | - | Critical Discourse Analysis |
| CYCC | - | Child Youth Care Centre |
| DHA | - | Department of Home Affairs |
| DOJ | - | Department of Justice |
| DSD | - | Department of Social Development |
| HIV | - | Human immunodeficiency virus |
| HRE | - | Human rights education |
| HSRC | - | Human Science Research Council |
| NPA | - | National Prosecuting Authority |
| PhD | - | Philosophy Doctorate |
| RJ | - | Researcher journal |
| SE | - | Sexual exploitation |
| UN | - | United Nations |
| UNESCO | - | United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNODC | - | United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime |
| UNOHCHR | - | United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for human rights |
| USDS | - | United States Department of State |

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CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE SCENE: RESEARCH STUDY ORIENTATION

1.1 Introduction

At this very moment, a child¹ is being used as a sex toy. In liberal-capitalist societies, children's bodies are sexualised and commercialised. This sexualisation and commercialisation of children's bodies is known as child trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (SE)². In the process of SE, a number of the human rights of children are violated. This research study responds to child trafficking for the purpose of SE as a human rights violation from a human rights education (HRE) curriculum perspective. In the first chapter, I introduce the reader to my research study. I provide the structural overview of this chapter in Table 1.1 and then describe the background to the research problem.

Table 1.1: Structural overview of Chapter One

| |
|---|
| 1.1 Introduction |
| 1.2 Background to the research problem |
| 1.3 Research problem |
| 1.4 Researcher questions and research aims |
| 1.5 Researcher's position |
| 1.6 Thesis structure |

1.2 Background to the research problem

Human and child trafficking or the illegal trading of human beings expands across all sectors including the economy, politics, criminology, migration, health, human rights (Conteh, 2009:387) and HRE curriculum (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013:109). Very few countries are not affected by this highly complex phenomenon (Conteh, 2009:387; Fowler *et al.*, 2010:1346; Rafferty, 2013:561; Swart, 2012:62). According to Kaneti (2011:347), 161 countries were affected by trafficking in 2011.

Trafficking in the sense of trading people is not a new concept. It has been used to describe different forms of slavery since the eighteenth century. For example, before 1807 the term "African slavery" (Oster, 2015) was used in some countries. In the mid-1800s institutionalised slavery was outlawed worldwide (Lusk & Lucas, 2009:49). In 1807 the African slave trade was

¹ A child is any person under the age of 18 years (South Africa, 2013)

² I refer to child trafficking for the purpose sexual exploitation only as child trafficking

abolished by the British and the US governments (Oster, 2015). Later the term "white slavery" was used more generally in the context of SE (*ibid.*). The First World War drew attention to efforts to combat white slavery. During this time it became known that women and children of many nationalities, not only white women, were trafficked (*ibid.*).

The fight against white slavery started in 1899 and led to the *International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic* treaty, which was signed in 1910 (Oster, 2015). In 1949, this treaty was amended and signed again (United Nations [UN], 1949). In response to the sharp increase in the trafficking of women and children, 33 countries signed the *International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children* treaty at a League of Nations international conference in 1921 (Oster, 2015; UN, 2016). After World War II, the member nations of the UN adopted the *Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others* in 1949 (UN, 2016); this was the first legally binding international agreement on human trafficking (Oster, 2015). In the 1990s the UN began with the efforts to prevent persons being trafficking (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013:103). *The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* was adopted by the UN in 2000 (Oster, 2015). In this agreement, human trafficking was officially defined for the first time (Oster, 2015; Sanghera, 2012:10). For the first time, there was formal acknowledgement that men can also be victims³ and that trafficking is modern-day slavery. The definition of trafficking was expanded to include organ harvesting, slavery and forced labour migration (*ibid.*). Since 2001 the United States Department of States (USDS) has published an annual global report on trafficking in persons. This is widely regarded as one of the most effective tools used to determine the anti-trafficking status of a country (Hepburn & Simon, 2013:4).

The Trafficking in Persons' report is structured according to the currents of the victims from, through and to a country (Hepburn & Simon, 2013:2). These currents are categorised by origin, transit and destination countries; many countries qualify for all these groupings (*ibid.*). South Africa, for instance, is a country of origin, destination and transit of human trafficking (USDS, 2014:348). Here the largest number of known trafficking victims is from the country itself (*ibid.*). The South African economy, which is the most stable in Africa, is regarded as the "New York" of the continent; this makes South Africa seem an ideal country to work in (Lumadi, 2012:84). Traffickers are therefore able to use the "New York" image to lure victims to come to South Africa (USDS, 2016:340).

South Africa does not yet meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking (USDS, 2004:77; USDS, 2016:340). Countries who do not do so can have sanctions imposed

³ The term victim refers to a trafficked person.

against them and the United States could influence that country's relationships with major financial institutions and international banks (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008:318). Since 2006 the USDS has recommended that South Africa adopt a formal procedure for proper screening and identification of trafficking victims among vulnerable groups (USDS, 2006:226; USDS, 2016:341). Fortunately, there has been some progress towards this. For example, the President signed the *Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act* (hereafter the Trafficking Act) 2013 (South Africa, 2013; USDS, 2014:349) and it was promulgated by the government in 2015 (USDS, 2016:340).

In South Africa, the most commonly reported purposes of human trafficking are domestic servitude, SE, forced labour, forced prostitution, (USDS, 2004:77; USDS, 2014:348), agricultural labour (USDS, 2006:226; USDS, 2014:348), forced street vending, food service, begging, crime, muti (2.3), Ukuthewala (2.3), and forced marriage (USDS, 2009:260; USDS, 2014:348). As the title of this study suggests, more emphasis is placed on child trafficking. In the next few paragraphs I elaborate on the specifics of child trafficking. In later chapters, I give attention to actual cases of trafficking children.

Children are trafficked from South Africa as the country of origin; through South Africa en route to other countries; and to South Africa as the country of destination, as well as within the country locally (USDS, 2016:340). Within South Africa girls are mainly trafficked for SE, domestic servitude, muti and Ukuthewala (*ibid.*). Boys are mainly trafficked for the purpose of forced street vending, food service, begging, crime, muti and agriculture (*ibid.*).

Child trafficking has a negative impact on the development of children in various ways, affecting them academically, socially, emotionally (Batchelor & Lane, 2013; De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:235; Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013:111; Rafferty, 2013:563) and spiritually (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:111). Child trafficking survivors⁴ are also damaged physically (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:235). The damage includes broken bones, bruises, burns, contusions and cuts (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:111; Rafferty, 2013:563). The victims also suffer from medical conditions such as addiction, back pain, chronic headaches, complications from unwanted pregnancy, dizziness, gynaecological infections, human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) or acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), infertility, insomnia, memory difficulty, nausea, pelvic inflammatory disease, pelvic pain, poor reproductive health, shakes, stomach ache, throat infections, tiredness, tuberculosis, unsafe abortions and vaginal fistula (Rafferty, 2013:563).

⁴ Survivors refer to child trafficking for SE victims who escaped or were rescued from trafficking (Everitt, 2013:10). This term does not indicate that the former victims already successfully processed the shame of being a victim (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:20).

Child trafficking survivors also suffer psychological damage which manifests itself as feelings of low self-esteem, shame, guilt and loss of self-respect (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:235). There are also negative impacts such as fear, trust issues, self-destructive behaviours, shame or guilt (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:111), high levels of anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, aggressive behaviour, hopelessness, despair, substance abuse and dependence, feelings of isolation, loneliness, hostility and suicide (Rafferty, 2013:564). Psychological scars may prevent them from becoming mature and healthy functioning adults in society (Shelley, 2010:60). When victims return home, their communities very often cannot afford to deal with their severe psychological and health problems (*ibid.*).

The academic progress of a child who is targeted by traffickers will be compromised (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:111). Child trafficking victims may be distracted and nervous and end up not attending school (*ibid.*). Denied the opportunity to attend school at a crucial age, they will have a limited future (Shelley, 2010:60).

1.3 Research problem

There is some doubt about the accuracy of the estimated number of trafficking victims, largely because of the methodologies that are employed to arrive at these estimates (Van der Watt, 2015). According to Van der Watt (2015), there is an absence of reliable statistics (USDS, 2014:30). One reason for this is that the covert nature of trafficking makes it very difficult even to estimate the number of trafficked victims (Shelley, 2010:4). Another reason to doubt the accuracy of the estimated number of trafficking victims is the failure to report this crime to the police (Smit & Van der Laan, 2014:5263). Victims often do not consider themselves victims, are embarrassed to admit what is happening, fear the perpetrator or are emotionally attached to their traffickers (*ibid.*).

It should be noted that preoccupation with numbers could hinder attempts to understand some of the complex issues associated with trafficking (Van der Watt, 2015). The USDS (2014:30) states that "[n]umbers are not always the story"; individual stories of survival, among others, need to be pursued to ensure qualitative data on trafficking. Du Preez and Simmonds (2013:109) argued that qualitative engagement with this complex phenomenon is vital so that best practices of addressing child trafficking as a human rights violation through HRE interventions can be conceptualised.

The broad range of trafficking and all its complexities have not yet been researched substantially in a comprehensive, methodological, critical way (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2007:54). In South Africa, the scope of child trafficking is not well conceptualised by qualitative empirical research, especially not from a

HRE curriculum point of view (Allais, 2013; Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013; Human Science Research Council [HSRC], 2010; Lumadi, 2012; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005).

There is little empirical research on the impact of trafficking in children, but those who have worked with survivors suggest that the impact of trafficking on children cannot be overstated (Rafferty, 2013:562). Although little research has been done, the protocols, published studies and declarations have provided enough grounds for believing that effects of child trafficking can seriously hamper children's physical, socio-emotional and psychological development (Rafferty, 2013:563). More research on child trafficking, could improve the process of conceptualising adequate preventative approaches (Allais, 2013:375; HSRC, 2010:1). There can be no doubt that empirical research on this human rights violation is vital (Britton & Dean, 2014:4; HSRC, 2010:iii).

To conclude, the problem that this study addressed is that there is insufficient conceptual understanding of child trafficking as a human rights violation. Such understanding is needed to adopt a preventative approach to combat child trafficking through, among other methods, HRE curriculum. Therefore this study focused on conceptualising SE in the context of freedom so as to contribute to HRE curriculum. To address this research problem, research questions have been formulated in the following section.

1.4 Research questions and research aims

The primary research question that guided this research study was:

To what extent, if any, can the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation shed light on the conceptualisation of freedom as a contribution to human rights education?

The secondary questions that facilitated the exploration of the primary research question were:

- (1) How can child trafficking for sexual exploitation be conceptualised as a human rights violation?
- (2) How can freedom be conceptualised within child trafficking for sexual exploitation to contribute to human rights education?
- (3) To what extent can the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation shed light on discourses of freedom for human rights education?

The primary aim for the research study was:

To contribute to human rights education through conceptualising freedom in the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation.

The secondary aims were to:

- (1) theoretically conceptualise child trafficking for sexual exploitation as a human rights violation;
- (2) philosophically conceptualise discourses of freedom within child trafficking for sexual exploitation to contribute to human rights education; and
- (3) conceptualise the discourses regarding freedom for human rights education in the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation.

1.5 Researcher's position

This research study is positioned within reflexive empirical research as the overall orientation of this study (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009:9). Reflexive research has two basic characteristics, namely: careful interpretation and reflection (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009:10). Reflexivity draws attention to the complex relationship between the process of generating knowledge and the involvement of the knowledge generator and turns the attention to the researcher as person (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009:9-10). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009:10) argue that researchers face great difficulty in clarifying assumptions and blind spots in their own social culture, research community and language. It is at this point that I deemed it necessary to, firstly, give a short introduction as to how I became interested in doing research about child trafficking and, thereafter, to provide a short discussion on the assumptions I had about child trafficking and how these assumptions were challenged.

In 2013 I became fully aware of child trafficking and the seriousness of this crime. At that time my friends introduced me to an activist against human trafficking. Soon after this I learned that at my university there was a research project on human trafficking. I decided that this was the avenue I wanted to pursue as a research profession, and so the journey began.

I prepared myself for my PhD journey by reading as much as possible on human trafficking in general and more specifically child trafficking. When I started with this research study, I had some initial assumptions about child trafficking as well as about doing research with child trafficking survivors. As my research unfolded, these assumptions were challenged. I will now elaborate on some of these assumptions.

One of these assumptions was that it would be difficult for me to build a rapport with participants. After having read some literature about child trafficking, I expected that it would be exceptionally difficult to gain the trust of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation. However, this did not prove to be difficult. I was surprised at how easily I was able to win the trust of the survivors. However, they were less willing to open up and talk in formal conversations. One reason was the voice recorder. Another reason was the venue in which the interviews

took place. During informal conversations, they freely provided me with detailed accounts of their life narratives.

Another assumption was that safe houses for child trafficking survivors would continuously deal with the survivors' psychological needs. I was expecting a psychologist or a counsellor to be staying at the safe house with the survivors, and to offer therapeutic sessions each day. There was, however, neither a psychologist nor a counsellor staying at the safe house where I conducted my research. What is more, there were no visits from psychologists or counsellors to the survivors to offer psychological or counselling sessions during my stay in the safe house, either.

Although I knew drugs played a role in most cases of child trafficking, I was not aware of the size of that role. During my stay at the safe house, I realised how big an influence drug addiction had had on all of the survivors there. When I first arrived there, I did not know that children could become victims of child trafficking because of a pre-existing drug addiction. Another thing I did not know was that trafficking victims do not necessarily know what trafficking is, nor do they realise that they are victims of a serious crime.

When I commenced with the writing of Chapter Two (early in 2015) I did not completely understand the concept of "child trafficking for the purpose of SE". This was because I found different conceptualisations of child trafficking and of SE in literature. I had to explore these two concepts independently first before I could understand what was meant when they are synthesised into one concept. Since child trafficking *per se* is a relatively new concept, my knowledge and understanding of this concept developed through exploring social discourses in South Africa on this concept.

Engaging in reflexivity throughout my research study enabled me to reflect continuously on the purpose of my research study and adjust the methods where necessary (4.5). I kept a researcher's journal in which I was scrupulous about recording any changes to my research methods as well as my experiences during the data generation process. In what follows, I provide the reader with the structure of the thesis.

1.6 Thesis structure

Table 1.2 below outlines the structure of the thesis to provide an overall view of the thesis.

Table 1.2: Thesis structure

| Chapter | Brief overview |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Chapter One Setting the scene: | The chapter sets the scene for the research problem to which this study responds. In the chapter I provide the research questions and research |

| | |
|---|---|
| research study orientation | aims, describe my position as the researcher and explain the thesis structure. |
| Chapter Two Child trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation as a human rights violation | The chapter's main purpose is to respond to the secondary research question 1 (1.4). To do this I first unpack the definition of human and child trafficking. Thereafter I provide the context in which child trafficking takes place, i.e. liberal-capitalist societies. I argue for a human rights centred approach to combating child trafficking. I conclude this chapter by discussing two specific human rights violated in the context of child trafficking. |
| Chapter Three Conceptualisations of freedom for human rights education | Chapter Three responds to the secondary research question 2 (1.4). Here freedom is conceptualised from an anthropological perspective, informed by Ricoeur's (1978) philosophy. Regarding freedom, the act of the will is described as a triadic paradigm in which three modes of willing can be distinguished, i.e. decision, movement and consent. Each one of these modes is discussed in depth and analysed in terms of child trafficking. The chapter ends with conceptualisations of freedom for HRE and discusses ways to combat human trafficking through an HRE approach. |
| Chapter Four The research design, trustworthiness and ethical considerations | The empirical research described in this thesis was planned as a response to the research problem. In this chapter, I focus in detail on the empirical study. The original research design, as well as the altered research design, is provided in Chapter Four. I synthesise life design with narrative inquiry and coined the term "life design narrative inquiry research methodology". This methodology is embedded in critical theory. The research environment and participants were sampled through purposive network sampling. Data were generated by means of semi-structured interviews, narrative interviews and a researcher's journal. The data were analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methods. I also elaborate on trustworthiness and ethical considerations in this chapter. |
| Chapter Five The research environment | The chapter is structured according to the first dimension of CDA namely discourse-as-discursive-practice. The research environment as the place of data generation is first presented and then analysed using discourse-as-discursive practice methods. |
| Chapter Six Exploring the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation | This chapter is structured according to the second dimension of CDA, namely discourse-as-text. The narratives of the child trafficking survivors are first presented and structured around the four foci of life design narrative inquiry. Thereafter these narratives are analysed by making use of discourse-as-text methods. |

Table 1.2: Thesis structure (continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chapter Seven The theoretical-philosophical framework, the research environment and narratives in conversation | This chapter is structured according to the third dimension of CDA namely discourse-as-social-practice. In this chapter the influence of the discourse-as-discursive-practice dimension on the discourse-as-text dimension is analysed. Also the discourse-as-social-practice is analysed in terms of the theoretical and philosophical background. |
| Chapter Eight Theoretical and empirical conclusions | Here I reflect on the main arguments and findings of the thesis. This reflection is done in the light of the primary research question (1.4). In this chapter, the contribution this thesis makes to knowledge, the arguable limitations of this research study and issues for further research are discussed. |

Table 1.2 provides a structural overview of the thesis. The intention of this overview is to orientate the reader to the way research played out and how it is presented in a thesis format. In the following chapter I elaborate on child trafficking for the purpose of SE as a human rights violation.

CHAPTER TWO: CHILD TRAFFICKING FOR THE PURPOSE OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AS A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION

2.1 Introduction

A brief history of the complexity of trafficking and its multiple forms is provided in Chapter One. This study focuses on one of these: child trafficking for SE⁵. There is a dearth of literature specifically on child trafficking for SE and little or none of it relates to HRE. Therefore, Chapter Two explores studies across the various disciplines that address trafficking. This chapter responds to the secondary research question 1 (1.4). Table 2.1 sets out the structural overview of the chapter. After Table 2.1, I provide the reader with a definition of child trafficking

Table 2.1: Structural overview of Chapter Two

| | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| 2.1 Introduction | | |
| 2.2 Towards a definition of child trafficking for SE | 2.2.1 Act of trafficking | |
| | 2.2.2 Means of trafficking | |
| | 2.2.3 Purpose of trafficking | 2.2.3.1 Child prostitution |
| | | 2.2.3.2 Child sex tourism |
| | | 2.2.3.3 Child pornography |
| | | 2.2.3.4 Survival sex |
| 2.3 The context: liberal-capitalist societies | | |
| 2.4 Human rights centred approach to combating child trafficking for SE | 2.4.1 Prevention | |
| | 2.4.2 Prosecution | |
| | 2.4.3 Protection | |
| 2.5 Specific human rights violations in child trafficking for SE | 2.5.1 The right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure | |
| | 2.5.2 Freedom of choice and the absence of freedom within it | |
| 2.6 Conclusion | | |

2.2 Towards a definition of child trafficking for SE

In South Africa, the Trafficking Act (South Africa, 2013) provides the legal definition of human trafficking and consists of three elements, namely: act, means and purpose of trafficking (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2015), see Figure 2.1.

⁵ In Chapter Two alone I refer to child trafficking for SE when I explicitly refer to child trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This chapter not only discussed as sexual exploitation, but also refers to other forms of child trafficking.

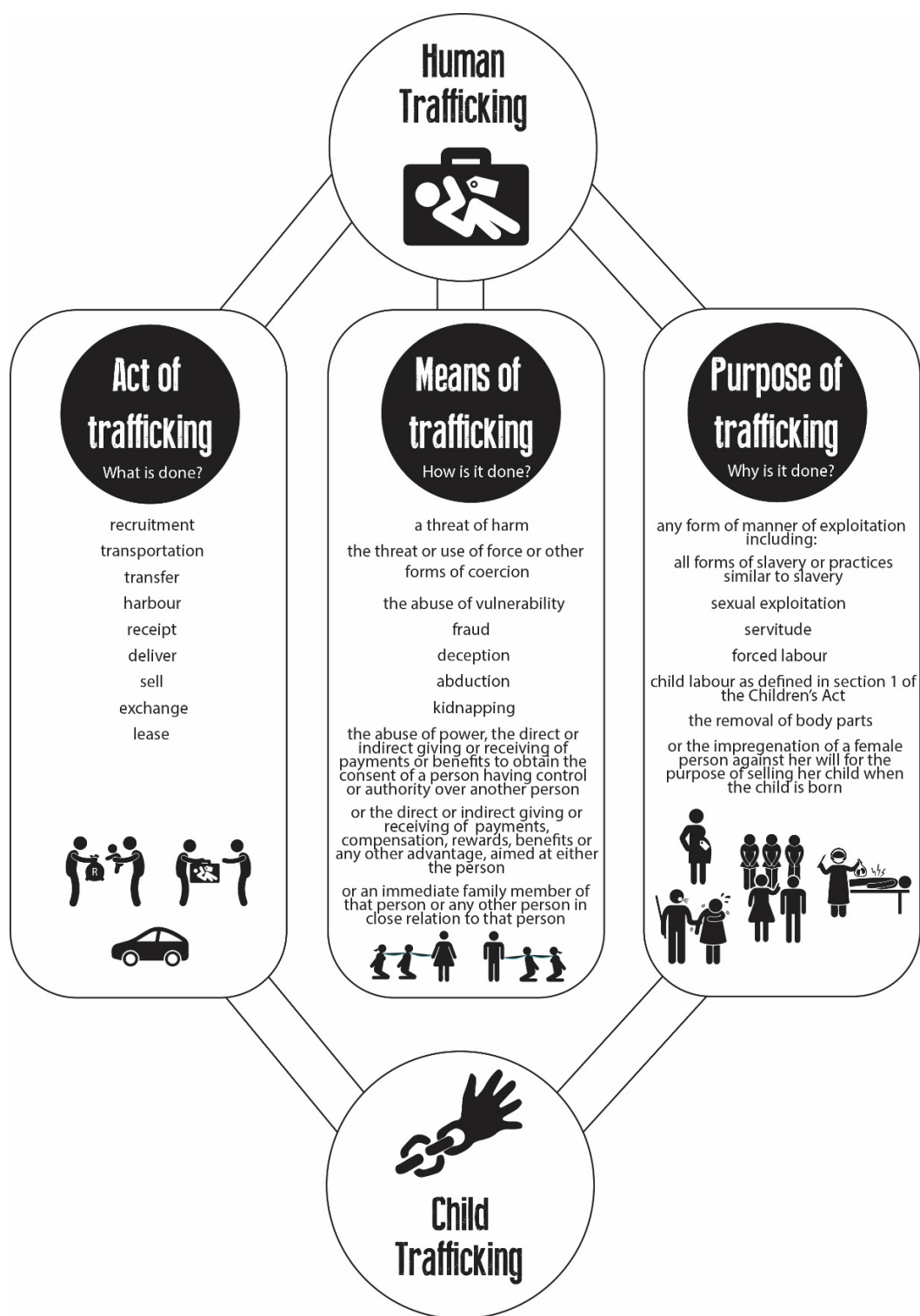


Figure 2.1: Legal definition of human trafficking (South Africa, 2013)

All three elements of trafficking are relevant in the case where an adult is trafficked (South Africa, 2013). However, when children are trafficked, according to the Trafficking Act (*ibid.*), only the act and the purpose of trafficking are relevant. Even if a child consents to the exploitation, it is still considered a case of trafficking (Sanghera, 2012:19). Conteh (2009:375)

defines child trafficking in terms of the exploitation itself, whereas trafficking of adults is defined by the means of trafficking into exploitation. With children, initiation into the act of trafficking is irrelevant, but the results of this act are towards exploitation and are classified as child trafficking (Conteh, 2009:375; UNESCO, 2007:14).

Sanghera (2012:13) questions the practice of dealing with women and children in anti-trafficking legislation that concerns SE, but taking care to separate children and adults when it comes to forced labour practices. Distinguishing between women and children is based on the principle that the development of children is not complete as long as they are under the age of 18 (*ibid.*). The literature on trafficking of women and children for SE often overlooks the fact that child trafficking, *per se*, is different from human trafficking, which presents numerous conceptual challenges (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2010:7).

Often the boundary between the act and the means of trafficking is too blurred or complex to distinguish between them, especially when they are intertwined with the purpose of trafficking. In this study, I acknowledge the complexity of conceptualising child trafficking for SE, but I have found it necessary to make clear distinctions between the elements of trafficking for the purposes of analysis. My aim is to provide a better explanation of the differences between these elements. In the following sections, I describe the different elements in the definition of trafficking.

2.2.1 Act of trafficking

The act of trafficking is defined in response to the question "What is done?" (UNODC, 2015). In Figure 2.1 the act of trafficking is listed. During this element of trafficking, there is no exploitation as such. Trafficking is a process that begins with recruitment (pre-departure stage), followed by the movement or transportation, and finally by the destination (or exploitation stage) (Rafferty, 2013:560).

During recruitment and transportation the person could still be seen as a willing participant, yet when the destination is reached, the person becomes a victim (Sanghera, 2012:14). Identifying it as a crime in the early phases is difficult; trafficking can only be defined as a crime once the person is trapped and exploited (*ibid.*).

Recruitment most often occurs using a job offer or through advertisements (Bermudez, 2008:31). As early as in 1988, different means of trafficking, such as force, fear and drugs, was already being to recruit children for SE (Heard, 1989:215). Hamman (2011:23) lists some of the common recruitment methods:

- individual recruiters entering impoverished communities and offering interested males and females job opportunities
- using networks of family and friends
- advertising false work and/or study opportunities
- using fake agencies to offer study, work, marriage or travel opportunities
- purchasing children from guardians or other caregivers.

In the literature different recruitment techniques have been conceptualised. Kennedy *et al.* (2007:7) identifies five techniques of recruitment used by traffickers: love, debt, drugs, the gorilla technique and a position of authority. These techniques are discussed in more detail below.

(a) Love technique

With regard to the love (or the grooming) technique of recruitment, traffickers seduce females (and one could include male victims here) by pretending to love them. In doing so, traffickers play on the vulnerabilities, insecurities and stereotypes of their victims (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:7). This grooming model of SE, which explains the process through which the traffickers entice a child to become dependent on them, was identified by the "Streets and Lanes Project" (discussed in more detail by Pearce, 2009:21).

Traffickers groom children into a romantic relationship by promising everlasting love and security (Bang *et al.*, 2014:20). According to Batchelor and Lane (2013:113), grooming is "a long-term deliberate process used to draw out victims to gain trust and, ultimately, continued control". During grooming the traffickers isolate the child, while at the same time building a trust relationship so they can exploit the child (Frederic & Leigh, 2006:6; Randhawa & Jacobs, 2013:11). Grooming can also involve the act of manipulating people and situations to gain access to a potential⁶ victim or victims (Randhawa & Jacobs, 2013:11).

Victimised children readily believe that they are in love with the trafficker. In return, the latter, flatters the children, giving them attention, accommodation and gifts (Pearce, 2009:21). Traffickers constantly remind the children about how much they are spending on them (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:7). These children gradually develop a feeling of guilt or responsibility which traffickers exploit to force them to do their bidding, "to help bring some money home" (*ibid.*).

⁶ A potential victim is a person who is not yet trapped in trafficking, but could potentially become a child trafficking for SE victim

Trafficking victims could also acquire the Stockholm syndrome, developing a perverse bond with their traffickers (Bang *et al.*, 2014:20). Traffickers create a family setting which is dysfunctional, without the victims recognising the dysfunctionality (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:112). The dysfunctional family setting strengthens the Stockholm syndrome in victims. The Stockholm bond is difficult to break and strengthens the hold of the trafficker on the victim (Bang *et al.*, 2014:20).

In the process of grooming, the traffickers isolate potential victims from previous networks of support and eventually the potential victim ends up being under the same circumstances as those they wanted to escape from in the first place (Bang *et al.*, 2014:7). In some cases traffickers adopt parental roles, thereby decreasing the likelihood that the child will challenge their authority (Bang *et al.*, 2014:20). The child is then forced or coerced into selling or swapping sex to acquire money or various commodities for their trafficker who now becomes the lover of the child (Pearce, 2009:21).

(b) Debt technique

The debt technique entails the trafficker spending money on trafficked victims in the expectation that it should be repaid after a period of time (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10). Traffickers use this technique to target children who lack money or are in need of social support (Bang *et al.*, 2014:20). The traffickers ensure that the victims' debt is larger than their income (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:108). The debt is therefore like a loan with an impossibly high interest: the victim is never able to pay it off, which means the trafficker is able to exercise continued control over the victim (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:113). A victim ends up owing a large amount and is then being forced into prostitution to pay back the debt (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10). Unlike the love technique, this technique is not accompanied by an intimate relationship between the trafficker and the victim (*ibid.*).

(c) Drugs technique

Trafficking victims are often forced to use drugs (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10; Lederer & Wetzel, 2014:75). Dealers receive child trafficking victims and provide an abundant supply of drugs to them, coercing them to make use of the substances, even to the point of addiction (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10). The purpose is to control them by means of addiction (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:108). This addiction impairs the user's judgment and critical capabilities, which in turn leads to risk-taking behaviour and/or failure to recognise dangerous situations such as possible trafficking (Varma *et al.*, 2015:99). One can even argue that such impairment prevents victims from critically assessing their situation and hence from escaping the bondage of trafficking. Children have limited life experience, immature brain development,

psychological weakness, social naiveté and are addicted to drugs, making them vulnerable to trafficking (Bang *et al.*, 2014:1; Varma *et al.*, 2015:99). These characteristics mean that children are poorly equipped to survive in a world of coercion, violence and corruption (Bang *et al.*, 2014:1).

Because of their drug habits, young women often lose their homes (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10). They are unable to get jobs because they are underage and/or do not have a fixed address (*ibid.*). These women sometimes sleep with drug dealers in exchange for drugs. After a few weeks of free drugs and accommodation, they are offered a continued supply of drugs in exchange for having sex with friends of the dealer (*ibid.*). These women are thus desensitised over a period of time in this way to being sexually exploited (*ibid.*).

Victims who are addicted to drugs would do anything to obtain the "high" drugs provide (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:108). Addiction to drugs means that the victim requires a constant supply of drugs, which creates a need of money for that supply (Varma *et al.*, 2015:99). The traffickers ensure that they are the only ones who can supply the drugs (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:108). In other cases, potential victims are already addicted to drugs and the traffickers offer an abundant supply of drugs to them (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10). Once the drugs are supplied in abundance by the trafficker, the victims are forced into prostitution in order to earn back the costs of drugs used (*ibid.*). Drugs are thus used as a control mechanism (Lederer & Wetzel, 2014:75).

(d) The gorilla technique

The gorilla technique is applied when the trafficker uses force to put new victims on the street; this includes threats to their family, beatings, acts of violence (the victims either watches or endure), rape and kidnapping (Bang *et al.*, 2014:20; Batchelor & Lane, 2013:113; Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10). The trafficker does not try to deceive victims with promises of love and glamour, but makes it clear that if they do not cooperate, they or their family will face grave consequences (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:10).

(e) Position in authority technique

The final technique is position in authority. This entails a family member selling the victim to traffickers (Kennedy *et al.*, 2007:11). Trafficking victims often know the traffickers. The traffickers are thus in a position to abuse their relationship with the victims, can easily deceive them with false promises of providing educational opportunities or a better quality life (Bermudez, 2008:30; HSRC, 2010:93). Often recruiters are family members, friends or neighbours (Bermudez, 2008:31; Hamman, 2011:22). A study conducted by Kennedy *et al.* (2007:11) found that more than 12% of the prostituted victims who were forced to work on the street were compelled to do so by their fathers, mothers, a foster parent or an older sibling. Victims of SE are often locked up in rooms and continually raped to prepare them for their customers and/or as a punishment for their (allegedly) poor performance (Fowler *et al.*, 2010:1347).

When newly recruited victims are transported by their exploiters (the act), they may often dream of making a lifestyle change or starting a new job and having the ability to provide money for their families, but what awaits them at their destination is the exact opposite (Bermudez, 2008:31). According to a report on human trafficking by Bermudez (2008:36), potential victims are given transport to a destination, where they will supposedly work to earn an attractive sum of money. Once they arrive at the destination, their own or their families' lives are threatened, which makes it harder for them to escape (*ibid.*). Victims are thus forced to work in conditions of slavery (Rafferty, 2013:560).

2.2.2 Means of trafficking

The means of trafficking (see Figure 2.1 for a detailed list) or how trafficking is committed, addresses the question: "How is it done?" (UNODC, 2015). The first phase of trafficking (the act) is often achieved through the means of trafficking: for instance, false promises of job opportunities are made (Sanghera, 2012:14). As discussed earlier, the definition of child trafficking does not include means of trafficking (South Africa, 2013). Yet means of trafficking often features in a case of child trafficking. Pearce (2009:48) argues that children's consent (as a form of means) to trafficking should be considered when dealing with a child who has been trafficked. If this consent is taken lightly, it would appear that the child is only a victim and the question of how and why the child was trafficked would seem irrelevant (*ibid.*).

Traffickers use the same coercive and manipulative techniques to control victims in South Africa as they do in transnational trafficking (Lumadi, 2012:85). Traffickers use similar techniques to those discussed in the previous section. They create a dependency on drugs in their victims, make them afraid to try to escape by raping them, control them by means of debt

bondage, or confiscate their passports and other identification documents (Swart, 2012:67). To create more fear, the traffickers guard their victims and threaten to hurt their family members (*ibid.*). Corruption in law enforcement structures is also commonly exploited to the traffickers' advantage (*ibid.*). While being trafficked, victims are often drawn into illegal actions such as being in a country illegally. This makes it difficult for them to access freedoms and rights extended to human beings (Sanghera, 2012:9).

Traffickers gain power and authority over children by trapping them physically, financially, psychologically and emotionally (Lumadi, 2012:88). Strict security measures, for instance, make it almost impossible for victims to escape the premises where they are being held (Lumadi, 2012:86), even if they are offered help. According to Bang *et al.* (2014:18), the power traffickers have over victims is often overlooked by researchers and advocates. When such children are rescued from child trafficking and accommodated in places of safety, they often return to their exploiters because they perceive their traffickers as providing them with a sense of feeling safe (Bang *et al.*, 2014:18).

2.2.3 Purpose of trafficking

The purpose of trafficking (see Figure 2.1 for a detailed list) or why trafficking is committed, addresses the question: "Why is it done?" (UNODC, 2015). The purpose of trafficking is directly related to the exploitation of a person. In short, exploitation refers to someone being forced to occupy an employment or a duty for their exploiters' gain (Lutya, 2009:63). Since this research study focuses specifically on child trafficking for SE, I elaborate only on this purpose.

Bang *et al.* (2014:3) describe SE as commercialised child abuse that includes sexual commodification of children's bodies for the purpose of material or monetary gain. SE is not always for the exchange of money; it could be an exchange of a child's sexuality for benefits such as shelter, food or friendship (Bakirci, 2007:8).

The most often reported purpose of trafficking is the exploitation of women (including girls) in the sex industry (Bang *et al.*, 2014:8; Pearce, 2009:56; Smit & Van der Laan, 2014:5263). Cases of SE involving young men and boys tend to be overlooked (Bang *et al.*, 2014:8; Pearce, 2009:56). There is a firm belief that men are the ones who pay for sex and girls are the helpless victims who are sexually exploited (Pearce, 2009:121). There are several reasons for this misconception. For example, a radical feminist theoretical model assumes that child trafficking is gender-related violence (women become victims of male violence) and stereotypes of gender-specific roles portray girls not boys as the victims of child trafficking for SE (Pearce, 2009:56). If we neglect and overlook the needs of sexually exploited boys, then

we fail to challenge the gendered stereotypes that prevail in the media and in public perception (Pearce, 2009:126).

Child trafficking victims can be of any gender, race or nationality. Generally speaking, however, victims are young girls who are experiencing financial and/or educational inequalities (Fowler *et al.*, 2010:1346). There are two dominant stereotyped images of sexually exploited girls. The first image is that of a scantily-dressed girl wearing high heels or long boots, hanging over the opened door of a man's car on the street (Pearce, 2009:120). The other image is that of a vulnerable abused girl with a tear running down her cheek in the corner of a room, with a man stepping towards her (*ibid.*). Both these stereotypes elicit two types of emotion, lust and desire for sex or fear, sympathy and outrage (*ibid.*). The two images dominate public perception of SE of children, yet they are a limited, and not a realistic, representation of what SE of children is (*ibid.*).

SE takes on different forms such as child prostitution, sex tourism and pornography (Bang *et al.*, 2014; Sanghera, 2012:7). Survival sex is also a way in which children are sexually exploited (Davidson, 1996:11). In the following sections I elaborate on these different forms.

2.2.3.1 Child prostitution

Child prostitution, as a form of SE, is considered an old practice with a new focus (Pearce, 2009:45). In the 1990s there was a renewed focus on child prostitution in many countries and during this time the language began to change from using the term prostitution to the term exploitation (Pearce, 2009:19). According to De Sas Kropiwnicki (2012:250), the discourse on child prostitution began to shift towards sex tourism and trafficking in the 2000s. In South Africa, the issue of child prostitution child rights was framed in a child rights agenda (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:247). The incidence of child prostitution has greatly increased since the 1990s.

In South Africa forced prostitution is seen as the most common form of SE, but the scope or magnitude of children forced into it is not yet clear (Swart, 2012:66). Bang *et al.* (2014:17) define child prostitution as

the commodification and coercion of a child to perform sexual acts. Typically, these acts are exchanged for money; however, sexual acts may be exchanged for other forms of payment or barter.

Child prostitution is a form of child abuse (Perschler-Desai, 2001:111). It is abuse which leaves lasting emotional and physical scars on a child (Montgomery, 2014:169). Children caught up in child prostitution are not only harmed emotionally, but also physically (Lutya,

2009:63). Sexual penetration by an adult, for instance, can inflict damage such as tearing and bruising (Montgomery, 2014:173).

Prostitution has a number of organizational forms and the settings in which it takes place vary (Davidson, 1996:5). According to Swart (2012:67), massage parlours and brothels are examples of different settings where prostitution takes place. As yet, however, the SE of children in brothels is not well documented (Swart, 2012:71). In prostitution there is a distinct hierarchy with higher prices for escorts and lower prices and more risk for street workers and prostitutes in cheaper brothels (Davidson, 1996:5). At the bottom of the hierarchy of street work are the victims trafficked in exchange for protection and/or drugs (Davidson, 1996:9).

2.2.3.2 Child sex tourism

Although it is rooted in the international prostitution of children (Bang *et al.*, 2014:35), child sex tourism is different from prostitution in that the perpetrators do not normally live in the location where the exploitation takes place (Frederic & Leigh, 2006:5). Sex tourism, which occurs when prostitution and tourism converge, includes trips facilitated by the tourism sector for the explicit purpose of obtaining sexual services (Bang *et al.*, 2014:35). Tourists could be holiday-makers, business travellers, aid workers or expatriates travelling domestically or internationally for the purpose of having sex with children (Child Wise, 2007:5). As the promotion of sex tourism increases, the number of consumers wishing to sexually exploit children is also rising (Bang *et al.*, 2014:36).

Legislation with regard to prostitution varies from country to country. Therefore people looking for child sexual services often travel long distances to make use of child prostitutes in countries where the legislation is not as strict as in their home country (Bang *et al.*, 2014:35). The anonymity offered while travelling enables tourists to engage in child prostitution without fear of judgement from peers or friends (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:251). Global technological advancements enable travellers to engage in sex tourism, readily and affordably (Child Wise, 2007:8). Communities in which sex tourism flourish usually experience high levels of poverty and debt, but low levels of education and vocational skills (*ibid.*). In these communities corruption is widespread, there is a lack of political will and there are weak legal frameworks and law enforcement implementation. As a result, children's rights are often neglected (*ibid.*). Such conditions attract individuals who seek to sexually exploit children (*ibid.*). An unstable economic climate fosters low-risk working conditions in which traffickers can exploit those searching for and are desperate for economic relief (Simmonds & du Preez, 2015:90).

Some sex tourists aim at having sex with virgin children (Frederic & Leigh, 2006:20). One study found that children are resold for their virginity. Brothel owners stitch the hymen after the

children have been penetrated so they can sell them again as virgins, generating a high income (Frederic & Leigh, 2006:33). There are known cases when a child's virginity was resold up to four times (*ibid.*).

2.2.3.3 Child pornography

The trafficking of children for the purpose of child pornography is not well documented (Swart, 2012:71). It seems that child pornography is predominantly sexually explicit and is intended for sexual arousal (Swart, 2012:67).

According to Bang *et al.* (2014:25), victims perform

lewd and lascivious acts, such as genital exhibition, masturbation, oral, anal, genital sex, sadomasochism, or bestiality, while the offender documents their sexual activity.

Before the Internet was available, child pornography existed in the form of printed materials, photographs and in the form of videos (Faust *et al.*, 2015:461). These forms of pornography were expensive and difficult to produce and distribute (*ibid.*). In contrast, the Internet provides quick and easy ways to access and distribute child pornography (Faust *et al.*, 2015:461; Griffin-Shelley, 2014:323). Other technological advances also contributed to the growth in child pornography (Seigfried-Spellar, 2014:253). Child pornography is viewed by a heterogeneous population, including law enforcement officers, priests and politicians (Seigfried-Spellar, 2014:252).

Legislation with regard to pornography varies from country to country; most countries allow some form of pornography (Swart, 2012:67). However, it is illegal to produce, sell or possess child pornography in most countries. In South Africa children are protected against child pornography by legislation (*ibid.*).

The child pornography victim does not always come into direct contact with the consumers (Bang *et al.*, 2014:25). However, even though child pornography victims do not interact with the consumer in the same way that prostituted victims do, the consequences are still traumatic (Bang *et al.*, 2014:29). When children are exploited for pornography, the producer uses the images of the child to blackmail them for continued exploitation (*ibid.*). Producers use child pornography to desensitise, seduce and coerce new potential victims (*ibid.*).

There are different ways in which child pornography is produced: crime networks, online sharing, and people who individually control children and distribute "fresh" material among pornographers (Bang *et al.*, 2014:26). Hence, it is difficult to locate who child pornographers

are. They could be members of sex trafficking rings, gang leaders, family members, and neighbours (*ibid.*). The production and consumption of child pornography does not occur in mutual exclusion – consumers themselves may also collect, produce and distribute child pornography (*ibid.*).

Different social media platforms enable producers of child pornography to get access to children's bedrooms where they use webcams to display their genitals to the children and to view children getting undressed and/or engaging in sexual activities (Bang *et al.*, 2014:27). By using technology, producers of child pornography can seduce, manipulate and abuse children, while not even being physically present (*ibid.*).

2.2.3.4 Survival sex

Sometimes sexual access to children's bodies is provided for survival (Davidson, 1996:11). Defining survival or transactional sex is not an easy task. On one hand, it is closely related to prostitution; yet, on the other hand, it is not unlike the practice of exchanging gifts in sexual relationships (Zembe *et al.*, 2013).

Those who practise survival sex do not consider themselves as commercial sex workers nor does the community see them as such (Wojcicki, 2002:267). Survival sex has an economic component that drives women to engage in sex-for-money exchange (Wojcicki, 2002:268). In South Africa, for instance, survival sex takes place in contexts of extreme poverty and extreme forms of violence (Davidson, 1996:11). Women exchange sex for a variety of items, such as food, electricity, alcohol, fashionable clothing and cash (Zembe *et al.*, 2013). Sometimes women find themselves in a community where fashionable commodities seem crucial to their identities and the possession of these commodities becomes necessary for surviving social exclusion, scorn and even loneliness within such environment (*ibid.*).

SE of children is viewed as if it were a new problem (Pearce, 2009:15). The response to it should be to challenge the overall context within which the exploitation occurs, not just to focus on the exploited. In the following I provide an overview of the context in which child trafficking for SE flourishes.

2.3 The context: liberal-capitalist societies

Trafficking is one of the fastest growing, financially profitable criminal businesses in the world (Simmonds & du Preez, 2015:87). In liberal-capitalist societies, globalised trade is one of the factors that reinforce and disguise trafficking (Simmonds & du Preez, 2015:89). South Africa has joined liberal-capitalist societies in engaging in globalised trade by adopting the neo-liberal *Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)* policy (Zembe *et al.*, 2013). As a

result, South Africa's citizens experience the benefits and negative effects of globalisation, depending on their socio-economic status and access to resources (*ibid.*).

There is a shift from industrial capitalism to liberal-capitalist societies in terms of comprehending the concepts of products and labour. The products of capitalism are no longer material objects, but the production of social life, which is directly bio-political (Žižek, 2012:9). Contemporary capitalism celebrates labour as the passage from material to symbolic production (*ibid.*).

In liberal-capitalist societies immaterial labour is hegemonic and plays a key, symbolic and structural role in capitalism (Žižek, 2012:9). Immaterial labour includes intellectual, or symbolic, labour and affective labour (Žižek, 2012:8). Intellectual, or symbolic, labour includes, amongst other things, production of codes, ideas, texts, figures and programmes (*ibid.*). Affective labour refers to those who deal with bodily affects: for instance, baby-sitters, doctors and flight attendants (Žižek, 2012:9). As a result of the shift in the notion of labour and products in liberal-capitalist societies, sex is deemed a product (non-material object) (Žižek, 2005:117). The use of popular market-related language reduces sex work to a business and sex as the product (Huysamen, 2013:106).

Apart from the shift regarding the concepts of products and labour, one could argue that two features of liberal-capitalist societies that increase the growth of child trafficking for SE are the rise of a new social class (or rather a redefinition of an existing class's social position) and the role or influence of unemployment on people's perception of acceptable job opportunities (Žižek, 2012:8). Let me explain these respective features.

Today we observe a rapid exponential growth of collective knowledge due to the availability of information. This highlights the productivity of the individual, thereby changes the nature of unemployment (*ibid.*). In liberal-capitalist societies, common knowledge is privatised to such an extent that the workers, in the classic sense of the concept, become superfluous so increasing numbers of them are structurally unemployable (Žižek, 2012:10). This creates an ever-widening gap between the skilled (qualified) and the unskilled (unqualified) labour, where a worker is not employed for his knowledge and experience alone, but rather for his expertise in that knowledge and experience (*ibid.*). It is now this degree of competence that qualifies capitalists to earn more; their higher earnings are legitimised by the pseudo-scientific evaluation (*ibid.*).

The traditional ownership-based bourgeoisie class is becoming more and more non-functional within the context of capitalism: the need is for managerial roles rather than entrepreneurial and ownership roles (*ibid.*). In the classic sense of this class definition, a person with a million

would invest it in gold mines, for instance. Today, such a person would manage a bank. Many other people would entrust their millions to be invested in gold mines by this salary-receiving manager.

Thus the bourgeoisie re-enter society as a class of salaried managers; they receive a salary for providing immaterial labour (management) and if they are, for instance, part of the company, they earn that company's stock as part of remuneration for their work (*ibid.*). The classic sense of the term bourgeoisie has tended to disappear (*ibid.*). With the rise of this new class, insufficiently competent workers become more and more unemployable or are retrenched, and become progressively non-functional (*ibid.*).

Unemployment fuels child trafficking for SE and its push factors. As members of the working class become more and more unemployable, opportunities to exploit them increase (*ibid.*), for instance, by traffickers. One could also argue that traffickers themselves are unemployable and exploit opportunities that liberal-capitalist societies provide for their own financial gain.

Unemployment relates to most of the so-called push factors of trafficking. Push factors make people vulnerable to recruitment (Bermudez, 2008:12) and propel them into trafficking (UNESCO, 2007:7). Push factors have been listed and explained in the literature (Bales, 2007; Bermudez, 2008; Fowler *et al.*, 2010; Gjermani *et al.*, 2008; Hamman, 2011; Lumadi, 2012; Luty, 2009; Pearce, 2009; Swart, 2012; UNESCO, 2007). Some of the more prominent ones that relate to unemployment and make people more vulnerable to trafficking are poverty, traditional beliefs and HIV/AIDS.

Poverty is closely linked to unemployment and concomitantly the strong prospective of vulnerability to trafficking. The role of poverty as a push factor seems to be contested by some of the literature, but in South Africa it remains pivotal (HSRC, 2010:93). Lumadi (2012:48) provides the following metaphor to show the relation of poverty to trafficking: "[p]overty is a major factor that oils the wheel of trafficking on the African continent". Other factors listed in the literature that relate to poverty are economic inequality (Pearce, 2009:1), food shortages, famines (Swart, 2012:62-63), a country's food production index (Bales, 2007) and poor development (Hamman, 2011:20).

Poverty and socio-economic challenges which people in South Africa have to face make them vulnerable to being trafficked (Bermudez, 2008:12); in fact, trafficking frequently begins with these challenges (Fowler *et al.*, 2010:1348). In South Africa, the levels of unemployment are high and skilled workers receive relatively low wages (Bermudez, 2008:13). To find employment, people have to travel long distances; therefore, migration occurs in reaction to the market demand (*ibid.*). People in poverty often overlook potential hazards when accepting

an offer because they are desperate to find a job (Bermudez, 2008:12). Any offer for a job could seem to be a relief from unemployment. Traffickers therefore use job offers to trick people into trafficking (2.2.2) (Lutya, 2009:73). Even though victims know that these kinds of job offers involve crime, they still choose to take them because they bring relief from unemployment (*ibid.*).

Education (or lack thereof) is closely tied to unemployment. Children who complete their schooling stand a chance of competing in the labour market (Lutya, 2009:67). However, if children leave school too early, their chances of employment are limited (Lutya, 2009:67). A lack of access to education further limits the opportunities to increase earnings in more skilled occupations (UNESCO, 2007:32). Together with this, a lack of knowledge and information about trafficking also makes people vulnerable to falling prey to traffickers (UNESCO, 2007:38). A common misconception of human trafficking – "it cannot happen to me" – increases vulnerability to human trafficking (Gjermeri *et al.*, 2008:946; UNESCO, 2007:38).

Muti, labola and child placements are some of the South African traditional practices that have been linked to trafficking (Bermudez, 2008:16). In liberal-capitalist societies, traffickers exploit these beliefs for their own financial gain. Muti refers to traditional medicine made from things like indigenous herbs and sometimes even human body parts, and it is believed to cure different illnesses (*ibid.*). People could be trafficked for their organs so that muti could be made. Labola, or bride price, is paid by a bridegroom to the bride's parents to earn the right to become her husband (*ibid.*). Traditionally, labola is considered as an offer of respect to bind two families; in the case of trafficking, however, it is misused by older men who seek to buy a younger bride (*ibid.*). Because of poverty, a young girl may be seen as an economic burden and her marriage to an older man who is willing to pay a high labola can become a family's survival strategy (Bermudez, 2008:16; UNESCO, 2007:37). A family may then force the young girl into marriage, putting her under extreme emotional or physical stress. Should she choose to run away from home, she would be vulnerable to other forms of trafficking (Bermudez, 2008:16).

In South Africa, child placement is a practice to ensure a better life for a child (*ibid.*) and entails parents placing their child in the care of someone who could provide better opportunities for the child. The chances of this kind of placement occurring are increased by poverty, death of a parent, inability to provide financially for the child and/or lack of educational or vocational opportunities (*ibid.*). Traffickers are able to exploit the practice of child placement by promising better opportunities (*ibid.*).

South Africa has one of the highest infection rates of HIV/AIDS in the world (Bermudez, 2008:14). The belief that someone infected by HIV can be cured by having sex with a virgin

increases the demand for children as trafficking victims (Swart, 2012:63). Other consequences of HIV/AIDS include orphans and child-headed households (Hamman, 2011:20), where children have lost their biological parents to HIV/AIDS (Bermudez, 2008:15). When a household is affected by HIV/AIDS, the budget previously used for school-related expenses might instead be used for basic necessities, medication and health services (*ibid.*). Promises of better opportunities for their children made by friends, family or strangers are considered without suspecting the nefarious purpose that lies behind them (*ibid.*). HIV/AIDS orphans are frequently rejected and socially isolated, increasing their vulnerability (UNESCO, 2007:35).

Other push factors which might or might not be directly related to unemployment are: recruitment channels (UNESCO, 2007:33), natural disasters, armed conflict, political instability (Conteh, 2009:380), poor law enforcement, porous borders (Hamman, 2011:20), political corruption, family disruption (Gjermei *et al.*, 2008:946), governmental corruption, infant mortality rate, proportion of the population below the age of 14, a country's population density, conflict and social unrest (Bales, 2007:275), homelessness, familial problems, low self-esteem, self-harming behaviour, problems with attachment (Pearce, 2009:1) and child sex tourism (Swart, 2012:62). Other push factors listed in the literature that are related to traditional beliefs or cultural practices are the following: cultural misconceptions (Hamman, 2011:20), gender and age imbalances (UNESCO, 2007:36), gender-based violence (Bermudez, 2008:15), violence against women and children, concealment of incest and rape, and discrimination against and devaluation of women and children (Conteh, 2009:380).

To return to liberal-capitalist societies, role-players in them include all sorts of experts such as lawyers, intellectuals and artists. Those in managerial positions receive irrationally high salaries (Žižek, 2012:10). They have the privilege of a so-called surplus-wage, a surplus over a minimal wage (*ibid.*). The surplus has two forms: more money and more free time (*ibid.*). Furthermore, in liberal-capitalist societies there are all kinds of excesses on which the surplus-wage could be spent, such as cars, sex and alcohol (Žižek, 2005:117). This creates a subpopulation among capitalists which has the powerful ability to shape the demand of the society.

In this study, the focus is mainly on how the availability of the surplus-wage results in spending money on sex as an excess in liberal-capitalist societies, thus increasing the demand for child trafficking for SE. Trafficking is prevalent in upper middle class areas where the clients who are able to pay well live (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:110). In South Africa, the sex industry is moving to middle and upper-class private homes (Bermudez, 2008:39).

Traffickers capitalise on the surplus wage notion so as to earn more money with less input. One way of doing this is creating a demand for sex as a product. The concept of pull factors

refers to the demand for trafficking victims. According to Shelley (2010:39), it is the "demand [that] fuels the growth of human trafficking". This demand is created, by the dynamics within the liberal-capitalist societies. Some of the possible pull factors are the growth of the billion-dollar sex and entertainment industry, the low-risk-high-profit nature of trafficking, ease of controlling and manipulating vulnerable victims, lack of legal access and the devaluation of women and children's human rights (UNESCO, 2015:32).

Specific types of demands can also be socially constructed, with the surplus-wage earners as the primary targets of the marketing strategies. People of this class are persuaded that they need or want a product or a service (Anderson & Davidson, 2003:41) to convince them to give up a share of that surplus of their surplus-wage. Supply of victims also generates demand. For example, there may be no demand for a lap dance club in a community until these services are provided (and actively marketed or promoted) to the community (*ibid.*). In this way a supply of service generates a demand for the particular service (*ibid.*) by using proactive and aggressive make-believe advertising and other marketing tools and strategies.

One of the pull factors most relevant to this study is the demand for sexual services (Bermudez, 2008:17). People's bodies are now commodities in a global market and are available for sexual pleasure as sexual objects (Coy *et al.*, 2011:442). Sex tourism (as discussed in 2.2.3.2) is a growing industry where clients seek commercial sex as part of their travelling experience (Bermudez, 2008:17). According to Anderson and Davidson (2003:41), an abundance of inexpensive sexual services can also be considered as a powerful pull factor fuelling the growth of the sex industry. Child trafficking for SE is profitable because children are high in demand and so can be sold for higher amounts than older victims (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:110; 106).

The sex industry is promoted (as an excess on which the surplus-wage can be spent) through television, music and gaming, in which pimping and prostitution are represented as a token of independence, glamour, power and happiness (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:106). One of the dark sides of this industry is the presentation of children as sex toys. Trafficking of people is mostly a demand-driven phenomenon (Sanghera, 2012:8). The increased demand for child victims (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:106) results in more children being sexually exploited (2.2.3). Globally, the use of the Internet assists consumers of SE of children either to download and view child pornography or to make bookings for child sex tourism events (McCauley, 2003:6). Furthermore, children are highly sought after worldwide because of the belief that they are less likely to have sexually transmitted diseases (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:106).

Traffickers take on the role of the link between supply and demand. They supply the victims and provide easy access to them (UNESCO, 2007:26). The push and pull factors often

contribute to perpetuating trafficking in the context of liberal-capitalist societies as a means of low-risk-high-income opportunity for traffickers. Because of the nature of trafficking, the explicators are in a position to offer products and/or services of their victims multiple times. Unlike drugs and other finite commodities, a victim can be supplied and re-supplied multiple times. Traffickers have taken advantage of the supply and demand situation for victims to generate enormous profits for themselves (Bales, 2007:279). The increased consumerism mentioned above assists in the supply of children (McCauley, 2003:6).

The multi-faceted workings of the liberal-capitalist societies discussed in this section create an unavoidable gap between its subpopulations, where some are fuelling the demand for products and services connected to trafficking, and others are desperate to survive and therefore are prepared to consider providing such products and services. In the process numerous human rights are being violated. In what follows, I discuss a human rights centred approach to combat child trafficking for SE.

2.4 Human rights centred approach to combat child trafficking for SE

Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1948), states that "no one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms". This is echoed in Article 13 of the South African Constitution (1996): "no one may be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour." Child trafficking for SE is a crime in South Africa (South Africa, 2013).

According to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for human rights ([UNOHCHR], 2002:3):

Violations of human rights are both a cause and a consequence of trafficking in persons. Accordingly, it is essential to place the protection of all human rights at the centre of any measures taken to prevent and end trafficking.

Legislation in terms of trafficking is necessary but not sufficient to combat trafficking and to prevent children from being trafficked (Everitt, 2013:155; Hamman, 2011:14; Pearce, 2009:2). Legislation needs to be reviewed, monitored, evaluated and implemented to have a positive impact on effectively combating child trafficking (Pearce, 2009:2). Legislation based on universal human rights, like any other law, has to be assessed in terms of its application in a specific situational context (Dembour, 2010:6).

In every element of child trafficking (2.2.1 & 2.2.3), a series of human rights violations occur (UNESCO, 2007:16). Table 2.2 below provides a summary of human rights that could be violated by trafficking.

Table 2.2: Human rights violations in the context of trafficking

| Human right usually violated in the context of trafficking | Corresponding Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) and South African Constitution (1996) |
|--|--|
| Freedom of trade, occupation and profession | Article 22 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right not to be tortured and/or submitted to other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment | Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) |
| Right to access to justice | Article 6 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) |
| Right to decent work | Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) |
| Right to education and training | Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) Article 29 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to freedom and security of the person | Article 12 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to freedom from slavery | Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) Article 13 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to freedom of expression and participation | Articles 19 and 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) Article 16 and 18 of the South African Constitution (1996) |

Table 2.2: Human rights violations in the context of trafficking (continued)

| | |
|--|--|
| Right to health and social service | Articles 22 and 25(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1946) Article 27 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to human dignity | Article 10 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose one's residence | Article 13(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) Article 21 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to non-discrimination | Articles 1, 2 and 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1946) Article 9 of the South African Constitution (1996) |
| Right to peace and security | Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human |

| | |
|--|---------------|
| | Rights (1946) |
|--|---------------|

Source: South African Constitution (1996); UNESCO (2007:16).

As evident from Table 2.2, child trafficking is a gross human rights violation. Accordingly, a human rights approach should be at the core of all methods used to combat trafficking. There is an urgent need to combat trafficking globally by implementing the fundamental international framework known as the three pronged approach or 3P paradigm: prevention, protection and prosecution (USDS, 2010). In what follows, prevention, protection and prosecution are described, as well as some of the role-players that are directly or indirectly involved in each of these approaches.

2.4.1 Prevention

Prevention includes addressing root causes of trafficking by decreasing the demand for trafficking (HSRC, 2010:91) at three levels: thwarting trafficking; limiting the number of cases that occur; and limiting the damaging impact on victims (UNESCO, 2007:56). One of the prevention strategies is to create awareness of human trafficking (HSRC, 2010:105) and the main strategy to approach awareness is through education.

There are various role-players involved in preventing trafficking (Everitt, 2013:155). There are also various environments and the ignorance of some role-players which makes the prevention of child trafficking for SE more difficult. I now point out some of these environments and role-players.

(a) Home

The family home can increase or lessen the chances that children will be vulnerable to trafficking. The normative image of a home being a safe place is not true for all children, especially children whose homes are characterised by abuse and violence (Pearce, 2009:52). Sometimes a child leaves home to escape the abuse. Such homes are rarely able to provide good access to the levels of education needed to create awareness about trafficking, further handicapping the children.

Children who run away from their homes often end up on the street, where they are vulnerable to trafficking (Pearce, 2009:20) and are more prone to be coerced into trafficking as a means of survival (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:107). Away from their friends, families, support networks and communities, such children have their development and survival threatened because they are forced to live under conditions which deprive them of their basic human rights to protection, health and education (Rafferty, 2013:562).

Drawing on different sources of research, Bang *et al.* (2014:6) concludes that children with family problems (such as neglect, violence, abuse or exposure to excessive arguing) are more vulnerable to becoming victims of SE (which could turn into a case of trafficking for SE). Negative relationship factors, which include family dysfunction, mental illness in the family, and the promotion of prostitution by parents and siblings, increase the risk of a child being exploited (Jimenez *et al.*, 2015:81). Parents also often sell their children to traffickers because of poverty (Rao & Presenti, 2012:238).

(b) The clients

In this study the consumers of sexual services provided by children controlled by traffickers are referred to as clients and constitute the element of demand (or market) for sexual services. In each form of SE, different terminology is used to refer to the clients. In the context of sex tourism, the clients are sex tourists. These tourists are men and women who travel to sexually exploit children at sex tourist destinations (Child Wise, 2007:5). In the context of survival sex, the clients are often referred to as "sugar daddies" or "sugar mommies" (commonly older, wealthier males or females) (Zembe *et al.*, 2013).

In the context of internet child pornography, clients are referred to as "downloaders", "trawlers", and "non-secure" and "secure" collectors of child pornography (Krone, 2004:2; Seigfried-Spellar, 2014:252). Downloaders knowingly and intentionally download child pornography (Seigfried-Spellar, 2014:252). Trawlers actively search for child pornography on the Internet and engage in limited networking with other child pornography users (Krone, 2004:2). Non-secure collectors search for child pornography in openly available websites;

while secure collectors are members of a closed networking group who obsessively collect large amounts of child pornography (Krone, 2004:2; Seigfried-Spellar, 2014:253).

SE of children is a very attractive proposition because of clients' beliefs that children are free from HIV/AIDS (Bales, 2007:270). To reduce or avoid the risk of potential infection even further, clients pay more for a virgin or a young child, thus increasing the demand for younger children (Clark, 2003:250). Some clients actively seek to have sex with virgin children (2.2.3.2). Clients also prefer to have sex with children because they are more likely to have sex without a condom (HSRC, 2010:16).

The clients are sometimes ignorant about trafficking and do not know that the services they buy are from a trafficked victim (Huysamen, 2013:106). Also, upon discovering the truth, they might choose not to disclose it. Therefore, if clients are educated about child trafficking for SE they might be less inclined to use the services of trafficking victims, which would help to prevent trafficking.

Victims sometimes become aware of an opportunity to escape trafficking through their relationships with the clients (HSRC, 2010:85). In South Africa, there have been cases where clients have purchased the victim from the traffickers to set them free (Martens *et al.*, 2003:105). In other cases, clients buy victims and marry them so they can force them to do sex work and thus earn any profits themselves (Martens *et al.*, 2003:9).

(c) The government

The government of South Africa has accepted its responsibility to prevent trafficking in the country (USDS, 2016:342) and is making significant efforts to combat trafficking. For instance, the training of officials on implementing the Trafficking Act was introduced in 2016 (USDS, 2016:340). However, South Africa does not yet meet the minimum standards set by the *Trafficking Victim's Protection Act* (USDS, 2016:45,340).

The South African government attempts to counter trafficking, but has also created a context in which trafficking flourishes (2.3). Most states signed the UN protocol against trafficking to affirm their opposition to trafficking (Shelley, 2010:60). Three sectors of the government that could contribute to the prevention of trafficking are state officials, state education and governmental health care. I will now elaborate on each of these:

(i) State officials

Training state officials is imperative to combat and prevent trafficking, because there is evidence (specifically in South Africa) that state employees, such as police members, are sometimes directly involved in trafficking (Woolman & Bishop, 2006:394). Police at all levels need training to ensure that law enforcement is effective. It is also necessary for them to work in partnership with those working against trafficking, such as non-governmental organizations and other service providers (UNODC, 2006:xx).

Other officials, such as customs officials, border patrol members, members of the security apparatus and law enforcement officers often facilitate trafficking for personal gain (Shelley, 2010:59). Weak border control and corrupt officials thus make it possible for trafficking to be disguised as a globalised trade (Simmonds & du Preez, 2015:89). There is widespread corruption and lack of capacity in the police force which hinders anti-trafficking law enforcement (USDS, 2016:340). Corrupt government officials are also complicit in enabling trafficking to survive (Shelley, 2010:59).

(ii) State education

State education plays two potential roles in the prevention of trafficking. Firstly, it can educate vulnerable communities about trafficking and their rights (UNESCO, 2007:44). This includes those persons and groups who could come into contact with child trafficking for SE victims (UNODC, 2006:101). Secondly, it can equip children to find other work. At present, the lack of economic and educational opportunities for children increases their vulnerability to trafficking (Davidson, 2013:1076). The latter is directly connected to unemployment and poverty rates which are powerful factors fuelling human trafficking (2.3).

As I have mentioned in my problem statement (1.3), the scope of child trafficking for SE in South Africa is not well conceptualised (Allais, 2013; Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013; HSRC, 2010; Lumadi, 2012). What is needed is a firm base, such as HRE, for instance, so the school curriculum can be used to create awareness of this issue and enable children to guard against becoming trafficking victims (Simmonds & du Preez, 2015:94). Without involving the school curriculum in preventative approaches to trafficking, child trafficking will continue to grow and children will "continue to be stuck in a traffick jam" (*ibid.*).

(iii) State health care

Child trafficking for SE victims frequently seek medical care (Varma *et al.*, 2015:99). Although healthcare providers encounter these victims when their physical, mental or sexual health requires attention (Jimenez *et al.*, 2015:80), in many cases they simply do not recognise the

cause of their conditions. This is due to the hidden nature of the crime, lack of awareness about SE or misidentification (Jimenez *et al.*, 2015:82). According to Lederer and Wetzell (2014:67), healthcare providers are critical role players in identifying trafficking victims. They should be in a strong position to detect child trafficking for SE victims early because of their close relationship with victims who are suffering health consequences as a result of their exploitation (Jimenez *et al.*, 2015:85).

Traffickers need to be prosecuted. In the following section prosecution in terms of combating trafficking is explained.

2.4.2 Prosecution

Internationally, trafficking is a process rather than a single event and consists of multiple crimes bundled together (UNODC, 2006:xx). This is also the case in South Africa (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2012:284; Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017:219). Therefore stopping trafficking as a crime is a complex problem for law enforcement (UNODC, 2006:xx), and every effort should be made to prosecute the perpetrators. The Trafficking Act provides clear guidelines for the prosecution of all forms of trafficking (South Africa, 2013). Child trafficking for SE is prohibited by South African legislation which prescribes penalties for up to 20 years' imprisonment (South Africa, 2013; USDS, 2016:341).

Two primary role-players are involved in the prosecution of traffickers. They are the survivors and the traffickers themselves.

(a) Survivors

In South Africa, the lack of professional language interpreters often complicates the investigation of trafficking cases, the screening of victims (survivors) and the prosecution of traffickers (USDS, 2016:342). If suspected victims fail to provide evidence of fraud, force or coercion immediately after they are rescued, it delays their classification as victims (survivors) of trafficking and placement in shelters, which could result in the release of criminals within 48 hours (*ibid.*). Traumatized survivors are sometimes unable or unwilling to prove fraud, force or coercion in such a short time frame (*ibid.*).

Survivors who have been rescued should be protected and provided with basic support, since their cooperation is essential for prosecution of those involved in a trafficking case (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008:320). Prosecution of traffickers without the survivors' cooperation and testimony is difficult and sometimes impossible (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008:332). Survivors need to be assisted to participate safely and meaningfully in court processes (Gallagher &

Holmes, 2008:333). In South Africa survivors are encouraged to participate in the prosecution of traffickers while being provided with security and long-term care (USDS, 2016:342).

Child trafficking for SE often goes unreported (UNODC, 2006:xx). The reason for this is that survivors are frightened to give evidence, may have been brutalised, are likely to need interpretation services and have sometimes been treated as criminals themselves (*ibid.*). Traffickers are the ones that meet the demand for services by providing trafficking victims. Traffickers as a role-player in trafficking are discussed in the following section.

(b) Traffickers

Traffickers are those individuals who traffic victims. Different terminology is used to refer to them by both the exploited and in literature (e.g., pimps, madams, daddy, etc.). There is no generalised image of what trafficker look like and there is a wide range of demographic and social variability among them (Bang *et al.*, 2014:12). The range of traffickers varies from individuals to international organizations (Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017:219) and includes members of racial minority or majority, men, women, neighbours, friends, strangers, family, locals or foreigners (Bang *et al.*, 2014:12).

Most traffickers in South Africa are between the age of 31 and 40, and the next biggest group are between 21 and 30 (Bermudez, 2008). Women can also be exploiters in trafficking, not just victims, and are able to win the trust of potential victims because the stereotype of a woman involved in trafficking is that of a victim and not of a trafficker (HSRC, 2010:93; Rafferty, 2013:562).

Even family members could be involved in trafficking. Family members who allow a child to travel to another location with someone who they know intends to traffic the child are complicit in the child trafficking (Lutya, 2009:64). When parents or guardians exchange their child for cash, their action is also considered child trafficking (*ibid.*).

Trafficked victims could also evolve into traffickers (Rafferty, 2013:562). If a victim goes through various forms of trauma that are left unresolved, this could lead to displaced emotions that make them start recruiting other potential victims into prostitution (Lutya, 2009:65). In this way, the cycle of trauma and involuntary prostitution continues (*ibid.*).

Individuals involved in trafficking each assume a different role and responsibility in order to lure their potential victims (Bang *et al.*, 2014:7; Bermudez, 2008:30). For instance, the trafficker could take up a role of an absent parent or pretend to be a loyal boyfriend (Bang *et al.*, 2014:7). These roles are assumed to create the illusion of belonging, unconditional love and acceptance (Bang *et al.*, 2014:7). In some countries networks of traffickers hire people

who tend to be attractive, nicely dressed and wear expensive jewellery or who use their familiarity with potential victims to gain their trust and trick them into trafficking (Rafferty, 2013:562). Traffickers actively and intentionally seek the weakest members of a society to exploit them for personal gain (Clark, 2003:247).

Once the traffickers are taken into custody and the victims of their crime are rescued, the rehabilitation phase needs to take place. This is part of the third element of the three-pronged paradigm, namely protection.

2.4.3 Protection

Survivors of child trafficking for SE are in critical need of protection after trafficking. In Appendix A, I provide information on the referral and protection of trafficking victims in South Africa. The government should not treat survivors as pawns in a struggle between the government and the traffickers, but treat them as human beings in need of protection (UNODC, 2006:102). Survivors should be provided with the necessary protection and incentives (such as special visa arrangements or residence permits) so they can assist the prosecution of their exploiters (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008:332).

Key efforts to protect survivors include the three Rs, namely: rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration (HSRC, 2010:91; USDS, 2010). Rescue refers to the removal of a victim from a trafficking situation (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:136). After they have been removed, they have to be identified as victims. Once child trafficking for SE victims have been correctly identified, they must be offered protection (UNODC, 2006:104). Identifying the trafficking victims is not always a simple process, however, since not all persons who are likely to be in contact with victims have had the necessary training to identify possible victims (UNODC, 2006:101). As a result, victims are rarely identified and too often criminalised (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008:338).

The South African Police Service (SAPS), Department of Social Development (DSD), National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), Department of Home Affairs (DHA), and Department of Justice (DOJ) have developed uniform formal procedures to identify and refer victims in accordance with the Trafficking Act (South Africa, 2013; USDS, 2016:341). However, not all the provinces in South Africa are aware of these formal procedures (USDS, 2016:341). Instead of screening women in prostitution for trafficking indicators, the authorities have charged them with prostitution and other violations (USDS, 2016:342).

After trafficking victims are identified, they can be rescued and be given the rehabilitation they need (Johnson, 2012:370; USDS, 2010). Rehabilitation refers to "the concept of restoration to a former state or enabling the trafficked person to recover from the physical, psychological,

and social impact of being trafficked" (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:136). Rehabilitation includes providing "emergency assistance and services; effective placement in stable, long-term situations; and access to educational, vocational and economic opportunities" (USDS, 2010). A variety of services should be included in comprehensive aftercare of survivors since their individual needs may be different; for example, the aftercare needs of an 8 year-old minor who has been sexually exploited are quite different from those of an adult who was trafficked for forced labour (Johnson, 2012:371).

Shelters in which children receive rehabilitation should be carefully planned and basic needs, such as "food, clothing, shelter, safety, mental health counselling, job training and medical or dental care" need to be met for successful rehabilitation (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:112; Johnson, 2012:371). Security measures (privacy of the address, 24 hour surveillance, alarm systems, limited or no Internet access) help children not to feel frightened that they will be traced by the trafficker (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:112). Staff of these shelters must have specialised training in the prevention and intervention of trafficking (Batchelor & Lane, 2013:112).

In South Africa, victims are placed in shelters which are overseen and monitored by the DSD (USDS, 2016:340). A facility should be registered and accredited to rehabilitate child trafficking for SE victims (DSD, 2015:85-111). The DSD describes the norms and standards for accredited organizations to rehabilitate survivors (*ibid.*). These norms and standards include: safety of survivors, adequate health care, toilet facilities, privacy in rooms, confidentiality of personal information, counselling services, rehabilitation programme, reintegration into families, hygienic and safe kitchen, preparation of food, recreational and multipurpose activities, and an administrative office (*ibid.*). It is essential that those providing rehabilitation to survivors should provide services in a trauma-sensitive manner (Johnson, 2012:371). According to Johnson (2012:371), survivors are vulnerable to being "re-traumatized, feel[ing] violated, invalidated, rejected, unsafe, misunderstood, helpless, and hopeless".

In South Africa, shelters should facilitate the reintegration of survivors into their families and communities (DSD, 2015:100). This kind of reintegration is a difficult, long-term and multifaceted process (HSRC, 2010:150). Pandey *et al.* (2013:53) points out that:

Lack of effective empowerment provisions for victims during rehabilitation process may disrupt the reintegration process and incite many victims to retreat to their exploitative situations.

When survivors are reintegrated into their homes or other suitable places, it is more than a geographic movement (Pandey *et al.*, 2013:53). Affective reintegration must ensure the safety and well-being of survivors in their community, secure their human rights, and safeguard survivors against victimisation, reprisal or retaliation (Schloenhardt & Loong, 2010:8).

2.5 Specific human rights violations in child trafficking for SE

Internationally, there is something of a conflict between the universal human rights and country-specific political rights of a citizen (or particularistic interpretations of human rights) (Žižek, 2005:126). According to the discourse on human rights, the universality of human rights is an illusion (Dembour, 2010:6). Human rights should be for those who suffer, but they are not (Dembour, 2010:6). When human beings are deprived of a socio-political identity, they are no longer treated as human. Therefore they are deprived of human rights the moment they are objectified (Žižek, 2005:127).

Table 2.2 presents the concept of freedom in the context of human rights. Of the 14 human rights violated by human trafficking, five contain the word freedom. The word "freedom" appears twenty-one times in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1948) and 27 times in the South African Constitution (1996). The South African Constitution "affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom" (South Africa, 1996).

The legislation clearly upholds the many freedoms of a person with regard to human rights. While the democratic values and constitution clearly define the legal norms and standards, the victims themselves might not necessarily perceive that they are entitled to a life based on these norms and standards. It is of the utmost importance that child survivors of SE's perceptions of freedom be carefully considered. There are many different situational reasons that these perceptions develop, such as the scenarios of survival sex (2.2.3.4) where the victims do not see themselves as victims and therefore do not feel that they need to be rescued. These perceptions of freedom could directly affect whether children remain as victims of trafficking or break free from their traffickers.

The will of the person is connected to the freedom they both experience and exercise. I have briefly discussed this idea earlier, using examples of survival sex, and I will discuss this in more depth in Chapter Three. In this chapter, I confine myself to arguing that this connection could provide insight into people remaining victims seemingly of their own free will as in the study done by Montgomery (2014) or do all they can to escape the traffickers (even endangering themselves) (Hayes, 2012).

In liberal-capitalist societies, one of the most basic human rights is the right to the pursuit of pleasure (Žižek, 2005:115). The other most basic right is the right to freedom of choice (*ibid.*). In the context of child trafficking for SE, these two most basic rights appear to be in conflict. A child who is trafficked and exploited has limited freedom of choice, if any at all. In contrast, both a trafficker and a consumer of child sex pursue their right to a life of pleasure freely. In this context, someone's right to a life of pleasure could result in slavery and the violation of the right to freedom.

2.5.1 The right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure

The right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure is a "redoubled right" (Žižek, 2005:120). Firstly, the pursuit of pleasure is perceived as a person's duty; and secondly, fulfilling one's duty is a person's pleasure (*ibid.*). I will now explain each side of this redoubled right in the context of liberal-capitalist societies.

Capitalism is an effective way to generate wealth. However, it can perpetuate evils such as human rights violations, exploitation, injustice, the destruction of natural resources, and mass suffering. (Žižek, 2012:16). When seeking pleasure as their duty, people often end up exploiting and violating human rights of others (Žižek, 2005:120). In Section 2.3, I discussed the notions of unemployment and surplus wage and how they contribute to an increase in child trafficking for SE. Firstly, there is the issue of unemployment. Traffickers may have had few job opportunities and thus seek innovative, though illegal, ways of increasing their own financial wealth. They choose to exploit communities in which unemployment is rife, making false promises to parents about providing educational or financial opportunities to their children. They thus exploit innocent victims by trafficking them for SE. In this process, traffickers pursue their own pleasure through gaining financial wealth.

Secondly, regarding the surplus wage notion of liberal-capitalist societies (2.3), one could argue that many of those with a surplus wage (potential clients) seek to fulfil their right to dedicate their life to pursuing pleasure (the surplus wage making it relatively effortless) and some of them do so by spending their surplus wage on services from child trafficking for SE victims. Clients who buy sex clearly do so in pursuit of pleasure. They use their sex drive as

an excuse, stating that by engaging in sexual activities (even paid sex), they do something biologically driven, normal and healthy (Huysamen, 2013:106).

For clients, it is also possible, beneficial and desirable to pay for sex (Huysamen, 2013:107). By doing this, they avoid the responsibilities and commitments of a relationship (*ibid.*). As part of seeking pleasure, and because of the diversity of the sex-selling market, clients pursue and can have a variety of sexual experiences, including being able to choose different partners (*ibid.*). Traffickers hence seek to capitalise on the surplus wage by providing services to clients in the form of child trafficking for SE. All of this is done to satisfy both their own and their clients' right to the pursuit of pleasure.

There is another possible conceptualisation of the human right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure. As I mentioned in the beginning of the subsection, the motivation for doing one's duty is often not the obligation to do so, but the gratification it brings (Žižek, 2005:120). Numerous rights are in place to prevent children from becoming potential and current victims of child trafficking for SE (2.4). Activists, law enforcers and those fighting against human trafficking, for instance, find pleasure in doing their moral duty to fight for the human rights of trafficking victims.

Moreover, combating trafficking in South Africa is encouraged by the annual Trafficking in Persons report, released by the USDS. This report indicates the extent to which each country has met the minimum standards as set by the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* (Gallagher & Holmes, 2003:318). As alluded to earlier (1.2), if and when a country does not meet the minimum standards, the United States can impose sanctions or can hinder that country's relationships with major international financial institutions and international banks (*ibid.*).

On the one hand, traffickers and clients exploit their right to pursuit pleasure as their duty, while traffickers gain financially from the exploitation. On the other hand, anti-trafficking activists pursue duty as a prerequisite for their pleasure in combating trafficking. Law enforcers and the government are keen to comply with the minimum standards so they avoid United States imposed sanctions or interference in their country's relationships with financial institutions. Both groups exercise their right to pursue pleasure

Trafficking is one of the consequences of capitalism; and so capitalism, while retaining its profit-orientation, should be regulated so that it serves larger goals of global welfare and justice (Žižek, 2012:16). Such regulations could humanise capitalism. One could also argue that liberal-capitalist societies need to do so to sustain the redoubled right to the pursuit of pleasure. However, as Žižek (2012:16) argues, if we continue to humanise capitalism, "we will only contribute to the process we are trying to reverse".

2.5.2 Freedom of choice and the absence of freedom within it

In the context of freedom of choice, people are often offered a choice, where the conditions in which they make a choice render the choice "unfree" (Žižek, 2005:118). Let me explain the concept "unfree choice" more clearly in the light of child trafficking for SE. To illustrate this, I will draw on the ethnographic study on a group of child prostitutes in a specific village in Thailand that was done by Montgomery (2014).

These child prostitutes were members of families that were loving and functional, yet the children were expected to prostitute themselves to contribute to the families' income to make basic economic survival possible (Montgomery, 2014:171). This encouragement of child prostitution stems from a view of the correct adult-child relationship based on rural notions of filial duty, sacrifice and reciprocity (Montgomery, 2014:174). Filial duty is the notion that children, from the time of their birth, owe a debt of gratitude to their parents (*ibid.*). The children have to fulfil to their filial duty as soon as the parents declare them able to support the families and repay the care they have been given (*ibid.*). Children who fulfil their duty are seen as good children and they gain wider social recognition (*ibid.*). The child prostitutes in the study wanted to talk about how their families were benefitting from the money they were earning, as well as what dutiful children they were. They did not want to talk about prostitution (Montgomery, 2014:176).

I reached the following conclusions after reflecting on Montgomery's (2014) study. The children in the study grew up in an environment of poverty where adults did not meet their responsibility to provide for their families. The children became sources of income because of the tradition of filial duty and the concomitant responsibility for providing family income. So in this case both tradition and poverty represent the conditions under which children had to make a choice: either to be prostitutes and thus provide for the family and meet their filial duty, or not to be prostitutes and hence endure the hardships of poverty with their families and fail to be good children. For that reason, the choice these children made is an unfree choice.

Children desire to live out their basic human rights of being free from poverty, violence and abuse and this desire could drive them to seek any way to resolve a difficult situation, including opportunities provided by traffickers (Pearce, 2009:52). One could argue that opportunities provided by traffickers are unfree choices because the conditions in which these opportunities are provided are unfree. Pearce (2009:15) supports Gorham's view that girls engaged in prostitution were not passive, sexually innocent victims, but that they were responding to their unfree circumstances and the limited choices they had at their disposal.

If one leaves the consent (or the unfree choices) of the children out of account, being trafficked devalues the decisions they make with regard to their future. Children sometimes have to choose trafficking to escape war and poverty, taking responsibility for their own lives (Pearce, 2009:48). They might even have had to take risks when they left their former disadvantageous circumstances. Therefore, children often do not see themselves as victims of child trafficking (Pearce, 2009:52) and might even not welcome a rescue attempt because they fear having to return to their former circumstances (*ibid.*). By not wanting to escape they make an unfree choice to stay in the trafficking situation.

Children develop a resilience which enables them to tolerate their situation of being sold for sex. In the process, they decide that staying is better than being on the run, homeless or without any money (Pearce, 2009:22). Pearce (2009:46) asks important questions about the perceptions of children who are trafficked. Do these children see themselves as victims of this crime? Or do they see themselves as taking charge of their future? In one case, Pearce (2009:46) describes the visit of a child to an older exploitative adult. The question raised is whether the children see themselves as trafficking victims or as those looking for adventure or a place to stay that is better than their home? Pearce (2009:46) uses these questions to build a case for a person-centred approach to combat child trafficking and to explore the children's perception and understanding of their situation.

2.6 Conclusion

The definitions of human and child trafficking are different. One important difference is that the means of trafficking is disregarded in the definition of child trafficking. In my opinion, although the means of trafficking should be disregarded when legal action is taken against child traffickers, it should be the case when research on child trafficking is done. Research on the means of trafficking could provide insights into what motivates children to become involved in it. There is a dearth of research on the diverse range of motivations children have for to make an unfree choice to enter prostitution (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:236). What is particularly needed is an in-depth understanding of children's decision-making in the South African context (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:256).

Victims and survivors of child trafficking for SE make decisions within a specific context. In this chapter, I described the context of liberal-capitalist societies. In these societies money is one of the biggest driving forces in the demand for and supply of children in the sex industry. Supply and demand are linked to two of the most basic human rights in liberal-capitalist societies (2.5). Satisfying these human rights results in the humanisation of capitalism. This in turn contributes to the causes of child trafficking for SE (2.5). To understand two of the most

basic human rights which are violated in child trafficking for SE and children's decision making before, during and after trafficking in more depth.

A human rights centred approach is needed to combat child trafficking for SE, including aspects such as preventing its happening to other children, the prosecution of traffickers, and the protection of survivors. The challenge is not to contribute to the humanisation of capitalism. Accordingly, the central theme of the following chapter is to philosophically conceptualise freedom to contribute to HRE curriculum.

CHAPTER THREE: PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND: FREEDOM

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two, I theoretically conceptualised child trafficking as a human rights violation. I ended off that chapter with a reference to specific human rights that are violated in child trafficking. In this chapter I further develop the concept of freedom. The current chapter sets out to respond to the secondary research question 2 (1.4). Table 3.1 provides the structural overview of this chapter in response to that question. After Table 3.1 I introduce the reader to the background of the philosophical conversation on freedom.

Table 3.1: Structural overview of Chapter Three

| | | |
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3.2 Background to freedom

In this chapter I unpack the notion of freedom as it is conceptualised by Paul Ricoeur (1966) in his thesis, *Freedom and nature: the voluntary and the involuntary*. Ricoeur (1966:6) analyses the reciprocal relationship between the voluntary and the involuntary. The voluntary refers to the mind and freedom, whereas the involuntary refers to the body and nature of a human being. Even though he makes the distinction between the voluntary and the involuntary, Ricoeur avoids making them polar opposites (Kohak, 1966:xv; Ricoeur, 1978:3).

The body as the involuntary is the essence of what is necessary to be in the world (Kohak, 1966:xv; Simms, 2003:14). In other words, if one did not have a body then one could not exist (or be) within the world and thus could not exercise free will (through the voluntary).

There is a constant negotiation between the voluntary and the involuntary (Simms, 2003:9). The involuntary imposes constraints on the voluntary, which results in a need for negotiations between the voluntary and the involuntary (Simms, 2003:9). The voluntary and the involuntary co-determine the willing actions of the self, with the voluntary reacting to or drawing from involuntary actions (Ricoeur, 1966:5). In other words, the voluntary reveals itself only by means of and in relation to the involuntary (Pellauer, 2007:12).

Regarding the voluntary and the involuntary actions, acting is a complex process (Simms, 2003:10). Ricoeur (1966:6) describes the act of the will through a triadic paradigm. In this paradigm, three modes of willing can be distinguished, namely: decision, movement and consent (Simms, 2003:10; Ricoeur, 1966:6). These modes of willing can be arranged in any sequence from a descriptive point of view, but they appear in progressive order when considered from a practical mediation perspective (Ricoeur, 1978:5). The reciprocal relationship between the voluntary and the involuntary is visible in every moment of the three modes of willing. Simms (2003:12) summarises this reciprocal relationship in each mode of willing by saying that "[t]he decision is tempered by motivation, the movement of the body is tempered by involuntary motion, and consent is tempered by necessity".

In what follows, I expand on the three modes of willing in order to clarify Ricoeur's concept of freedom. For the purposes of analysis, these modes are discussed separately and in no particular order, with due acknowledgement they are more complex and interrelated than this analysis suggests.

3.3 First mode of willing: decision

In the first mode of willing the voluntary is represented by the decision that is made and the involuntary is represented by the motives that justify the decision (Ricoeur, 1966:7). The

reciprocal relationship between the voluntary and the involuntary involves negotiation between the involuntary (motives) and the voluntary (decision). Motives make the decision actual and the decision makes the motives meaningful (Kohak, 1966:xvii). A motive cannot serve as basis for a decision unless the voluntary bases itself on it. The involuntary is for the voluntary and the voluntary is by reason of the involuntary (Ricoeur, 1966:86).

3.3.1 The voluntary

The decision implies a project of action which is accompanied by the power or capability of movement to realise the project (Ricoeur, 1966:40). A decision is only a decision when the decider has the ability to complete the project (*ibid.*). Theoretically, voluntary intentions could be identified when a decision is made (*ibid.*). A decision is only voluntary when the consciousness can recognise even an extremely implicit intention in it (Ricoeur, 1966:41). An intention is an authentic decision when the action it projects appears to be within the power of the decider (*ibid.*). The decider does not have to be explicitly aware of a definite decision at the time of execution; also a decision does not have to be followed by the start of its execution for it to be an authentic decision (*ibid.*).

The voluntary is linked to the intentionality of making a decision (*ibid.*). The intention of a project, when making a decision, is through a thought (Ricoeur, 1966:42), where all acts of thought are apt to be reflexive and lend themselves to self-consciousness to some degree (*ibid.*). As a decision, intention signifies or designates in general a future action which depends on the decider and is within the power of the decider (Ricoeur, 1966:43).

Four types of judgement can be identified in making a decision: an event, a wish, a project and an order (*ibid.*). An event is when, for instance, an air plane leaves at 12:00 from Johannesburg. A wish is when one expresses the hope that the in-flight meal will include champagne and caviar. A project is when one decides to board the plane that leaves at 12:00 from Johannesburg. Finally, an order is when you give a command, for instance: "Give me a flight ticket". With regard to a decision, people wish, project actions or give an order. For each one of these judgements to be voluntary, the action which it launches has to be completed (Ricoeur, 1966:44).

A judgement designates, in general terms, the structure of the event or action (*ibid.*). However, they have a distinct way of being actualised. For example, an order is actualised through obedience and a wish through a happy event (Ricoeur, 1966:45). One could designate a decision either generally or specifically (Ricoeur, 1966:44). When one designates in general, one does so without seeing or imagining its characteristics (*ibid.*). When, however, one sees the object of action, it is no longer designated but perceived (*ibid.*). Even when one imagines

the object and one's thoughts are filled with colourful representations, the object is perceived (*ibid.*). The imagination functions as the trigger in the tension of willing, mimicking the presence of the unreal (Ricoeur, 1966:45).

A decision is distinguished by two traits; first of all it designates categorically and secondly it is a personal action (Ricoeur, 1966:46). A project, a wish and an order designate practically that something is to be done (Ricoeur, 1966:45). During a decision, one takes a position in relation to one's own action, the project is to be done by one; one commits and binds oneself to the project (Ricoeur, 1966:46).

The most important trait of a project is that it anticipates the future – the decisions one makes relate to or anticipate the future, no matter how near and imminent (Ricoeur, 1966:48). All anticipation appears to be in the future, but the future is not a body, a box or content (Ricoeur, 1966:51). One cannot change the past and, therefore, the past lies outside one's control (Ricoeur, 1966:52). The future, however, is not beyond one's control since it makes expectation and action possible (*ibid.*).

Finally, a project should be possible; and an event becomes possible when one projects it (Ricoeur, 1966:54). Furthermore, a project is possible when there is a sense of capability to fulfil the project (*ibid.*). Possible refers to that which one can do and not that which one merely wishes to do (*ibid.*). It is through self-determination, or the determination to do the project, that the envisioned project becomes possible (Ricoeur, 1966:62).

Often one is so involved in what one is doing that one does not notice oneself willing to do what one is doing (Ricoeur, 1966:56). It is the first person who decides: "I make up *my* mind". The decider in the first person reflects on what to do and takes responsibility in the moment of commitment to the project (Ricoeur, 1966:58). In this process, one commits oneself to one's acts to complete the project; one inserts oneself into the project (Ricoeur, 1966:59).

The decider projects a potential of themselves as the theme of a proposed conduct where the body follows (Ricoeur, 1966:64). With regard to the project, Ricoeur (1966:60) writes about the decider in the first person:

I meet myself in my project, I am involved in my project, the project of myself by myself. Self-consciousness is thus at the basis of the identity which is prior to judgment and conditions it, a presence of projecting subject and projected myself.

To summarise, deciding is the capacity for doing: it tests whether a project can be carried out (Pellauer, 2007:14; Ricoeur, 1966:55). A decision can be conceived as a thought about what is to be done, a capability of being able to do it, a judgement of how to do it, of all which projects a certain future (Pellauer, 2007:15). A decision involves intention, and through its intentionality, a decision focuses on the future (Ricoeur, 1978:5). A decision sets the acts in motion to fulfil the decision (Pellauer, 2007:14). In other words, a decision specifies the outline of a future action (Ricoeur, 1978:5). When one decides, it means, firstly, that one projects a practical possibility of an action which depends on oneself as the decider; secondly, it means that the decider assigns the role of the author responsible for the project; and, thirdly, it means motivating and justifying one's project (Ricoeur, 1966:84).

3.3.2 The involuntary

The involuntary provides the foundation, motives, capacities and even limits of the voluntary (Ricoeur, 1966:5). The first mode of willing corresponds to the freedom of choice (Simms, 2003:14). A decision has to be made in order to make a choice and a certain motive (or motives) justifies why a decision is made (Ricoeur, 1966:7). There are no decisions without motives, only happenings (Kohak, 1966:xviii).

Reasons for making a decision are a form of involuntary action namely, motivation or motives (Simms, 2003:11). The body is the most basic source of motives (Ricoeur, 1966:85). A motive only counts as a motive when one is in control of one's body (Ricoeur, 1966:203). A decision is an intention and cannot be made without a motive; motives provide the legitimation and basics for decisions (Kohak, 1966:xvii; Pellauer, 2007:15; Ricoeur, 1966:66). The motive has a reciprocal relationship with the voluntary, which receives it and bases itself on it. The voluntary has the power to shift attention, as well as to consider or to not consider motives, and is not a simple process of deductive reasoning from premises (motives) to conclusion (decision) (Kohak, 1966:xix). I next discuss the following motives: needs, desire, pain and fear.

3.3.2.1 Needs

Needs are basic motives that are represented by the involuntary (Kohak, 1966:xix; Pellauer, 2007:16). They are the material of which motives are made (Ricoeur, 1966:86). The body, as the involuntary, is a source of motives; therefore, a need, as a motive, is only a part of the involuntary (Ricoeur, 1966:88). Needs are considered motives because they are not automatic reflexes and incline without compelling. For example, there are people who choose to die of hunger rather than to betray someone (Ricoeur, 1966:93). A need is only a motive if the satisfaction of that need is not an irresistible reflex (Ricoeur, 1966:94). One is human because of this ability to confront one's needs or even to sacrifice them; one can reject needs as reasons for actions (Ricoeur, 1966:93).

Needs are related to alimentary or sexual appetite (Ricoeur, 1966:88). In a broader sense, they refer to appetites in terms of lack (or neediness), as well as to the concept of motivation (inclining without compelling) (Ricoeur, 1966:89). The lack one experiences is a specific lack and is directed to a specific other which would satisfy it (*ibid.*). Therefore it is the lack of *something* which causes an action *towards something* in order to fulfil that lack (Ricoeur, 1966:91). A lack or emptiness drives the self to alleviate this condition since this lack may cause the self to experience pain or sorrow in some way (Pellauer, 2007:16).

Needs, when received by the voluntary, constitute the "raw material" that forms a motive and they are conditional since one can accept or reject them through the voluntary (Kohak, 1966:xiv; Pellauer, 2007:16). For example, when one is hungry, the involuntary needs food to fulfil the lack created by the need of hunger. Being hungry is an involuntary motive: one can volitionally decide to eat or not to eat, but cannot decide to be hungry or not to be hungry (Pellauer, 2007:17). In this way a need can highlight one's freedom of choice and can be rejected as the motive for an action (Simms, 2003:14).

3.3.2.2 Desire

Desire is the second basic motive and is a key component underlying the concept of motivation (Ricoeur, 1978:11). The most important aspect of desire is the anticipation of pleasure (Ricoeur, 1966:99; Ricoeur, 1978:12). Therefore, desire is the link between need and pleasure; it is "the present experience of need as lack and as urge, extended by the representation of the absent object and by anticipation of pleasure" (Ricoeur, 1966:101). The imagination transforms anticipated pleasure into desire (Ricoeur, 1966:107); the anticipation of future pleasure is the most important part of desire (Ricoeur, 1966:101).

Pleasure indicates the nature of desire beyond the level of basic needs and is something that can be experienced or anticipated; it is also tied to a valuation made by the self (Pellauer,

2007:17). When a need is being satisfied, this is indicated by the presence of pleasure (Ricoeur, 1966:99). The penultimate phase of the cycle of a need is pleasure, being a stage of enjoyment and possession (when the object of pleasure is assimilated within us) (Ricoeur, 1966:100). Pleasure does not have any meaning apart from satisfaction, the need being satisfied aims through it (Ricoeur, 1966:100). Pleasure is ambiguous: it presents an anticipation of satisfaction and also brings tension of the need satisfied to its highest pitch (Ricoeur, 1966:100).

3.3.2.3 Pain

Pain is neither a motive nor a counter-motive of the involuntary (Ricoeur, 1966:107). Pain is not the opposite of or comparable to pleasure (Ricoeur, 1966:106). Pain's function is to repel whatever is strange and hostile to the person (*ibid.*). Secondly, pain is not comparable to a lack, but expresses a positive aggression towards a threat to the organism (*ibid.*). Thirdly, action that follows pain cannot be compared to the action that precedes pleasure; it is more of a reflexive reaction than (as with pleasure) a pre-action (*ibid.*).

The mastery over the body in pain has a different meaning from mastery over the body in need. For instance, one who is able to go on a hunger strike cannot refrain from screaming when being tortured (Ricoeur, 1966:106). When one is being tortured one is no longer responsible for one's cries (Ricoeur, 1966:107). Repression of a cry or a gesture under pain is possible only to the extent to which the neuro-muscular mechanism allows the organ to respond (*ibid.*). When the reflex cannot be controlled, one is confronted with frustrated will. In this case, one is broken rather than conquered (*ibid.*). Pain that a person undergoes acts as exhaustion, aggression or shock. When it is prolonged it wears one out and suppresses and removes one's ability to exercise will (Ricoeur, 1966:236).

3.3.2.4 Fear

The imagination transforms anticipated pain into fear (Ricoeur, 1966:107). Fear of suffering is a motive which could be integrated, rejected or accepted (Ricoeur, 1966:109). The imagination transforms anticipated pleasure into desire, which extends a need (Ricoeur, 1966:107). However, in the case of fear, it reverses the order of precedence between action and the painful encounter (*ibid.*). To be afraid of suffering means to imagine the things and beings which will be the instruments, agents or intermediaries of suffering (*ibid.*). It is also imagining the pain itself (*ibid.*). Pain can rule the voluntary (or body) even before being experienced since it is imagined in a vivid way which effect the emotions of the person. Pain that is anticipated stimulates impulses of fear which lead to fleeing, hiding, waiting or attacking, they appeal to the voluntary in the same way as needs do (Ricoeur, 1966:237).

When one imagines pain in the form of fear, three different elements are introduced (Ricoeur, 1966:107-109):

- When one is afraid of suffering, one objectively (realistically) imagines the things and beings which will be the instruments, agents and intermediaries of suffering. This imagination is so strong that it causes emotions to be activated. Pain then rules the flesh even before suffering is experienced.
- When one feels fear and anticipates pain, repelling movements develop, preceding the painful encounter. These movements include flight, attack, avoidance, watchfulness, and ruse. For example, one cannot refrain from crying out in circumstances of physical violence, but can refrain from running away from the threat of physical violence.
- Through the image which represents pain, one apprehends an eventual or imminent pain as evil; on this level represented pain becomes truly a motive susceptible to being appreciated and eventually accepted as the hard road to the good.

In the process of compiling motivation for decision making, one encounters values that only emerge as possible motives for a decision and thereby ground the decision on them (Ricoeur, 1978:6). While values ground this decision, they in turn are ascribed meaning; a meaning that varies depending on the gravity of the decision being made (*ibid.*). Therefore one can see there is a relationship between motivations and values when one makes a decision, if one has reasons (influenced by motives and values) for making such a decision (Pellauer, 2007:16).

3.3.3 Brief summary: decision

In the first mode of willing one makes a decision to perform a specific action. The decision is made with the mind (the voluntary) when one thinks about what and how to perform an action. The involuntary in the first mode of willing is represented by needs, desires and fears, all of which are motives. Each one of these motives has a different influence on the decision that one makes through the voluntary. While making a decision, the involuntary, in the form of motives, influences and sometimes even hindrances, informs the way the voluntary should make a decision. The decision one makes must be something that is within one's capabilities.

During the recruitment of child trafficking victims a trafficker can make use of the needs and desires of children to coerce or deceive them into a sexually exploiting environment. Once they have been tricked into and trapped in such an environment, the trafficker can use pain and fear in the form of harm (or threat of harm) to control the children to keep them from escaping. When children are kidnapped or abducted for SE, the voluntary and the involuntary are violated.

I will use three scenarios to elucidate the first mode of willing and how it is relevant to child trafficking. In Sections 3.4 and 3.5 I will elaborate on these scenarios as the three modes of willing unfolds.

(a) Scenario 1

The first scenario is based on Montgomery's (2010:176) research. A child lives in a community where the community make a living out of prostituting some of its children. The parents are aware of this and some of them even encourage child prostitution. The child forms relationships with some of the foreign men who visit their community, has sex with these men, and receives money for the sex.

The child does not consider all this as prostitution because there is no fixed amount of money received in exchange for sex. For the child the money is a token of the guests' regard for him/her and a sign of friendship. By having sex with the strangers visiting their community, the child can provide financially for his/her family and thereby fulfils his/her filial obligation to support his/her parents.

In this case, the child makes a choice to have sex with foreigners based on the motives of need and desire. The family is in need of money and therefore the child provides it. Through doing this, he/she feels the pleasure of perceiving himself/herself as a dutiful child.

(b) Scenario 2

The second scenario is based on the narrative of Ayesha (Equality Now, 2017a). Ayesha was born in a small village, was one of eight children and had a talent to sing. She fell in love with a man twice her age. He told her stories of his far-away travels to big cities. She was impressed and at the age of 13 he proposed to her. She decided to marry him, her decision based on the motive of desire to be married to the man she perceived she loved.

(c) Scenario 3

The third scenario is based on the narrative of Loreta (Equality Now, 2017b). Loreta was born to parents who were addicted to alcohol. They were incapable of caring for her and so she was sent to a state-run children's home. Her seven brothers and six sisters were also sent to children's homes all across the country. Loreta experienced growing up in a children's home as tough and often tried to run away.

At the age of 13 a man, who claimed to be Loreta's godfather, visited her at the children's home and took her to his house where he raped her. At the age of 15, she was sent against her will to live with her godfather.

On her sixteenth birthday, a 21-year-old woman named Dana introduced herself to Loreta as her sister. Loreta visited her home a few times. One day Dana asked Loreta to visit her and bring female friends along. She even provided money for the taxi fare. That night Loreta and her friends had to have sex with Dana's friends to reimburse Dana for the taxi fare. Dana threatened to phone a gang if they refused, who would come and rape Loreta and her friends and then bury them in the woods. Loreta decided to have sex with the men based on the motive of fear.

3.4 Second mode of willing: movement

Ricoeur (1966:201) argues that "[t]he will is a power of decision only because it is a power of motion." The two functions, decision and motion, can theoretically be separated for analytical purposes (Ricoeur, 1966:202). An act which is done spontaneously in the moment is still voluntary (Ricoeur, 1966:201). For example, observed automatisms, such as smoking while driving, possess an implicit intention (*ibid.*). These intentions are often recognised only after the automated action is done. At that point, one might say: "I might have willed it explicitly" (*ibid.*). The distinction between decision and motion is one of meaning rather than of time because it is one thing to project and another to act (*ibid.*).

In the previous section it was argued that deciding consists of an intention of a future action which depends on the decider and is in the decider's power (Ricoeur, 1966:203). In the second mode of willing, the intention of the future action is put into motion (Ricoeur, 1966:201). A project without motion is incomplete; it is not put to the test and therefore not verified, and motion is the criterion of a project's authenticity (*ibid.*). In other words, the project anticipates motion and it is this motion which tests the project's authenticity (Ricoeur, 1966:202).

The second mode of willing corresponds to the freedom of movement (Simms, 2003:14). It reveals how decision and action are continuous; here a decisive act implies that a decision leads to the possibility of action and this possibility is fulfilled through the self acting (Kohak, 1966:xx).

3.4.1 The voluntary

When deciding, one crafts an outline of future actions and, through one's deciding to act, one then attempts to realise these actions in full (Ricoeur, 1978:7). Motion as action is an extension of the voluntary (3.3.1) and it shares in the voluntary's intentionality (Kohak, 1966:xx).

Motion in the form of action is in itself an event which initiates novelty into the world (Ricoeur, 1966:205). In the present moment, the person who decides is the one who acts and manipulates or the author of events (*ibid.*). Action fulfils the intention of a decision at the time or after a delay (*ibid.*).

Once a project has been realised, it is in effect fulfilled; this refers to the accomplishment of a wish or of an order and the satisfaction of a desire or a fear (Ricoeur, 1966:206). The meaning of the fulfilling action (which fulfils a project, an order, a wish, a desire, and a fear) is the same as the intention of the project (*ibid.*). In some cases, there is an urgency present which solicits a project and obliges one to act (Ricoeur, 1966:212).

It is difficult to say when a decision is fulfilled or actualised. There is the temptation to say that it occurs when a physical movement, such as a gesture, is made (Ricoeur, 1966:209). An action is a form of a totality, with an overall meaning, which can be accomplished through various movements (*ibid.*). However, the action is not a sum of movements; movement is a product of an analysis of a moving form by an outsider who views the body as an object (*ibid.*).

One reflects on one's body (the involuntary) to inquire about the body's capacities; here capacities refer to the ability to move (or potentially move) the body (Ricoeur, 1966:215). One refers to this capability when one says "I know that I can swim, dance, climb trees..." (*ibid.*). It is difficult to reflect on moving from the intentionality of acting (Ricoeur, 1966:216). Voluntary motion presents immediate consciousness with a continuous and indivisible operation which understanding can only conceive as a succession of distinct and even heterogeneous moments (Ricoeur, 1966:217). However, while moving or doing the action, it is difficult for the consciousness to reflect upon the movement; hence it is difficult to uncover the operation of consciousness involved in acting (Ricoeur, 1966:216).

The voluntary exercises control over the body (Ricoeur, 1966:216). Voluntary motion is the principle of reciprocity of the voluntary and the involuntary (Ricoeur, 1966:227). To make this clearer in the second mode of willing the following should be done: the functions of movement (controlled by effort) should be identified in the same way as motives of decision making (Ricoeur, 1966:228). The ways in which effort affects the synthesis of different sources of movement should be described (*ibid.*).

The second mode of willing rises to the level of consciousness under deliberate repetition of effort (Ricoeur, 1978:7). Effort is the complication of a nonreflective willing, since the intention to act is not involuntary, but occurs through a project in the world (*ibid.*). Effort is the application of one's self, which is not an object, to one's body which is still oneself, but is now

an object as well (Ricoeur, 1966:217). Effort is the culmination of the dialectic of the voluntary and the involuntary on the level of action (Kohak, 1966:xxii).

Effort deals with a body which is already agitated by emotion and predisposed habit. Therefore, to move the body means to tame it, to domesticate it, to seize it (Ricoeur, 1966:203). This function of willing operates side by side with motivation (*ibid.*). Effort shows that the moving of the body is more complex because there is an awareness of resistance present (Ricoeur, 1966:215).

The significance of preformed skills, emotions and habits depends on the effort which determines whether the voluntary uses or yields them (Kohak, 1966:xxii). Effort could be intellectual, muscular, that of recalling memories, etc. (Ricoeur, 1966:308). Finally, any other effort is in virtue of the involuntary (body's muscular components), of the mastery of the voluntary over the body (*ibid.*). Effort (the voluntary) comes into conflict with different forms of muscular inactiveness (for example, limitation of intensity of contraction or limits of speed of execution of contractions) (Ricoeur, 1966:311).

According to Kohak (1966:xxii), "[t]he ideal limit of voluntary movement is effortless movement, the gracious ease of freedom in full harmony with its [different forms]". Genuine voluntary motion passes unnoticed (Ricoeur, 1966:309). A need for an effort is a sign of disharmony, which comes from the resistance of the involuntary; it could be in the mind or the body which must be overcome during the act or it could be an impulse outburst which the person must control (Kohak, 1966:xxii). This resistance signals that there is a crisis in the person as a unit with itself (Ricoeur, 1966:310). The ancient dream of human beings is being in the final stage of freedom where there would be no interruption between willing and ability, no resistance during movement (*ibid.*) The resistance is not an absolute, however: the fact that one experiences resistance shows that willing is partly successful (Kohak, 1966:xxii).

3.4.2 The involuntary

Movement, as a form of the voluntary, is analysed by the spontaneity and availability of the involuntary in action as it is presented by the involuntary functions (Kohak, 1966:xx). The involuntary functions of movement are preformed skills, emotions and habits (Ricoeur, 1966:228). The body as the involuntary is "a practical spontaneity, but turns emotive and habitual, which mediates our volitions" (Ricoeur, 1978:14). Each of these involuntary functions is briefly described in what follows.

3.4.2.1 Preformed skills

Preformed skills are instinctive skills (e.g. the basic and unlearned coordination of sight and touch) and form the minimum standard on which learning and habits build (Kohak, 1966:xx). Preformed skills play the ultimate role in human action (Ricoeur, 1966:250).

Ricoeur (1966:232) explains what is meant by reflexes in order to define preformed skills. The most elementary components of human conduct are preformed skills rather than reflexes, (Ricoeur, 1966:231). Reflexes are incoercible and irreconcilable with the voluntary unlike preformed skills (Ricoeur, 1966:232). Preformed skills are a primitive pattern of behaviour of the body in relation to perceived objects (*ibid.*). All gestures come from these skills, which are an unlearned power of acting already related to selective signs in the perceived world (*ibid.*). When infants are observed, it is evident that they know how to follow an object through moving their eyes and heads (Ricoeur, 1966:233). At eleven days, they know how to bend their heads forward with the upper part of the body, using preformed skills (*ibid.*). From this example it is clear that some preformed skills are the knowledge which babies have about their bodies, without knowing their bodies or the world (*ibid.*).

Reflexes of protection and defence can be separated from preformed skills of protection and defence (Ricoeur, 1966:235). There are specialised protective reflexes that assure the integrity of functioning of sense organs, such as blinking of eyelids and sneezing (*ibid.*). Added to these reflexes are mechanisms of expulsion which serve to protect consumptive organs, such as coughing which expels solids or liquids that irritate the trachea (*ibid.*). All these reflexes represent a brief, useful action so that the voluntary never has the occasion to resist them (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, when one is in danger or wants to put these reflexes to the test, the reflexes come into conflict with the voluntary (*ibid.*). When writing an examination, for example, one can restrain the reflex to sneeze or cough to some extent (*ibid.*).

There are also general defensive reflexes which are, strictly speaking, responding to pain (Ricoeur, 1966:236). Pain is a reaction, since it presupposes an encounter; it is prior to defence (*ibid.*). Human wisdom lies in the courage of acting in spite of pain and not in the repression of reflexes of pain (Ricoeur, 1966:237). Courage means to face the representations which accompany the threat and at the same time to devote all available attention to an idea which demands that we face pain, such as when an athlete considers the idea of surpassing a certain achievement (*ibid.*). In this case, attention also has a muscular component. The attention to an idea also involves effort from a set of muscles; but there are preformed skills at work, not reflexes to be mastered (*ibid.*).

3.4.2.2 Emotion

Emotion is a form of the involuntary, and neither a master of the voluntary nor a motive of the willing (Kohak, 1966:xxi). Emotion presupposes motivation that precedes and sustains it (Ricoeur, 1966:251). Emotion appears as a source of involuntary action that is more basic than habit (Ricoeur, 1966:251). Emotion, as the involuntary, sustains the voluntary action; it also precedes and limits the voluntary (*ibid.*). Feelings from emotions are complex affections which are tied to imaginative anticipations of pleasure or pain (Ricoeur, 1966:252). These emotions in themselves are not pleasure or pain, but manifest themselves affectively, developing a thousand affective nuances which are labelled feelings (*ibid.*).

Ricoeur (1966:252) sees the "principal passions" (taken from Descartes' *Treatise on Passions*: admiration, love and hate, desire, joy and sorrow) as the guiding threads of emotion, rather not with modern psychology which derives emotion from a shock and describes it as a crisis. Rather emotion is derived from wonder and is described as an incentive to action in accordance with the vivid representations which beget wonder (*ibid.*). I next discuss wonder, shock and passion, respectively, as an emotion.

(a) Wonder as an emotion

Wonder as an emotion has elaborated emotive forms and reaches its culmination in the awakening of desire (Ricoeur, 1966:253). Wonder is the simplest emotive form: in wonder one is awed by a new event (*ibid.*). This event is more primitive, more basic than love, hate, desire, joy or sorrow (*ibid.*). Wonder should not be interpreted as a reflex; it is more complicated than that (Ricoeur, 1966:254).

Emotion consists of affective and motive anticipation of goods and evils. Affective anticipation as an emotion is also part of wonder as an emotion; (Ricoeur, 1966:256). Emotion generally affects our social, bodily, intellectual, spiritual and other interests (*ibid.*). Hope, ambition, worry, rage and fear trouble us in terms of an anticipated or represented good or evil (*ibid.*). The second function of an emotion is thus to echo and amplify in the body a rapid, implicit value judgement (*ibid.*). Emotion adds to a specific involuntary element which involves voluntary motion; for example, love and hate stimulate a relaxation of an effort in a sense (Ricoeur, 1966:259).

Joy and sorrow are part of wonder as an emotion (*ibid.*). It is difficult to distinguish between joy and sorrow as emotional attitudes (*ibid.*). The true function of an emotion is to incline the voluntary to action and joy and sorrow contribute positively to this function (Ricoeur, 1966:260). With respect to joy, one is with one's good; in sorrow, however, one is with one's evil (*ibid.*). The good or the evil becomes the one's mode of being for instance, one would say

"I *am* sad, I *am* happy" and these expressions have a different meaning from expressions such as "I love" or "I hate" (*ibid.*). When one says "I love" or "I hate", one directs one's love or hate to a possible object of desire, situated in the world and at a distance (*ibid.*). Sorrow and joy are therefore sanctions of one's being (*ibid.*).

It is difficult to distinguish joy and sorrow from pleasure and pain or from a vague mood after a good meal or from feeling unwell (*ibid.*). Pain is generally a sensation and is local, whereas sorrow is neither local nor sensational and is a way of being (Ricoeur, 1966:261). In the same way pleasure is local (*ibid.*). Joy can be found in spite of pain which the body suffers (*ibid.*). Joy and sorrow complete desire, but they arouse it over again (Ricoeur, 1966:263). Ricoeur (1966:263) speaks of this cycle by comparing joy and sorrow to love and hate, saying that

to love and to hate is to anticipate the future joy and sorrow of being united with the beloved object or separated from the hated object. And to be sad or joyful is already to begin once again to anticipate a union or a separation which are yet to come.

Desire as an emotion is part of wonder as an emotion (*ibid.*). Earlier, desire was considered as a motive (3.2.2); now it is considered as an emotion (Ricoeur, 1966:264). The realm of desire infinitely exceeds the field of involuntary needs and is not concerned solely to satisfy involuntarily indigence (*ibid.*). Desire is a conquering emotion: when one desires something, one presents the possibility to oneself that one can already do something towards a desired object (Ricoeur, 1966:263). Desire is a profound internal disturbance and an acute alerting of all our senses and all our motor regions (*ibid.*).

(b) Shock as emotion

Ricoeur (1966:270) defines shock as "the sudden transformation of the world of a person for feeling and for action". Broad emotional commotions and differentiated forms of emotion, such as fear, rage, exultation or dejection, should be understood by starting from their initial emotional attitudes (shock) (Ricoeur, 1966:267).

During the emotion of shock, the willing experiences a trauma during which the function of emotion is entirely annihilated (Ricoeur, 1966:268). This causes a disorder where one becomes unknown and the willing can be broken in this way (*ibid.*). Emotional shock comes within the scope of phenomenology and follows a line of descent from meaningful to incoherent disorder (*ibid.*).

One exists organically within the limits of the universe. An example of this is that one exists only in favourable temperatures (*ibid.*). Similarly, one can only exist psychologically if the

unevenness and imbalance of one's situation remains within certain limits (*ibid.*). Therefore one is fragile with regard to organic and psychological existence (*ibid.*). This fragility is evident. When one experiences a fit of rage, fear, a crisis of exultation or dejection, the tension of the involuntary breaks through all forms of voluntary control, expands and sustains itself for a brief duration and then retreats into disengagement (*ibid.*). Such fragility is also apparent when one is faced with an excess of good or bad fortune or an excessive helplessness in the face of dangers; then one is thrown back into a disorder which seems incoercible (*ibid.*).

The emotion of shock leads to a specific incoercibility (Ricoeur, 1966:269). This incoercibility has some similarity to a reflex, whereas shock only imitates the incoercibility of a reflex (Ricoeur, 1966:269). Shock as an emotion is not a reflex because its occurrence follows thought, perception, evaluation of a situation and motivation (Ricoeur, 1966:270). Still, shock as an emotion can be compared to a reflex, since it brings a living passage from a fledging thought to a bodily agitation (Ricoeur, 1966:269).

The imagination distracts and drives one to desperate responses which are the intermediate link between shock and bodily rebellion (Ricoeur, 1966:270). Here the involuntary ventures ahead and goes on alone. It seems, however, that emotion is only a by-product of the involuntary (*ibid.*). In an extreme form of shock, this emotion is akin to the involuntary in that the rebellion of the body is governed by this emotion and all the interests of a person are alerted (*ibid.*). Emotion unites the shock of thought and the bodily revolt in a vital continuity of voluntary and involuntary which is deeper than any possible effort (Ricoeur, 1966:272).

(c) Passion as an emotion

The majority of emotions, such as joy, sadness, fear, or anger, arise from a ground in passion which introduces an involuntary factor other than wonder or shock (Ricoeur, 1966:277). In this regard, emotion appears as a zealous moment of passion (*ibid.*). All passion takes an emotional form and has the involuntary to amplify it (Ricoeur, 1966:278). Because of passion, love can last longer but without passion love might wither away (*ibid.*).

Passion slides into emotion, and emotion is born of passion (Ricoeur, 1966:277). Passion is a mental phenomenon, a bondage that the will imposes on itself. Passion enslaves the will rather than defeating it or becoming sovereign to it (Kohak, 1966:xxi; Ricoeur, 1966:276). Passion is consciousness binding itself or the will making itself a prisoner of imagination (Ricoeur, 1966:277). The bondage to which the voluntary succumbs is closely intertwined with the involuntary agitation that disturbs the emotion (*ibid.*).

The ambiguity of most emotions brings together the involuntary of emotion and the involuntary of passion. In fear, for example, one finds an emotion of wonder and a secret deception of the

voluntary: these emotions cannot be approached directly (Ricoeur, 1966:277). In this regard, Ricoeur (1966:277) argues that

the hidden purposiveness of fear and rage which consciousness adopts in order not to follow a course of conduct of courage and mastery sums up the most tortuous deceptions of passion and far exceeds the context of bodily rebellion.

In this sense, the disorder of the involuntary, amplified by emotion, gives to passion the alibi it seeks just at the right time (*ibid.*).

The bond between passion and emotion presents a difficult problem (*ibid.*). It might seem that at a moment in time the area of emotion is dangerously extended in emotion and, at the same time, the connection of emotion and passion alone is proficient of giving an exact measure of the extension of emotion (*ibid.*). Passion revives emotion from minor shocks. Feelings can be inflamed by a minor incident that upsets one so much that that one's whole body trembles and shakes because of the strength of the passion (Ricoeur, 1966:278). All passions such as hate, ambition, jealousy, envy or misanthropy result from a surge of emotion, which is the youth of passion (*ibid.*).

3.4.2.3 Habit

Habit illustrates the original bond between the voluntary and power (Ricoeur, 1978:14). Habits play an important role in movement, as there is a point where habits become automatic and the voluntary is not effective anymore (Pellauer, 2007:22). Habits increase the efficacy of willing and one is freed from a preoccupation with means, enabling one to focus on ends (Kohak, 1966:xxii).

Habit does not seem to designate a particular function, since it is defined as "an acquired and relatively stable way of sensing, perceiving, acting and thinking" through mastering an activity (Ricoeur, 1966:280). Habit is defined in terms of its origin and also by the way in which it affects the will; habit is either "being acquired" or "acquired" (*ibid.*). It affects all the intentions of the voluntary without being an intention. Habit, on the other hand represents an alteration of all our intentions (*ibid.*). Habit is a skill and a tendency to act (Ricoeur, 1966:289). Habit is not a preformed skill, but an extension of preformed skill (Ricoeur, 1966:285). Habit is harmonised with the preformed and simultaneously participates in both the familiar and the strangeness of life (Ricoeur, 1966:283).

Habitual acts can be carried out unnoticed (Ricoeur, 1966:291). However, a habit should not be defined in terms of automatism (Ricoeur, 1966:284). Habit acquires the rigidity and

stereotyped procedure of a machine and is self-initiating when being triggered by external and internal stimuli (*ibid.*). Many technical habits are affectively neutral and need to be stimulated to be executed (Ricoeur, 1966:291). Although they have high sensor-motor complexity and can be extremely automated, they take place only if desired and willed (Ricoeur, 1966:288).

In adolescence, one's scope is enriched, but in old age the fixedness of previously acquired abilities outweighs the awakening of new aptitudes (Ricoeur, 1966:299). A young habit is governed by a simple framework of signals to which it responds within a flexible schema (Ricoeur, 1966:300) Ageing is the triumph of fixation over awakening. For that reason, when automation predominates over spontaneity in habit, it poses a risk – "the relation of ability to willing becomes obscure [and a] man is buried under habits" (Ricoeur, 1966:299).

A genuine gain for the voluntary is to launch an act with minimum effort so that one is able to perform a complex task easily and effortlessly (Ricoeur, 1966:302). However, habits are potentially dangerous when they are automated, and one acts unconsciously or in spite of oneself (*ibid.*). One should not be controlled by automatism, but rather fall back on it since the repetition of daily cycles of action saves one the trouble of inventing them again (Ricoeur, 1966:305).

3.4.3 Brief summary: movement

In the second mode of willing the decision that is made in the first mode of willing needs to be completed through movement. Without movement the decision that was made in the first mode of willing is not an authentic decision. Through the voluntary one reflects on one's body's (the involuntary) capacity to move. In the second mode of willing the voluntary has to make an effort to ensure the movement is completed. Effort is the application of the voluntary to the involuntary. One applies effort through the voluntary on the involuntary to move the body which is already agitated by preformed skills, emotion and habits. The ideal limit of voluntary movement is that the body (the involuntary) moves effortlessly, in full harmony. When there is a need for an effort, it shows that there is a disharmony between the voluntary and the involuntary. The involuntary then resists the decision made by the voluntary in the form of preformed skills, emotions and habits.

During the recruitment of child trafficking victims, they can make the decision (first mode of willing) to do what the trafficker asks of them, even though they do not know the truth about what is going happen to them. During the second mode of willing, victims take action to realise their decision in full. At this point the voluntary exercises control over their bodies.

Once child victims are trapped in SE, it takes effort for them to stay in the sexually exploitative environment. It also takes effort from the victim to escape the trafficking situation. A need for

effort is a sign of disharmony which, in turn, is a result of the resistance of the involuntary towards the voluntary. Resistance shows that there is a crisis within the person as a unit with itself. Also, when one experiences resistance, it means that the willing is partly successful.

I will use the same three scenarios to illustrate the second mode of willing and how it is relevant to child trafficking. In Section 3.5 I will elaborate on these scenarios as the third mode of willing unfolds.

(a) Scenario 1

The children in Montgomery's (2010:176) research decided to have sex for money in order to be perceived as dutiful children. After the children had made the decision to prostitute themselves, they put their bodies into motion, based on habitually having had sex with strangers to fulfil their filial obligations. These children seemed unwilling to discuss how they felt about being prostitutes. In such communities, prostitution pays more than other jobs and is perceived to be less physically demanding. In a situation where children desire to see their families financially secure, this desire could be a conquering emotion. They would then do anything to fulfil the desire. In this scenario, their movements seem to be effortless when fulfilling their filial obligations. This implies that the choice of the child to do so was nearly identical to a free choice, albeit solely from a child's perspective. In reality, as I have discussed in Chapter Two, such a choice cannot be considered as free since the circumstances under which the decision was made were unfree.

(b) Scenario 2

After Ayesha decided to marry the man of her dreams, she set her body in motion by running away from home with him and he took her away from her family. She felt thrilled at the prospect of settling down with the man she loved. The second mode of willing seemed effortless.

Ayesha's man of her dreams took her to his aunt where he wanted them to stay until Ayesha's parents stopped looking for her. He took her to the city and left her with his aunt, saying that he would return in a few days. He did not do so and soon Ayesha learned that she had been sold by the man she loved. The aunt to whose house she had been brought was a brothel owner. At the brothel she was tortured and abused, and locked inside a room with no food or water for days.

The exploiters tried to "break her in" by raping and abusing her. She tried to escape more than once. After capturing her during each of these escape attempts, the brothel owner would pull her the hair through the dirty streets. During these events Ayesha cried and screamed, but

people just stood by watching mutely. Eventually Ayesha managed to escape with the help of an organization by the name of Apne Aap.

In this part of the story, it is clear that Ayesha did not decide to take part in prostitution. She was forced into prostitution. She might have experienced shock because the man she loved sold her to a brothel owner and also because of the rape and abuse she endured. In this case, Ayesha never accepted the fact that she should be sexually exploited and continually made attempts to escape SE. These escapes were not without effort and were attempts based on the desire (as an emotion) to be freed from SE.

(c) Scenario 3

After Loreta decided to have sex with the men based on the motive of fear, she took the action of having sex with the men based on the emotion of shock. For her the action was not effortless, since it is not something she wanted to do. She did it because she believed she had no other choice but to have sex with those men. In a state of shock, one begins to act in an unrecognisable way, very different from how one would act under normal circumstances, and so, during shock, one's will can be broken.

3.5 Third mode of willing: consent

The third mode of willing corresponds to the freedom of consent (Simms, 2003:14). Consent is the act of the voluntary which grants permissions to a necessity (Ricoeur, 1966:341). This occurs when one gives oneself over to something other than what one has control over (Simms, 2003:12). Giving consent means voluntarily surrendering one's freedom (*ibid.*). One's will is a victim of the necessities (3.5.2) of the body, so the will is constantly forced to harmonise the possibilities it projects with the necessities the body expects (Ricoeur, 1966:54). Hence the will can reconcile the body's expectations with its freedom only through consent (*ibid.*).

3.5.1 The voluntary

The ultimate act of the voluntary is not a passive acknowledgement of a necessity, but, through a decision, an active adoption to accept it as belonging to one and an effort of patience to realise the decision (Kohak, 1966:iii). Ricoeur (1966:344) defines consent as "an active adoption of necessity" and states that "[t]o consent is to take upon oneself, to assume, to make one's own."

Consent has the practical character of the will because it is a type of action (*ibid.*). It also has the theoretical character of intellectual consciousness because it stumbles against necessity

(*ibid.*). Consent does not anticipate anything, it has no future, but commands in the present and that which it commands is already given (Ricoeur, 1966:345). Consent says "yes" to that what is already determined (Ricoeur, 1966:346). Consent is the ultimate reconciliation of freedom and nature (the voluntary and the involuntary), which appears to be torn apart theoretically and practically (*ibid.*).

3.5.2 The involuntary

Any experience of the voluntary moment has a constant counterpart of invincible nature known as a necessity. A necessity is a form of the involuntary, it is internal and involved in every mode of willing. One example is the subjectivity of motives when a decision is made (Ricoeur, 1978:8). There are different types of necessities and these will be explained in the following sections.

3.5.2.1 Character

It is difficult to translate the concept "le caractère", because of its specialised meaning (Kohak, 1966:xxxiii). Ricoeur (1966) uses it to refer to the unique style one uses to do whatever one does (Kohak, 1966:xxxiii). The basic character does not determine what a person chooses, but rather marks the particular style of the choice made (*ibid.*).

Character is experienced as a necessity; it is not a class, a type or a formula, but the primordial narrowness of one's existence (Ricoeur, 1978:15). One's character determines the style of the acts, but not their intentions (Kohak, 1966:xxiii). One should accept one's character as one's own and admit the partiality of one's choices and motivations (Ricoeur, 1978:15). When one recognises one's character as an incoercible datum, it can be used in one's service (Kohak, 1966:xxiii).

Character is one's nature, which clings so closely to one that one cannot separate oneself from it (Ricoeur, 1966:366). Every mode of the willing affects one as a whole. As Ricoeur (1966:366) wrote: "This intimacy of character makes of it, for the mind, an unseizable, intangible reality". Character is the necessity closest to one's will (Ricoeur, 1966:355). Character is not what one thinks, but a way of thinking (Ricoeur, 1966:370). Character is one's external manifestation and at the same time one's own nature as one experiences it (Ricoeur, 1966:355). Character is manifested in the way one makes a decision, the way one exerts effort and the way in which one desires: it affects one as a whole (Ricoeur, 1966:367).

3.5.2.2 The unconscious

The analysis of the unconscious is possible when the bondage of passion and self-deception is considered (Kohak, 1966:xxiv). The conscious can lie to itself and therefore deceive itself and later lose awareness of its deception – it is, therefore, not the involuntary, but a self-deceived voluntary, a bondage which freedom imposes on itself (*ibid.*). The unconscious is always the background of a person's biography. It cannot be put on the same level as the transparent consciousness and cannot be reached without the mediation of a third person (who would interpret it so it can be reintegrated with consciousness) (Ricoeur, 1978:9).

3.5.2.3 Life: structure

Life is a basic necessity. It sustains the potentialities of the unconscious and their conflicts and gives privileged directions to character (Ricoeur, 1966:410). Life is necessary for one to exist; and no one can examine and control this fact from an outside (non-alive) perspective (*ibid.*). One is alive as a complete human and has to be alive to be responsible for one's life (*ibid.*). One can decide to eat, but cannot decide to make the food make one grow (Ricoeur, 1966:418). Also the circulation of one's blood and the beating of one's heart do not depend on oneself (*ibid.*). One cannot be sure of life; in sickness one fears that the sickness will end one's existence, but even then life presents itself as a power of reparation, of compensation and healing (*ibid.*). Ricoeur (1966:418) states that "[l]ife builds life – the will only constructs things".

3.5.2.4 Life: growth and genesis

One's life is temporary. It includes birth, growth and ageing; adolescence and senescence (Ricoeur, 1966:425). One cannot grow because one decides to do so: growth is a sheer fact and a dimension of basic existence (*ibid.*). Age at any given moment is comparable to the lasting uniqueness of one's character (Ricoeur, 1966:431). All the motives of one's decisions and all the capabilities of one's action are related to the profile of one's age style; this style is the invincible limitation of the power of one's freedom (Ricoeur, 1966:432). At every age people orientate themselves in a given direction and open up a series of values and capabilities from one definite angle (*ibid.*).

3.5.2.5 Life: birth

Birth is the beginning of one's life. One is placed by birth in the world before one is capable of any voluntary act (Ricoeur, 1966:433). One does not remember one's day of birth; this knowledge remains hidden (*ibid.*). Furthermore, one does not choose to be born, and one does not choose one's existence (Ricoeur, 1966:434). One also does not choose one's

nature, the law that governs growth, the structuring principle, the form of one's personality type or its unconscious structure (*ibid.*).

3.5.3 Brief summary: consent

In the third mode of willing, the voluntary consents to the involuntary. The voluntary submits to the involuntary which has control over it. The voluntary is dependent on the body (the involuntary) because the body provides the limits for the voluntary. This consent, however, is not a passive acknowledgement of the involuntary, but rather an active adoption of the knowledge that the involuntary provides the limits for the voluntary. Necessities represents the involuntary, these necessities are: character, the unconscious and life in the form of structure, growth, and genesis and birth. Character is the style in which one performs an act or the way in which one thinks. The unconscious provides the background of a person's biography. Life is needed for one to exist. One does not decide when or how one is are born and to some extent cannot control how one's body uses food to grow.

Previously it was argued that after their recruitment, the child trafficking victims could make a decision to do whatever the trafficker asks of them and then, in the second mode of willing, take action to realise their decision in full. During the third mode of willing, victims submit to the traffickers; during this mode the voluntary grants permission to the involuntary, often in the form of a necessity.

In Sections 3.3 and 3.4 I elaborated on the three scenarios as the first two modes of willing unfolded. I will use the same scenarios to elucidate the third mode of willing and how it is relevant to child trafficking.

(a) Scenario 1

It was argued that the movement of the children seems to be effortless in fulfilling their filial obligations (3.4.3) since the children consented to allowing their bodies to be used for sexual purposes by the foreigners. This consent is subject to their character, unconsciousness and age.

(b) Scenario 2

When Ayesha ran away with the man of her dreams, she gave consent to the action. Ayesha's age (13), her character and unconsciousness all affected how she gives consent to the decisions to marry the man she felt she loved and to run away from home with him to do so.

After Ayesha realised that she had been deceived and that the man of her dreams had sold her into SE, she had to make new decisions. By then she was trapped in SE and had to give consent to her body being used for sex in fear of not being raped or abused. She also attempted to escape, thereby giving consent to her body in desiring to be free from SE. She did so in a style that reflected her character, unconsciousness and age.

(c) Scenario 3

Loreta gave consent to her body to have sex with the men. The way in which she gave consent was influenced by her character, unconsciousness and age. She gave consent to ensure that her life would not be threatened.

As argued earlier, child trafficking violates a number of the human rights of children. More specifically their freedom of choice is violated. In this chapter so far, freedom has been conceptualised in the context of child trafficking. For the purposes of this thesis, I conceptualise freedom in the context of child trafficking and HRE. HRE contributes to the realisation of human rights, which, in turn, contribute to the prevention of human rights violations (UN, 2010:4). Hence, human rights emerges as the inverse image of the human rights violations which they are meant to combat (Keet, 2012:8). In the following section I engage with conceptualisations of freedom for HRE.

3.6 Conceptualisations of freedom for HRE

There have been three broad phases in the development of HRE since Greco-Roman times (Keet, 2007:50). The first phase was pre-1947. The second phase lasted from 1948 to 1994 and reflects the formalisation of HRE (Keet, 2007:51). The third phase is from 1995 to the present and is known as the proliferation of HRE (*ibid.*).

There are a multitude of topics which HRE could cover (Keet, 2007:47). For this reason HRE had taken on many different but related forms (*ibid.*). HRE may well be without a specialised epistemology (Simmonds, 2013:18) because it draws on different frameworks and is rooted in political, social and educational domains (Simmonds, 2013:14). This is a complex multi-nuanced phenomenon, whose properties are not always transparent (Simmonds, 2013:6).

According to Keet (2012:8), "pedagogically speaking, HRE does not have a dynamic, self-renewing, and critical orientation towards human rights". Therefore, a critical curriculum is needed to provide a productive interface between human rights and the suffering of real, existing communities in whose name they speak (Keet, 2012:9). Children being trafficked could be included among these communities. The value of HRE lies in its ability to make visible the complexities of human rights as a discourse (*ibid.*). Human rights violations and what leads to these are part of these complexities.

The school curriculum in South Africa should promote the infusion of a culture of human rights into the classroom (Du Preez *et al.*, 2012:83, 85). Unfortunately, in South African schools teachers are uncertain how to apply human rights in teaching-learning (Du Preez *et al.*, 2012:83).

Protection of the human rights of all trafficked persons should be at the centre of efforts to prevent child trafficking (UNOHCHR, 2002:1). Therefore, HRE seems like a natural preventative measure to incorporate into the formal South African school curriculum. To define HRE in this study, I draw on the two phases of the World Programme for HRE. The first phase was 2005-2007 (UN, 2006) and the second phase 2010-2014 (UN, 2010). This definition consists of three facets which I expand on below.

As the UN (2010:5) notes, not only is the content of HRE important, but also the teaching-learning methodology used during HRE. The teaching-learning of human rights should address only the content but should also promote a value system to be cherished (Du Preez *et al.*, 2012:85). According to Simmonds (2012:239), if HRE is to "foster knowledge, skills, attitudes and values in learners that are compliant with addressing human rights issues in their schools and communities in a responsible manner, then educators need to rethink the philosophical, ontological, methodological and epistemological underpinning of HRE".

Child trafficking could be taught using dialogue as a teaching-learning methodology as it creates space for the development of human rights on a personal and emotional level (Du Preez *et al.*, 2012:88). By doing this, the moral dimension of human rights is endorsed and a space is provided for learners to deal with ethical dilemmas, such as child trafficking, which relate to human rights violations (*ibid.*). Dialogue through intuitive argumentation should

explore values and virtues as well as knowledge and experience (Du Preez *et al.*, 2012:89). Through using dialogue as a teaching-learning methodology, a space is created for people to explore complex moral issues from various perspectives (*ibid.*). Simmonds (2012:240) argues that the voices of others should be embraced through acknowledging all learners as equal citizens of society. Teachers should not dominate, but encourage learners to be partners in teaching-learning (Simmonds, 2012:240).

The UN (2010:4) identified three important facets of the content of child trafficking as a human rights violation in HRE. These facets are: 1) knowledge and skills; 2) values, attitudes and behaviour; and 3) action (*ibid.*). Knowledge and skills refer to "learning about human rights and mechanisms, as well as acquiring skills to apply them in a practical way in daily life" (*ibid.*). Values, attitudes and behaviour refer to "developing values and reinforcing attitudes and behaviour which uphold human rights" (*ibid.*). Action refers to "taking action to defend and promote human rights" (UN, 2010:5).

Du Preez and Simmonds (2013:108) found that the South African explicit school curriculum addressed child trafficking in an opaque manner. The content of child trafficking formed part of the null curriculum. To address this issue, they warned against an add-on approach to addressing a complex issue such as child trafficking or quick fix interventions (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013:105). Add-on approaches encourage a reductionist approach to social problems, which all too often decontextualises them and strips them of the dynamics that perpetuate such problems (*ibid.*).

One of the steps Du Preez and Simmonds (2013:108) proposed to prevent an add-on approach and to elevate the discourse on child trafficking from the explicit and null to the enacted curriculum was the identification of "the lack of progression of curriculum content knowledge across Grades R-12". "[Having clear] progression could create the leeway for transformative curriculum to emerge from organic spaces to make the curriculum a lived document that can uplift the most vulnerable" (*ibid.*).

Addressing human rights in the explicit South African school curriculum could create an organic space for child trafficking (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013:105). Organic spaces provide ideal opportunities to introduce contextualised and authentic examples of child trafficking that could create opportunities for dialogue and thus facilitate learning about this complex social problem (*ibid.*). It is vital for content about child trafficking to be presented on a higher order level that makes provision for the complexity of the phenomenon. Dialogue should include discourses on the conceptualisation of the definitions of human trafficking, as well as child trafficking. Special attention could be paid to the means of trafficking, which is not included in the child trafficking definition.

Dialogue should also include the means of trafficking, which is linked to recruitment, which is linked to the push and pull factors of child trafficking. These, in turn, are linked to the unfree choices children often face. These are the causes of the context in which child trafficking thrives, namely liberal-capitalist societies. Another complex human right linked to the liberal-capitalist societies is the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure.

The way in which former trafficking victims made decisions that led them to be trapped in trafficking could also be explored by means of dialogue. Special attention could be given to the underlying principles of freedom and nature, how mind and body interact and cause one to make choices, move one's body and give consent to the action one decides to complete. This could be linked to the unfree choices trafficking victims make and how they find themselves in enslavement.

3.7 Conclusion

To understand the decision making processes of child trafficking victims and survivors, a conceptual understanding is needed of the reciprocal relationship between the voluntary and the involuntary. In this chapter, this reciprocity was conceptualised in relation to all three the modes of willing. I briefly showed how each of these modes of willing is relevant to the context of child trafficking and the way that liberal-capitalist societies influence the reciprocal relationship between the voluntary and involuntary in each modes of willing. The analysis of this reciprocal relationship has provided a better understanding of the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure (2.5.1) and freedom of choice (2.5.2). This understanding could contribute to the conceptualisation of HRE as a human rights centred approach to combating child trafficking.

In the next chapter I provide the empirical part of this research project to show how narratives of trafficking survivors were generated. These narratives contribute to the in-depth understanding of the decision making processes of trafficking survivors.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESEARCH DESIGN, TRUSTWORTHINESS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the empirical planning, adjustment and execution of the research study. Table 4.1 provides the structural overview of this chapter. After Table 4.1 I discuss the research design.

Table 4.1: Structural overview of Chapter Four

| | |
|---|---|
| 4.1 Introduction | |
| 4.2 Research design | |
| 4.3 Philosophical orientation: critical theory | |
| 4.4 Research methodology | 4.4.1 Theoretical perspective: life design |
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4.2 Research design

Research design concerns issues of planning a research study (Flick, 2014:112) and is the blueprint of the intended research (Mouton, 2001:55). Figure 4.1 below depicts the final research design for this research study.



Figure 4.1: Research design

The research design places the researcher in the empirical world, connecting the research questions to data (Punch, 2014:114). It is thus a basic plan for conducting research that responds to the research questions (Mouton, 2001:57; Punch, 2014:114). In the case of this research, the research design, some of the ethical considerations, and notions of trustworthiness changed as the research unfolded. This process of altering the empirical study is discussed in more detail in 4.5. In Figure 4.1 the five elements that relate to the research design, which was situated within critical theory, are presented. I discuss this philosophical orientation in the next section.

4.3 Philosophical orientation: critical theory

Critical theory has its origins in the early nineteenth century (Newby, 2014:42). It emerged in an era when members of the working class were oppressed by those who owned the means of production (Willis *et al.*, 2007:48). Critical theory focuses on how injustice shapes people's understandings and experiences of the world (Patton, 2002:130).

In critical theory, power relationships are studied in terms of the process of gaining, maintaining and circulating power (Henning *et al.*, 2004:23). Critical theory is explicitly and fundamentally political (De Vos *et al.*, 2011:9). It is also multidisciplinary, involving anthropology, economics, history, and education (Bohman, 2016; Willis *et al.*, 2007:48).

Contemporary expressions of critical theory focus on the oppression of the marginalised in terms of factors such as gender, race, nationality, sexual orientation, social class, ethnicity and work (Willis *et al.*, 2007:48). Most critical theorists take the view that frameworks and structures in society constrain the way individuals and groups behave (Newby, 2014:43). These scholars believe that the frameworks and structures result from the exercise of wealth, influence and political power (*ibid.*).

A theory is critical to the extent that it seeks to bring emancipation from oppression, including slavery (Bohman, 2016). Critical theory recognises that people's ability to change their circumstances is limited by various forms of social, cultural and political domination (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:62). It is therefore concerned with the participation in self-empowerment and emancipation of the oppressed (Lather, 2006:39).

The ontology of critical theory is based on the assumption that human nature operates in a world based on a struggle for power (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:102). Critical theory views reality as subjective and constructed on the basis of issues of power (Lather, 2006:38). Politics shape multiple beliefs and values. These are socially constructed: some views of reality are therefore privileged and others are underrepresented (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:33).

The epistemology of critical theory relates to research driven by studies on social structures, freedom and oppression, as well as power and control (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:103). In these studies, events are understood within economic and social contexts where ideological critique and praxis are emphasised (Henning *et al.*, 2004:23). Knowledge is then constructed through a dialectical process of de-constructing and reconstructing the world (*ibid.*). Underlying these studies is the belief that the knowledge produced could change existing oppressive structures and remove oppression through empowerment (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:103).

The methodology employed in critical theory seeks greater participation of the oppressed (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:104). A basic assumption is that produced knowledge can change oppressive structures and remove oppression through empowerment (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:103). Drawing on critical theory, researchers explore discourses and how they manifest in participants' lives (Henning *et al.*, 2004:23). This is done to foreground the power of the discourses that shape the participants' lives (*ibid.*).

Critical theory emphasises the collaboration between a researcher and participants (Henning *et al.*, 2004:24). The relationship between the researcher and participants is based on equality of power and esteem (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:33). The participants become involved in the research process as equal partners (Henning *et al.*, 2004:24). Both the researcher and the participants have a voice which is foregrounded in the research (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:115). Participants are encouraged to feel free to provide their own view of their situation and their environment, past and present (De Vos *et al.*, 2011:9).

The purpose of critical theory is to critique and change society (*ibid.*). Accordingly, critical theorists tend to do research which creates awareness about social injustices (Willis *et al.*, 2007:85). However, they see go far beyond pointing out social injustices or problems in society, because they believe that research should empower the oppressed and help them overcome their oppression (*ibid.*). They therefore do not merely give an account of their research, but present it in ways that highlight oppression and urge change towards a society based on equality and democracy for all its members (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:31). Scholars who base their work on critical theory are concerned to change situations and phenomena, not just to understand them (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:31; Newby, 2014:43). In addition to this, critical theory often aims to:

- promote critical consciousness (Henning *et al.*, 2004:23)
- break down institutional structures and arrangements that reproduce oppressive ideologies (*ibid.*)
- break down social inequalities that are produced, reproduced and maintained by institutional structures and arrangements that reproduce oppressive ideologies (*ibid.*)

- liberate humans from the circumstances which oppress or enslave them (Horkheimer cited by Newby, 2014:43)
- search for social power structure to see how it relates to social power struggles (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:106)
- stimulate the oppressed to rationally scrutinise all aspects of their lives so they can reorder their collective existence in the light of the insights they gain and ultimately change social policy and practice (*ibid.*)
- transform the circumstances that lead to the enslavement in human beings (Bohman, 2016)
- decrease domination and increase freedom in all their forms (*ibid.*)
- emancipate the disempowered (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:31)
- redress inequality (*ibid.*)
- promote individual freedoms within a democratic society (*ibid.*)
- bring about a more just, egalitarian society in which individual collective freedoms are practised (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:32)
- eradicate the exercise and effects of illegitimate power (*ibid.*)
- transform human beings and their environment by being personally involved in actions that would change their circumstances (De Vos *et al.*, 2011:9).

Critical theory is founded on the struggle for social justice and for equality (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:114). Greaves *et al.* (2007) explores the relationship between education and inequality, arguing that inequality in education is inevitable in liberal-capitalist societies (Greaves *et al.*, 2007:39). This is because education reflects and supports the social inequalities of these societies (*ibid.*). According to Torres (2014:107), Freire takes a similar view in that he views educational problems as political. Those who endorse Freire's political and pedagogical agenda have been involved in social movements throughout the world to challenge the influence of neoliberalism on education (Torres, 2014:108).

Greaves *et al.* (2007:39) argue that education serves to produce the social, political, ideological and economic conditions in which liberal-capitalist societies thrive. Education thus reproduces and replicates liberal-capitalist societies. This view resonates with Freire's (1993:71) "banking" concept of education. Learners are seen as empty containers to be filled by teachers (Freire, 1993:72). Education becomes an act of depositing, with learners being the depositories and teachers being the depositors (*ibid.*). Through this kind of education learners do not develop critical consciousness, but passively adapt to the world created by oppressors. Education, as the product of liberal-capitalist societies, thus reflects and reproduces the inequalities that are a feature of these societies (Greaves *et al.*, 2007:39).

Critical theory focuses on those who are oppressed and aims to promote critical consciousness about such oppressions (Henning *et al.*, 2004:23). Through this research, which focused on the lived experiences and future dreams of participants who had experienced trafficking (a form of oppression), I intend to promote a critical consciousness about child trafficking among HRE curriculum developers and to highlight the need for change of and within curricula. In the process, I question the reproduction of liberal-capitalist societies and the inequalities that this process perpetuates.

4.4 Research methodology

In this section I first provide a theoretical perspective on the life design paradigm. Thereafter I give a theoretical account of narrative inquiry. Both life design and narrative inquiry inform my research methodology, life design narrative inquiry, which I discuss last.

4.4.1 Theoretical perspective: life design

Life design is essentially a major paradigm for career intervention (Savickas, 2012:15; Savickas, 2015:5). In career intervention, the concepts used are counsellor and client, but for my study I write about life design in the context of applying it as a research methodology. Therefore, I am using the concepts "researcher" and "participant" instead of "counsellor" and "client".

The career theories of the twentieth century needed to be fundamentally reformulated (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:240). Life design as a paradigm for career intervention emerged to meet the self-construction and career design needs of people in the twenty-first century (Savickas, 2012:15).

In life design both the positions of the participant and the researcher are subjects rather than an object and a subject (Savickas, 2015:8). It is essential for a researcher to work collaboratively with participants. For example, they should not make decisions on behalf of the participant (Maree, 2015:344). Rather than using test scores and positivist methods, life design uses narratives of the participant's uniqueness (Savickas, 2015:8). Life design focuses on creating meaning: the participant first narrates an identity narrative and then engages in adaptive action in pursuit of the life he/she wants to live (Savickas, 2015:9).

Life design has three core elements, namely: relationship, reflection and sense-making (Savickas, 2015:10). In life design two experts form an egalitarian relationship (Savickas, 2015:11). The participants are the experts on the content of their own narratives, whereas researchers are experts on doing research (*ibid.*). The first task of the researcher is to initiate a relationship in which the participants feel safe enough to narrate and reflect on their

narratives (*ibid.*). Regarding the second element, reflection, life design evolves through explicit autobiographical reflection that deepens the participants' knowledge of their own lives (*ibid.*). The questions in life design propel participants to create a space for objective reflection on their lives through distancing themselves from their problems (Savickas, 2015:12). The third element, sense-making, is a core element in life design; it clarifies life purpose, encourages commitment to self and fosters intentionality (*ibid.*). Sense-making involves the construction of narratives (Savickas, 2015:13).

The purpose of life design is to empower the participants to become more powerful agents in their personal narratives (Cochran, 2007:7). The goal of life design is to prompt meaningful activities in identity shaping, self-making and career building (Savickas, 2010:16). Savickas *et al.* (2009:245-246) identified four goals of life design: life-long, holistic, contextual and preventive.

The first goal is for the individual to become adaptable to developmental tasks, occupational transitions and vocational traumas (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:245). The second goal is narratability, meaning that the participant is assisted to construct a narrative that portrays their career and life with coherence and continuity (*ibid.*). The third goal is activity. Activities are critical in the process of designing one's own life so the participants are encouraged to engage in them (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:246). The fourth goal is intentionality. The participants need to be intentional when designing their lives (*ibid.*).

Savickas *et al.* (2012:242-243) have identified five shifts of thinking that have shaped the development of a life design paradigm in the twenty-first century. The first shift was away from a concern with universal laws that governed human behaviour and a focus on stable personality traits and ability factors when characterising a person (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:242). A shift was necessary in the twenty-first century because individuals have to adapt to manifold contexts, thus necessitating a change in the way professional identities are perceived (*ibid.*).

The second shift in thinking was away from prescription to process (*ibid.*). Employment opportunities are more likely to be based on mutually recognised "win-win" situations, restricted mutual obligations and short term goals (*ibid.*). In the twenty-first century this caused a change from prescribing careers to focusing on survival and coping strategies in constantly career contexts (*ibid.*).

The third shift involved using non-linear dynamic reasoning instead of the traditional linear and deductive scientific reasoning of the twentieth century (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:243). Daily experiences of individuals do not fulfil linear causal expectations (*ibid.*).

In the fourth shift, the focus changed from scientific facts to narrative realities (*ibid.*). In the twentieth century careers were shaped by social pattern, education, work and, finally, family (*ibid.*). This is no longer the case. People drop out of school at any age, may return to education at any age, get divorced, lose their jobs and obtain new jobs. All of this happens without loss of face as it may have been the case in the past (*ibid.*). Previously career construction heavily relied on scientific methods, standardised tests and statistically-derived norms (*ibid.*). Today, the language of these methods is not understood (*ibid.*).

The fifth and final shift in thinking entailed a shift from describing to modelling (*ibid.*). Previously, approaches to career development were standardised by means of quantitative research (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:244). In the twenty-first century a more personal, individualised approach is needed (*ibid.*). Life design provides this approach.

Savickas *et al.* (2009:244) have provided a framework for any life design career construction approach. This framework includes the following essential life-design elements: life-long, holistic, contextual and preventative (*ibid.*). Life cannot be predicted. Each life is an individual process, influenced by environmental factors, yet to a large extent constructed by individuals (*ibid.*). Therefore, the life-long development process should be from a holistic approach (*ibid.*).

The importance of the context should be stressed, especially past and present environments that influenced the individual (*ibid.*). The participants should be encouraged to explore their past to see which roles they performed. The results of this exploration should be incorporated in the self-construction process (*ibid.*). Finally, life design approaches should be preventative to rule out difficulties of transitioning between careers and to increase participants' choice opportunities (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:245).

I next discuss a life design career construction approach that can be implemented in three steps or sessions (Maree & Symington, 2015:263; Savickas, 2012:15; Savickas, 2015:67) because this approach influenced my research methodology (4.4.3).

A life design career construction approach aims to help participants re-author their narrative identities and project new possibilities for the future (Cardoso, 2016:53). In the three steps or sessions, a participant is helped to connect life themes to career plans (*ibid.*). Life themes are formed through relationships among needs, interests and goals. For that reason, the participant is helped to construct a future that might meet past needs (*ibid.*).

The first session starts with the exploration of a participant's narrative by the researcher. In the second session, the participant self-constructs the narrative and places it in a larger narrative, an identity narrative or life portrait. In the final session, the researcher and the participant

mutually construct a future narrative or a life project for the participant (Maree & Symington, 2015:263; Savickas, 2012:15; Savickas, 2015:67).

Life design is fluid and non-linear to allow the participant to develop specific intentions. As a result of life design, participants feel an urge to act on these intentions (Savickas, 2011:135). This action leads to further independent self-construction and life design (*ibid.*). This methodology thus encourages participants to reflect independently and continuously on their lives and to explore themselves, to explore alternative futures, and to design and build their own lives.

Narrative inquiry is a research methodology complementary to life design (Di Fabio, 2016:35). In the following section I discuss narrative inquiry as a research methodology.

4.4.2 Theoretical perspective: narrative inquiry

Narratives are of the oldest and most natural ways in which humans make sense of their worlds (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016:33). Narratives in the form of first-person accounts of experience are used in narrative inquiry, a qualitative research methodology (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016:34). Narrative inquiry is an interdisciplinary practice and includes the sciences, arts, humanities and social sciences (Andrews *et al.*, 2004:103). It has a long history in diverse disciplines, such as literature, history, art, film, theology, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics, and education and hence it does not fit neatly into a single scholarly field (Gay *et al.*, 2011:401).

Narrative inquiry is a way of finding out how people frame, remember and report their experiences (Andrews *et al.*, 2004:103). It is based on an interest in life experiences that are narrated by participants (Chase, 2011:421). A narrative is a distinct form of a discourse that creates meaning through shaping or ordering of experiences; it is a way of understanding one's own or another's actions, and of organising objects and events into a meaningful whole over time, connecting and viewing the consequences of events and actions (*ibid.*).

In a narrative inquiry, the researcher uses a methodology which allows participants to tell their lived narratives to study the way different participants experience the world around them (Gay *et al.*, 2011:399). A narrative approach is concerned with the interactions between the researcher and participant which encourage and influence the way that an account is presented (Earthy & Cronin, 2008:428).

The narrative inquiry is a personal, intimate research methodology, which demands a high degree of caring and sensitivity from the researcher (Gay *et al.*, 2011:400). A potential challenge is gaining the trust of the participant (*ibid.*). Negotiating a relationship with the

participant is a key aspect of narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000:71). Another likely challenge is developing and maintaining a mutually constructed relationship (Gay *et al.*, 2011:400). The relationship between the researcher and the participant begins with being strangers and progresses towards acquaintanceship and sometimes even friendship (Elliot, 2005:156). This relationship should be characterised by trust, care, respectfulness and equality of voice (Gay *et al.*, 2011:400).

Narrative inquiries have the following characteristics:

- Narrative inquiries focus on the lived experiences of participants as narrated by them, since these can shed light on the identities of participants and how they see themselves (Creswell, 2013:71; Gay *et al.*, 2011:400).
- Narratives occur in a specific place or situation. The context is important in the construction of the narrative; therefore, the context and the research environment of constructing the narrative should be included (*ibid.*).
- Narrative inquiries are concerned with the chronology of experiences in the narrative. In cases where the participant does not provide the chronology, the researcher needs to shape the data into a chronological order (*ibid.*).
- The narratives emerge either from the participants narrating a narrative to the researcher or as a narrative mutually constructed by the researcher and participant (*ibid.*).
- The researcher makes use of re-storying as a technique to help the participant construct a narrative (Gay *et al.*, 2011:400).
- The researcher and participants collaborate and negotiate to produce the final text of the narrative (*ibid.*).
- A narrative is constructed around the question "And then what happened?" (*ibid.*).
- Narratives are constructed through data generation during interviews (*ibid.*), observations, documents, pictures and other sources (Creswell, 2013:71).
- In narratives, there are often turning points, specific tensions or interruptions that are highlighted by researchers (Creswell, 2013:72).

The categorisation of a narrative research approach depends on five characteristics, namely: the author of the account (e.g. a researcher or a participant); the scope of the narrative (e.g. one episode in a participant's life); the provider of the narrative (i.e. the participant); the philosophical underpinnings that influence the study (e.g. critical or feminist theory); and whether all these elements are included in one narrative (Gay *et al.*, 2011:402).

Chase (2011:421-423) has outlined four approaches in contemporary narrative inquiry. These approaches are: 1) the narrative and the life; 2) narrating as a lived experience; 3) narrative practices and narrative environments; and, 4) the researcher and the narrative.

The first approach, the narrative and the life focuses on the relationship between people's life stories and the quality of their life experiences as revealed by their narratives (Chase, 2011:421). The goal of this approach is to work collaboratively with the participants to improve the quality of their everyday experiences (Chase, 2011:422).

The second approach considers narrating itself as a lived experience (Chase, 2011:422). Researchers in this approach study narrative as a lived experience. They therefore focus on how people narrate their experiences (*ibid.*).

The third approach is narrative practices and narrative environments (*ibid.*). Researchers using this approach focus on the relationship between participants' narrative practices and their local narrative environments (*ibid.*). This approach aims at understanding the narrative reality (what is and is not said, what is talked about, why and how it is narrated and to whom) rather than understanding a participant's story *per se* (*ibid.*).

The fourth approach is the researcher and the narrative (Chase, 2011:423). In this approach, researchers treat their own stories about life experiences (including research process itself as a life experience) as a significant and necessary focus of narrative inquiry (*ibid.*). In some cases, the aim is to create a more equitable relationship between the researcher and participants by subjecting both the participants and researcher to an analytic lens (*ibid.*). In other cases, researchers aim to explore a topic or research question by including their own experience of it (*ibid.*). Researchers doing autoethnography turn the analytic lens fully and specifically onto themselves (*ibid.*). They write and interpret narratives about their own significant experiences that they want to do research on, such as their cultural experiences (*ibid.*).

According to Gay *et al.* (2011:400), there are seven steps in the narrative inquiry study which are to be followed by the researcher:

- Step 1: Identify the topic and purpose of the research study.
- Step 2: Identify an individual who can help you learn about the topic.
- Step 3: Develop initial narrative questions.
- Step 4: Consider the researcher's role (e.g. access to the research environment, reciprocity, ethics) and obtain necessary permissions.
- Step 5: Negotiate access to the research environment to generate a shared narrative with the research participant. (Narrative research necessitates a relationship between the researcher and the participant akin to a close friendship, where trust is a critical attribute.)
- Step 6: Establish a relationship between the researcher and a participant that is mutually constructed and characterised by an equality of voice.

- Step 7: Collaborate with the participant to construct the narrative and to validate the accuracy of the narrative.

In narrative inquiry researchers are compelled by the relationship between their work and possibilities of change and social justice (Chase, 2011:427). Some researchers study how narratives make change happen while others collect and analyse data for the purpose of initiating change (*ibid.*). In this study, in keeping with critical theory, narratives are generated for the purpose of initiating change (4.3). The narrative inquiry focuses on social change or personal change at first. Later the relationship between the narrator (participant) and the audience (reader) becomes central (*ibid.*).

Chase (2011:427) lists the following urgencies of the need for personal and social change through dialogue: the urgency of speaking, the urgency of being heard, the urgency of collective stories and the urgency of public dialogue. Regarding the first urgency (of speaking), it is sometimes possible that the act of narrating a significant life event could in itself facilitate positive change (*ibid.*). The next urgency (of being heard) arises from the need and the desire of participants for others to hear their narrative (*ibid.*). These two urgencies drive research on many forms of social injustice (Chase, 2011:428). It should be noted that listening to a narrative about pain, trauma and injustice can itself be a painful experience (*ibid.*).

The urgency of collective stories relates to narratives about injustice (*ibid.*) because collective narratives may connect an individual's narrative to a broader narrative of a marginalised social group (Richardson cited by Chase, 2011:428). When survivors of oppression narrate their experiences, they thereby demand social change. Some demands may be based on the need not to forget the atrocities of the past or that people with legal, cultural or other forms of power are to take action and to bring justice (Chase, 2011:428). In other cases, the demands could be towards a change of educational school curricula so that learners would learn how to prevent something that the previous generations have suffered through (*ibid.*). The urgency of dialogue is closely connected to these demands and the motives that underlie them. Researchers want their work to be dialogue-stimulating, so they create discourses about complex moral matters and the need for social change (Chase, 2011:429).

In the following section I will discuss the synthesised methodology that was employed in this study.

4.4.3 Methodology: life design narrative inquiry

I combined life design and narrative inquiry and took the liberty calling my research methodology a life design narrative inquiry. I envision this research methodology being used

by HRE to do research on vulnerable people in child trafficking. Doing so could create possibilities of change and social justice in HRE. The characteristics of life design narrative inquiry are influenced by the theoretical background of both life design (4.4.1) and narrative inquiry (4.4.2).

A researcher uses the guidelines of life design that correspond with a participant's reality and needs (Savickas, 2015:6). Life design allows for researchers to be creative and is in itself an "improvisation within a map of action" (Savickas, 2015:6); here life design clearly links with narrative inquiry. In case of narrative inquiry, Chase (2011:249) argues that it is easier to identify complexities and multiplicities in narrative inquiry than to identify commonalities. These complexities and multiplicities offer researchers considerable freedom in the topics they can pursue, as well as with the methods and approaches they can employ (Chase, 2011:431).

In life design the construction of a narrative is critical, both as a process and as an outcome (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:249). The construction of a narrative involves participants recounting their life narrative, reflecting on those narratives to make meaning of them, forming new intentions and planning future activities (*ibid.*). For life design narrative inquiry the construction of narratives as both a process and an outcome is pivotal.

This research study aims to contribute to HRE through conceptualising freedom in the narratives of child trafficking survivors to redress the human rights violations they have endured. The life design narrative inquiry methodology I employed helped me realise the aim of my research study. Using interviews to generating narrative was essential since the participants' narratives of injustice form part of a collective narrative about child trafficking (Chase, 2011:428).

Relationship, reflection and sense-making are essential elements of life design narrative inquiry. The first task of life design narrative inquiry is to establish a relationship between the researcher and the participant, in which the latter feels safe enough to share and reflect on his or her life narratives. This relationship should be one characterised by an equality of voice. This is a personal, intimate research methodology which depends on mutual trust between the researcher and the participant. Throughout the research, a researcher aims at maintaining and strengthening rapport with the participant.

In the process of life design narrative inquiry, the researcher not only generates data for analysis, research advancement and initiating change (Chase, 2011:427), but the participants also experience aspects such as respectfulness, value and support at first hand (Gay *et al.*, 2011:400) through their reflection and active involvement. This could give survivors of this oppression a feeling of significance and a voice (Chase, 2011:428). In the process of life

design narrative inquiry, the participants reflect on their experiences. This is a means of helping them process and re-interpret their past experiences so they can constructively look towards their own future (Chase, 2011:422). When they do so, participants are able to make sense of their experiences.

Four shifts in thinking (4.4.1) that triggered the synthesis of life design in the first place are included in this methodology: narrative derivatives, narrative realities, dynamic non-linear thinking and an individualised approach. This implies that the focus of research is on the narratives of the participants rather than abstract profiles from test scores. The process of constructing narratives enables participants to participate in the research process and to build a new view of themselves. The methodology is not implemented mechanistically and in a linear way, but in a non-linear, personalised way.

A researcher embarking on a journey of life design narrative inquiry should first identify the topic, the problem and the purpose of the research study; research questions should then be formulated. Thereafter an individual or individuals, who can help the researcher learn about the topic, should be identified. The researcher needs to consider his or her role and obtain the necessary permissions. As soon as the researcher meets the possible participant(s), he or she should do all that is possible to establish a close relationship that is characterised by mutual trust, care, respect and equality of voice. As soon as this has been achieved, the researcher can venture into the different phases of life design narrative inquiry.

The life design narrative inquiry research methodology consists of four phases, namely: contextualisation, exploration, re-construction and construction. In Figure 4.2 below life design narrative inquiry is schematically represented and these four phases are indicated.

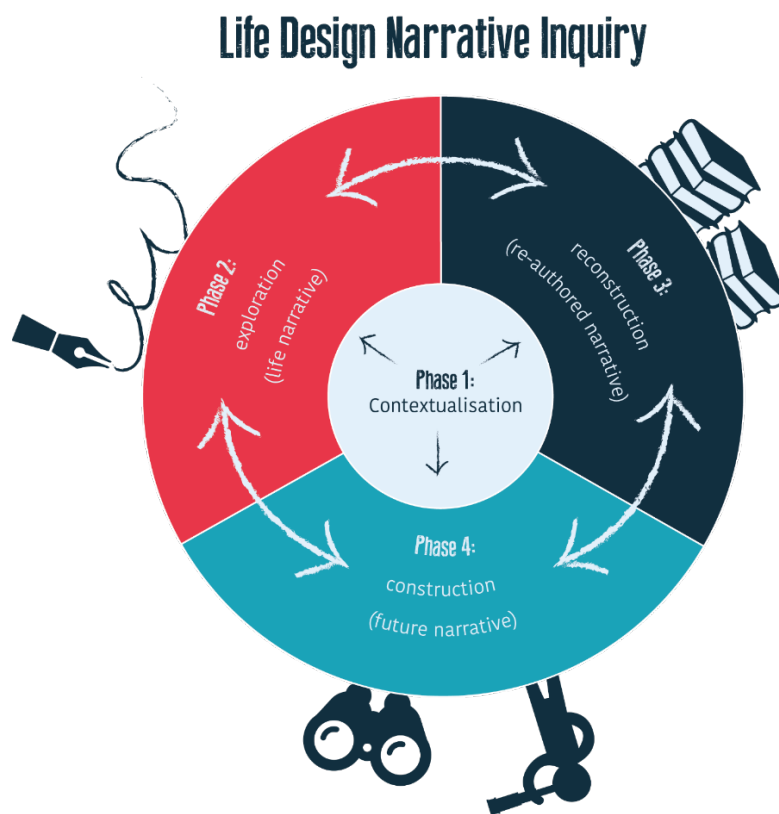


Figure 4.2: Life design narrative inquiry methodology

As seen in Figure 4.2, participants need not provide their experiences in chronological order (the researcher can shape the data into a chronological order, if necessary). Through employing this research methodology, participants can become more powerful as agents in their personal narratives, especially with regard to Phase 4 where participants narrate a future narrative. In the following sections each phase is discussed.

4.4.3.1 Phase 1: contextualisation

In this phase the researcher gains an insight into the background of the participant. The researcher also studies the specific research environment in which the lived experiences are narrated.

4.4.3.2 Phase 2: exploration (life narrative)

The goal of Phase 2 is for the participants to construct their life narrative of their lived experiences. This phase focuses on experiences of participants where these narrations might shed light on how they view themselves. Narratives might emerge from the participants narrating their narrative or as a result of the researcher asking questions aimed at prompting

the participant narrate their lived experiences. This phase is explored by means of a narrative interview (4.7.2).

4.4.3.3 Phase 3: reconstruction (re-authored narrative)

The purpose of Phase 3 is for the participant to reflect on their life narrative and consider, if possible, what they would change about their life narratives and how. In this phase the participant would perhaps not want to change their life narratives, but, if given a chance, would decide to relive their lives in exactly same way they did before.

During reconstruction, participants are provided the opportunity for reflection and sense-making. The participant is encouraged to reflect and self-explore their life narratives. The participant is encouraged to identify a life theme or themes in their narrative so as to re-author their life narratives.

4.4.3.4 Phase 4: construction (future narrative)

New anticipations are crystallised, as well as a possible new perspective of self, which has only been vaguely sensed before the research. The purpose of phase 4 is for the participants to anticipate their future life narratives and, if possible, draw up an action plan depicting what they would want to achieve in a specific time period in the future. In this phase the participant is encouraged to make connections between life themes and their future narrative.

In the section to follow, I expand on the limitations that I perceived during the implementation of life design narrative inquiry. These may be seen as criticism of life design narrative inquiry.

4.4.4 Limitations of life design narrative inquiry

Before researchers venture on the journey of life design narrative inquiry, they should consider the following limitations of this methodology. This methodology could be time consuming, especially in cases where vulnerable people are involved. It takes time and perseverance to receive permission to conduct research at an environment that focuses on a specific vulnerable people group. Gaining ethical clearance to conduct research with a vulnerable people is difficult and generally takes more time than when doing low-risk research on an easily accessed population group. The researcher takes the risk that the vulnerable people to whom they have gained access may decide not to participate in the research study. It could then take the researcher a long time to identify new participants for a research study. The researcher has to become part of the research environment and stay for with participants for at least two weeks to build a rapport with them. During this time the researcher should be prepared to be emotionally involved and become part of the environment.

Researchers need to carefully prepare themselves mentally for conducting research on sensitive topics. They have to be cognisant of their own psychological well-being and receive psychological care in cases where it is needed. For instance, researchers who do research on a sensitive topic about which they have personal experience must take special care to ensure that they know and understand their own emotional triggers with regard to the topic.

The researcher needs to be informed on what to do should the participants need psychological support. At the proposal stage of the research project, when the researcher identifies possible research environments, the researcher should also provide contact details of specific psychologists who could intervene if participants need psychological support. The researcher needs to know how to respond should a participant experience trauma.

Researchers should be realistic in terms of aims for their research project(s). In the case where participants have had a traumatic experience, it could be more difficult for them to narrate their life narratives, reconstruct their narratives and to actualise a future narrative. Therefore future narratives should not be the only aim of a research project.

As my research unfolded, I found it necessary to adjust my original research plan because of the nature of my research. In the following section I discuss the additional considerations that were necessary and why this was so.

4.5 Additional considerations as the research unfolded

Richards (2015:143) states that "[t]he ultimate excitement and terror of a qualitative project is that you cannot know at the start where it will end". This was certainly true of my research project. The first change affected my research questions. As in case of any other qualitative research, I was not able to specify beforehand how these questions would be answered (Richards, 2015:144). Having to alter one's research approach is fairly common in qualitative research and some changes are usually even required (Richards, 2015:95). In this study, I had to alter some of the proposed methods and ethical considerations. I made these changes during and directly after data generation, after consulting with my supervisors.

The main reasons for this were the change in my research environment, the conditions on which permission to do research was given and the rules at this particular research environment (5.2 & 5.4). Access to research environments is controlled by gatekeepers (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:168). They influence the initial research design of the researcher because they wish to "avoid, contain, spread or control risk and may therefore bar access or make access conditional" (*ibid.*). This could mean that the researcher has to make changes ranging from small adjustments to a completely revised research design (*ibid.*).

As mentioned earlier, in research with a critical theory orientation there is an emphasis on equal partnership between the researcher and the participants (Henning *et al.*, 2004:24). Because of the collaboration involved, the data generation methods had to be altered (4.7.3). In addition to this, the data analysis method had to change (4.8.3) so that the voices of the participants could be foregrounded. In Table 4.2 I provide a summary of the changes made to methods during the research process.

Table 4.2: Additional considerations to some methods

| Methods | Proposed | Additional considerations |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Sampling | Purposive sampling: research environment and participants. | Purposive network sampling: research environment (4.6.1) |
| Data generation | Narrative interviews with participants who were trafficked for child trafficking. | Additional interviews with manager and spiritual counsellor and addition of researcher's journal (4.7.3). |
| Data analysis | Critical narrative analysis. | Change to CDA (4.8.3) |
| Trustworthiness | | Involved an independent coder (4.9.1). |
| Ethical considerations | | Altered process of obtaining permission and informed consent to conduct research and additional considerations given to privacy and confidentiality (4.10.4). |

Table 4.2 shows how the proposed methods were altered. In the sections to follow, I engage with the other elements of research design (research environment, data generation and data analysis) as well as the research processes (trustworthiness & ethics), juxtaposed with additional considerations that emerged as the research unfolded.

4.6 Research environment and sampling

In purposive sampling, pre-selected criteria for the selection of participants are of cardinal importance (Strydom & Delport, 2011:392). First, I critically considered the parameters of the population before choosing the sample (*ibid.*). This was necessary because I needed to identify participants who were able to provide rich data to maximise the range of information to be obtained from and about the research topic (*ibid.*).

With regard to purposive sampling, pre-selected criteria were set to identify the participants (*ibid.*). Specific criteria to identify participants were set as following:

- persons who survived child trafficking
- persons who are at a safe house/shelter

- persons who are less likely to be traumatised when talking about their lived experiences.

For this research study I had set out to employ purposive sampling regarding the research environment. Purposive sampling means sampling in a deliberate way with a specific purpose or focus in mind (Punch, 2014:161). According to Strydom and Delport (2011:392), purposive sampling implies a particular research environment needs to be purposively chosen so that it contains features that are of interest to the specific study. A researcher needs to consider not only the criteria for the participants, but also where to place a research project geographically and socially (Richards, 2015:13). Along with this, the researcher needs to decide what resources are needed, whether he/she needs to visit the physical research environment to generate data and whether data can be generated through online methods (*ibid.*). Safe houses for child trafficking survivors formed part of the relevant research environment in this study.

At the time of my research proposal being approved, I was planning to conduct my study at centres approved by the government of South Africa to accommodate child trafficking victims. The DSD has the legal authority to place children in Child Youth Care Centres (CYCCs) in South Africa. These centres accommodate child trafficking victims and children who are in need of care and protection for whatever reasons. See Appendix A for more details on the referral and protection of victims in South Africa. If a survivor has to be given rehabilitation as a child, they would have to be treated at a CYCC. During the rehabilitation process, the victim could become an adult.

I had obtained permission from the DSD to conduct the research in Child Youth Care Centres in one province. Thereafter I made contact via e-mail and phone calls with different centres. However, I received little response from these centres. In November 2015 I made appointments with various centres and visited each centre in person. I was well received at some of them. The managers told me that neither of their centres had any children who could be participants for my study. I requested permission to make contact with these centres every two weeks in 2016. In 2016 I did so, but by May I still had not receive any encouraging feedback regarding possible participants for my research.

Based on continuous emails, communication and correspondence with the CYCCs which I mentioned above, I found out that there were no children (no rehabilitants under the age of 18) who matched my research criteria. The CYCCs were willing to accommodate me and welcomed my involvement, but they had no suitable participants. I had no other choice but to pursue other possibilities.

4.6.1 Additional considerations: purposive network sampling

In 2016 I was able to meet someone who was one of the leaders at a safe house for adult victims of human trafficking. The process of being introduced to this person happened over a long period of time, with many friends and friends of friends involved in the process. This person introduced me to a team of safe house overseers who were willing to receive me. I decided to pursue this avenue.

The immediate implication of this decision was that the sampling method for identifying my research environment had changed from the purposive method to what I call the purposive network sampling method. Network sampling is akin to snowball sampling; in this sampling method one set of contacts puts the researcher in contact with more contacts, who put the researcher in contact with yet more contacts (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:167). I was thus able to use informal networks to gain access to research environments that would otherwise have proved difficult to achieve (*ibid.*). Gaining access to a research environment is often fraught with difficulties (Walford, 2001:34), such as those I experienced in 2015–2016.

After I had been introduced to the safe house overseers that were willing to receive me, I made use of Walford's (2001:36-47) four steps to gain access: approach, interest, desire and sale. Each of these steps is briefly discussed below.

(a) Step 1: Approach

The researcher needs to approach the research environment to initiate the process of gaining access to do research (Walford, 2001:36). It is best to make contact with the person most likely to be receptive to the research and who is authorised to grant access (Walford, 2001:37), preferably telephonically (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:167). I was able to make contact with the safe house overseers, who were willing to receive me.

(b) Step 2: Interest

When a telephone call is made to arrange an initial meeting (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:167), the researcher should be persuasive over the phone and should not give the authorised person an opportunity to say no (Walford, 2001:40). During the phone call, I provided more information about my research and successfully convinced the safe house manager that I should be allowed to come and do the research.

(c) Step 3: Desire

The person granting access needs to be willing to allow the researcher to conduct research at the environment they supervise (Walford, 2001:44). In order to achieve this, the researcher has to, among other things, overcome objections to the research even before the person granting access makes them (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the researcher needs to be able to explain clearly the ways in which the research environment will benefit from their study (*ibid.*).

(d) Step 4: Sale

The final step in gaining access to a research environment is reached when the researcher is granted access to the environment (Cohen *et al.*, 2011:168; Walford, 2001:46). During my phone conversation with the safe house manager, I was granted access to visit the safe house once so that I could explain what my research was about. Depending on this visit, the manager would make the final decision on whether or not to grant me full access to interview the possible participants.

After the first visit to the safe house (which took a weekend), I was granted a two-week long follow-up visit for data generation under live-in conditions. (I needed to stay with the participants at the safe house for the duration of the process so I could be immersed in that environment.)

In the research environment, two participants met the criteria that I had set for participation in the research. A third participant met the minimal criteria to be a participant. Since I deemed that this participant's input would be valuable, as did my supervisors, we decided to include her narrative in my study.

I had initially planned to interview at least 10 participants. However, the process for implementing narrative inquiry does allow for in-depth research to be done on one or two individuals (Creswell, 2013:70). Because of the sensitivity of the research, it had been very difficult to obtain access to a research environment and to find participants for the research study. I had interviews with only these three willing and available participants. Having decided

to undertake life design narrative inquiry, I was content to have fewer participants than I had previously intended.

4.7 Data generation

The purpose of data generation is to derive an adequate response to the research questions, i.e. a response which is sufficiently rich to provide a new understanding of the situation being studied (Richards, 2015:35). The response in the form of qualitative data is collaboratively constructed between the researcher and participants (Richards, 2015:27). Qualitative research is never a neat list of facts that can easily be collected and summarised (*ibid.*). The researcher enters the world of the participants only because they allow him/her to do so (*ibid.*). Data are usually generated through conversation with the participants: they do not exist before the research occurs, but are created by the interaction between the researcher and participants (Richards, 2015:36). The researcher watches, asks and listens to participants' accounts of their experiences (Richards, 2015:27).

For this research, narrative data were required to provide a new understanding of child trafficking. Generating data through narrative interviews is for the purpose of recording participants' narratives, reporting on individual experiences and chronologically ordering the meaning of those experiences (Creswell, 2013:70). When the researcher generates data through in-depth interviews based on life design narrative inquiry, the interviewee-interviewer relationship is transformed into that of a narrator and a listener (Chase, 2011:423). This requires a shift from conventional practice where the interview schedule structures the interview to where it is seen as a guide which may or may not be useful for the participant to narrate their narrative (*ibid.*).

Berg and Lune (2014:151) recommend that the researcher follow certain guidelines while conducting narrative interviews. Firstly, the interview should be started by casual conversation to ensure that the participant is relaxed (*ibid.*). The researcher should keep the purpose of the interview in mind throughout and steer participants back to the original question, probing for more information only to a point where it is still safe (*ibid.*). The interview should be conducted in a natural way, like a conversation, and the researcher should indicate that he/she is listening through appropriate non-verbal responses (*ibid.*). The interview should be taking place where participants feel comfortable and safe and the researcher should take care that his/her appearance sets at ease (*ibid.*). Participants should be handled with respect, assured that the experiences they share are valuable and encouraged at the end of the interview to ask questions about the research (*ibid.*). The researcher should informally try out the protocols before conducting the actual interviews (*ibid.*). I followed all of these guidelines during the data generation process.

This study initially proposed to do four phases of data generation. The first phase was to be informally structured interviews through which biographical information and background data on the participants were to be collected. The second to fourth phases were to consist of three narrative interviews. The discussion of the phases which follows is the initially proposed dynamic of narrative interviewing of the participants.

4.7.1 Phase 1

The first phase was initially designed to cover all the ethical issues and to gather background information on the participants. I planned to ask for permission to audio record the sessions and tell the participant that no one except me (the researcher), the promoter and the co-promoter would have access to the audio recordings. After the participant had agreed to participate in the research and allow an audio recording to be made, I would proceed with recording.

I proposed to divide the interview into two sections. In the first section I planned to explain the ethical issues and to allow the participant to ask questions about them. Only when the participant had fully agreed and signed the informed consent form, would the interview proceed to the second section in which their biographical data were to be obtained. The ethical issues included in the informed consent letter, would be explained to the participant. These issues were: a) confidentiality and privacy, b) audio recording and storage of data, c) expectation(s) of the participant, d) voluntary participation, e) measures in case of inconvenience, and f) results.

During the first interview, I planned to give the participants an opportunity to create their own pseudonym. This pseudonym had to be a name that they had never used in their lives so that their privacy and confidentiality could be protected.

I planned to ask the following questions to obtain biographical data of the participants:

- What is your age?
- What is your home language?
- What other languages can you speak?
- What was the highest grade that you attended at school?
- In which town/city were you born?
- In which town/city did you grow up?

The narrative interview is a special method for collecting narrative data (Flick, 2014:265) and should be formulated broadly, yet at the same time sufficiently specifically in terms of the research question and research design (Flick, 2014:266). Therefore, at the end of this

interview I planned to ask the participant to think about the following question: "What is your life narrative?" This question was important for the second phase of data generation.

4.7.2 Phases 2-4

Phases 2-4 comprised the three informal narrative interviews. A narrative interview is started by a narrative question intended to stimulate the participant's narrative response (Flick, 2014:366). When the participant begins to narrate in response to the narrative question, the researcher should not interrupt the participant, but should rather be an active listener to enhance the quality of the data (Flick, 2014:267). The researcher's involvement in the interview should be minimal so that the participant's narrative is uninterrupted (Earthy & Cronin, 2008:432). After the participants have completed their responses, questions for clarity about the narrative may be asked (Flick, 2014:267). The questions which were used to initiate each phase are as follow:

- Phase 2: What is your life narrative?
- Phase 3: If it was possible, would you change your life narrative? If you say yes, how? If you say no, why?
- Phase 4: Where do you see yourself in five years?

In the narrative interview approach, the agenda is open and can develop depending on the participant's experiences (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013:29). Sarantakos (2013:290-291) describes the stages in which a narrative interview can be conducted. For this study, each of these stages occurred in each of the phases (2-4) of data generation. Only the first stage of each phase was planned differently. Below is the discussion of the stages of narrative interviews as I initially planned them. These stages were used as guidelines during the narrative interviews (Sarantakos, 2013:290-291):

(a) Stage 1: introduction

I planned to introduce the topic and to ask the participant what they expected of both me and the interview. I planned to clarify uncertainties and introduce the question depending on the phase of the data generation. For each interview I planned to ask permission to make audio recordings and assure the participant that no one except me and my supervisors would have access to the audio recording.

(b) Stage 2: narrative

At this stage I planned that I would not ask the participant direct questions, but allow them to narrate what they wanted to. My plan was not to interrupt, but to remain in the role of an

interested listener, encouraging the participant to continue by indicating that I was actively listening by means of verbal expressions and non-verbal gestures. I planned to offer the participant the freedom to share the experiences and events that they consider most relevant and to allow them to choose how they wanted to present their narratives.

(c) Stage 3: questions

At this point, it was possible that asking questions could trigger the participant to start talking about the already narrated topic all over again. This would have meant returning to Stage 2. Only when Stage 2 conclusively ended and I could see that the participant had come to the end of the narrative, would I request more information (on uncertainties that emerged) or clarification of statements. Hereafter, when Stage 2 and Stage 3 were exhausted, I planned to move to Stage 4.

(d) Stage 4: explanation

For this stage I planned to ask more direct questions. The participant would be asked to identify recurring events and find connections between these events and their own experiences. This would make it possible to discuss the meaning of their narrative. If these questions led to further narratives, the participant would be encouraged to begin talking about the topic again. Therefore, the narrative interview would return to Stage 2. When this stage was exhausted, I planned to move on to the next stage and so forth.

4.7.3 Additional considerations: additional data generation

While planning for interviews, one should reflect on the interview process, on how the participants might react to the interview and how they might interpret the questions (Richards, 2015:47). In my study I reflected with the participants on the four phases of data generation (4.7). When the participants and I had reflected on these phases, each participant asked if the phases could be rearranged. To make the participants feel more comfortable (Berg & Lune, 2014:151), as well as due to the non-linearity of life design narrative inquiry, I agreed to alter the order of the phases.

Interviews were completed at different times during the two weeks of my stay at the safe house. According to Earthy and Cronin (2008:431), interviewing a research participant on more than one occasion can have several advantages, namely:

- assisting the development of trust and rapport between the researcher and interviewee
- being less exhausting for both parties, particularly in comparison with a single attempt to capture a person's life narrative

- the possibility of ending the interview, with the knowledge that the conversation can continue on another day, may be particularly valuable for interviewees who are unwell or find aspects of the conversation distressing
- the time between interviews provides an opportunity for both the interviewee and researcher to reflect
- the aspects discussed in one interview can be clarified and explored in greater depth in subsequent conversations.

In the first week of my data generation I informally collected biographical data. During this time I established a trust relationship with the participants. The participants began trusting me within two days and narrated narrative after narrative about themselves. After the first week, the safe house manager asked the participants whether they were willing to participate in my research, and they readily agreed to do so.

Unfortunately, I did not have the permission to conduct interviews with the participants on my own and was dependent on the safe house manager. The safe house manager had to be present in the interviews to ensure that participants did not provide me with information which might endanger their safety. Another reason was that she needed to be able to intervene in the case of re-traumatisation. The safe house manager chose the times and venues for the interviews.

The safe house manager agreed to have an interview with me to inform me on how the organization (5.2) and the safe house (5.4) function. During my two week research at the safe house I also had an interview with the deliverance counsellor. I did not plan for these interviews, but I eventually decided to include these interviews as part of form part of phase 1 of data generation.

In preparation for my data generation, my supervisors advised me to keep a researcher's journal. A researcher's journal contains the records of observations of participants and the research environment made by the researcher (Richards, 2015:45). These notes aid the researcher to observe and better understand the research participants and the research environment (*ibid.*). I kept a researcher's journal in which I wrote down my experiences at the safe house each day. I wrote down short summaries of what the participants told me about their lives. The participants gave me oral consent to use the information that they informally gave me (this took place outside the scheduled interviews, in informal and one-on-one conversations). I kept a researcher's journal so that I did not have to rely on my memory on events and my experience at the safe house. This researcher's journal (RJ) forms part of

Phase 1 of the data generation. In the following section data analysis is discussed. First, I describe my initial plan and then how it was adjusted.

4.8 Data analysis

The data analysis was done in two stages. In the first one, I prepared the data for analysis and, in the second, I analysed the data using CDA methods. The first stage took place according to plan. However, in the second stage I used CDA instead of critical narrative analysis. In Section 4.8.3, I discuss my reasons for making this change. In the section below, I explain the process of exploring the data to prepare it for CDA.

4.8.1 Preparing the data

Data preparation for analysis is an important stage in qualitative data analysis and I made use of the guidelines provided by Nieuwenhuis (2016:114-115). I will now discuss how I employed each of these guidelines in this study.

A first step in processing the data is to describe the participants and context (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:114). After the data had been generated, I made a table with a summary of the different the organization, the safe house and participants. This table was as detailed as possible to aid in my understanding of the participants and the context for analysis. Special care was taken to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the organization, the safe house and the participants.

In order to ensure that researchers keep a clear mind and do not feel overwhelmed, they have to organise their data (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:115). As part of organising data, the different data sets should be kept separate and labelled clearly to indicate when, where, how and why each set was collected (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:115). I organised my data electronically into a folder on my PhD project storage. This folder consists of subfolders where each participant's voice recordings and transcripts of interviews was kept in a separate folder. My researcher's journal was stored in a subfolder in my data generation folder. I regularly made backups of my PhD project on my computer at work. I did not make any online backups since the data for my study were sensitive and I did not want to take the risk of anyone being able to access my online data storage areas and be able to download my data. As an extra measure, every transcribed interview was protected by a password.

I made verbatim transcriptions of the audio recorded semi-structured and narrative interviews (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:115). The transcripts reproduced the nature of the discussion exactly as it happened (Sarantakos, 2013:291). Some of the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, and I translated them into English. In this thesis I make use of footnotes to present some verbatim

Afrikaans quotes. After transcribing the data, I organised and prepared the data for analysis (Creswell, 2014:197). This included ordering the transcripts into the already created folders allocated to each participant (*ibid.*).

Before I visited the safe house I prepared myself for the possibility of experiencing trauma during the generation of data. Nevertheless, I underwent secondary traumatisation during my stay at the safe house. I had to work through my experiences with a social worker to be able to return to my data for data analysis. After I had transcribed my data, I took a few months to distance myself from it and focused on the other chapters I had to finish. This decision was made in consultation with my supervisors.

After a period of time away from the data, I worked with it until I had gained intimate knowledge of it. I read and reread all the transcripts as well as my researcher's journal (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:115). In this process, I made notes of my initial observations and general thoughts regarding my data (Creswell, 2014:197). As part of getting to know my data and preparing for the next stage of data analysis, I appointed an independent coder to work through my data as well and identify codes and themes. Other reasons for appointing an independent coder are provided in Section 4.9.1 and Section 4.10.4.

After carefully reading and rereading my data I conducted a first cycle of inductive coding, assigning initial codes (Saldaña, 2013:58). I made use of elementary methods of coding, which enabled me to build the foundation for future coding cycles (Saldaña, 2013:83). In the first cycle, I made use of descriptive coding and In Vivo coding. Descriptive coding refers to the process of using a word or short phrase is used to summarise the basic topic of a passage of data (Saldaña, 2013:88). In Vivo coding refers to using a word or short phrase said by a participant from particular section of the data (Saldaña, 2013:91).

After this first cycle of coding, I had a consensus meeting with the independent coder where we discussed the different codes, subthemes and themes that emerged from the first cycle of coding. After this discussion, I embarked on a journey to continue with the second stage of data analysis (4.8.3). In the following section I discuss my initial planning to analyse the data.

4.8.2 Initial planning of data analysis

When I initially proposed to do the research, I anticipated that I would make use of critical narrative analysis with the aid of the ATLAS.ti software. Critical narrative analysis involves the detailed investigation of small numbers of research participants, whose process of making sense of their experiences and process of accounting is the main interest of the proposed study (Emerson & Frosh, 2009:17). Critical narrative analysis examines the way the text "is

said", pays attention to the ways in which canonical discourses are taken up and subverted, and identifies contradictions and fragments (Burck, 2007:291).

During critical narrative analysis I planned for different phases of data analysis. First, I planned to analyse each participant's narrative separately and then, secondly, to analyse the narratives by comparing and contrasting the three diverse interviews with each other, in terms of the data generation phases' narrative questions and answers. Finally, I planned to compare and contrast the general themes of different narrative interviews with each other.

After data generation, my supervisors and I reconsidered my data analysis methods and considered employing narrative analysis instead. In narrative analysis, the researcher synthesises narratives through events' descriptions that come via interviews and observations (Gay *et al.*, 2011:402). The outcome of narrative analysis is a narrative which attempts to answer how and why a particular outcome came about (*ibid.*).

4.8.3 Additional considerations: CDA

CDA seemed a more useful method for analysing the data that were generated in this study. The first reason was that, as was evident from just a glance at the data, the freedom of survivors in rehabilitation seemed to be oppressed in the safe house where the narrative interviews were generated. The second reason was that in cases of oppression like child trafficking, critical theory supports the breaking down of institutional structures and arrangements that reproduce oppressive ideologies (Henning *et al.*, 2004:23). In CDA, the emphasis is on understanding discourse in relation to social problems, social structural variables and to power (Wood & Kroger, 2000:21). A third reason for this was that the data generated by the semi-structured interviews with the safe house manager and deliverance counsellor as well as the researcher's journal did not represent narratives *per se*. The data provided valuable information that enabled me to understand the context in which the participants narrated their narratives. The fourth reason was that the analysis of text should not be isolated from the analysis of the institutional and discursal practices in which the texts are embedded (Fairclough, 1995:9). This is relevant to this research study, because the narratives that were generated cannot be isolated from the safe house in which they were generated.

The data were analysed by means of CDA (Fairclough, 1992) during the second stage of data analysis. CDA has three methods of analysis that are the three dimensions of CDA and they provide three complementary ways of analysing a complex social event (Fairclough, 1992:231; Fairclough, 1995:133). These three dimensions are: discourse-as-discursive-practice, discourse-as-text and discourse-as-social-practice and CDA aim to establish

connections between these dimensions (1995:87). Fairclough (1993:74) points out that the analytical activities of interpretation and description are done in broad analytical framework of the three dimensions. There is no set rules for the procedure of employing CDA and are applied according to the specific nature of the research study as well as the researcher's view on discourse (Fairclough, 1992:225). Each of these dimensions is discussed in relation to the study.

(a) Discourse-as-discursive-practice

With regard to discourse-as-discursive-practice the production, consumption and distribution of text are deemed important (Fairclough, 1992:78). Text refers to the "product of discursive processes" and it could be spoken language which is transcribed into written text (Fairclough, 1995:97). In this study the text refers to the narratives that were generated. The discursive-practice influences the generation of text (Fairclough, 1993:64) with regard to the context in which the narrative interviews were generated. Consumption refers to the purpose of the data generation and the distribution of the data as a result of this research study (Fairclough, 1992:78).

Data are generated in specific ways in a specific context (Fairclough, 1992:78). In data generation the concept of text generator (in this study the text generators are Lucy, Maya and Carla, see Chapter Six) is more complicated than it may appear (*ibid.*). During data generation the role of the generator of narratives could be occupied by the same or by different people (*ibid.*). Three positions can be distinguished: the animator who makes the sounds, the author who puts the words together and is responsible for the wording, and the principal who is represented by the words (Goffman cited in Fairclough, 1992:78). In each narrative interview these positions were taken by different persons at different times during the interviews.

The consumption of data could be done differently in different social contexts (Fairclough, 1992:79). In this study, the element of consumption focuses on the purpose of data analysis. Consumption of text depends on how it is interpreted and it depends on the mode of interpretation (*ibid.*). Texts are consumed in different ways, some are recorded, transcribed, preserved, others are thrown away, and yet other texts are transformed into other texts (*ibid.*).

Finally, some texts belong only to an immediate situation where they occur, whereas others have a complex distribution (*ibid.*). Multiple audiences have to be considered where producers are part of sophisticated organizations while producing the text (*ibid.*). These audiences include the addressees (directly addressed), the hearers (not addressed directly, but assumed to be part of the audience) and the over hearers (those who are not part of the official audience, but are *de facto* consumers (Fairclough, 1992:79-80).

In Chapter Five the data are presented in terms of the first dimension of CDA. I first provided the reader with a descriptive background on the context in which the narratives were generated (5.2-5.4), thereafter I interpret the data (5.5). In what follows next, discourse-as-text as a dimension of CDA is explained as well as on how it was applied in this research study.

(b) Discourse-as-text

Fairclough (1993:75) organised discourse-as-text analysis under four main headings: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. Fairclough (1993:75) explains:

These can be thought as ascending in scale: vocabulary deals mainly with individual words, grammar deals with words combined in clauses and sentences, cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together, and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of text.

In my study I did not analyse the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. I adapted the discourse-as-text dimension and focused on the narratives of the participants who survived child trafficking and who were in rehabilitation. I reflected on the codes generated through descriptive and In Vivo coding and represented the participants' narratives making use of the phases of life design narrative inquiry. I interpreted the narratives by contrasting the different narratives of the participants with each other. These are written up in Chapter Six. In the following section I elaborate on the last dimension of CDA and how it was employed in this study.

(c) Discourse-as-social-practice

Discourse is not an individual activity: it is a form of social-practice (Fairclough, 1993:63). To analyse discourse-as-social-practice is a complex process, a general objective is to specify (Fairclough, 1992:237):

the nature of the social practice which the discourse practice is a part, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is; and the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice.

Discourse is embedded within social-practice at a number of levels: the immediate situation, wider situation and on a societal level (Fairclough, 1995:97). This method of analysis includes description of the discourse-as-text, interpretation of the relationship between discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text and explanation of the relationship between discursive and social processes (*ibid.*). The link between discourse-as-text and discourse-as-social-practice is mediated by discourse-as-discursive-practice (*ibid.*). The nature of discourse-as-discursive-practice shapes the generation of discourse-as-text and leaves traces in the text (*ibid.*). The nature of the discourse-as-discursive-practice also determines how the text will be interpreted (*ibid.*).

While employing discourse-as-social-practice I made use of axial and selective coding. Axial coding was used during the discourse-as-social-practice, where explicit connections were identified between categories and subcategories of data (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:118). Selective coding was used to identify and select core categories were identified and selected as they related to other categories (*ibid.*). During this data analysis I also interpreted the data from my theoretical stance (Chapter Two & Three).

I discuss the findings of this dimension of analysis in Chapter Seven. In the following section I discuss the prioritisation of trustworthiness in this study.

4.9 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research the term trustworthiness reflects the strength of the claims to knowledge the researcher is making (Hammond & Wellington, 2013:146). When qualitative researchers use this term, they indicate their rejection of the concept of validity and their focus on the transactional relationship between the reader and the researcher (Hammond & Wellington, 2013:147; Maxwell, 2013:122). The view that methods can guarantee validity is characteristic of early forms of positivism which took the view that scientific knowledge could "ultimately be reduced to a logical system that was securely grounded in irrefutable sense data" (Maxwell, 2013:121). The concept of validity assumes the existence of an objective

reality and the truth of assertions about it (Richards, 2015:158). It thus depends on the relationship of conclusions to reality, which no method can ensure (Maxwell, 2013:121). In qualitative research, the methods and procedures that the researcher uses during research must increase the credibility of the conclusions reached (Maxwell, 2013:125).

The following trustworthiness strategies which I initially planned to apply are discussed below. I indicate clearly whether or not it was applied in this research:

- **Member checking or verifying raw data.** Member checking involves participants in systematically giving feedback on the data and the researchers' conclusions after data generation and analysis (Maxwell, 2013:126). Transcripts of interviews can be submitted to participants so that they can correct errors of fact (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:113). In Section 4.9.1 I justify my decision not make use of this strategy.
- **Keeping notes of research decisions taken.** A detailed account of the methods used and decisions made during the execution of the research project is presented in the form of an audit trail of research design. This helps to ensure trustworthiness (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016:259). Qualitative theory is built step by step and so arguments, explanations and conclusions need to be checked step by step (Richards, 2015:157). In this way, arguments, explanations and conclusions are rooted in data (*ibid.*) and are considered trustworthy because the steps that were taken to reach them are shown to be firm and sound, and the logical progression from the one to the next well grounded and justified (Richards, 2015:158). The initial research design often changes in the course of qualitative research (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:114). In this study, new data sources and data generation techniques were incorporated to strengthen my study (*ibid.*). I kept an audit trail of these changes and carefully explain them to the reader in Sections 4.5, 4.6.1, 4.7.3, 4.8.3, 4.9.1 and 4.10.1.
- **Choosing the quotes carefully.** Quotes lend valuable support to the interpretation of the data. However, the researcher needs to take care not to misuse or quote out of context (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:115). I included quotes to elevate the voices of the participants and when paraphrasing the participants' words would not have done justice to what they were saying.
- **Maintaining confidentiality.** Meeting the demands of confidentiality and anonymity requires more than not mentioning the names or positions of participants (*ibid.*). I took great care to ensure the confidentiality of the participants' narratives and to protect their identities (4.10.1).
- **Stating the limitations.** When the limitations and problems that were experienced are openly acknowledged, it helps the reader to understand conclusions (*ibid.*). Section 4.4.4

provides some of the inherent limitations of life design narrative inquiry. More limitations are discussed in Section 8.4.

4.9.1 Additional considerations: trustworthiness

Initially I had planned to employ member checking as a strategy to enhance the trustworthiness of my research. However, after careful consideration of the literature and discussions with my supervisors, I decided not to include member checking or verifying of raw data as a trustworthiness strategy. The reason for this is that the participants' responses were captured in a specific time, space and place. Member checking would have required a follow up visit to the safe house in which these child trafficking survivors would again be confronted with their traumatic and difficult past. This could have led to re-traumatisation, which is not emotionally or psychologically desirable.

Furthermore, member checking usually takes place at the end of a research project (Richards, 2015:200). In qualitative research, the participants usually review the researcher's report once it has been finished (*ibid.*). Richards (2015:29) strongly questions whether participants can validate the analysis because that would require their being able to understand the data analysis and the conclusions based on it. Participants might lack the insight to do so. Although participant feedback is useful, it might not be a means of ensuring trustworthiness of research (Richards, 2015:200).

When considering member checking as a strategy of research trustworthiness, Richards (2015:200-201) recommends that one should ask the following questions:

- What is being checked? Is it the demographic characteristics that have been recorded or is it the researcher's interpretation? How much information is given to the participant to check the interpretations, the whole report or only a part of it? If only a chapter is given to the participant, it might be read out of context and the validation of the researcher's interpretation may be invalid.
- Who are you checking with? Who are the relevant members and what are their roles in the research topic? It is unlikely that these members are from a homogeneous group.
- And who is checking whom? Is an assumption made that the participants are closer to the research than the researcher and that the latter is only standing back and analysing the data? This causes a dichotomy between the researcher and participants.
- How would you interpret an agreement? Assuming that the participants are not researchers, how could one expect the participants to agree with the analysis? Based on what knowledge would they agree with the analysis?

- What follows if the participants agree? Here one could raise ethical concerns: the agreement might indicate that the participants are partial and are subjectively interested in the researcher publishing a critique of others.
- How to interpret a disagreement? Respondent checking does not establish the truth of a research report. There could be different reasons for disagreement; it could be that the research report exposes or hurts some of the participants.
- Whatever the response to the interpretation presented was, what was it exactly the participants responded to? How thorough or partial was the interpretation which was provided to the participants? Did the researcher only take half an hour to explain the interpretations? Is what had been presented enough to instantiate a well-integrated theory?

After studying the literature and other methods of ensuring trustworthiness, I decided to incorporate more strategies than I had initially planned to do. In what follows I provide a discussion of these strategies:

- **Greater trustworthiness in coding data: the employment of an independent coder.** By employing an independent coder, there is less chance of skewing the data (Spurgin & Wildemuth, 2009:301) and the findings are thus more defensible (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:114). The quality of the codes is also influenced by the ability and commitment of an independent coder who has experience in coding (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015:266). To enhance the trustworthiness of this study an independent coder was appointed (4.8 & 4.10).
- **Researcher is involved in the data generation on a long-term basis.** One strategy is for the researcher to be intensively involved in the data generation on the long term (Maxwell, 2013:126). This includes repeated observations, repeated interviews and the sustained presence of the researcher in the research environment (*ibid.*). When the researcher spends an extended period in the research environment, they develop an in-depth understanding of the research topic and narrative environment and can convey details about the environment and participants; this increases the credibility of the research report (Creswell, 2014:202). Because of the nature of my research methodology, I stayed at the safe house for a period of two weeks to generate data for my study.
- **Rich data.** One way to ensure rich data is to make verbatim transcripts of interviews (Maxwell, 2013:126). Yet another way is for the researcher to write a journal in which he or she makes detailed notes on the research environment and participants (*ibid.*). Rich and thick descriptions are needed to convey findings (Creswell, 2014:202). In this way readers can be transported to the setting and enjoy an element of shared experience (*ibid.*). Enough description of the research is needed to contextualise the study so that readers

are able to determine the extent to which their situations match the research context and whether they can transfer the findings to their own context (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016:259). Data were generated through conducting semi-structured interviews, narrative interviews and by keeping a researcher's journal to ensure rich data. The credibility of the data was strengthened by using verbatim transcriptions in the data analysis.

- **Negative cases and discrepancies in the evidence.** The researcher should search for inconsistencies in the evidence and negative cases in the data (Maxwell, 2013:127). The researcher should rigorously examine both the supporting and discrepant data to assess whether it is more plausible to retain or modify the conclusion (*ibid.*). When contradictory evidence is presented, the account becomes more realistic and more trustworthy (Creswell, 2014:202). During the data analysis, negative cases and discrepant evidence were presented.
- **Researcher biases.** The researcher should be able to reflect critically on the assumptions, world views, biases, theoretical orientation and the elements of the study that may have affected the research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016:259). In other words, researchers should declare the bias they bring to the study: self-reflection creates an open and honest report that will resonate well with readers (Creswell, 2014:202). In Section 1.5 I provided a section on the researcher's positionality (researcher biases), where I address my assumptions regarding the social reality of child trafficking.
- **Peer debriefing.** The accuracy of the research account is enhanced by using peer debriefing (*ibid.*). This includes locating a peer debriefer who can review and ask questions about the research so that the account resonates with the readers (*ibid.*). Discussing the research with colleagues regarding the process of the study, the congruency of preliminary findings with the raw data and tentative interpretations are all such trustworthy strategies (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016:259). I had a peer debriefing session with my supervisors and three social workers.
- **Researcher is transparent about the process of interpretation.** An analysis of data should not claim to be more truthful than another method (Earthy & Cronin, 2008:438). Researchers should be transparent about the process of interpretation and how they came to the research findings, rather than to claim that their methods are the most truthful (*ibid.*). This should be done so that the researcher can argue for trustworthiness in the analysis and findings of data (*ibid.*). Through employing CDA, the process of interpreting the data and showing how I came to findings was rendered transparent.

In the following section I elaborate on which ethical considerations were made during the employment of life design narrative inquiry to respond to my research question.

4.10 Ethical considerations

During my research, I ventured into an area which is considered complex and sensitive. Obtaining ethical clearance to conduct such a study is difficult. I obtained ethical clearance from my university (clearance number NWU-00310-14-A2). To obtain permission and informed consent to conduct research with child trafficking survivors as participants (under the age of 18), the following steps usually need to be taken:

- Step 1: Apply and obtain ethical clearance from the researcher's university
- Step 2: Apply and gain permission from the relevant provincial DSD
- Step 3: Gain permission from the relevant accredited shelter for children
- Step 4: Gain permission from the participant's parent or guardian
- Step 5: Gain informed consent from the participant(s)

I initially proposed taking the steps listed above to obtain permission and informed consent to conduct my research. In Section 4.6.1, I describe how and why these steps were altered before I began the process of data generation.

In qualitative research, researchers are more likely to impede or have an impact people's lives than researchers who collect data impersonally and record it numerically (Richards, 2015:15). My study involved child trafficking survivors as participants. All of these participants had had traumatic experiences so it was of paramount important for my research to meet the necessary ethical requirement. These include privacy and confidentiality of data, protection from harm, and informed consent (Berg & Lune, 2014:61). I took these concerns very seriously while I was conducting the research. In the following sections I provide the reader with more detailed information on this.

4.10.1 Privacy and confidentiality

In narrative inquiry, researchers often publish longer stories from participant's narratives; this could increase the risk of participants feeling vulnerable or exposed by the research outcomes (Chase, 2011:424). In case of participants who are trafficking survivors, confidentiality is of the utmost importance. I was scrupulous about removing any elements that might reveal the participants' identities (Berg & Lune, 2014:93). The independent coder confirmed that the data presented to her met the requirements of confidentiality and anonymity.

To ensure confidentiality, the participants were invited to provide a pseudonym for themselves. Had they refused or been reluctant to do so, I would have asked them to let me

provide one for them. As a general safety measure, no one is allowed use the real names of survivors in the safe house (5.4).

The privacy and confidentiality of the data generated by this study are strictly protected. The Trafficking Act (South Africa, 2013) gives strict instructions about the access and disclosure of information of and about survivors. According to Section 23:

Any person who- (a) allows any unauthorised person to gain access to a victim of trafficking or suspected victim of trafficking or to a child in the care of that victim or suspected victim; or (b) except for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Act or required by a competent court to do so, discloses- (i) the identity of a victim of trafficking or suspected victim of trafficking or the identity of a child in the care of that victim of trafficking or suspected victim of trafficking; (ii) the place where a victim of trafficking or suspected victim of trafficking or child in the care of that victim or suspected victim is accommodated or treated; (iii) any information which could lead to the identification of a victim of trafficking or suspected victim of trafficking or child in the care of that victim or suspected victim or the place where the victim of trafficking or suspected victim of trafficking or child is accommodated or treated; or (iv) any information which undermines or compromises or could undermine or compromise the investigation or prosecution of a case of trafficking, is guilty of an offence.

This makes it clear that all the data generated has to be handled with care. If I had not reported the data in a way that kept information about the participants confidential, I could have faced prosecution. In this study I ensured that, as far as my involvement as a researcher was concerned, the rights, privacy and welfare of the participants were protected (Berg & Lune, 2014:61).

4.10.2 Harm to participants

Another relevant ethical concern that I took into consideration was harm to the participants. Outcomes of qualitative research are more likely to cause risk and harm to or exposure of the participants than outcomes of reports that are less personal, contextualised or detailed (Richards, 2015:15). The questions in qualitative research are more intimate and the methods are more intrusive (*ibid.*). The after-care of participants of this study is important and so the research design should protect them against re-traumatisation (Johnson, 2012:371).

When I planned the research I foresaw that the participants might relive their life narrative during phase 2 of data generation. Consequently, I worked closely with the counsellor and the

safe house manager at the safe house so that they would be on hand should participants experience some form of re-traumatisation.

To ensure that participants were not re-traumatised during the data generation process, I consulted the safe house manager and counsellors and asked them to approve the data generation questions before the interviews took place. The safe house manager was present in most interviews to prevent re-traumatisation and to ensure that participants do not provide data that could put them at risk. Because I was working closely with the safe house manager, no harm, including physical, emotional and psychological, was caused while I was conducting this research (Berg & Lune, 2014:61).

4.10.3 Informed consent

Informed consent means that the participant realises that their participating in the research was their own choice and that they are permitted to withdraw from the proposed study at any time. I drew up an informed consent letter, which gave the contact details of the researcher and the supervisors of the study, and explained the purpose of the study and what was expected of the participants. The initial informed consent letters were later revised.

I planned to introduce the participants to narrative interview methods, as well as to familiarise them with the expectations and the overall framework of the interviews, including ethical standards, anonymity and confidentiality, during the first interview in the first phase of data generation.

4.10.4 Additional considerations: ethical considerations

The following ethical considerations were altered in this study: process for obtaining permission and informed consent. Additional arrangements were made to ensure participant's privacy and confidentiality. Each one of these will now be briefly discussed.

Because the research environment was changed (4.6.1), I had to reconsider the ethical process of obtaining permission and informed consent to conduct my research. The processes of obtaining permission and informed consent were altered.

The process for doing research with participants over 18 took place as follows:

- Step 1: Applied for and obtained ethical clearance
- Step 2: Gained permission from a private safe house
- Step 3: Gained informed consent from the participant(s)

With regard to informed consent, all participants invited for data generation were over the age of 18 and could, therefore, give informed consent to participate themselves. There was no need for a guardian providing permission.

The informed consent letters were altered to protect my privacy, as well as the privacy of my supervisors. In the original informed consent letter, the contact details and names of my supervisors and I were explicitly given. In the altered consent forms, I used a pseudonym and provided participants with an email that was created solely so they could ask me questions about this specific study. The signed informed consent forms and original data will be archived for up to five years from the time of data generation. Thereafter they will be destroyed.

Additional considerations related to privacy and confidentiality included appointing an independent member coder and changing the pseudonyms of the participants. A legal adviser recommended that I make use of an independent coder to ensure the confidentiality of participants, I therefore appointed an independent coder to ensure that the identities of all participants were safeguarded.

Participants were invited to provide their own pseudonyms for data generation. Later, while writing up the data, I decided to allocate each participant a different pseudonym. This decision was made to doubly ensure that their identities remained confidential. I used the pseudonym that the participants provided only in my interactions with them during data generation.

4.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted the messiness of doing qualitative research with vulnerable people. For me, doing qualitative research was not a neat or predictable process. It left me with more questions than answers and at times frustrated me. I provided the original research plan and explicit information on how this plan was adjusted. Critical theory as the philosophical orientation (4.3) and reflexive empirical research (1.5) aided me in the process of adjusting and rethinking my original research plan. In this process my newly synthesised research methodology was shaped throughout the empirical data generation, the data analysis and the reflection on the process of empirical research. My decision to do a life design narrative inquiry should be seen as a methodological contribution to HRE when doing research on sensitive topics with vulnerable people (8.3.2).

Purposive network sampling was employed to identify possible participants and the research environment. Data were generated by means of semi-structured interviews, narrative interviews and a researcher's journal. The participants consisted of the safe house manager, deliverance counsellor, trafficking survivors and I (as the researcher). Data were analysed by employing CDA methods. A wide range of strategies were incorporated to ensure the

trustworthiness of this research study. Due to the sensitivity of the topic and the vulnerability of research participants, strict ethical measures had to be adhered to at all times.

In the three chapters to follow, the data are presented with the three dimensions of CDA as the framework. Chapter Five engages with the first dimension namely discourse-as-discursive-practice. In Chapter Five, the research environment as discursive-practice is analysed. In Chapter Six, I present the discourse-as-text in the form of the narratives of the participants, foregrounding the voices of the participants. Chapter Seven engages with the third dimension namely discourse-as-social-practice. The analysed narratives are interpreted in relation to the theoretical-philosophical framework of the research and discourse-as-discursive practice.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the findings of the discourse-as-discursive-practice analysis are presented. Discourse-as-discursive-practice (4.8.3) focuses on the production, consumption and distribution of text (Fairclough, 1992:78). Table 5.1 provides the structural overview of this chapter. After Table 5.1 I introduce the reader to the macro research environment. I then present the data in the voice of the participants of the research (5.2-5.4).

Table 5.1: Structural overview of Chapter Five

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5.1 Introduction | | |
| 5.2 The macro research environment | 5.2.1 Intelligence | |
| | 5.2.2 Safe house follow up | |
| | 5.2.3 Role-players involved in the organization | |
| | 5.2.4 The organization's goals | |
| | 5.2.5 The ethos of the organization | |
| 5.3 Role-players in the safe house | 5.3.1 Tamara: the safe house manager | |
| | 5.3.2 Lilith: the deliverance counsellor | |
| | 5.3.3 Anja: the researcher | |
| 5.4 The micro research environment | 5.4.1 Management and supervision | 5.4.1.1 Rules |
| | | 5.4.1.2 Security |
| | | 5.4.1.3 Intake of victims |
| | 5.4.2 Services provided to victims | 5.4.2.1 Restoration ⁷ of victims |
| | | 5.4.2.2 Prosecution of traffickers |
| 5.5 Discourse-as-discursive-practice: interpretation | 5.5.1 Confidentiality | |
| | 5.5.2 Rescue, prosecution and rehabilitation | |
| | 5.5.3 Religion | |
| | 5.5.4 View of survivors | |
| 5.6 Conclusion | | |

⁷ When I use the voice of the organization and the safe house I refer to the restoration of victims. When I interpret the data I refer to the rehabilitation (2.4.1.3) of survivors, because the literature refers to rehabilitation of survivors. It should be noted, however, that the terminology favoured by the organization is restoration of victims.

5.2 The macro research environment: the organization

The macro research environment refers to an anti-human trafficking organization (hereafter the organization) which provided me with permission to conduct my research at one of its safe houses. The organization seems to be complex, it works underground and its name, location and exactly how it functions is strictly confidential. To ensure that this information is kept confidential (5.2.4), I am not able to refer to their official documentation in this study.

In order to depict the basic framework of this organization I had a semi-structured interview with the safe house manager (hereafter Tamara, see 5.3.1). I also kept a researcher's journal in which I wrote down observations and informal conversations on the macro and micro research environment. All the data, unless otherwise specified, that I retrieved from my researcher's journal, I indicate by making use of the code RJ. Table 5.2 depicts the complexity of the basic framework of the organization as I understand it.

Table 5.2: The basic framework of the organization

| Anti-human trafficking organization (the organization) | | |
|--|---|---|
| Organization's functions | Victim | Trafficker |
| 5.2.1 Intelligence: | Rescue | Arrest |
| 5.2.2 Safe house follow up: | Restoration | Prosecution |
| 5.2.3 Role-players involved in the organization: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authorities, officials and police members • Church (pastors & church workers) • Counsellor, deliverance counsellor and life coach • Doctors • Non-governmental organizations • Safe house manager and overseer | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authorities and officials • Police members |
| 5.2.4 The organization's goals were to: | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • keep the safe house's identity top secret; • successfully arrest and prosecute traffickers; • successfully rescue victims; • make it possible for each victim to be restored to normality, physically, spiritually and emotionally, and to enable each victim to attain independence; and • make sure that the family members of victims are safe. | | |
| 5.2.5 The organization's ethos: | | |
| Christian. | | |

Table 5.2 presents the different features of the organization that emerged from the data. These features are discussed as the themes of the macro research environment. These themes are: intelligence (5.2.1), safe house follow up (5.2.2), role-players involved in the organization (5.2.3), the organization's goals (5.2.4) and the ethos of the organisation (5.2.5). In what follows, I elaborate on each of these themes.

5.2.1 Intelligence

The purpose of intelligence was to gather information about trafficking in order to rescue victims and to prosecute traffickers. In the organization, specifically appointed people play different roles in collecting information about possible victims and possible human traffickers. The organization gathered as much information as possible while doing street ministry or dispensing charity. What happens on the streets is connected to drugs. Drugs are connected to ships importing raw material to produce drugs. The ships are connected to foreigners that are trafficked in containers by sea and the containers are connected to South African victims being trafficked abroad.

Information was collected by investigating social media (such as Facebook), taking photos, conducting interviews and becoming part of a criminal network. Becoming part of a criminal network is the only way to access the networks. The organization gathers most of its information on these networks from former victims so it can understand how organised crime networks operate.

As soon as there is concrete information on someone who is a victim of human trafficking, the organization makes plans to rescue the victim. This is not an easy task and it is not possible to do it immediately. When victims are rescued, there is a risk that they might voluntarily return to their traffickers. Tamara's explanation for this is that victims are addicted to drugs, which causes them to suppress their emotions. When these victims are going through drug rehabilitation, they experience the suppressed emotions and this is so overwhelming for them that they believe there is nothing left for them, so they return to their traffickers. They do this, not because they want to, but because they believe there is nothing left for them and they cannot cope with their overwhelming emotions.

In order to minimise the risk of victims returning to the traffickers after their rescue, the network involves specific authorities during the rescue. While victims are being rescued, the suspected traffickers are arrested. The organization does all it can to ensure that the suspected traffickers are prosecuted. The prosecution of traffickers makes the victims fearful, which minimises the risk of running away from the safe house.

5.2.2 Safe house follow up

After victims have been rescued, the organization ensures that there are follow-ups of both the victim(s) and the trafficker(s). The safe house to which victims are referred ensures the follow up of their own restoration (further elaborated in 5.3.2.1) as well as the commencement of the prosecution of their traffickers (further elaborated in 5.3.2.2).

5.2.3 Role-players involved in the organization

Pastors and church organizations are some of the role-players that conduct street ministries (5.2.1). Authorities are other role-players who are involved in the rescue or extraction of victims to make the necessary arrests of suspected traffickers (5.2.1). Some authorities know about and monitor the safe houses of the organization. Officials conduct interviews with the victims (5.4.2.2).

Specific role-players contribute to the after-care of victims after their rescue. The organization has an appointed doctor who provides medical care to victims. The safe house manager, counsellor, deliverance counsellor and life coach all work together to ensure the rehabilitation of victims (5.4.2.1).

5.2.4 The organization's goals

For Tamara, the security and the anonymity of the organization and its safe houses is a top priority. The reason for this is to ensure that traffickers are not able to locate where and how the organization functions and also not able to locate the safe houses of the organization. This is needed to protect the victims from being trafficked again. Tamara describes the traffickers as absolutely ruthless criminals that would not hesitate to traffic victims again from the safe house. If the organization's intelligence, for instance, does not operate effectively, traffickers could recognise where the organization is operating and gather information to rescue victims. This would mean the organization could never return to that area.

According to Tamara, there was no legislation regarding the registration of the organization or safe house. The organization chose not register itself or its safe houses because of the risk that traffickers would find it easier to identify them. Tamara's understanding of the legislation (South Africa, 2013) is that revealing the identity or location of a safe house is a criminal offence.

One of the network's goals is to successfully prosecute traffickers (5.4.2.2). Another goal is to rescue all the victims successfully and restore them to normality and enable them to be

independent (5.4.2.1). Independence includes being financially and emotionally independent. Yet another goal is to ensure the safety of the victims' family members.

5.2.5 The ethos of the organization

Tamara emphasised the importance of victims' knowing that the organization and safe house are guided by Christian principles which never change. Victims need to know that they are unique, special, loved and that when God is in their lives, then no one can harm them: they always walk under His light and His blood. She believed that there is no way in which victims would experience restoration, freedom, calmness and peace without being taught basic spiritual principles.

A specific safe house formed the micro research environment in which I conducted the empirical part of my research study (5.4). Next I discuss the important role players in the safe house.

5.3 Role-players in the safe house

In this section I focus specifically on two particular key role-players at the safe house. They were Tamara and Lilith. Tamara and Lilith often refer to the child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation: Lucy (6.2), Maya (6.3) and Carla (6.4). I also present my role as researcher in the safe house. I also refer to Lucy (6.2), Maya (6.3) and Carla (6.4) to provide authentic examples to support my statements. Table 5.3 below present the portraits of the safe house manager, the deliverance counsellor and myself (as the researcher) as the role-players in the safe house.

Table 5.3: Portraits of two key role-players in the safe house and of the researcher

| Participant: | 5.3.1 Safe house manager | 5.3.2 Deliverance counsellor | 5.3.3 Researcher |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Pseudonym: | Tamara | Lilith | Not applicable |
| Country of origin: | South Africa | South Africa | South African |
| Age group: | Older than 45 | Older than 45 | 25-30 |
| Home language: | Afrikaans | Afrikaans | Afrikaans |
| Religious affiliation: | Christian | Christian | Christian |
| Method of data generation: | Semi-structured interview | Semi-structured interview | Researcher's journal (RJ) |

In Table 5.3 the portraits of two key role-players and the researcher is provided. In the section below I first pay attention to Tamara.

5.3.1 Tamara: the safe house manager

Tamara was the main person responsible for the safe house at the time I did my research there. She referred to herself as the care giver. She was the one who made the rules, who decided when the survivors would receive counselling and what kind of counselling they would receive. She was the one who decided on the menu and the daily routine. She took responsibility for the well-being of the survivors. Tamara constantly kept everyone around her busy with tasks, so they had little to no time to focus on anything else (RJ). For instance, the survivors received little time to be able to write down anything about their feelings or what they were thinking (RJ).

Devoutly religious, Tamara believed one of the first things that should happen to former victims was that they should be delivered from demons (RJ). No survivor was forced to receive deliverance, and only those who chose to receive deliverance got the opportunity to receive sessions with the deliverance counsellor (RJ). In the evenings all survivors had to come together in her room to have compulsory Bible study (RJ). The scriptures read were often used to deliver the message of how Tamara was the authority that God (supposedly) appointed over the safe house and that the survivors should show her respect or recognise that the older people (such as herself) were wiser (RJ).

Tamara's view on human trafficking and the organization's understanding of the concept of human trafficking had changed over time. At first they saw it as kidnapping. She illustrated their initial understanding by using this example: Rina usually walks to school, someone grabs her, kidnaps her, transports her to a Chinese or whoever, and then receives money in exchange of her. For Tamara and the organization human trafficking was like a deliverer receiving money for delivering a package. This interpretation of human trafficking was only a small facet of what the law includes in its definition of human trafficking.

The most common form of human trafficking, as was the case with Maya (6.3) and girls⁸, is prostitutes, standing on street corners. Almost all prostitutes are not sex workers by choice, but are victims of human trafficking. Most of victims in South Africa were labelled as prostitutes or sex workers. A sex worker is someone who chooses to do this work, whereas victims do not choose to become sex workers.

In some cases girls are lured to a club. In other cases, friends recruit girls who are already addicted to drugs. They introduce them to someone supposed to be a friend, who provides them with free drugs. In other situations, girls who are not addicted to drugs are introduced to drugs. Once someone has been lured or recruited, free drugs are forced on them for three

⁸ Tamara, Lilith and Carla make use of the word girl(s) to refer to female victims of trafficking.

days, and in most cases they are raped. Within three days the person is addicted to drugs. Then the traffickers use a period of 14 days to break the male or female victim in. During this time they are forced to use drugs, they are raped and they do not receive food. In this time they are manipulated and brainwashed. At the end of these 14 days the victim are addicted to drugs, are in a state of trauma, and their spirit has been broken.

Victims find themselves trapped and believe that they are dirty and disgusting. The traffickers tell them that they are "no good", that they have little value to society and that their families do not want them back. Victims are threatened with reprisals if they try to run away. These threats include that their families would be killed. If they try to escape, their feet are broken, their hands are put in cooking oil, or blows are struck at heads until they split open. In other cases, the victims are taught to steal, to rob and to murder. Once they begin committing crime, the traffickers have a further hold over them.

The girls on the street are forced into relationships with their traffickers and their ideal of love changes completely. She pointed out that this kind of love is not within our (meaning Tamara and the researcher's) framework of thinking. They fall in love with their traffickers. This is not the kind of love that other people know. It is more a kind of fear, but the girls do not realise it. It takes a long time for the girls to realise that they are victims and that they are not really loved. They become a commodity or in other words "a piece of meat".

The most common kind of human trafficking is child trafficking. A small percentage of child trafficking occurs when a childless couple are given a baby. Most of child trafficking takes the form of pornography or underground SE. This is especially true in poorer areas where little is heard about children from these areas who never return to their houses. In some cases, the children who disappear do not live to tell their stories.

Victims, especially if they were not kidnapped, do not realise that they are victims of human trafficking. Sometimes they never realise that they are victims of human trafficking. This is especially true of the girls on the street, because they have ended up in human trafficking through different circumstances. These circumstances include being sold by parent(s), boyfriend(s) or husband(s) in order to pay for debts incurred as a result of drug addiction.

The primary crime of human trafficking is that someone's life and freedom are stolen from them. No person has the right to treat another person as a slave or to trap them. Freedom for victims could be summarised in one little word which is independence. Independence means no longer being controlled, not be a slave, to live without fear and abuse.

According to Tamara, South African legislation regarding human trafficking was still in its "baby shoes" (meaning young) and as more arrests are made, the dynamics of traffickers

change. Legislation therefore will become harsher and harsher in response to the changes in human trafficking. The punishment of human traffickers should also become harsher, otherwise human trafficking will never stop.

Tamara's view on education and prevention of human trafficking was that education should specifically prevent other people from being trafficked. Not only children, but also university students should learn about human trafficking, since many students are lured by traffickers through supposed job opportunities.

She recommended that teachers should study legislation and real cases of human trafficking to help them teach their classes about trafficking. Real cases need to be studied to keep abreast of the current situation. At present, the dynamics of human trafficking change every day, as a result of successful prosecutions. Successful prosecutions of traffickers make them change their techniques to escape detection. She recommended that children should be taught to recognise the warning signs that they were in danger of being trafficked. To create awareness of traps, children should be taught not to take candy from strangers, to know it was wrong for someone to blindfold a child when he or she climbed into a car, and not to drink alcohol. She stated that through drinking alcohol with friends someone could be trapped into becoming a victim of human trafficking.

5.3.2 Lilith: the deliverance counsellor

Lilith was the deliverance counsellor of the safe house. During my semi-structured interview with her, she often referred to her own spiritual healing and her past drug addiction. She went through a three year period of spiritual healing before she was able to get through a day and feel that it was a balanced day. Through her own personal healing she developed a passion to heal deep brokenness of others. She could sense when something was wrong with someone and felt that she had the spirit of discernment to know what was going on in a person's heart.

Lilith did training at a non-denominational Christian ministry founded in the 1980s, which offers personal prayers to those in need and also trains people to help others. This ministry believes that healing takes place when God supernaturally brings order into someone's life where there has been disorder. Root causes of the disorder include lack of forgiveness, sin, personal injury or the demonic hold of the enemy (Devil). She did not expect payment for doing spiritual work because she was guided by the precept: "Freely you have received and freely you will give in the spirit".

Lilith had offered deliverance ministry to six victims. In her opinion, she was highly qualified to do any type of counselling, including rape and trauma counselling. She believed that a counsellor should have quality training before attempting deliverance counselling. The reason

for this was that if someone did deliverance counselling incorrectly, it could cause harm to the girl involved. Another reason was that the victims needed to experience the deliverance counsellor's calmness or "know-how" during counselling. Having sound training would help him or her to build the vital trust relationship with victims.

Lilith has psychologist friends. She helps them with information about the spirit and they teach her what she needs to know about psychology. She stated that she was specially gifted to deal with the spiritual aspect of drug addiction and that she did not know much about psychology.

Lilith sees "free will", from a Christian perspective, as the greatest gift from God to mankind. One would know that someone had gone against a person's free will if the person became rebellious. Going against someone's free will is therefore an absolute manipulation against the person's spirit. The free will of girls in human trafficking was violated and this caused a broken identity. This broken identity meant that there was nothing left of their original identity, and so they would be different people until their free will was restored.

She maintained that free will was the identity that God had given to each person and was as unique as someone's fingerprints. When someone went against a person's free will, it was as if some of the lines in fingerprints were erased, so that person made up their own lines, or, in other words, reacted towards things in a different way from the way they would have reacted originally; thus a new pattern was learned. The Biblical part of freedom was to have the fruits of the Holy Spirit: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control.

5.3.3 Anja: the researcher

I had to use a pseudonym at the safe house to protect my identity. I also had to adapt my informed consent letters so that the survivors would not be able to find out my true identity. I was not allowed to give the survivors any contact details because they were only allowed to make contact with me through the safe house. I was truthful about the nature of my research at all times and they knew which university I was from.

The survivors of the safe house wore modest clothes and little or no make-up. One of the conditions of staying in the safe house was that I also had to wear modest clothes with little or no make-up. If I had worn modern clothes and make-up, they might have felt that they were missing out on the world outside, just by looking at me. Another reason I had to dress like them was to show them I respected them. I wanted the survivors to be sure at all times that my first priority was my relationship with them and their comfort. I tried to show them this by

prioritising spending time with them and helping them with tasks around the house. I believe that my attitude was one of the reasons that I had gained their trust so easily.

Although arrangements were made to protect my identity, it was not possible for me to spend an entire two-week period with people and remain secretive about my identity. When I had built a rapport with the survivors, I shared my real name in informal conversations and within a few days the survivors revealed some personal information about themselves to me. However, when strangers entered the safe house, we used our pseudonyms again and did not reveal much of our personal information to them. These strangers included the life coach, the policeman, the counsellor and any new victims brought to the safe house.

I wanted to begin transcribing the data and to carry on word processing this thesis while at the safe house. However, it was difficult for me to work on my laptop while I was there. The main reason for this was that most wall sockets in the safe house were set to provide low levels of electric energy, enough only for small appliances, like a bed lamp. I had discovered this fact when I plugged in my laptop into the socket in my room and found that it did not work. This meant that I had to work in the living space where there were a few wall sockets that were powerful enough for a computer. There, however, everyone was able to walk past me and see my laptop and what I was busy doing. Another reason for this difficulty was that I regularly helped with tasks around the house, such as cleaning, cooking and going to town to do shopping for Tamara.

Apart from Tamara, I was the only one in the safe house allowed to use a cell phone. I found it challenging to charge my cell phone, since I had to ensure that no one stole it. According to Tamara, most of the survivors had been trained by their traffickers to be exceptionally good thieves. For good reasons, they were not allowed to make any contact with the outside world. Had someone stolen my phone and used it to make contact, we could run the risk of traffickers raiding the safe house and taking some of the survivors back. So I took special care to be as close to my phone as possible. As an extra measure of security, my phone was protected by a special password that only I knew.

When Tamara had to go to town, she gave me the responsibility of looking after the survivors and to make sure they were safe. I had to keep the keys to the house and the pantry with me. The survivors were not allowed to go to Tamara's room upstairs when she was not at the safe house and had to ask permission from me to take anything out from the pantry. When Tamara was not at the safe house, we had to ask special permission to spend time outside of the house (either before she would leave or via my cell phone), but most of the time we had to lock ourselves indoors. This was a nerve-wrecking experience for me: to know that I was responsible for keeping each survivor in the house safe.

I also had to make sure I knew how to use the premises' security two-way radio to call for help should it be necessary. This radio communication initiative was a part of the local neighbourhood watch, a common practice in South Africa because of the high crime rate in rural areas and on farms.

5.4 The micro research environment: the safe house

I will now briefly describe the safe house's physical appearance (inside and outside) as I perceived it. I was not permitted to take any photos, indoors or outdoors. According to Tamara, any photos taken could lead to the identification of the safe house and could, therefore, threaten its security. She went out of her way to ensure safety and basic security of the safe house (5.2.4); in her opinion, this made the victims feel safe.

The safe house was located in a rural area surrounded by farms and was within 70km of the closest stores where one could buy food supplies, access medical services or medication or obtain other essential items. The safe house was one of two houses on the same premises. It had a garage and was surrounded by a fence which was over 1.8m high.

In this double storey building, there were three rooms for survivors, two rooms for guests, a living area with an open-plan kitchen, a pantry, and a shared bathroom with two toilets, two showers, washing basins and a washing machine on the ground floor. The living space was in the centre of the ground floor. It had with a television screen in the middle of the living space that was connected to a laptop which the survivors of the safe house watched movies.

Tamara stayed on the first floor, which consisted of one big room, about half the space of the first floor. The room was directly above the kitchen, a part of the living area and the bathroom area; the rest of the first floor was open space. Tamara's room had only three inner walls and so she had a clear view of a big part of the living area and all the bedrooms.

The five bedrooms were small. A single bed and a small cupboard fitted in each room. Each bedroom was open on top, so that Tamara was able to see what was going on in each room from her room. The rooms were attractively decorated and the bedclothes helped to create an inviting environment. The cupboards did not have any doors to make it easy for Tamara to see all the victims' belongings and to make it more difficult for them to hide any forbidden items (like drugs or chocolates⁹) from her. Each room had its own key and Tamara had a duplicate of each key to be able to enter any room at any time she needed to or wanted to do so.

In Table 5.4 below I provide the functional framework of the safe house as I understand it.

⁹ The survivors in the safe house had cravings for chocolates. Chocolates were not allowed by Tamara, she said that it works against the rehabilitation of drugs.

Table 5.4: The functional framework of the safe house

| The functional frame work of the safe | |
|--|---|
| 5.4.1 Management and supervision | 5.4.2 Services provided to victims |
| 5.4.1.1 Rules 5.4.1.2 Security 5.4.1.3 Intake of victims | 5.4.2.1 Restoration of victims (a) Restoration (b) Well-being (c) Recreation 5.4.2.2 Prosecution of traffickers |

Table 5.4 presents the two functions of the safe house. The one is management and supervision (5.4.1) and the other one is services provided to victims (5.4.2). These two functions form the themes of the micro research environment. In the following sections I elaborate on these themes, as well as on the sub themes.

5.4.1 Management and supervision

Tamara was responsible for the management and supervision of the safe house. Three subthemes emerged from the data, they are 5.4.1.1 Rules, 5.4.1.2 Security and 5.4.1.3 Intake of victims. Next I elaborate on these subthemes.

5.4.1.1 Rules

When victims enter the safe house, they do not sign a contract or an agreement. Tamara reasoned that when the victims were admitted to the safe house, they were suffering the effects of shock, trauma and drugs. For that reason, a contract would not be legally binding. Another reason she gave was that the safe house did not set conditions for the victims, beyond requiring them to protect the safe house's location by not making it known to anyone outside the safe house and the organization.

Tamara believed that there should be safe house rules because there were likely to be different personalities in the house and the victims should be monitored. The purpose of the safe house rules was to return victims to normality. It was therefore important to be careful about which rules to set up, how to set them up and how to enforce them. The reasons were that the victims had been in abusive backgrounds where they had been physically assaulted. In an informal conversation with me, Tamara told me that she sometimes adopted the attitude of their previous traffickers because that was the only language they knew since being on the streets (RJ).

Tamara had strict rules regarding hygiene since it was important to reduce the risk for everyone involved, even for those who came in to give therapy. She viewed victims as small children in adult bodies who needed to be taught the basics of hygiene. As an example of the implications of Tamara's strict rules regarding hygiene, I want to refer to Carla's situation in the safe house. While I was staying there, Carla went for a medical examination and was diagnosed with cervical cancer, HIV+ status and hepatitis (RJ). She then had to wear disposable underwear to meet the hygienic requirements of the safe house (RJ). When I did my follow-up visit at the safe house, she had to mark her own cutlery, plates, glasses and cups. No one else was allowed to use these and she was not allowed to use anyone else's cutlery, plates, glasses or cups (RJ). She still had to wear disposable underwear. She was not allowed to wash her clothes in the washing machine, but had to hand-wash them (RJ).

No house cleaners were employed during the period that I stayed at the safe house. Every day the survivors had to clean the house thoroughly; Maya did most of the cleaning (RJ). The dishes had to be washed with both the dish-washing liquid and bleach (RJ). On one occasion Tamara was angry and displeased because, according to her, the house was not clean enough. Because of her reaction, Maya decided to clean the house in the middle of the night (RJ).

The survivors of the safe house were all on prescription medication: some to relieve their withdrawals from drugs, and others because of illness (RJ). Each survivor had her own set of medicine for the day. This was kept in a safe and managed by Tamara; the medicine had to be administered by her to them at specific times throughout the day (RJ). When medicine was administered to the survivors, they had to swallow each capsule or pill individually and had to stick out their tongues and open their mouths so that she could make sure they had swallowed the capsule or the pill and that they were, according to her, not hiding it for later use (RJ). Sometimes, when she had to be away from the safe house, she told me to administer the medicine to the survivors in exactly the same way she did. I was given the daily stock of pills and had to keep it locked in my room until I had to administer it (RJ).

From informal conversations with Tamara I learned that when a new victim came to the house, all the knives, forks and utensils used to make food, as well as all cleaning items, were locked away in the pantry. This was done because it was not possible to predict the behavioural patterns of the newcomers: they could be aggressive because of their drug withdrawal symptoms and might grab a knife while in a fit, or they could try and use the cleaning agents to create drugs for themselves (RJ). All this could pose a threat to the other survivors of the safe house (RJ).

All the survivors in the safe house were expected to join Bible study in the evenings and sometimes in the mornings (RJ). At times Tamara gave them homework to read and memorise certain scriptures (RJ).

5.4.1.2 Security

From various interactions, conversations and the semi-structured interview with Tamara, I had deduced that the security of the safe house was a major concern for her and the organization. She controlled who and what could or could not enter the safe house; she monitored everything and everyone coming out and going in (RJ). I, for instance, could not buy anything for the survivors, not even treats, without receiving her prior permission (RJ).

Tamara was the one who decided who was allowed on the premises of the safe house, sometimes, because of corruption, not even police officers were welcome on the premises of the safe house. Only a few people were allowed to enter the premises. These were the overseers of the safe house, those who helped with the restoration process of the victims and officials who were involved with the prosecution of the victims' traffickers.

Tamara pointed out that some people were sometimes sent to safe houses by their traffickers to gather information about the safe house. They were called "the walking" and pretended to be victims; their purpose was to identify and enter a safe house. They posed the risk that the safe house would be exposed to and raided by traffickers.

While I was at the safe house, there were occasions when I felt that physical safety and security of the safe house were under threat. One evening the sounds of shots being fired could be heard in the safe house (RJ). On another day a hostage was held captive on a neighbouring farm close to the safe house (RJ). On the first Thursday that I visited the safe house, someone who visited the premises (on which the safe house was located) drove through the electric security gate while it was closing, hitting it and causing it to go off its rail (RJ). Tamara arranged for an armed response unit to come and sent me to buy chains and locks to lock up all the gates (RJ). Until the end of my visit at the safe house we had to walk to the gate, lock or unlock the locks and open and close the gate manually for visitors or if we needed to go out (RJ). Later there was a security guard appointed to guard the property at night to keep the survivors of the safe house safe; the guard was on the property, but remained outside the house (RJ).

On one occasion one of the traffickers, phoned Tamara because he wanted one of the survivors back (RJ). He had got her number from the grandmother of one of the survivors (RJ). On another occasion, a friend of one of the survivors phoned Tamara and swore at her and told her how bad she was (RJ).

5.4.1.3 Intake of victims

When victims were rescued and taken to a safe house, all their belongings and personal documents were taken from them (RJ). These belongings and documents were not kept on the premise of the safe house, but were kept by three people that had been selected by the safe house overseers. The rescued victims were given clothes (donated to the safe house), as well as pseudonyms chosen by Tamara (RJ). As soon as the victims were in the car of the rescuers, they were blindfolded and told to lie flat on their backs if possible (RJ). The rescuers took their cell phones and immediately took out the simcard as well as the battery of the cell phone (RJ). This was done so that the cell phone could not be tracked. The victim was then transported to a safe house belonging to the organization which was located in a different province from the one where they were rescued (RJ).

The survivors in the safe house were not allowed to have cell phones and could only make contact with people outside the safe house via Tamara's cell phone, under her supervision (RJ). The idea behind this was that victims should be in a place of safety where they could not be seen and had no contact with the outside world. The victims' contact with the outside world was controlled by Tamara. To protect the identity of former victims taken in by the safe house, not even their photographs were displayed. Tamara used empty photo frames to honour all of the former and current victims,

The safe house was specifically focused on the restoration of victims, mostly adult female victims of human trafficking. She said that in the past victims of domestic violence had also been referred to the safe house by social workers, especially in cases where children were involved and where the safety of a mother and her children was threatened.

The advantage of a small safe house is that it creates a dynamic of a family setting: every victim receives individual attention. The organization had approved the hosting of eight victims at a time, but the limit the safe house overseers set a limit of three victims. The reason for taking only three victims at a time was that when the victims enter the prosecution phase, they should not be exposed to too many other people. The prosecution process meant numerous questioning sessions which were traumatic for the victims, since every time they told their story, they relived all the events. Another reason for having only three victims at a time was that the organization prioritises quality rather than quantity. However, when I had my follow-up visit, there were more than three survivors in the safe house.

5.4.2 Services provided to victims

I identified two main services that the safe house aimed to provide to the survivors of the safe house: their restoration (5.4.2.1) and the prosecution of their traffickers (5.4.2.2). In this section I discuss these two services.

5.4.2.1 Restoration of victims

The restoration of victims is a complex process. Regarding restoration three categories emerged from the data: (a) restoration, (b) well-being and (c) recreation.

(a) Restoration

The process of restoration begins for each victim once they enter the safe house. Each victim's restoration process is different, and determined by her needs. This is because every victim's background, experience, conditions, personality, psychic condition and medical condition are different. The safe house's goal is to help each victim become restored to normality, physically, spiritually and emotionally.

After each rescue each victim undergoes a full medical examination as a normal and standard procedure. The reasons for a full medical examination are to obtain results needed in prosecutions, to give immediate medical care (such as orthopaedic surgery) if needed, for medical prescriptions to treat drug addiction withdrawals, and also to identify the need for further therapy or treatment.

The victims do not go to state hospitals for medical examinations. In Tamara's view, the risk is too high that the traffickers would have access to the history of victims at state hospitals. After the medical examinations have been conducted, the focus shifts to psychic (psychological) or emotional and spiritual restoration. The safe house makes use of the services of a personal counsellor, deliverance counsellor (5.3.2) and a life coach to help restore the victims.

One of the ideals of the safe house is for each victim to reach financial and emotional independence. Tamara told me that she hoped that the victims would reach the point of restoration where they would be able to share their experiences confidently with other victims. The fruit of the victims' restoration would be that they would be able to reach out to other victims and help them. The purpose of sharing their experiences would be to prevent other people from ending up in the same situation as they did. Former victims would even be able to reach out to those on the street and tell them that help was available. They would be more persuasive because they were not speaking as a minister, pastor, minister's wife or a

psychologist, but as former victims. A person would sooner listen to someone who had undergone similar experiences than to someone who had not.

To contribute to spiritual restoration the life coach typically visited the safe house on a Thursday. On one particular Thursday I joined the session of the life coach to see what the survivors did when she was there. On that occasion, Maya did not want to participate in a session with the life coach, but did join us (RJ). At first we played an icebreaker game, which the survivors enjoyed (RJ). After the game the life coach presented a lesson on well-being of spirit, soul and body from a Christian viewpoint (RJ). She focused first on the body and talked about sleeping patterns, eating habits, drinking water, emotions and so forth (RJ). She then went on to speak about the soul, paying attention to the grief cycle and then asked the survivors to write ten things about themselves that were special and to write down three dreams (RJ).

While the life coach continued to talk about the spirit to the group, I had to do something in the kitchen. During this time she focused on God, His character and what He says about each person (RJ). After her lesson she had a picnic with the survivors, which they enjoyed (RJ). The second time the life coach came she did not present a lesson, but brought food with her and met informally with the survivors (RJ).

Another way in which the safe house ensures spiritual restoration is through deliverance counselling. Lilith (5.3.2) was the deliverance counsellor of the safe house. I had an interview with her to learn more about the spiritual healing that survivors of the safe house received. She said she approached victims in the same way as she would approach victims of rape. Deliverance counselling sessions consist of accepting Jesus as Lord and Saviour, asking for forgiveness of sins, forgiving others, breaking blood line curses, breaking soul ties and being delivered from demons.

(b) Well-being

During my time at the safe house, the routine was different each day. One day it would start with breakfast, cleaning the house, having lunch, being idle, eating dinner, watching digital video disks, doing Bible study and then sleeping (RJ). Another day's routine would be different, starting with having coffee and tea, eating breakfast, doing exercises, cleaning the house, washing vegetables, eating lunch, washing vegetables again, going to the video shop, making dinner, watching digital video disks, having Bible study and then going to sleep (RJ).

On Thursdays the life coach would come. On Fridays the pastor and the safe house overseer would come to lead Bible study and bring weekly supplies (RJ). The counsellor and

deliverance counsellor visited when Tamara asked them to come and see one or more of the survivors (RJ).

I did not notice any regular bedtime schedules. Tamara would go to bed after 22:00 in the evenings, sometimes even after midnight (RJ). She would make loud noises upstairs which could be heard in every corner of the safe house (RJ). Sometimes she would discuss the matters of the day with one specific survivor and everyone else would hear them talking. This made it difficult for others to fall asleep (RJ). Sometimes, at 04:00 in the morning, she would turn on the lights which would light up the entire safe house. (RJ). This also made it difficult for the survivors at the safe house to continue sleeping (RJ). On other days everyone would get up after 07:30 (RJ).

Some days Tamara and some of the survivors worked long hours to make preserved food to make extra income (RJ). This kept the whole house awake until late in the evening (RJ). Maya always had to help Tamara and would get the least amount of sleep (RJ). Carla was still recovering from a heroin addiction and therefore Tamara did not give her too many tasks (RJ). Tamara did not want Carla to hurt herself and therefore she did not involve her as much with work in and around the safe house (RJ).

(c) Recreation

I now elaborate on the recreation activities the survivors engaged in. The survivors of the safe house watched at least two digital videos each day (RJ). Some of the movies that we watched were "Vir Altyd", "Tangled", "The Lion King", and "Inside Out" (RJ).

Maya received material to be able to make wooden book shelves and other furniture, since she enjoyed doing woodwork (RJ). Yet only once during my two-week stay did she have time to use this material to make a bookshelf for Tamara (RJ).

Both Maya and Carla received MP3 watches as gifts, so that they could listen to Christian music while they were writing their statements (RJ). They asked me to put Christian music on their MP3 watches. One day we had a barbeque event organised by Tamara so that I could meet the police officer who usually worked with the prosecution cases related to the survivors (RJ). The police officer then gave Maya and Carla non-Christian music for their MP3 watches.

During the last week of my stay, the safe house received a visit from a pastor (he was from a different church and not from the church that partners with the organization) and had an at-home church service at the safe house. He was a former drug addict. He preached on forgiveness and then prayed for the salvation of the two survivors (RJ). Another pastor who came to do Bible study on the last Friday of my visit at the safe house also gave a message on forgiveness (RJ).

5.4.2.2 Prosecution of traffickers

At the safe house victims are supported physically, emotionally and spiritually so that they were able to participate in the prosecution of traffickers. The purpose and principal function of the organization and safe house was to successfully prosecute traffickers in order to stop human trafficking. The organization would do anything to collect information to ensure arrests and prosecution. If there would be successful prosecutions of traffickers, the latter would know that it is not that easy to traffic people any more. If one kept on rescuing victims, more people would be trafficked, because for every victim rescued the traffickers would have already identified two or three new victims as replacements.

5.5 Discourse-as-discursive-practice: interpretation

When I reflected on the discourse-as-discursive-practice the following themes for interpretation emerged from the data: confidentiality (5.5.1), rescue, prosecution and rehabilitation (5.5.2), religion (5.5.3), and view of survivors (5.5.4) which all influenced the

generation of narratives. In Chapter Seven I point out as to how these influenced the generation of narratives. I will now interpret each of these themes.

5.5.1 Confidentiality

Safeguarding the confidentiality of all the organization and safe house role-players, the organization, the safe house premises and survivors was of the utmost importance (2.4.3). This is because traffickers might want to take revenge or raid the safe house. Safety measures were also important to help survivors not feel frightened of being found by their traffickers (2.4.3).

The downside of the confidentiality requirement is that in the process of meeting it, the human rights of the survivors were violated. I will now give a few examples to support this claim. The survivors did not have access to their personal documents. All their belongings were taken from them. They could not move freely outside the safe house. They had no access to their cell phones and were only allowed selective communication with family, who were not allowed to know their exact location. In a certain sense their freedom of movement was limited. The safe house was a space between being trafficked and being free. The purpose of the safe house is to help survivors of trafficking with this transition.

The survivors made contradictory statements about their experience of freedom. Some said they experienced freedom in the safe house. Another survivor said she felt freer than she had ever done before in the safe house. However, on another occasion, she said that the safe house was like a prison.

One could also argue that if survivors were given complete freedom, they would not be able to handle it. One of the survivors, for instance, who was dropped off on a street and could so to say freely choose what she wanted to do, immediately phoned her trafficker. This could be that her mind was not free yet, even though she had experienced physical freedom. Perhaps restoring their freedom should be done in stages. They should first be introduced to limited freedom and later to complete freedom.

Another way of ensuring confidentiality was that survivors were given pseudonyms the moment they entered the safe house. When some of the survivors were in sexual exploitation, their traffickers also gave them other names. It could be argued that not being able to use their own names could have hampered their psychological rehabilitation in the long run.

The strict rules of confidentiality in the safe house had an influence on Lucy. She pointed out that she had not brought many things with her from her home country, but they eventually all "got stolen". Then she shared that the personal possessions she had acquired in South Africa

were taken from her in the safe house as well. Both these experiences strengthened her feeling that she was being robbed of her identity. She also found it difficult that she was not able to make contact with her father while she was at the safe house for security reasons. At the previous place where she had been, she had just started communicating with him. The strict rules at the safe house thus made her feel that although she had mental freedom, her body was still enslaved.

The safe house was not registered to accommodate survivors. The reason for this was the corrupt authorities might pass on the information about the operations of the organization and the location of the safe house to traffickers. They would then be able to raid the safe house. As long as the safe house was not registered, it could not be monitored by the DSD. I should note, however, that Tamara did say that there were authorities that monitored the safe house.

5.5.2 Rescue, prosecution and rehabilitation

In some cases the survivors were rescued by force (see Maya's experience, 6.3). What is more the organization did the rescues and prosecution in such a way that the survivor felt obliged to stay and take part in the prosecution of their traffickers. The survivors were thus used as a means of prosecuting of their traffickers. It could be argued that the survivors made an unfree choice to stay in the safe house and cooperate with the prosecution of their traffickers.

The survivors did not sign a contract with the safe house and, according to Tamara, no conditions were set for them. However, when I stayed at the safe house the survivors were warned that if they ran away from the safe house, they would be prosecuted.

In Section 2.4.3 I clearly described the conditions set for the rehabilitation of survivors. I now elaborate on how some of these conditions were met. The survivors were provided with food under the supervision of Tamara: she decided which food would be prepared and the portion each participant received. The survivors were given clothing and medical care. They also had access to hygienic and safe kitchen space as well as toilet facilities. As discussed in Section 5.4.2.1, Tamara constantly involved the survivors in recreational and multipurpose activities to keep them busy.

The survivors received little access to educational, vocational and economic opportunities. The visits of the life coach are the only things that could be viewed as an educational opportunity. The fact that the survivors engaged in making preserved food to sell for an extra income for the safe house could be regarded as an economic opportunity. As far as I could see and from my interview with Tamara, the safe house did not have a specific rehabilitation programme in which these two activities formed part of the rehabilitation of the survivors.

Although Tamara said that one of the goals was for the survivors to reach financial and emotional independence, I did not observe any rehabilitation programme specifically aimed to reach these goals during my stay at the safe house.

The rehabilitation programme did not include a predictable routine. They did not have regular bedtimes. Little or no emotional support was provided. On the contrary, if they were seen crying they would be told to "snap out of it" or something to that effect. All these might be signs that Tamara did not have the knowledge required to deal with traumatised people.

Drug rehabilitation was not discussed in Section 2.4.3, yet the survivors were greatly in need of drug rehabilitation. They were treated by a medical doctor that prescribed medication to ease their withdrawal symptoms. No other professionals regarding drug rehabilitation treated the survivors.

No reference was made in Section 2.4.3 to the well-being of the safe house manager. In this study, Tamara had to be with the survivors constantly and take responsibility for their restoration and well-being. She did not have an assistant or someone to take over her responsibilities from time to time. In a real sense, having to look after the survivors meant she was also isolated from the outside world.

5.5.3 Religion

The overseer of the safe house, the pastor, the counsellor, the deliverance counsellor and the safe house manager saw themselves as Christians. Tamara made a strong statement that the safe house functioned on Christian principles, which would not change (5.2.5). This view had an impact on the survivors, which I will now discuss.

Tamara believed that her authority in the safe house came from God. In line with her authoritarian approach she sometimes adopted the attitude of a trafficker to discipline the survivors. She also used the Bible as a means of reprimanding the survivors if they did not behave in the way she considered appropriate.

All activities which contributed to the rehabilitation of the survivors were based on a narrow Christian perspective. The organization believed that survivors could not be "restored" without being taught the basic spiritual principles. As examples, daily Bible study was compulsory for each survivor; a deliverance counsellor was one of their main ways of receiving rehabilitation. To receive deliverance they had to convert to Christianity, attend sessions with a life coach who used lessons from the Bible, and they had to attend home church and Bible study meetings led by a pastor of the organization. In this way one could argue that they were brainwashed into interpreting the Bible and Christianity in the way the organization and safe

house role-players did. Furthermore, the survivors might have had to make an unfree choice to convert to Christianity and to accept the interpretations of Christianity of the safe house role-players. Since the survivors were isolated, they were not exposed to other or independent opinions on Christianity so they could make their own decisions. I believe that the confidentiality approach (5.5.1) contributed to their isolation and unfree circumstances of indoctrination.

5.5.4 View of survivors

For Tamara there was a definite separation between the safe house role-players and the survivors. She reflected this in her references to "our" versus "their" and "them" during an interview. Furthermore the survivors were viewed as victims and as children in adult bodies who needed correction and had to be taught as if they were children about things like hygiene, how to behave and basic spiritual principles. They could do little or nothing without supervision. This view of the survivors together with the indoctrination of Christianity could have had an impact on the survivors' view of themselves and their own agency. This could have negatively affected their concept of freedom because they were once again oppressed.

5.6 Conclusion

The research environment is the discursive-practice in which narratives are generated. The environment consisted of the organization (macro research environment) and the safe house (micro research environment). Both of these influenced the survivors. After their rescue, they had been admitted to the safe house. While they were in the safe house, they had to conform to the wishes of the management and supervision. Two observable services were provided to them: rehabilitation and prosecution of their traffickers. The safe house influenced the way in which the narratives were generated. In the next chapter I provide these narratives.

CHAPTER SIX: EXPLORING THE NARRATIVES OF CHILD TRAFFICKING SURVIVORS IN REHABILITATION

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to foreground the voice of each of the participants by placing the spotlight on their narratives. The narratives produced as an outcome of life design narrative inquiry are pivotal (Savickas *et al.*, 2009:249). The findings of discourse-as-text are presented in the form of the participants' narratives followed by an interpretation of the narratives. I have structured each participant's profile in line with the phases of life design narrative inquiry (4.4.3)¹⁰. I include their comments on the concept of freedom in line with the philosophy framing this study. The participants' terminology is used in presenting their narratives. The terminology used in the interpretations (6.5) accords with the theoretical and philosophical framework. Table 6.1 provides the structural overview of this chapter.

Table 6.1: Structural overview of Chapter Six

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 6.1 Introduction | |
| 6.2 Lucy's narratives | 6.2.1 Life narrative |
| | 6.2.2 Re-authored narrative |
| | 6.2.3 Future narrative |
| | 6.2.4 Freedom |
| 6.3 Maya's narratives | 6.3.1 Life narrative |
| | 6.3.2 Re-authored narrative |
| | 6.3.3 Future narrative |
| | 6.3.4 Freedom |
| 6.4 Carla's narratives | 6.4.1 Life narrative |
| | 6.4.2 Re-authored narrative |
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¹⁰ The narratives are presented linearly in this chapter, but they emerged in a non-linear way during the interviews.

6.2 Lucy's narratives

Lucy is female and was born in western Europe. At the time of the interview she was single and fell into the 35–40 age group. Her home language is English. She was exposed to trafficking after the age of thirty and was exploited in both rural and urban areas in South Africa. In the following sections I provide her life narrative (6.2.1), re-authored narrative (6.2.2), future narrative (6.2.3) and description of freedom (6.2.4).

6.2.1 Life narrative

Lucy grew up in a stable, loving, Catholic family. She grew up to be independent and made her own decisions. If she did not want to do something, she did not do it. She fell in love with someone she thought was "the most amazing person in the world". Most of her life narrative revolved around her former boyfriend (from this point, the pseudonym, is used to refer to him). She described him in this way:

I still think of him as my ex ... my perpetrator, my ex, let's just call him uhm ... I'm still in a lot of denial about him ... because I used to think that ... an eternity without him would be hell ... I used to say ... where you go, I go ... even if he goes to hell, that is where I should go as well ... that's the level I was willing to give up my soul for him ... because if I would have to go to heaven and he was not going to be there, then what's the point of being there, because that would be hell.

A few months into their relationship, Brandon underwent personality changes. She had been awake for about two days and was under the influence of cocaine when this occurred over a four-day period. She observed that he had six different personalities and these personalities were unaware of one another. During these personality changes she observed supernatural events taking place. She used the following phrases to describe these events: "he almost levitated", "move in ways that ... did not seem really humanly possible", "super strength", "his face would change", "his eyes would appear sharper". She said that "...his pattern of speech would be different from one [personality] to the other". She elaborated on his different personalities:

The first time he was ... this really innocent like almost childlike vulnerable ... the next one would gradually built up and about the fourth one was pretty much the guy that I knew but then the fifth one was a real ... trickster ... he was mean, he hated me ... there was this sixth one ... and then he was the one that I stayed with for ... three years ... somewhere in there is ... the one that I love, so I cannot leave him to this....

Brandon's personality changes might have been one of the tricks that his father had used on his family. His father used tricks to control his family and his wife for more than twenty years. His father was a "tyrant", a "demon type of a thing" and "did not raise sons, he built machines". To build them into machines he put his sons through "every sort of martial arts, kickboxing, judo and tempo ... so they could take a lot of pain and with times a lot of mental torture [and] manipulation". His father abused his sons. They were not allowed to cry or make any sound while being abused. If they cried or made a sound they were abused more severely.

Brandon used experiences from his childhood to make Lucy empathise with him. She felt this created a bond between them. She thought that she was "his only voice of reason". He told her that there was a family curse on him and that he needed a strong woman to help him break it. He told her that "he wanted to be a better man". At the start of her relationship with him, she made a promise to be loyal to him. She said: "I was already making oaths ... he was already implanting in me that I cannot go against him".

She committed crime with Brandon. To escape justice in her home country, she came with him to South Africa. When they left, without prior warning of any kind, she had only thirty minutes to pack. She could not say farewell to her family, parents, friends or even dogs. She told me: "We had a life there and then just suddenly it was just gone and he said we are going, we have to go".

They moved around South Africa: to city areas, to rural areas, and to different provinces. She lived out of her suitcase all this time and was always ready to pack all her belongings into plastic bags at short notice. Once, they lived in an informal settlement, without electricity or running water. At another time, they stayed in someone's house. This person allowed them to sleep on a single mattress on the kitchen floor. There, they "had to clean the vegetable patch" with their hands to get to a few spinach leaves and some cabbage. The owners of that place "would not buy us anything, so we were basically like just enslaved, we were not allowed to go out ... we were controlled there as well".

While moving around South Africa, she lost all the personal belongings that she had brought from her home country and she felt as if she had lost herself in the process as well. She said:

I mean if someone gives you thirty minutes to pack, you are going to pick your best things or the things that you like most. So, I took the things I like the most. And all those things were taken from me here [in the safe house] as well ... my identity was just being taken piece by piece you know.... Everything that made me, me. It, he just take it away systematically piece by piece ... I just kept having to lose things, all the time, like cannot getting attached to anything was just, it's just heart-breaking for me.

She could not go back to her home country and was trapped in South Africa. She tried in vain to find someone to sort out her legal documents, so that she could go back to her home country. She had to give her passport to Brandon and had no say over it. If she tried to go against him, he physically abused her by hitting, beating and kicking her. He did not give her body time to recover before physically abusing her again.

With nowhere to go and not knowing much about South Africa, she felt "completely isolated ... you do not know where to go, you have no family, you have no friends ... it's danger, everywhere ... it's ... Africa". In her home country she watched documentaries about how dangerous South Africa was. When she was looking out of windows in South Africa, she felt as if she was looking out of a prison cell, which highlighted how dangerous this country was. Added to this she felt that she was not "streetwise" and that the "police are so corrupt" and that she had nowhere to go. Brandon used to remind her of all the dangers in South Africa. He would tell her: "You cannot walk down the street by yourself, you'd be kidnapped or you cannot go here, you cannot go there". He kept her isolated.

When she tried to escape from Brandon on occasion, he physically assaulted her. She said that at times after he had assaulted her, the police approached them and asked if they were okay. Even though she was standing in "ripped clothes, like bleeding", she had to say: "Yes, I am fine." The police would then walk away. If she had ever gone to the police to report Brandon, she believed that he would have killed her. He threatened to kill her if she left him and "go on a rampage ... then he'd be killed by cops because he would not kill himself". She did not want him to kill her because she felt it would be selfish for her to be killed and then let her parents get a phone call to let them know that their child was dead. She could not let her parents receive a phone call of this kind.

In the beginning she was "trying to hang on to that little bit of myself my dignity, my ... independence". She was defensive and wanted to see how far she could push Brandon. When they had arguments, she tried to "outwit" him. Even though he hit her, she "still won that

fight". She would then feel that "I was being hit for a reason, rather than for nothing". Then she started giving up. She explained: "Then it just got to a point where I knew that he was in the wrongs, so what's the point?" She stopped arguing with him because she knew he would find a reason to hit her anyway. She started losing her sense of self.

She compared Brandon to his father and noted that he had the same "magnetic personality" as his father. As an example he would beat her in front of her friends who had said they would never allow him to beat her, but they did nothing about it. They would rather be drinking with him and ignore her.

She said:

Then suddenly [the friends were being] manipulated by this guy, he's charming, magnetic way, everybody wanted to know, everybody wanted to be around him. He just had this way with people. And it's not from being nice to them it was from being mean to them.

She described the emotional abuse Brandon subjected her to as "emotional torment", "torture" and "mental torture". He did not allow her to cry either. If she started crying, he threatened to give her something to cry about. He made her question her own sanity by making her believe that she did not remember events correctly. She said:

It was the mind, mind, fuck, sorry let me just put it that way ... he ... created so many different things going around in my head that I did not really know what was going on at all.

At first she wanted to build a life with Brandon. He had promised to build a life with her, to get a business, a house and have a family. He made her "all the best promises in the world" but did not fulfil them. Instead he kept on taking her money and spending it on drugs. At a time they lived in a shop, because they could not afford rent. She could not buy herself anything, not even "the bare necessities" like underwear or clothes. This made her feel depressed.

She was using drugs with Brandon to escape her circumstances and she knew he was going to spend all the money she earned on drugs. If she refused to take drugs with him, he became angry with her and taunted her: "Oh you think you're better than me? What you're not doing it anymore? What, you think it's disgusting now that I'm doing this?" Another reason she used drugs was to avoid feeling hungry, since they had no money left to spend on food.

Brandon started obtaining large quantities of drugs which he could not pay for and she was his only source of income. He worked for only a few months during the whole time she knew him, but she worked all the time. Her income was not big enough to pay for their drugs. She was

concerned about this, but he told her that she should not worry and that "it's all looked after, we'll be working something out".

Their drug habits progressed from using cocaine to ecstasy, methcathinone (CAT) and finally crystal methamphetamine. She had heard that crystal methamphetamine makes one paranoid and she saw how Brandon and a friend behaved after they had had crystal methamphetamine.

She believed that the use of crystal methamphetamine broke the mind control he had over her:

It makes you paranoid but I always said that like a healthy dose of paranoia is actually good for you, if you're paranoid without reason it's okay, but if you're paranoid with reason it's already too late ... I started getting paranoid about him and about this [friend] and ... it broke that mind control and then I said, 'let me stop this crystal crap and then just let me go back to CAT'.

When Brandon began using crystal methamphetamine, she started to distance herself from him. She did not like the effect the drug had on him. He then started doping the drugs she was taking, to such a point that she asked her employers to do a drug test on her. The drug test showed that there was morphine in her system, but she was not using morphine. She did not tell Brandon about the drug test, because she feared that if she did he would beat her.

She wanted to regain her independence. Every time she felt she was starting to make a life or regain her independence, Brandon would commit crime and they would have to move to the next place. They reached a point where nobody wanted anything to do with them. She asked him:

Why? Just stop! Just stop! Like, why cannot we just live a decent life? Maybe not a brilliant life, not even a perfect life. Just, why you continue all of this?

He responded that he could not, did not want to, or would not end his behaviour. She did not obey him, did not "pity" him or have sex with him anymore and had started asking too many questions.

She believed he had many opportunities to change his lifestyle, but did not. She asked him:

How can I let you touch me with the hands that beat me? I cannot do that anymore. How can you have sex with me when I've got two black eyes and broken nose that you did to me?

One night after the police had arrested them, the "higher up sectors of police" warned her that "one of the biggest drug and human traffickers has her paperwork". Brandon denied this. The moment she heard she was a victim of human trafficking she thought: "Hang on a second, human trafficking? Me? I am 30 something years old like, what do they want with me?" Initially she thought that human trafficking involved young teenage girls who wanted to make money being recruited by a fake modelling agency. This agency then got all their details, took their passports and obtained visas for them. These girls were promised that they would become Hollywood stars, but instead they were shipped away and never heard of again. This is how she thought human trafficking worked. When she realised she was a human trafficking victim she was "completely shocked, really scared".

Two days after their arrest, they were released. Soon after this she met the trafficker (who had her paperwork). She said she was "so bewildered as to what was going on. This is so far removed from any reference point for me...". A few days after meeting the trafficker (who had her paperwork) Brandon put heroin in her weed and tried to force her "to smoke it off the foil". When she refused, he threatened to murder her. He started beating her and then took her bag and demanded: "Get your things! We're leaving!" She replied: "Where are we going to this time? Where are we going now? Where else do we have to go? We've exhausted everything! Where to?" He eventually picked her up and carried her, but she resisted him by hanging on to pillars, gates or anything. At that point the police came around the corner. He dropped her onto the side of the road and ran away.

She had time to go back into the shop, lock herself in and phone for help. She phoned one of her customers who owned a security company. He told her to stay in the shop and keep it locked. That evening, someone offered to send her to a free three-week drug rehabilitation programme. Food and accommodation were provided free of charge. She had to commit to not using alcohol, drugs or cigarettes during those three weeks. She did so to get away from Brandon. That evening was the last time that she saw him. She said when she looked back and thought about that evening, she thought he was probably taking her to the trafficker (who had her paperwork).

Lucy did not mourn Brandon. She cried about the consequences she would have to face, and about the time she had wasted, particularly when she thought about her parent's home. She

said in the last two years of her relationship with him, she "started falling out of love with him". In the end she stopped caring for him. She said:

I kinda felt obliged to, to stay uhm to try and control the damage ... But in the end he just did whatever he wanted to anyway ... when we got here [South Africa] he was holding on to me so hard that I just wanted to get away. I stopped loving him, I stopped everything.

She kept warning him that she was going to leave him. She said:

I knew in my heart and soul I would one day get out and I warn him, 'you do this again this is the last time...' He just did not believe me, or maybe he did and that was why he was trying to get rid of me ... and finally, I did actually make good with that promise and I hope he's thinking about it now.

6.2.2 Re-authored narrative

I asked Lucy if she would change anything in her life if she could. She gave a deep sigh and said that she wished that she could rewind her life to when she was a child or an early teenager. She wished she could once again be "without a care in the world". There were a few things in her life she would change, but those are the things she had not processed yet. Unfortunately I did not have a re-authoring narrative interview with her to report on these things. She was transferred to another safe house and I was not able to see her again.

6.2.3 Future narrative

I asked Lucy: "Where do you see yourself in the future?" Her response was:

Every day, at a time, kind of a thing. Actually I asked [Tamara] and the other person to do with this place [the safe house overseer] the same question. Where do they see me in the future? ... it was quite reassuring, the answers. So, ya, I have hope...

To Lucy, her family was important and she hoped and prayed to see them again. When she first came to South Africa, she talked to Brandon about the possibility of going back home or to Europe to see her father. His response was:

Listen, you better get that out of your head pretty soon and start preparing yourself for not being at your father's funeral.... It is not going to happen, you must just start getting ready for it, [be]cause it's going to break you and you should start getting ready for it now so that it does not break you.

When she was at a previous safe house, she had phoned home and her dad answered. It was the first time in two years that she had spoken to him. She started contacting him regularly. In Tamara's safe house, she could not phone her father for security reasons. She ended the interview with the following statement:

One step closer to home just from having that written down I am one step closer to home. So, but they say if you go far enough away, you run your way back home anyway, so the world is round. You know, so, I've gone as far as I want to go. I want to start going home.

6.2.4 Freedom

When Lucy went into the drug rehabilitation programme, before she was taken in by the safe house where I did my research, she started experiencing freedom, which she described as follows:

It was like the first time in five years I was breathing on my own, I had space, time to think, to myself. I could ... go to bed and actually ... just sit and think about me, about where I am. What can I do? ... I actually got options. They may not be many or anything like that or not the options that I want, but I actually have a choice now. Whether to stay here ... do something else or to go there or to... Wow! Hang on a second ... this is nice. I mean like with the church and everything else I started realising that being clean was actually a hell of a lot better you know. It's actually gonna be a choice ... to not go back to do that [drugs and alcohol].

After she had told me this, I said: "That is freedom". She then responded:

Ya, it seems like it for me at the moment ... I was a very independent person...
It's just horrendous and I'm still not able to get up and walk or get in a car. I
have to be chaperoned everywhere but at least my mind is free. My body is not
free yet, my physical being is not free yet, but my mind is free.

6.3 Maya's narratives

Maya is a female, who was born in Sub-Saharan Africa and grew up in a rural area. At the time of the interview she was in the 25–30 age group and had a child. Her home language is Afrikaans. She was exposed to trafficking after the age of six and was exploited in a rural town in South Africa. In the following sections I provide her life narrative (6.3.1), re-authored narrative (6.3.2), future narrative (6.3.3) and description of freedom (6.3.4).

6.3.1 Life narrative

It was challenging for Maya to narrate her life narrative, therefore Tamara did most of the narration for her. Tamara said that Maya's case and the related perpetrator's¹¹ prosecution was still pending and she would therefore only share parts of Maya's life narrative with me.

Maya was trafficked at the age of six. Every time she was sexually exploited, she was put in the back of a vehicle and had to lie down, either blindfolded or with a blanket thrown over her head. According to Tamara, this way of being sexually exploited immediately made Maya a victim of human trafficking.

Maya's SE began when she was a child. A close family member (the perpetrator) was responsible for her exploitation, which was done with the knowledge of her mother (the latter said nothing simply because it was family). The perpetrator told Maya that she could choose between being sexually exploited or having her siblings sexually exploited. She felt that choosing to be sexually exploited meant she could protect her siblings. As the years went by, the perpetrator invited his friends to take part in abusing Maya. The SE progressed over the years: it was not done by just one person, but by a group of people. According to Tamara, at the time of the interview one could be almost completely certain that the perpetrators had made videos of their sexual exploitation of Maya and of all the actions that would commonly go with such SE. The SE had become more violent and the perpetrators used sexual and physical violence to get her to lie still and to submit to what they wanted to do to her.

¹¹ Tamara used the word perpetrator(s) to describe Maya's trafficker(s).

Every time Maya was sexually exploited, the perpetrators would drug her. She was forced to sniff drugs before she was ten. When she was older, she began to refuse to sniff the drugs, since she had realised that she was being drugged. Then her perpetrators began to use force to inject her between her toes. They used the space between her toes so that the injection marks would not be visible.

Maya fell pregnant when she had just reached puberty. Her perpetrators did more than one abortion on her; she had no say in whether she became a mother or not. These abortions were done in private homes and not by a doctor at a hospital.

At times, while she was being sexually exploited, Maya would wake up because the drugs had worn off. Then she would see how crowded the room was and people laughed in her face. She would then be hit and punished because she had woken up while they were still busy with her. They would then drug her again and would continue to sexually exploit her.

Maya's mother was a drug addict and did not spend much time at home. Maya was offered as payment for the drugs her mother obtained from a drug dealer. Maya rarely attended school. Maya's perpetrators used the time she was at home and her mother away and to sexually exploit her. They also transported her to different places to be sexually exploited. She was sexually exploited at least once a week and sometimes more than once a week.

In an informal conversation Maya told me about her childhood. Her mother would sometimes fill the bath with ice-cold water, filled with ice cubes, and make Maya lie in this water in the middle of the night (RJ). Afterwards, she was forced to get out of the bath and stand outside the house naked and cold in the dark (RJ). There was a special punishment room for her at her house (RJ). In this room was a cupboard full of equipment, which her mother and stepfather used to punish her (RJ).

One evening, Maya's stepfather hit her mother so hard that he thought she was dead (RJ). Maya was lying in her bed and heard everything that happened (RJ). She saw her stepfather pull her mother down the hallway with a trail of blood behind her (RJ). After that he wrapped her in covers and pulled her down through the hallway and out of the house and put her into the car (RJ). He drove away with her and left her in a field somewhere, because he thought she was dead (RJ). Two months later her mother returned home (RJ).

Maya grew up in a small town where everybody knew everybody. The whole neighbourhood knew that her stepfather physically abused her mother and that he was violently aggressive. Even the police visited their house and knew what was going on in their house. Yet nobody, including the police, did anything about this. Maya tried to persuade people to help her. She went to her pastor for help, but apparently he and his wife had been befriended by the

perpetrators. His advice and help [I think this a sarcastic way of implying a threat) to her was that if Maya dared to open a case, the whole gang would kill her¹². After this threat, she had no choice but to keep quiet.

The last time Maya was sexually exploited (about six days before she was rescued), her perpetrators had used police batons to assault her. They beat her on the back and on her feet where marks and bruises would be less likely to be seen. They did this because she did not want to comply. On that particular day she decided that she had had enough.

After this final SE, she told a friend about what happened. Her friend was scared that Maya would commit suicide and made a decision to call for help. Tamara said that when their organization had been originally asked to intervene in a process known as a rescue, they did not know Maya was a victim of human trafficking. At this stage Maya did not know she was a victim of human trafficking either. It was only when Maya was making a statement at the commencement of prosecution that this became clear.

When she came to the safe house, the only possessions she had were the clothes she had on since she was not allowed to take anything else with her (RJ). On the day she was rescued, Tamara presented her with a choice: either to come to the safe house with her child or to have her child taken away from her by social workers (RJ).

Tamara said that Maya was angry about being taken to the safe house. At first she did not even speak to anyone, look anyone in the eyes or show any physical affection. Maya was angry that her friend had called for help because she had not wanted to share her experiences of SE with the world. She thought that she could have handled the situation on her own even though she admitted that she did not know how to do this. At the time of the interview she was no longer angry, because she said she would not have been able to do it alone.

6.3.2 Re-authored narrative

During the re-authoring of Maya's life narrative, Tamara was in the same room, but did not participate in the narrative interview. Maya did not believe that anyone would want to plan the life that she had had. Maya would change the choices her mother made when she (Maya) was younger so things would turn out very differently. Her mother knew about Maya's SE, yet chose to keep quiet. She thought that if her mother had taken steps and involved the right people, she (Maya) would not have been where she was at the time of the interview. Then she admitted that she would also not have been able to keep her child.

¹² Ons vat jou uit!

Even though Maya's child is part of her sexually abusive past, she still would want to have her child. It was hard for her to decide whether or not she would make her child have a different father. This is because she did not know if her child would have been the same if she had had a different father. She said that having a child was the one thing that she would not change. Her child made everything she had been through worthwhile. Therefore if she had the chance to choose, she would go through everything again if she knew she would get her child.

Maya reflected on the good things that had come from her experience. The first thing was her child, as discussed above. The second thing was the people she had met (she did not elaborate on who these people were). The third thing was the hope that her experience could make a big difference in other people's lives. The fourth thing was that she would not have been the person that she was at the time of the interview had she not experienced what she did. In other words, she would not have known what to look out for in life and she would not have known what was wrong.

6.3.3 Future narrative

At first Maya told me that she did not have future plans or future dreams. She lost her dreams because of past disappointments and chose to take life a day at a time. She did not plan ahead. She said that one was always disappointed in one's dreams about the future and that it did not help to create high expectations.

When I asked Maya what she thought about her life in the future and what her dreams were, she asked: "My dreams?" Then she kept quiet for three seconds and said: "Not to ..." She kept quiet for two seconds and then continued: "... live with the fear that I do at the moment". Even though she knew that legal action was being taken against her perpetrators, this did not mean that she did not have any fears. She felt that what lay ahead of her could be more difficult than what she had gone through already. Even though there were many people who knew about her SE and had stood by her, she still felt fearful. She was uncertain whether she would have to take on her perpetrators and whether she would win or lose the case. She wished that the legal action was over.

Another wish Maya had was for her child to have a normal life. She wanted to give to her child everything that she had never had. Her biggest dream and wish was that she would not be like her mother, but give to her child everything that she possibly could.

Maya's dream was to work with small children or animals but this was still just a dream. She said that when everything was over, she would work towards realising these dreams if at all possible. Prior to this interview she had not taken any steps towards realising her dreams. She highlighted the fact that she took life one day at a time. When she tried to think too far ahead,

she started to stress about things that had not even happened. She preferred to think about her past rather than about her future.

6.3.4 Freedom

I asked Maya what the concept freedom meant to her, she waited for four seconds, then sighed and said, "Yo" (an Afrikaans expression similar to "wow"). Then she remained silent for five seconds before saying that she did not yet know at that moment. She would first have to experience it to know what it meant. She said that she was experiencing freedom in the safe house because she did not have to face her perpetrators and did not have to go through the things that she went through before being rescued. In the safe house, she had experienced more freedom ever before in her life because nobody was her boss. Nevertheless, on one occasion (not during this interview) when I told Maya that I wanted to go for a walk outside, she responded by saying that I was able to do something like that because I was not a prisoner at the safe house (RJ).

I asked Maya whether she felt that she would be able to experience freedom in the future. She said that on some days the answer would be "yes" and on other days it would be "no". On some days she felt negative about her future and on other days she felt positive. It all depended on how she felt when she woke up. It boosted her hope when she realised that there was an inspector working on her case. This made her feel that something was going to happen and that the organization was not saying they were going to do something, but were actually doing something.

6.4 Carla's narratives

Carla is a female, who was born in Sub-Saharan Africa and grew up in a rural area. At the time of the interview she was in the 25-30 age group and married. Her home language is Afrikaans. She was exposed to trafficking from the age of fourteen and was exploited in a rural town in South Africa. In the following sections I provide her life narrative (6.4.1), re-authored narrative (6.4.2), future narrative (6.4.3) and description of freedom (6.4.4).

6.4.1 Life narrative

Carla used to live with a male friend and they were both addicted to drugs. Her male friend repaired cars to provide the money to sustain their drug habit. A Nigerian¹³ was watching Carla and her friend. One day the Nigerian, who was with another person, asked her friend to repair a car at his house. The Nigerian kept returning to them and making this request during the

¹³ Carla used the word Nigerian(s) to describe her trafficker(s).

next three days. Carla and her friend kept rejecting his request. Then the Nigerian asked Carla's friend to do deliveries for him.

Carla and her friend decided to accept the Nigerian's invitation and visited his house. The Nigerian offered them drugs. After they had taken the drugs, he told Carla to take a bath and go out for the evening to make money. She and her friend were faced with a problem because they owed the Nigerian money for the drugs. She could not just walk out the door. At this time she realised that the Nigerian wanted her, not her friend, to do deliveries. That is when Carla and her friend realised that they have been lied to, but it was too late. From that moment Carla struggled to get her life right again because the Nigerian had a hold on her. She was trapped.

The Nigerians would give the girls free drugs for a few days and then they had to pay for the drugs. Once the girls began using drugs, the Nigerians had control over them because of the money they owed. Even if the Nigerians bought the drugs at a discounted or cheap price, they charged the girls a premium price. The girls would have been in debt, even if they had not taken the offer of free drugs. Anyone living in a Nigerian's house would always be dependent on them for drugs. She pointed out that the Nigerians had the drugs the girls needed.

Once girls are trapped because of their drug debt, they cannot leave. They then have to work for the Nigerians and are never rescued. Many of the girls leave the Nigerians' house in the evening and have the freedom to run away, but they do not have the necessary help to do so successfully.

Carla was emotional while sharing this and posed these questions:

What am I doing there? Why is the door locked when I want to walk away?
Even when a girl has some money she still cannot pay the price to buy her
freedom because there is no price. There is never an amount that a girl could
pay to be free because a girl would always have a debt with the Nigerians.

Carla described her life on the street as being really rough. She had to go out in the evenings and was forced into SE. She was beaten with cables with plugs on them and with pipes. She was raped several times because she did not know the "business"¹⁴. The longer she was sexually exploited, the more Carla realised that for her there was no way out.

Carla was raped by her Nigerian because he wanted her to be the mother of his children. Afterwards Carla realised why the Nigerian wanted to have children with her. The plan was to transport the children to Nigeria and sell them there. Carla said that that would have been very

¹⁴ This is the word she used to refer to sexual exploitation.

bad for children. She eventually fell pregnant by the Nigerian and went to her male friend to ask for help. Her friend helped her to get off the streets until she gave birth to a baby, which she gave up for adoption.

After the adoption of her baby, Carla went back to the Nigerian and her life became more difficult than before. The Nigerian started beating her for petty reasons. He asked about the child she had had and she lied, denying that it was his child. She felt that the Nigerian had a hold on her. He had already oppressed her so much that she was unattractive, and there was nowhere else for her to go.

She said that once girls are trapped, they become the property of the Nigerians. She had been their property. The Nigerians would travel great distances to keep their girls. For example, she said that if someone stole a girl and took her to a town 1 000km or more away, the Nigerian would travel all the way to claim her back. They would buy girls from each other, steal girls from other traffickers, use girls to get more girls and even use girls to open cases against other traffickers (probably as a way of taking over the traffickers' girls once they land behind bars).

Carla had nowhere to go for help. In the town where she was trafficked, those who were supposed to rescue the girls (probably the police and the authorities) would sooner take them to the traffickers, since they were friends with them, than help the girls. Moreover, those who were supposed to help girls escape would go as far as to steal girls for other traffickers in return for payment.

When someone is on the street, as she was, very few people know and understand the situation. Carla shared the fact that sometimes a client would offer to provide food and accommodation to a girl that he bought sex from. She doubted whether clients would really help a girl once they realised she was addicted to drugs. There is no help for girls with a drug problem because it would be messy and complicated to rescue them.

In an informal conversation, Carla had told me that when she was rescued from trafficking for the first time by the organization, she had been sent first to a drug rehabilitation centre. Later she was sent to a place of safety for women who had experienced domestic abuse (RJ). After a few weeks, her time in the place of safety expired and she was put out on the street with her suitcase with nowhere to go (RJ). The only number she remembered was the number of her Nigerian. She then phoned him and was immediately trafficked again (RJ). The first number that the girls have to memorise is their Nigerians' telephone numbers.

For Carla, there was a kind of a cyclical connection between her drug addiction and being trafficked. She said she would start becoming clean and then relapse into drug addiction.

Then she would start becoming clean again, but relapse into drug addiction again. She felt that she was being drawn deeper and deeper into her drug addiction and that it was more difficult to get out every time.

Carla compared drugs to being a living force with long nails. Drugs shove their nails into you. During rehabilitation, the nails are pulled out. But when you start taking drugs again, the drugs shove their nails even deeper into you. When the nails are pulled out, you have holes in your body. She felt as if the drugs had fully shoved their nails into her back, and because of that she was going through a lot of pain because of the scars caused by drug addiction. This made it difficult for her to function normally during the day.

Another time when she was in a drug rehabilitation programme, she gave up and jumped over the fences of the rehabilitation centre, and went back to her Nigerian. Her drug addiction was something that made her return to her previous lifestyle. Even the smallest thing could trigger addiction again. These triggers could be something emotionally painful or disappointed expectations, and could cause a person to fall back into the addiction. In the past, when she experienced these triggers, she resumed taking drugs and would then ask herself: "How did you end up here again?"

When she was trafficked for the second time, after she made the phone call to her Nigerian, she had even worse experiences than during the first time she was trafficked. Once Carla realised that she was her Nigerian's property, she realised that she should make things easier for herself by keeping her mouth shut, going to work every day, coming back and giving her Nigerian the money she earned. She felt that if she did this she would have a peaceful day.

It was impossible not to make mistakes under the influence of drugs. When she was on the streets, all the blame for anything that went wrong was laid at her door. When she made a mistake, she experienced the darker side of the Nigerian's house. She referred to this as "all the ugly things". When she started repeating what the Nigerians told her then, she became emotional. She said they would say:

I did not teach you to do this. It is not my fault that it happened to you. I taught you a lesson. You should not be naughty again. Go out now and do your work. I told you that you are not allowed to drink, why did you drink? You know you should not be drinking! Where is my money? You drank up my money!

The Nigerians pushed girls to make as much money as possible. Even if they were in a position to buy themselves a new car every second week, they would never have enough money. She said that it seemed that they saw you as never making any money. The Nigerians would never be satisfied with the amounts of money the girls would make in an evening. She

estimated that a girl had to make about R1000.00 (about 80 USD) an evening. Carla once worked out that in two weeks she alone had earned R54 000.00 (about 4200 USD), despite the fact that she had some clients who would only pay R100.00 (about 8 USD) for a session. Still this was not enough for her Nigerians. According to her, the Nigerians had enough money to buy anything they wanted, including girls, from authorities.

Carla was exploited by her Nigerian while she was still attractive. She did not want to think of what would happen to a girl who became so unattractive, because of sexually exploitation, that she could not even make R10 (about 1 USD) a day. At that stage the girl was seen as a nuisance by the Nigerians, because she would cost more money than what she would be able to make. By then this girl had probably made the Nigerian rich and the latter could go back to his home country, buy a farm and continue his life. When a girl was no longer able to make money for the Nigerian, the Nigerian just traded that girl for another one. When a Nigerian looked at a woman, all he saw was an opportunity to make money.

When the Nigerians gave the girls money for food, they would do so resentfully, saying that they (the girls) just lay around doing nothing. The Nigerians broke the girls' spirit to a point where they could not take the pressure any more. They would try to escape, but some of them "do not make it".

Carla said one should remember that Nigerians were not there to love you or to be your husband. There were girls who thought the Nigerians were their boyfriends or husbands. These girls thought that the Nigerians loved them, wanted to marry them and have children with them. These girls should wake up because Nigerian had not come to South Africa to get married. They were here to make money and their families were waiting to get the money that they were making. These girls believed the lies of the Nigerians because the drugs which these girls had started using at a young age had caused them to stop developing into adults. They remained as naïve as children, believing everything the Nigerians told them. She said they were dumb enough to believe the Nigerians and then they fell flat and it was a bad fall.

Carla viewed the night that she escaped as a miracle. That night she was sitting on a train track, praying to the Lord with tears in her eyes. Soon after the prayer, someone helped her to get in touch with her rescuers who set her free. She did not elaborate on her rescue or what had happened after her rescue.

She illustrated choices that have to be made using the image of a gravel road and a tarred road. She said that "you always have a fork where you have to choose which road to take". After she had walked down the gravel road twice, she had made the decision that she had had enough. She was leaving that way for good and was praying that she would never go

back to the streets or lose her resolve. In the safe house she was able to talk to God and to forgive people in her life. She found it difficult to forgive everyone and needed time to do so. She was still learning about the Lord. She felt that she was in a place where she knew nothing and still had to learn.

She felt that, while being at the safe house, many opportunities had presented themselves, but that nothing had fallen into place for her in the way she would have liked. She felt this way because her emotions were playing with her. Her emotions wanted her to relapse into drug addiction and were telling her things like: you did not do this; this is not in place yet; it was such a long time since you talked to this person; and you owe people. She felt that these thoughts were playing with her brain and her emotions.

Carla was scared of what would happen to her once her time in the safe house was over (RJ). At one Bible study gathering in the safe house, she cried while she shared her fear of not knowing what was going to happen to her once she had finished her time at the safe house (RJ). She was in pain because of her withdrawal from heroin (RJ). Withdrawal made her feel bad and nauseous, but the worst part for her was the emotional pain. She felt as if it was the end of the world for her. When she was sober, she felt that time was dragging by. In the past when she was using drugs, time went by much faster. At present, her reality felt like an eternity to her.

6.4.2 Re-authored narrative

Carla wondered if her life would have turned out differently and if events would have been different if she had realised sooner that she should stop what she was doing. She did not explicitly say that she would have wanted to change these things. She focused on what had happened and not on what could have been. She emphasised how deeply she wished that she had stopped her lifestyle sooner and she was now earnestly praying to her Father¹⁵ to help her.

When her mother was in grade 12, she fell pregnant with Carla and was not allowed to continue her schooling. Therefore she was not able to finish high school. At that time her mother was considering giving Carla up for adoption by people from abroad, but then decided in the end to keep her. Her mother sometimes told Carla that it might have been better for her if she had been adopted. Carla wondered what her life would have been like if she had been adopted by people abroad. But while wondering about this, she also acknowledged that it had not happened.

¹⁵ Carla refers to God as her Father or as the Lord.

Carla thought about the things she had done at the age of fourteen and whether her life would have been different if she had not done them. She wondered whether her life would have turned out differently if she had not been rebellious during her teenage years. She had a lot of responsibilities while growing up. As she grew up her problems increased. She felt that she had to mature too quickly and her circumstances had made her to completely lose the person who she was. She also wondered whether her life would have been different if she had had a different kind of upbringing and had been going to church every Sunday.

6.4.3 Future narrative

Carla found it challenging to think about her life in the future. One of the reasons was connected to her experience of time. When she used drugs, a month or a day went by as fast as snapping her fingers. When her mind began to clear, she felt that time passed slowly. When she was on drugs, it was better to see how things just passed by when they did not fall into place. When her head was clear and she considered taking life week by week or month by month, then thoughts about time and what should be in place made her feel she was losing her mind. She would feel overwhelmed and that could trigger a relapse into drug addiction very easily, because thinking seemed too much effort.

She was living one day at a time and was at a place where she could set a goal for a week in advance. However, when she started thinking in terms of months, and that she would only see her family in three months, for example, it became too much for her. She began feeling like giving up because the time frames she had to consider were so large. She was searching for reasons why she had gone through her past experiences and the reasons why she had been rescued. She believed that when she discovered the reasons, it would be possible for her to think in larger time frames. Then she would be able to think about buying a house in a month's time, or buying a car, or buying this or that. Then she would be able to live a life, to manage a budget, and help her children with their schoolwork.

She was looking forward to her future and to living with her Father. She was praying daily about her purpose and the next steps she should take in life. She had dreams and ideas about the future, but did not know what to do with these and whether they would be fulfilled. She was at a place where she was waiting for the Lord to show her where to go. She said it was not God's fault that she had made wrong decisions. Now she had a choice to do something good with her experience or to just let everything go and return to her life as it was. She believed that God had saved her for the second time and for her this would be the last chance, that there would be no third time. Therefore, she was not going to mess up this time and believed if she did mess up this time, then she might as well die.

She decided to stay clean. She wanted to rectify the many mistakes that she made in her life, to live a decent life, to feel normal, start working and go back to her family. She wanted to wake up in the morning, go to her daily job without complications, come back home and know there would be a next day when this lifestyle would continue.

She wanted to help people whose lives had been broken, to help build them up, to find their Father and to accept the Lord. For her, just helping people who were in a similar situation to the one she had been in would not count as a real job. She hoped to help people in the future. When she doubted whether she would be able to help others, she had said jokingly that she would start by working as a cashier and work until she became the manager.

She wanted to study to be a hairdresser or a photographer, but felt she was already too old to study and that she had not finished school. To be able to study, she would need a job with a salary to be able to pay for her studies. At present, she did not have that prospect. It seemed that before the interview, she had not really considered having a job and studying because she took every day as it came.

6.4.4 Freedom

For Carla freedom is the moment when you have choices in life. It is when you can wake up in the morning and decide to continue sleeping and it see a life for yourself. She felt she had some say over her life in the safe house because she could decide whether to drink a cup of coffee or not, for instance.

Freedom is definitely not something one has in a Nigerian's house. One does not even dare to dream while being in a Nigerian's house. All one has to do is "work, work, work" because of the need for drugs. While she was on the street her Nigerians decided when she could sleep, when she had to work, and when she should use drugs. She was controlled from the time she started using drugs. She was trapped as long as she was addicted to drugs. The drugs helped her to not to "worry" about what the Nigerians were doing to her or about how much pain they caused. While under the influence of drugs, she stopped caring about them screaming at her. She felt nothing and to her it was better that way.

6.5 Interpretations: discourse-as-text

In this section I bring the narratives into conversation and reflect on them with regard to the themes life narratives (6.5.1), re-authored narratives (6.5.2), future narratives (6.5.3) and concepts of freedom (6.5.4). Under each of these themes there are similarities and differences in the three participants' narratives, which I discuss below.

6.5.1 Life narratives

Maya was six years old when she was sexually exploited, Carla was fourteen years old when she was exposed to SE and Lucy was more than thirty years old. Maya seemed to be more reluctant than Carla and Lucy to participate in the narrative interviews. Maya's SE started at a much earlier age than Carla and Lucy's. She was not able to narrate her own life narrative without the assistance of Tamara during the narrative interview, whereas Carla and Lucy provided much more detailed accounts of their life narratives. I think this could be because Maya was sexually exploited from the age of six years so it was probably more difficult for her to share her life narrative.

Maya was sexually exploited by a close family member and his friends. Some of these friends were working for the South African Police Service. Carla was sexually exploited by a trafficker who trapped her through her drug addiction. Carla said that sometimes those who had to protect people (referring to the police) would bring back victims to traffickers because the traffickers were their friends or because they received money from the traffickers to do so. Lucy's trafficker was her own former boyfriend. Police members warned Lucy that one of the biggest traffickers had her papers. Even although they knew where the trafficker was and what he was doing, they had not arrested him.

Drugs were forced on Maya whereas it seems that Carla and Lucy had begun using drugs voluntarily. Carla and her friend's drug addiction was the cause of her being introduced to a trafficker and eventually to being trafficked. Lucy's trafficker's drug addiction and drug debt later became the reason why he was in the process of selling Lucy to another human trafficker.

Maya was forced into SE. Her traffickers threatened her that if she did not allow them to sexually exploit her, they would sexually exploit her siblings. She felt the responsibility to protect her siblings and therefore did not oppose her traffickers. Carla went with her friend to the Nigerian's house and used drugs with her friend without needing to pay for them. After using these drugs, she was coerced into SE through debt bondage, because she had to pay back the drugs that had supposedly been free. Carla's drug addiction was the reason for her falling back into the hands of traffickers and exploited further. She struggled to be truly rehabilitated from her drug addiction and was scared that she would relapse into drug addiction once she left the safe house. Lucy was in love with her trafficker and committed a serious crime with him in her home country. She had to leave in a hurry to escape prosecution there. In South Africa her documents were taken from her by her trafficker and she could not go back to her home country because she was a criminal. She did not know how things worked in South Africa or where to go for help. Therefore she was trapped in South Africa.

Maya's friend called on the organization on her behalf for help, which rescued Maya from her circumstances. Maya was not kept captive in a specific place. Her traffickers used to pick her up when they wanted to sexually exploit her. Carla was in a Nigerian's house. Even though she was free to leave, she could not do so successfully without help. The organization had been looking for Carla for months, because it had rescued her previously. When they finally found her, the rescuers had to wait for the perfect opportunity to extricate her. Carla said no more than that she had been sitting at a railroad track when she was rescued the last time. Lucy was able to escape her trafficker after she phoned a client who had a security company. It is not clear how she ended up in the specific safe house where I had my interview with her.

6.5.2 Re-authored narratives

When I asked Lucy how she would reconstruct her life narrative she reacted by exhaling. For her this was a big question to which she did not immediately have an answer. She had to think about it first. She did have a few things she would want to change. She said she would tell me these at a later stage and that she had not yet completely processed what had happened to her. She did, however, wish that she could rewind her life to the time when she was a child and she saw a particular movie at her parents' house.

On the one hand, Maya wanted to change the choices that her mother had made when she (Maya) was younger. Her mother knew about her SE, yet she kept quiet and did not call in the right people to set things right. On the other hand, Maya did not want to change everything in her life, because then she would risk not having her child, not meeting the people she did, not being able bring positive change into other people's lives, and not being the person she had become and she would not know right from wrong.

Carla did not directly say that she would change anything in her life. She just wondered whether her life would have turned out differently had she been adopted, or not been rebellious, and had grown up in a house where they went to church. She wondered whether she would have been able to quit her drug addiction sooner. But she would not have become a child trafficking victim if her life had been different. She realised that this had not happened and so she was focusing on the present reality and the changes she could make in future.

6.5.3 Future narratives

All three participants said that they lived one day at a time and could not focus on the future. For Lucy it was "every day at a time kind of a thing". Maya said she literally took it day by day and Carla preferred to live day by day. However, she said she could set a goal for a week and meet it. However, when she tried to think a month ahead, her drug addiction was triggered.

Lucy longed for stability and independence in her life. She hoped to see her family again. She wanted to return home.

Maya was scared of disappointment and therefore she had ceased dreaming of the future. Maya had wishes for the future and they were: for the legal action to be over, for herself not to be like her mother, for her child to have a normal life, to get somewhere in life, to work with small children or animals. She said that when everything was over, she would work towards realising these wishes. Maya preferred to think about the past rather than about the future, because she easily became stressed when she thought about the future.

Carla had become deeply religious. She was focusing on a relationship with God and finding a new purpose for herself because of it. She wanted to help people who had made the mistakes she had. She wanted to live a normal life, which she described as having a daily job, going to work, coming home and having an entirely predictable life. She wanted to be able to provide for her children and help them finish school.

6.5.4 Concepts of freedom

Lucy started experiencing freedom at the drug rehabilitation where she was able to breathe freely and had space and time to think. She felt that it was the first time in five years that she was able to make a decision. She felt that she had options, even although there were not many. Her mind had been set free, but she felt that her body and physical being were not yet free.

Maya at first could not immediately respond to the question on what freedom means. She said that she would first have to experience it before she would know what it means. To her freedom included not having to face her traffickers. She stated that she felt some extent of freedom at the safe house, because, according to her, she did not have a boss at the safe house. However, during my stay in the safe house she made a remark that suggested that she felt like a prisoner in the safe house. Some days she felt more hopeful that she would be able to experience freedom in the future.

Freedom for Carla means having choices in life. She said freedom was being able to wake up and decide whether to stay wake or to continue sleeping. She said that one did not have freedom when one was trapped in trafficking because all one could do was work to satisfy one's drug addiction.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter trafficking survivors' narratives were presented. Each of these narratives is unique in that each of them was trafficked in a different way. Lucy was groomed into a relationship; Maya's vulnerability as a child was used by a family member; and Carla was coerced into using drugs. Each survivor handled her situation in a different way. Lucy went through different emotional stages. First she was in love. Then she fell out of love and was eventually totally disillusioned about her trafficker and his intentions. Her disillusionment enabled her to escape her trafficker. Maya at first did not realise what was happening to her, later she accepted her SE as her obligation and finally she decided that she had had enough. This decision enabled her to speak about her situation and she was rescued. Carla was addicted to drugs, making it seem impossible for her to escape her traffickers. One night she was praying for help and to be rescued. All three survivors found it difficult to think about changing their lives. Thinking about their futures was even more difficult and all of them preferred to live one day at a time.

In the following chapter these narratives are analysed in the context of the theoretical (Chapter Two) and philosophical (Chapter Three) framework as well as in relation to discourse-as-discursive-practice (Chapter Five).

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE THEORETICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORK, THE RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT AND NARRATIVES IN CONVERSATION

7.1 Introduction

As discussed in Section 4.8.3, discourse-as-social-practice analysis can be applied to the immediate situation, wider situation and to society (Fairclough, 1995:97). In the case of this study, discourse-as-discursive-practice was applied to the immediate situation (Chapter Five). The theoretical-philosophical framework (Chapter Two & Three) provides the wider and societal levels. In the current chapter, I make use of several questions based on the theoretical-philosophical framework, discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text to aid the process of analysis and interpretation. Table 7.1 provides the structural overview of this chapter. After Table 7.1, I respond to the first question regarding the theoretical-philosophical framework.

Table 7.1: Structural overview of Chapter Seven

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|---|---|
| 7.1 Introduction | |
| 7.2 How did the definition of trafficking manifest itself in the narratives? | 7.2.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.2.2. From Maya's narratives 7.2.3 From Carla's narratives 7.2.4 Brief summary |
| 7.3 How did the discourse-as-discursive-practice shape the narratives? | 7.3.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.3.2 From Maya's narratives 7.3.3 From Carla's narratives 7.3.4 Brief summary |
| 7.4 What contributions did the participants and generating their narratives make to life design narrative inquiry? | 7.4.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.4.2 From Maya's narratives 7.4.3 From Carla's narratives 7.4.4 Brief summary |
| 7.5 How did the context of liberal-capitalist societies manifest itself in the narratives? | 7.5.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.5.2 From Maya's narratives 7.5.3 From Carla's narratives 7.5.4 Brief summary |
| 7.6 How did the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to pursuit of pleasure manifest itself in the narratives? | 7.6.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.6.2 From Maya's narratives 7.6.3 From Carla's narratives 7.6.4 Brief summary |

Table 7.1: Chapter Seven structural overview (continued)

| | |
|---|--|
| 7.7 To which extent is the freedom of choice, as well as the absence of freedom within it, evident in the narratives? | 7.7.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.7.2 From Maya's narratives 7.7.3 From Carla's narratives 7.7.4 Brief summary |
| 7.8 Which modes of willing are evident in the narratives? | 7.8.1 From Lucy's narratives 7.8.2 From Maya's narratives 7.8.3 From Carla's narratives 7.8.4 Brief summary |
| 7.9 Which discourses in the theoretical-philosophical framework are not reflected in discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text? | 7.9.1 Discourse-as-discursive-practice 7.9.2 Discourse-as-text |
| 7.10 Which discourses in discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text are not reflected in the theoretical-philosophical framework | 7.10.1 Discourse-as-discursive-practice 7.10.2 Discourse-as-text |
| 7.11 Conclusion | |

7.2 How did the definition of trafficking manifest itself in the narratives?

The legal definition of human trafficking was presented In Figure 2.1 and the definition of child trafficking was explored in Section 2.2. I now reflect on how the definition of trafficking manifests itself in each survivor's narrative. Thereafter I provide a brief summary in which I offer some interpretation.

7.2.1 From Lucy's narratives

Identifying Lucy as a trafficking victim or survivor was a complex process. She was older than 18 when she was trafficked, so she did not experience child trafficking as defined in 2.2.

The first element of human trafficking that could possibly be linked to Lucy's narrative is the act of trafficking, in the form of transport and harbouring. She and her trafficker committed crime in her home country and so had to flee from there and go to South Africa. It seems that the trafficker employed the love recruitment technique to groom her into trafficking (2.2.1). She was in a romantic relationship with her trafficker and was possibly a victim of Stockholm syndrome (2.2.1) and addicted to drugs. It was therefore more difficult for her to escape. After her escape, she was still in denial that her former boyfriend was really her trafficker.

When she came to South Africa, she lost her independence. Her trafficker used threats of harm to keep her trapped and he used force to restrict and control her (2.2.2). As she did not have access to her personal documents, she was dependent on her trafficker.

In her case identifying the purpose of trafficking is more complex. She had to give to her trafficker all the money she made. This could be seen as a form of forced labour. She could not buy herself anything and was dependent on her trafficker for food and accommodation. He used the money she made to buy drugs and coerced her into using them by not buying her any food. Her trafficker planned to sell her to another human trafficker who most probably would have sexually exploited her.

7.2.2 From Maya's narratives

Maya was six years old when she became a victim of child trafficking. She was transported to different venues for SE including child pornography by a close family member. She was also used as a means of payment for her mother's drug habit. The act of trafficking was therefore transportation and the purpose of trafficking was SE.

Even though the means of trafficking does not have to be proved in the case of child trafficking, it is clearly visible in Maya's narrative. She was threatened by a close family member that, if she did not allow herself to be subjected to SE, her siblings would become victims too. Force was used to make her submit to being sexually exploited. Drugs were forced on her to lessen the chances of her offering resistance to her SE. Abuse of power was also present since her mother received benefits through Maya's SE.

7.2.3 From Carla's narratives

Carla did not elaborate on her child trafficking experiences, Tamara confirmed that Carla had experienced child trafficking. Carla focused on her recent trafficking experiences. She was already addicted to drugs when she was deceived into thinking that she could receive drugs without having to pay for them. She was thus forced to be sexually exploited so she could satisfy her drug addiction. Drugs as a recruitment technique became a control mechanism to keep her trafficked (2.2.1). The act of trafficking in this case was the fact that she was sold. The purpose of trafficking is clear: SE in the form of prostitution. The means of trafficking in her narrative emerged as deception and the use of force.

7.2.4 Brief summary

As I said earlier, the grouping of adults and children together when defining trafficking presents conceptual challenges (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2010:7). In this research study, Lucy was already an adult when she was trafficked. Both Maya and Carla were children when they were trafficked. In my analysis, each survivor's narrative is analysed before comparisons are made between the findings. I did not want to group adults and children together.

Child trafficking is defined by the act and purpose (2.2). However, when each survivor's narrative is analysed only in terms of the act and the purpose of trafficking, then only half their experiences are told. In each survivor's narratives, it is the means of trafficking that reveals answers as to how they were pushed into trafficking (7.5-7.8).

The three survivor's narratives highlight the complexity of classifying a person as a victim or a survivor of trafficking. In Lucy's narrative the boundaries are blurred between being in an abusive relationship and being a human trafficking victim. Tamara did not know Maya was a victim of trafficking until she provided details of her life narrative. Only when she made links between trafficking and Maya's narrative did she realise that Maya was a victim. Maya was originally seen as an example of sexual domestic abuse. To classify Carla as a victim of trafficking was easier, she was sold against her will for sex.

Each survivor was recruited into trafficking using different techniques. Lucy's narrative shows that her trafficker used the love technique; Maya's traffickers used the position in authority technique; and Carla's trafficker used the drugs technique. Lucy's narrative shows that the main purpose of her exploitation was not sexual in nature (6.2). In Tamara's opinion, Maya was used for child pornography (6.3). She was also sexually exploited to pay for her mother's drug habits (6.3). It is not clear whether her close family obtained money or other benefits in exchanged for Maya's sexual abuse (6.3). Carla was sexually exploited as a prostitute (6.4).

The narratives show how different each survivor's trafficking experience was. It is clear that researchers must treat each survivor as a separate case to understand their unique experience of trafficking. This approach accords with the methodology life design narrative inquiry (4.4.3).

7.3 How did the discourse-as-discursive-practice shape the narratives?

In this section I focus specifically on how discourse-as-discursive-practice played a role in generating the narratives. I analyse how each survivor's narratives was influenced by the discourse-as-discursive-practice before providing an interpretation of the findings in a brief summary (7.3.4).

7.3.1 From Lucy's narratives

Tamara chose the time, place and who was present in the interviews with Lucy. I had an interview with Lucy on the night of my arrival at the safe house. Tamara was not present during this interview and allowed me to see Lucy privately in the garage where no one else was there or could hear our discussion. She was uneasy about the voice recording until I

assured her that no one but me, my supervisors, Tamara and her counsellor would ever listen to the voice recordings. She then began to narrate her life narrative freely.

During the interview, we were interrupted three times by Maya. Tamara sent her to ask for a lighter, then for bandages and then to lock up the garage and safety gates so that we had to move inside the safe house. When we moved inside the safe house Lucy was no longer comfortable about speaking to me because she did not want the other people in the house to hear what she had to say. She told me:

Well, with the environment now, it's... it's gonna make me not speak as freely as when we're just alone, you know, with ears around the place, so it's probably better to have a second interview right?

From the above two instances it is clear that the research environment in terms of space and who would be able to hear her had an influence on Lucy's narration of her narratives.

7.3.2 From Maya's narratives

Tamara chose the time, place and who was present in the interviews with Maya. All Maya's interviews were conducted in the evenings. Two interviews were conducted in Tamara's room after Bible study, with Tamara present and the other was conducted in the living area before home church with Tamara within hearing distance.

In the first narrative interview, Tamara directed the conversation. She asked Maya to tell the facts of her life narrative that she already shared with the counsellor and with Tamara. This led to a discussion between Tamara and Maya. Tamara asked Maya to elaborate on the things she had realised since she had been rescued. Maya said she knew that the things that happened to her were wrong, but she did not expand on this.

Tamara pointed out and Maya agreed that even though she knew that what had happened to her was wrong, she did not know that she had been trafficked. Tamara said that Maya knew only that the sexual side of her experiences was wrong and added that she was used for pornography. Maya realised for the first time that she had been used for pornographic purposes during this first interview. When she found this out, she stayed silent for five seconds. Then she said: "Oh", then was silent for another five seconds. Then she said: "Okay, now I know it too". Then she was silent again before saying: "Okay, yes and?"

Maya changed the topic and then briefly answered the second and third narrative interview questions in short sentences. Tamara asked Maya whether she would share her experiences if they could make a difference in another victim's life or prevent someone from being

trafficked. Maya was unable to answer the question at this point and asked to have time to think about the questions before answering them. I asked her if she preferred writing and she said she would and that she would write the answers the next day. The interview ended at that point.

The day after the first interview I had asked Maya why it was difficult for her to have an interview with both Tamara and me present. She said that it was difficult for her to speak to more than one person at a time and that she would prefer to have the interviews in a place where no one else would be able to hear her speak. She found it difficult to think about and answer the questions since she had mixed feelings about trusting people. It sounded as if she was not yet sure about her future. For the second interview, I sat in the living room with Maya. Tamara was preparing food and Carla was in the bathroom getting ready for the home church in the evening.

This time she was less tense and started the second narrative interview with a question: "Okay, an answer cannot really be wrong?" I confirmed that she could not give a wrong answer. She then said: "Ask your question and then I will answer it". When I started to pose a question, she immediately replied: "Just not question one" (Question one was: "What is your life narrative?"). She said that she would respond to question one at the end of the interview. Her reason for this was that Carla was about to come out of the bathroom. Maya did not want Carla to hear her life narrative, but she did want me to understand her life narrative.

For her the most difficult part was sharing her life narrative so she chose to do it last. At the end of the second interview with her, Maya told me that she wanted to talk to me in private about the first question. In the time that elapsed between the second and third interview she had changed her mind and decided that Tamara should narrate her (Maya's) life narrative while she was present in the room. During that interview, I asked her some questions to clarify certain aspects.

7.3.3 From Carla's narratives

Tamara chose the time, place and who was present in the interviews with Carla. All Carla's interviews were conducted in the evenings in Tamara's room after Bible study, with Tamara sitting in on the interviews. In the two interviews with Carla, Tamara interrupted eight times. A detailed example of one of her interruptions was when Carla was talking about her own way of making decisions. Tamara asked Carla if she took responsibility for everything that had happened in her life and even for the situations she had landed in because of her drug addiction. Tamara then made a remark that Carla should come to the point where she realised that even though her own choices also had consequences, that she was a victim of her

circumstances and of other people's actions and decisions about her life, which she had no say in. Tamara then asked Carla if she had started realising that she was a victim.

To illustrate Tamara's input during the interview with Carla, I will now give a translated extract of the conversation between them during the interview.

Tamara: "Have you started realising that?"
Carla: "Yes, I have realised that now, but I..."
Tamara: "Only now did you realise that..."
Carla: "But I did, I ... never realised that with..."
Tamara: "Okay."
Carla: "...my drug usage."
Tamara: "Yes"
Carla: "I always thought it was my fault and ... and ... everything that happened to me was because of my choices in life, but you ... but today I know that there was influence ... and people, and circumstances that made it more difficult for me. Even if I was on that... the... the... the easy road, it was just the easy road... it... there was not really another road to take. "
Tamara: "You were a victim of your circumstances at a very young age..."
Carla: "Of my circumstances, yes."
Tamara: "... which made you make a decision later, about which we will not elaborate ... uhm ... and that decision led you to the story that we shared with each other the other day."
Carla: "Yes."
Tamara: "... which led to how you landed in the industry and ended up using drugs. So I think what I want to tell you [here she turned to me], as the researcher, also this is why I told you the other day, that you will have to walk a road with them to get the whole picture. While they are receiving healing, they can only share parts, because you have to remember there are parts that float outside which they have to put back themselves."

I will now briefly mention the other interruptions Tamara made. Once she interrupted to make Carla aware that in the safe house, she had the opportunity to make decisions and was not controlled by someone else for the first time in her life. The second time was when Carla said a person that was trafficked was the property of traffickers. Tamara added that they were a commodity. The third time, Carla was speaking about the police that would help the traffickers to traffic people and Tamara said what Carla wanted to say was that the police were corrupt. The fourth interruption was a call that came through on the two-way radio during the interview. This meant I had to stop the recorder immediately. A fifth interruption occurred when Carla was talking about the child that she had had. Tamara reminded her that she did not have to give me any more information about this child. The sixth interruption came after Carla said that "a person always remains their girl" ("their" refers to traffickers). Tamara corrected her, saying "their property". Carla then continued, saying that "a person is their property..." before explaining why the girls remain the traffickers' property. When Carla wanted to talk about how she was rescued and who helped her, Tamara interrupted immediately, saying: "Stop!" Carla lost the thread of her narrative and it was difficult for her to continue the interview fluently.

7.3.4 Brief summary

Tamara was a powerful gate keeper (5.3.1) who provided access to the survivors to generate narratives. For all three survivors she decided where, when and who should be present during the interviews.

Tamara was present during both Maya and Carla's interviews to ensure that they would not provide me with information that I was not allowed to know and also to ensure that the survivors were not harmed through re-traumatisation (4.10.2). Confidentiality measures (4.10.1 & 5.2.4) affected the narration of the narratives. Maya and Carla could not freely narrate their life narratives and constantly had to think about what they were allowed to share with me. Lucy was hesitant to speak while the voice recorder was on and continued only after I had assured her that her information would be kept confidential. Lucy's hesitance could also be because she had been involved in criminal activities and anything she said to me could possibly jeopardise her safety. In informal conversations, they were less conscious of the need not to share certain information with me. Both Maya and Lucy provided me with detailed accounts of their life narratives when no one else was present in the interviews.

Tamara participated in the interviews with Maya and Carla. Tamara's way of doing this was to take over the conversation or dominate, giving her opinion of events. In the first interview with Maya, Tamara took over the conversation and also narrated Maya's life narrative on her behalf. Tamara interrupted and in some cases changed the terminology that Carla used. These examples confirm that Tamara took the view that the survivors needed to be corrected and taught like children (5.5.4). Tamara interrupted Lucy's narratives indirectly by sending Maya to ask for a lighter first and later for bandages. Tamara's reasons for doing this were not clear to me.

The physical space in which the narratives were shared was also significant. Both Lucy and Maya preferred sharing their narratives in a private space where no one else in the safe house could hear them. The survivors needed to feel that their life narratives were being treated confidentially so it was important for outsiders not to be able to hear what they said. Although both Lucy and Maya said that something good could come from their experiences in that others could be warned about trafficking, they still needed the reassurance that their identities would be kept confidential.

All the interviews took place in the evening, usually after Bible Study and before bedtime. As discussed earlier (5.4.2.1), there were no set sleeping hours or set routine at the safe house. The time chosen for the interviews could have been inconvenient for survivors, because they might have been tired and less willing to share details about their lives. On the other hand, it

could also be that the survivors were more relaxed in the evening and able to speak more freely.

In this study the implementation of the life design narrative inquiry was influenced by the discourse-as-discursive-practice. First I had to negotiate with Tamara for access to the survivors (4.6), and then I had to negotiate with her and the counsellor about the narrative interview questions (4.10.2). After I had gained the permission of Tamara and the survivors to conduct the study, Tamara's decisions as to where, when and who could be present in the narrative interviews had an influence on the responses of the survivors to the narrative interview questions as was shown above. Therefore the research environment played a role on the execution of the life design narrative inquiry in this study.

7.4 What contributions did the survivors and generating their narratives make to life design narrative inquiry?

In this section I focus specifically on the contributions the survivors and generating the narratives made to life design narrative inquiry. I analyse the contributions each survivor made to life design narrative inquiry while generating their narratives before I provide an interpretation of the findings in a brief summary (7.4.4).

7.4.1 From Lucy's narratives

Because Lucy moved from one safe house to another safe house, I had the opportunity to have only one interview with her. Apart from the voice recorder making her nervous, she did not seem to have any difficulty in sharing her narrative with me. Towards the end of the interview, I told her about the follow up narrative interview questions and she said she would need time to think about these questions to be able to answer them.

In the week before I visited the safe house, Lucy had to write down her experiences in the form of statements so her trafficker could be prosecuted. I asked her about her experience of writing her statements, to which she replied:

I mean talking about it is okay, we're just chatting, we're talking about it, but to have it in writing, because you're going through that processing, that thought processing, to put it into a sentence, to write it, and type it and to read it back. You're like "whoah", how stupid have I been for so long? Like that's when it was really hitting me as to how deep this went to and for how long he was manipulating me.... how much he's taken away, how far from myself I become and I started like becoming defensive even against myself again.... I wanted to get away from here, but really what I wanted to get away from was writing this

thing down ... writing it down seemed to just to bring up all those feelings again and also brought up personality that I had to develop in order to, to survive around him.

When she wrote down her experiences and Tamara had to help her review it, so it could be used in the court case. When she wrote down her experiences, she started realising her experiences were real. She relived her memories and reverted to being in the same emotional state she had been in when she was still in a relationship with her trafficker.

Her thoughts about having the interview were that good things could happen from telling other people about her experiences. She was ashamed of some of the things she had done and therefore she did not want to share her experiences, which she now found embarrassing. Yet she said that she could not be "selfish and protect" herself; she had a responsibility to share her life narrative with others. She felt that it was right to participate in my research study, as said it could help someone else.

7.4.2 From Maya's narratives

At first Maya was upset about the idea of having formal interviews with me. I heard her say to Tamara that I was not the one who had rescued her. Maya preferred not to share her life with other people. She decided to let me know in her own time when and if she would be ready to participate in my research study. After she had decided to take part in the research, she and Tamara kept on postponing the interviews that they had consented to have with me. For Maya, it was difficult to share her life narrative; she had been trafficked for more than twenty years. In Tamara's opinion, this made it more difficult for Maya to talk about her experiences.

She completed the phases of the life design narrative inquiry by starting with the first narrative question, but then ended the interview before she narrated her life narrative (7.2.2). At the end of this interview I suggested to Maya that she should write her responses down in her own time. She agreed and then suggested reading these to me during later interviews, rather than having to narrate them orally herself.

In the first interview with Maya, she attempted to answer the first narrative question (4.7.2). At the commencement of the interview, Maya laughed, covered her face, and curled her knees up to her chest. In this interview, Tamara began explaining at great length that Maya had had traumatic experiences and therefore had blocked out some of them. For that reason, she found it difficult to participate in the interview.

Tamara then explained that it was difficult for Maya to respond to each of the other two the narrative questions because it was hard for her (Maya) to narrate her life narrative and then to

say what she would change about her life and what her future plans were. Tamara explained that it was very difficult for Maya to think of future plans because the court case and the investigations were not over yet. In this interview I changed the question to "What are your future dreams?" Tamara then referred to the second narrative question and said it was difficult for victims to say what they would change about their life narrative since they had not chosen to be victims. I then explained the question meant that if you could have your life differently would you have wanted your life to be different or not. If the answer was in the affirmative, what would you change? Tamara responded, saying that all victims would find the question an easy one to answer. She said they all would all give the same answer: "I did not want to be abused" and "I did not want to be trafficked and sexually exploited".

In the second interview, Maya first responded to the re-authored narrative question, before moving to her future narrative. In these two interviews, she gave more detailed answers than in the first narrative interview. In the first narrative interview, she decided to write down her answers and then read them to me in the second narrative interview. However, she was too busy during that week to be able to write down her thoughts, so she narrated them orally. In the third interview, Tamara narrated Maya's life narrative while she was in the same room.

7.4.3 From Carla's narratives

Carla started with the third narrative question, not the first, and then moved to the second and then to the first. Her reason for doing was because she thought I would understand her life narrative better. Her main reason for participating in the narrative interviews was to contribute to preventative approaches to human trafficking. Towards the end of the first narrative interview, she became emotional. I immediately stopped asking her questions and Tamara did a debriefing session with Carla.

As discussed earlier (7.2.3), Tamara interrupted a few times while Carla was narrating. On one such an occasion, Tamara turned her attention to me and gave me advice. She suggested that I should do research over a long period of time and walk the road of healing with the survivors.

7.4.4 Brief summary

Even though Tamara had approved the narrative interview questions, she criticised these questions during the first interview with Maya. As a result I altered these questions slightly. Narrative questions have a central role in life design narrative inquiry so three of the phases were structured around these questions (4.4.3.2–4.4.3.3). Tamara commented on the second narrative interview question, saying it would produce the same information from all survivors. She was dismissive about its value, saying all the survivors would say that they would not

have wanted to experience abuse or exploitation. She did this without taking account of what the survivors actually said. Here her view on the survivors as children was clearly demonstrated (7.3.3).

I was able to choose different methods to complement the life design narrative inquiry. For instance, I could choose between asking the survivors to write down their narratives or orally narrate them. Lucy suggested that it was easier for her to talk than to write about experiences. Maya seemed to be uncomfortable about sharing her life narratives orally and considered writing her responses to the questions down and reading them back to me. However, she did not do this. Carla seemed to have no difficulty in orally narrating her life narrative.

As mentioned earlier, life design narrative inquiry responds to the survivor's reality in an individual way (4.4.3). Each one of the three survivors in this study responded differently to the research methodology employed. Lucy participated in only one interview and found it easy to start with the first narrative question. Maya and Carla asked to reorder the narrative interview questions (4.4.3.2–4.4.3.4 and 7.2.2–7.2.3). Maya started with her re-authored narrative, then future narrative and ended with her life narrative. It seemed to me that Maya consciously suppressed the moment of narrating her life narrative because she did not want to relive her past experiences. Carla started with her future narrative, then went on to her re-authored narrative and ended with her life narrative. Both of their reasons for restructuring the phases of data generation were that they wanted me to be able to understand their life narratives. This could mean that they were taking care that I did not judge them on their life narratives, but would understand their experiences in the light of what they wished had not happened and what they would like to see happening in their future.

Through employing a life design narrative inquiry, I learned that this methodology is strongly influenced by context. The context in which I did this research, determined when, how, where, in which circumstances and for how long I could conduct the narrative interviews with the survivors (4.4.3). Life design narrative inquiry is an individual approach where the researcher and the survivor have equal roles in the data generation process. This highlights the non-linearity of the methodology (see Figure 4.2). This resonates with critical theory in which the researcher and survivor are in an equal partnership (4.3). What emerged from the narratives of the survivors of this study is that I had to be sensitive to the individual psychological needs of the survivors when employing the life design narrative inquiry with vulnerable people.

7.5 How did the context of liberal-capitalist societies manifest itself in the narratives?

The concept of trafficking is in essence a liberal capitalist notion. It literally means to buy and sell something illegally. This conception combined with the conception of children and humans

reduces children and humans to being traded objects. Therefore in liberal-capitalist societies human beings and children are reduced to being commercialised objects that provide services at a lower price for the new social class who are able to use their surplus wage and surplus time to indulge themselves (2.3). In Section 2.3, I argued that the role of unemployment and surplus wage are two of the features of liberal-capitalist societies which accelerate the growth of child trafficking (2.3). Coupled with these features are the push and pull factors which relate to the demand and supply of victims in liberal-capitalist societies. In this section, I explore how these features and factors manifest themselves in the narratives.

7.5.1 From Lucy's narratives

When Lucy came to South Africa, she was fleeing legal prosecution in her home country and presumably could not be legally employed in South Africa. Her trafficker hardly ever went out to work. He exploited her by making her work illegally and taking all the money she had earned to spend on drugs. He got them into debt by buying more drugs than they could afford. This situation is closely related to unemployment. Her trafficker was unemployed and exploited her for his financial gain.

Another of the push factors into trafficking is a lack of education about trafficking (2.3). Lucy did not know she was a victim of human trafficking and did not consider herself a victim while being exploited. A possible reason is that her conception of human trafficking was not accurate. She did not know how to identify a victim of human trafficking and therefore was not able to realise that she was a victim of human trafficking. She was not aware that she could have reported her trafficker to the police. She was also isolated in South Africa and could have been unaware of how to set about reporting her trafficker. Since she was working illegally and using drugs, she could have felt that she could not report her trafficker, because then she would be arrested too. It is also true that she believed that the police were corrupt and not to be trusted, so she might have had doubts about reporting her trafficker.

Two other push factors that I identified in her narrative are corruption and poor law enforcement (2.3). The police at times approached her after she had been abused by her trafficker, but did not take any steps to arrest her trafficker. It was also the police that told her that her former boyfriend was in the process of selling her to one of the most powerful human traffickers, yet they did not arrest him or protect her against being sold to him.

7.5.2 From Maya's narratives

Maya did not know she was a victim of child trafficking. This may be because this concept is not included in the written school curriculum. Her sexual exploitation commenced in the mid 1990s before South Africa had a comprehensive anti-human trafficking law that defined the

concept of child trafficking (2.2). This indicates that a lack of education on the concept of child trafficking was one of the push factors in her narratives. At times she did not go to school, making it easier for her traffickers to exploit her. She thus had little education, which could possibly influence her opportunities for further learning, specialisation and employability.

Another push factor that featured was family disruption, familial problems and concealment of incest and rape (2.3). Her primary trafficker was a close family member. Her mother not only concealed her daughter's SE, but also participated in her SE by selling her to pay for her drug bills.

Another push factor in her narrative was corrupt officials and poor law enforcement (2.3). According to Maya, everyone in her home town knew what was happening at her house, even the police who visited her house and knew about her the circumstances. Yet nothing was done to enforce the law or make arrests. On the last event of her SE, she was hit by police batons. Some of her traffickers were police members.

7.5.3 From Carla's narratives

Two related push factors feature in Carla's narratives: a lack of education and a lack of education about child and human trafficking (2.3). Her future dream was to become a hairdresser or a photographer. She had not finished school and therefore, in her view, probably did not meet the requirements to do hairdressing or photographic courses. She had no education about child and human trafficking. Only after she was rescued for the last time, did she learn that she had been a victim of human trafficking.

Low self-esteem was another push factor relevant to her narrative (2.3). She felt that she had already been oppressed so much that she was unattractive. This together with her belief that she could not do further study because she had not finished school explains why she felt there was nowhere else for her to go. To some extent, therefore, she worked with her trafficker.

Her traffickers took on the role of the link between supply and demand. They preyed on her lack of education, low self-esteem and drug debt to exploit her sexually. As a result she was forced to provide sexual services to customers who most likely spent their surplus-wage on her (2.3). She mentioned that sometimes clients offered to help, but she believed they would have done retracted if they knew she had a drug problem.

She said that money was very important money to her traffickers. Her traffickers would trap an attractive female into incurring debt and would steadily increase their debt so that they would never make enough money to buy their freedom. The traffickers wanted to make as much money as possible. They exploited attractive females until these females were so unattractive

that they could not even make R10 (less than 1 USD) a day. Then they would see them as worthless. The traffickers bribed law enforcers to help them find victims who ran away or to bring them new victims.

7.5.4 Brief summary

In Sections 7.5.1 to 7.5.3, five common push factors emerged from the survivors' narratives. The first push factor is a lack of knowledge about child and human trafficking. The survivors were naïve about child or human trafficking. This finding reinforces the research by Gjermeni *et al.* (2008:946) and UNESCO (2007:38) that trafficking often goes unrecognised. This lack of knowledge about child and human trafficking as a push factor contributed to all the survivors' vulnerability and exploitability.

The second push factor is a lack of education. A lack of education caused Carla to believe that she had no other choice. She thought she would not be able to pursue her dreams since she would not be able to fund her own studies. Maya also experienced a lack of education since she was sexually exploited during the time when she should have been at school.

The third and fourth push factors are linked to each other: corruption and poor law enforcement. In all the survivors' narratives these push factors contributed to their being unable to escape their trafficking situation. These findings raise the level of debate on the insufficiency of legislation to combat trafficking discussed in Section 2.4. As argued earlier, legislation needs to be reviewed, monitored, evaluated and implemented to combat trafficking more effectively (Pearce, 2009:2). If, however, those who should be doing the revision, monitoring, evaluation and implementation are corrupt, the legislation and its implementation will be insufficient to combat trafficking. The findings of this study show that the very people who should be freeing trafficking victims are complicit in their slavery.

Money and drugs played a role in all three the narratives. Money is the most important commodity in liberal-capitalist societies and maintains the level of demand for and supply of victims. In Lucy's narrative, it seems that she worked illegally and her trafficker used the money she made to support their drug habit. In Carla's narrative, money and drugs played a central role. Her traffickers lured her into SE by providing free drugs and then made her work for money to pay off her ever-increasing drug debt. In her narrative, money gave the traffickers such power that that they were even able to bribe law enforcers.

Push factors which related to Maya's narrative were family disruption, familial problems, and concealment of rape as well as low self-esteem. In her narrative it was primarily her family members who exploited her. Here one could argue that even if she knew she was a victim of

trafficking, she would have needed expert help to escape her circumstances when she was only six years old.

A push factor which related to Carla's narrative is low self-esteem. Her low self-esteem kept her vulnerable to be exploited by her traffickers. To some extent, one could argue that her being able to work for her trafficker gave her some sense of worth. She said that she had nowhere else for her to go; she had no other ways of maintaining her drug addiction or working. In the safe house not much was done to help her counter her low self-esteem, instead she was discriminated against because she had been diagnosed with cervical cancer, HIV+status and hepatitis.

7.6 How did the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to pursuit of pleasure manifest itself in the narratives?

In Section 2.5.1 the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to a pursuit of pleasure is illustrated. Firstly, the pursuit of pleasure is perceived as a person's right and, secondly, fulfilling one's duty is seen as bringing a person pleasure (Žižek, 2005:120). I will now refer to each survivor's narrative to show the role this right played in each case.

7.6.1 From Lucy's narratives

In Lucy's narrative it seems that her right to pursue pleasure became a pleasure in fulfilling her duty. She was independent and in love when she left her home country; at that time she pursued her right to pleasure by following her former boyfriend to wherever he went. When she was taking responsibility for her trafficker's actions, as well as when she remained committed to him, she was fulfilling her duty. Hence, she satisfied her redoubled right to pleasure. This made her vulnerable to continued entrapment.

Her trafficker, in turn, pursued his right to pleasure by exploiting her for drugs and eventually by planning to sell her in return for money to sustain his drug addiction. The police fulfilled their duty through warning her that she was going to be sold as a human trafficking victim. Her rescuers also fulfilled their duty by rescuing her.

At first Lucy was sent to a drug rehabilitation centre where she received free treatment in return for good behaviour. When she was admitted to Tamara's safe house, the safe house pursued their duty by prosecuting her traffickers. At the time when Lucy was at the safe house, she was fulfilling her duty by pursuing the prosecution of her trafficker through the help of the safe house.

In the future, she wants to return to her home country to see her parents again, especially her father. In returning to her home country one could argue that she would satisfy her redoubled right. She would pursue the pleasure of being able to go home, but she could also fulfil her duty to give her parents "all their children under one roof again" and, through this, to find pleasure. Lastly for her to take part in the narrative interview in the hope that something good could come of her narrative was akin to fulfilling her duty.

7.6.2 From Maya's narratives

Maya's traffickers pursued their right to pleasure by sexually exploiting her. Her mother pursued her right to pleasure by allowing Maya to be used as a sex object in return for drugs. Maya fulfilled the duty that she had taken on to protect her siblings against SE, when she submitted to SE after she had been threatened that it was either her or them. Through her traffickers pursuing their right to pleasure and her fulfilling her duty towards her siblings, Maya was trapped in SE.

Her rescuers fulfilled their duty by rescuing her from SE. When she stayed in the safe house she was fulfilling her duty by obediently observing the safe house rules, by cleaning the safe house and by co-operating with the authorities so her traffickers could be prosecuted. There were also elements of her future narrative in which she focused on fulfilling her duty to be a good mother to her child and providing her child with opportunities she never had.

7.6.3 From Carla's narratives

Carla was already addicted to drugs when her SE started. She pursued her right to pleasure by taking free drugs, which then resulted in her being trafficked. From that point, she had to fulfil her duty to pay for the free drugs that she used. She eventually came to the realisation that she would never free herself of her drug debt since her traffickers were providing her with over-priced drugs so her debt to them was increasing exponentially. She believed that she would never have enough money to pay off her debt. Here her right to pursue pleasure through fulfilling her duty caused her to be trapped in trafficking.

Her traffickers also pursued their right to pleasure by making money through exploiting her. Here, to some extent, one could argue that they were fulfilling their duty by providing her with drugs to ensure that she remained addicted to drugs.

When she was rescued for the last time, her rescuers fulfilled their duty by rescuing her. In the safe house she was fulfilling her duty by obediently obeying the safe house rules and by engaging in the process of prosecuting her traffickers with the help of the safe house. In the future she wanted to dedicate her life to a pursuit of pleasure by being able to have a day-to-

day job with a predictable life. She also wanted to fulfil her duty towards others by helping those who were in the same circumstances that she had been in and by providing for her children so that they would be able to finish school.

7.6.4 Brief summary

The redoubled right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure manifested itself differently in each survivor's narrative. In the case of Lucy and Carla, they pursued pleasure which made them vulnerable to becoming victims, and then, as time progressed, their right to fulfil their duty contributed to their being trapped in trafficking. Lucy fulfilled what she perceived as her duty towards her trafficker and Carla fulfilled her duty to pay for her drugs. Maya did not end up in a trafficking situation because she pursued her right to pleasure, but because her traffickers pursued their right to pleasure. She, however, was trapped in her trafficking situation because she wanted to fulfil her duty to protect her siblings from trafficking.

What emerges from these narratives is that the redoubled right sustains a cycle of staying trapped in trafficking. The traffickers pursue their right to pleasure. The victims fulfil their perceived duty. Here their concept of duty is influenced by what their traffickers make them believe about their duty. The rescuers of victims fulfil their duty by rescuing survivors. If they do not ensure that the traffickers are successfully prosecuted, they create opportunities for traffickers to recruit new victims.

7.7 To which extent is the freedom of choice, as well as the absence of freedom within choice, evident in the narratives?

In Section 2.5.2 it was argued that people are often offered an unfree choice, where the conditions in which they make a choice render the choice unfree (Žižek, 2005:118). In this section I explore the unfree choices that are evident in the narratives of the survivors.

7.7.1 From Lucy's narratives

Lucy's decision to leave her home country because of the crime she had committed with her trafficker had to be made very quickly. This decision can be seen as unfree, seeing that the conditions under which she had to choose made this an unfree choice. She had to choose between travelling to South Africa with her trafficker or going to jail, so she chose the first option.

Lucy's trafficker manipulated her by making her pity him about his childhood and making her promise to stay in a relationship with him. She felt responsible for her trafficker's actions and therefore felt obligated to stay with her trafficker in the interests of damage control. He

threatened her with suicide and kept her addicted to drugs. These were the conditions under which she decided to stay with her trafficker. These conditions made her decision an unfree one.

Lucy finally decided to leave her trafficker. This took place after she realised that he was planning to sell her to a large-scale human trafficker, "spiked" her drugs and physically abused her. She said that she had stopped caring for her trafficker by then. What probably made it easier for her to decide to leave her trafficker was that she believed that crystal methamphetamine usage had broken the mind control he had over her. One could argue here that her decision to undergo drug rehabilitation was also unfree since this was the only option she had.

During drug rehabilitation Lucy realised that she had more choices than she initially thought she had. For the first time in years, she had the opportunity to think about her life. This allowed her to realise that she had some options, even if not many. It was a liberating moment.

7.7.2 From Maya's narratives

Maya had to choose between her own SE and that of her siblings, she felt responsible for protecting her siblings and therefore cooperated in SE. This was clearly an unfree choice.

When Maya was rescued by the safe house team, she had to choose between being with her child and having her child taken away from her by social workers. Clearly, Maya did not make a free choice here. Furthermore, to receive deliverance counselling, she first had to accept Jesus as her saviour. She also had to attend daily Bible study sessions. It seems that choosing to belong to Christianity was also not a free choice.

Maya chose to live from day to day and to not make future plans or dream about the future. This decision was also based on unfree conditions. Since she had been so disappointed in the past, she felt there was little use in having dreams and creating high expectations. She preferred to expect disappointment.

7.7.3 From Carla's narratives

Carla was already addicted to drugs when she was forced into SE. She had to pay off her and her friend's drug debts through being sexually exploited. Her addiction to drugs made her choices unfree.

Carla was physically abused and raped. She felt that her trafficker had a hold on her because she was no longer attractive and she that she had nowhere else to go. These contributed to her making unfree choices.

When Carla was rescued by the organization for the first time, she was sent to a drug rehabilitation centre and thereafter to a place of safety for women who had experienced domestic abuse. When the amount of time she was allowed to stay at this place of safety expired, she was back on the street. The only telephone number she remembered was her trafficker's and Carla chose to phone him right away. This choice could be seen as an unfree choice, since she did not know where to go or what to do, neither did she have any resources to make use of.

Carla's drug addiction in the past made her revert to living on the streets and to being trafficked. Her spells of drug withdrawal also created conditions for unfree choices. In Carla's life narrative, it seemed that she was well aware of the choices one is able to make in life. She said she had made bad choices in the past, but she made a decision that she had had enough of bad choices.

One evening at a Bible study in the safe house Carla was frightened that her decision would not be firm enough and that she would end up in cycle of drug addiction and SE once again. Carla saw freedom as being able to make choices in life.

7.7.4 Brief summary

All three survivors faced unfree conditions in which they made choices which led to them being victims. It could have been that they at first thought that they were making free choices. If so, this could contributed to their not realising that they were victims.

Lucy thought that she was doing what she wanted to do, because no one could tell her what to do. She thought she was in love and that she had chosen to follow her trafficker wherever he decided to go. Maya might have thought that she chose to protect her siblings and that in doing so she fulfilled her duty as a good sister to look after her siblings. Therefore for years she could have thought that she had chosen to do her best for them. Carla believed that she had some kind of power over the decisions she made (see her discussion with Tamara in Section 7.2.3). She might not have realised that the decisions she made were unfree.

One could argue that traffickers were able to influence victim's perception on making decisions and so the victims believed that they were making free choices when the opposite was true. The traffickers created unfree conditions and then left their victims with unfree choices.

7.8 Which modes of willing are evident in the narratives?

In this section, I explore the extent to which the three modes of willing are evident in what the survivors narrated. Mostly the successful events of willing are reported here. There could have been times in the survivors' lives where they would have contemplated making different decisions, but I do not have evidence for this claim.

7.8.1 From Lucy's narrative

In her home country she made a decision to commit crime with her trafficker. This decision could have been based on her promise to stay loyal to him and to follow him wherever he went. The underlying motive for this decision could have been a desire to please him and in fulfilling this desire, she experienced pleasure. Her body as the involuntary then followed in movement the decision that she made to commit crime with him and then the final mode of willing was that she consented to the decision to commit crime.

The implication of committing crime was that she had to flee her home country with her trafficker. She had 30 minutes to make the decision. The motive for her choosing to leave her country could be that she feared going to jail or the same as the one she had for committing crime. The movement and consent were evident in the fact that she went to another country with her trafficker.

In South Africa Lucy and her trafficker frequently moved between provinces and from rural to city areas. She wanted to start building a life with her trafficker. She seemed to want stability in her life. Her decision to move around South Africa with her trafficker was arguably based on a few motives: 1) fear due to physical abuse: she believed that if she went to the police that he would kill her and she did not want her parents to get a phone call to say their child was dead; 2) fear of being without him; 3) fear that he would commit suicide; 4) fear of South Africa: she felt completely isolated in this country, she did not know where to go, she had no family or friends, and she was regularly told by her trafficker that this was a dangerous country, which made her fearful to be without him; 5) desire to love him: he made her empathise with him and pity him; and 6) desire to do damage control: she might have felt pleasure to know she had some control over him in that she could make him do less outrageous things than he wanted to do. All these motives possibly led to her moving away and consenting to follow her trafficker wherever he wanted to go. She came to a point where she completely lost her ability to stand up to her trafficker and was enslaved by him. She did anything he wanted her to do.

Lucy was using drugs with her trafficker, which he bought using the money she had earned. The motives for her deciding to use drugs in South Africa were, firstly, that if she used the

drugs, she did not need to eat food, and secondly, to escape her circumstances. When she used crystal methamphetamine, it broke the mind control he had over her. This was the turning point in her narrative and she started to get over him. Contributing to this turning point was the event when the police had warned her that her trafficker was in the process of selling her to one of the biggest human traffickers. She was shocked by this information.

This shock together with Lucy's disillusionment as a result of using crystal methamphetamine helped her to revolt against her trafficker. According to Ricoeur (1966:272), emotion unites the shock of thought and the bodily revolt in a vital continuity of the voluntary and the involuntary which is stronger than any possible effort. After she went through shock and disillusionment, Lucy refused to smoke heroin when her trafficker tried to make her do so. He threatened her, but she resisted him. Lucy's decision to refuse and resist him could have been rooted in a desire to be free of him. The movement and consent to her decision followed in her actively resisting her trafficker.

A policeman came and he dropped her on the side of the road. This time she ran away from him and phoned a customer for help. One could argue that her decision to run away and phone for help was based on the motives of desire to be free from him and fear that if she did not get away he would sell her to a large-scale human trafficker. She was rescued after this.

7.8.2 From Maya's narratives

Maya was forced into SE by her traffickers when she was six years old and they were adults. They transported her against her will. They also drugged her so that she would not be aware of what was happening to her. All these actions were imposed on her. Her traffickers also gave her a choice either they sexually exploited her or they did it to her siblings. Here one could argue Maya made a choice (although it should rather be considered as coercion), one could argue her choice was motivated by fear. She might have feared that the same things that her traffickers were doing to her would be done to her siblings. She also could have had a desire to protect them. Both these motives might have been strong enough for her to allow her traffickers to exploit her.

There were events in Maya's narrative where it seemed that she rebelled against her traffickers. One was when she refused to sniff the drugs her traffickers gave her. Here she made a choice not to do it because she realised what it was doing to her. This realisation of what was going to happen to her while she was drugged must have been fear-motivated. Even though she refused, her traffickers still forced the drugs on her by injecting them into her between her toes.

In another event Maya managed to hide her pregnancy long enough from her traffickers so that they would not force her to have an abortion. She was between the age of 25 and 28 when this happened. She had already had three or four abortions by that time. Her motives for choosing to hide her pregnancy are not clear to me. It could have been that she desired to have a baby or that she did not want to experience the pain that she had felt during previous abortions.

When Maya was older she reached out to a pastor for help. The motives behind the decision to reach out for help could have been the desire not to be sexually exploited or the fear of the pain (force drugs, physical abuse, rape, forced abortions at times etc.) she suffered while being sexually exploited. Unfortunately, she was silenced by the pastor's dire threats. She decided not to go for help again. This decision could have been based on the fear that if she did ask for help she could be killed.

The last time Maya was SE, she was assaulted with police batons. This was because she made a decision not to allow them to sexually exploit her. Maya decided that she had had enough of SE. Her motives for this decision could have been based on a need to feel safe, a desire to not be exploited and the fear that if this lifestyle continued, they would start sexually exploiting her child. This event was a turning point and Maya decided to escape.

After the assault, Maya turned to a friend and confided in her. Her friend was scared that Maya would commit suicide and made contact with outsiders asking them to intervene. If her friend deduced that Maya could commit suicide, then it could mean that Maya was at a breaking point. She would rather be dead than to face the pain (emotionally and physically) she had to go through every time she was sexually exploited.

When Maya was rescued, her rescuers gave her the option of going with them or having social workers take her child away from her. She loved her child and always did what she could to protect her and be the mother to her child she had never had. She was always concerned with what was the best interest for her child. So when she was faced with this decision she might have feared what would happen to her child if she was not with her: this fear could have been the motive for deciding to go with her rescuers.

Maya stated that she had never experienced freedom in her life and she did not know what it was. Her journey to find freedom commenced in the safe house. In her case it could be an arduous journey since her will had been enslaved for more than twenty years.

7.8.3 From Carla's narratives

A Nigerian kept on inviting Carla and her friend to go to his home. After a few days they accepted the invitation and visited the Nigerian. This decision could have been based on a need for the job that the Nigerian offered her friend or out of curiosity. At the Nigerian's house Carla and her friend received drugs and decided to use them. This decision could have been based on the motive of desire to use drugs, because they were already drug addicts.

Immediately after Carla and her friend used the free drugs, Carla was forced into SE. She made a decision (which should rather be seen as coercion) to stay and be sexually exploited based on the Nigerians demand for her to pay back the money for the drugs that they had used. The Nigerian's demand could have caused her to feel fear so she complied rather than walking away. During her SE she endured rape, was physically assaulted and had no one to help her to escape. Her drug addiction made her vulnerable to being trapped in SE by her traffickers.

Carla's drug addiction made her jump over the fence at a drug rehabilitation, and go back to the trafficking situation when she would have had the opportunity to get clean. She felt that her drug addiction controlled her. It seems that her drug addiction meant that the involuntary took over the voluntary and she had to make a great effort to attempt to free herself from drug addiction.

7.8.4 Brief summary

In all three narratives the philosophy of will (Chapter Three) helps to unlock the motives survivors' unfree choices. In the first mode of willing, decisions are based on motives (3.3). Each survivor's motives varied as their circumstances in which they made the choices varied.

All three survivors experienced fear as a motive for some of their decisions (7.8.1-7.8.3). When one fears what is going to happen, one imagines the instruments of suffering and the pain itself (3.3.2.4). Imagined pain can take over the voluntary even before the involuntary experiences such pain (3.3.2.4). It can make one start using repelling acts which include flight, attack, avoidance and watchfulness (3.3.2.4). All the survivors had experienced pain in the form physical abuse and Maya and Carla also experienced sexual abuse in the form of rape. These painful experiences could have resulted in fear and subsequent compliance with their traffickers demands. This compliance could be explained as a repelling act in response to fear.

Desire is another motive which influenced some of the decisions of the survivors (7.8.1-7.8.3). Desire is the anticipation of pleasure (3.3.2.2). In Lucy's narrative she experienced desire to

please, to love and to do the damage control for her trafficker. She developed a very strong bond with her trafficker. However, as their relationship progressed she started desiring to be free of his control. Maya had a desire to be a good sister and a good mother, to protect her siblings and to offer her child good care. Carla felt the desire to use drugs since she was addicted to them.

These motives on which the survivors' decisions were based are only the first mode of willing. After a decision has been made a specific movement follows in reaction to a decision (3.4). This movement is negotiated between the voluntary and involuntary (3.4). The involuntary imposes restraints on the voluntary and the voluntary reacts through effort (3.4). Effort could be intellectual or muscular in nature (3.4).

I elaborated above on how fear and desire seemed to be the motives for most of the decisions that the survivors made. Fear and desire are tied to emotions. Desire as an emotion is conquering in the sense that when one experiences desire one can believe that one can already do what one desires (3.4.2.2). Emotions are a form of the involuntary in the second mode of willing (3.4.2.2). Emotions sustain motives into movement (3.4.2.2). The true function of an emotion is to incline the voluntary to action (3.4.2.2). The voluntary resists this inclination through effort.

The third mode of willing is consent. Consent is an active decision to accept a decision and to realise this decision (3.5.1). Consent has no future but commands what has already decided (3.5.1). The involuntary negotiates with the voluntary through different necessities (3.5.2). In the narratives one could see that each survivor's narrative was influenced by these necessities. Each survivor's narrative had its own character: that is a unique style of consenting to decisions (3.5.2.1). The following necessities might have also played a role in directing how they gave consent to that which they already decided: the unconscious (3.5.2.2), life structure (3.5.2.3), life: growth and genesis (3.5.2.4) and life: birth (3.5.2.5).

The analysis and interpretation of the three modes of willing make it seem very easy to identify the motives for the decisions made by the survivors. In practice, however, it is difficult to identify these motives. In an action, all three of the modes of willing progressively occur in a couple of seconds. Over time victims of trafficking may make the same kind of decisions to please their traffickers again and again, and the conditions in which they make these decisions become unfree. Their involuntary then becomes enslavement to their traffickers' will. Therefore they no longer show any resistance to decisions which are not their own. This was true in Lucy's case. In the beginning she resisted her trafficker, but towards the end of their relationship she gave up, until she reached a point where he no longer controlled her mind and she started resisting him again.

7.9 Which discourses in the theoretical-philosophical framework are not reflected in the discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text?

In this section, I specifically focus on the relevant theoretical-philosophical discourses that are not reflected in the discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text. I explore discourse-as-discursive-practice first (7.9.1) first and then discourse-as-text (7.9.2).

7.9.1 Discourse-as-discursive practice

Human rights have a central role in the theoretical-philosophical framework. However, in the safe house the concept of human rights was not explicitly mentioned. A stronger focus was placed on their interpretation of Christian spiritual principles (5.2.5). In my time at the safe house, neither Tamara nor the survivors of trafficking mentioned human rights and how these were violated.

It seemed that the survivors were treated like pawns in the attempt to successfully prosecute traffickers. In the 2.4.3, I argued that survivors should be treated as human beings in need of protection, not as pawns. Specific norms and standards should be adhered to in a safe house for trafficking survivors (2.4.3). I also referred to the literature and to policy documents to strengthen my argument that specific services should be available to survivors (2.4.3). However, only some services were provided in the safe house where I conducted my research study (5.4.2).

Staff of safe houses should have specialised training in the prevention and intervention of trafficking (2.4.3). However, the safe house role-players whom I encountered did not have this kind of training. Tamara had considerable experience of the prosecution of traffickers and applying the law. However, she had not done a specialised course in the aftercare of survivors of trafficking. Lilith claimed to have been highly qualified, but she had not done any accredited courses in counselling. In her opinion, rape survivors and trafficking survivors could be counselled in the same way.

7.9.2 Discourse-as-text

In the three narratives the act played an important role. However related, the following elements were not present in their narratives: transfer, harbour, receipt, deliver, exchange and lease. It could be that they had not had to move through different recruitment channels to be transferred, harboured, receipt, delivered or exchanged since two of them had been trafficked in South Africa. The recruitment techniques, relevant to act of trafficking, were discussed in detail in Section 2.2.1. The only technique which did not feature in the narratives was the gorilla technique.

In the narratives, sex tourism and survival sex did not feature explicitly as forms of SE. It is possible, however, that Carla's clients made use of sex tourist networks to access the services she provided. It should also be noted that since only three survivors participated in this research study, it is not surprising that some of the forms of SE did not feature in their narratives.

The means of trafficking does not have to be proved in the case of child trafficking. Nevertheless, most of the means featured in the narratives. Only two means, abduction and kidnapping, did not feature in the narratives. The reason for this could be that both Lucy and Maya were trafficked by people with whom they were in a relationship. Carla visited the person who became her trafficker and therefore was not abducted or kidnapped.

In liberal-capitalist societies the supply of victims is closely linked to several push factors. Some of these featured in the narratives (7.5). The push factors which did not play a role in the narratives were traditional beliefs and beliefs regarding HIV/AIDS (2.3). This is probably because the survivors of trafficking did not come from a community where traditional beliefs related to muti, labola or child placement were held. The survivors did not mention HIV/AIDS during the narrative interviews. Even though Carla experienced discrimination because of her HIV/AIDS status in the safe house, HIV/AIDS was not a push factor in her narrative (5.4.1.1).

The survivors of trafficking did not explicitly mention their human rights or their human rights that were violated. I am not sure if the survivors knew or realised that their human rights had been violated. It should be noted too that I did not explicitly include human rights in the narrative questions, which may explain why they did not explore their experiences as a violation of human rights. From the narratives it is quite clear that all the human rights of all of the survivors were violated.

7.10 Which discourses in discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text are not reflected in the theoretical-philosophical framework?

In this section, I specifically focus on the discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-text that are not reflected in the theoretical-philosophical framework. I explore discourse-as-discursive-practice (7.10.1) and then discourse-as-text (7.10.2).

7.10.1 Discourse-as-discursive-practice

In the theoretical-philosophical framework not much attention was devoted to how victims of human trafficking are rescued (2.4.3). In this study the process of rescuing victims, looking at their rehabilitation, arresting traffickers and prosecuting traffickers were discussed in detail in Chapter Five. This was done to provide the reader with a detailed account of the research

environment and an analysis of the discourse-as-discursive-practice. The role-players involved in rescuing victims, in the safe house, and in the prosecution of traffickers (5.2.3) were also included, even although these role-players were not discussed in the theoretical-philosophical framework.

A specific role-player was the deliverance counsellor. No mention is made of deliverance counselling and its importance for the rehabilitation of trafficking survivors in the theoretical-philosophical framework. However, in the safe house the deliverance counsellor played an important role in the rehabilitation of survivors (5.3.2).

In the safe house security and confidentiality were emphasised (5.2.4, 5.4.1.2 & 5.5.1). Strict measures were used to ensure confidentiality, including a ban on survivors' using their own names (5.5.1). These issues were not addressed in the theoretical-philosophical framework, although the privacy and confidentiality of survivors were clearly discussed in Section 4.10.1 which addressed the access and disclosure of information of and about survivors.

7.10.2 Discourse-as-text

Push factors make people vulnerable to trafficking. In the narratives, the following emerged as possible push factors. Lucy's romantic relationship with her trafficker made her vulnerable to becoming a victim of trafficking (6.2.1). Although this is seen as a recruitment technique (2.2.1), I argue that her relationship with her trafficker also made her vulnerable to being trafficked. She was an educated woman who owned houses and cars in her home country, yet because she fell in love and committed crime she became vulnerable to trafficking (6.2.1). Therefore, from Lucy's narrative I argue her romantic relationship was a push factor.

Another push factor related to Lucy's narrative was the crime she committed in her home country, and possibly other crimes she committed with her trafficker (6.2.1). Through these crimes he had a hold on her and could force her to do whatever he wanted her to do.

Another push factor which is not described in the theoretical-philosophical framework is the addiction to drugs. Lucy used drugs with her trafficker (6.2.1). Drugs were forced on Maya (6.3.1) and Carla became vulnerable to trafficking because of drugs (6.4.1). Drugs were used as a recruitment technique (2.2.1). Especially in the case of Carla, drug addiction makes one vulnerable to being pushed into trafficking. Therefore I argue that the addiction to drugs could be seen as a push factor in trafficking.

Lucy and Maya were in a close relationship with their traffickers (6.2.1 & 6.3.1). Although the relationship between the trafficker and victim has not been directly addressed in the theoretical-philosophical framework, I briefly explore it here. This relationship made it more

difficult for Lucy and Maya to escape. This is especially true of Maya where her mother who was her caregiver allowed Maya's exploitation and used her as a form of income (6.3.1). The relationship of Maya with her trafficker also made it more difficult to define the form of SE she was used for (6.3.1). Her form of SE is not clearly defined or described in the theoretical-philosophical framework.

The influence of SE on the trafficking victim was not addressed in the theoretical-philosophical framework. Two physical results in the narrative were pregnancy and abortion. In both Maya's and Carla's narratives they fell pregnant as a result of their SE. Maya underwent multiple abortions and Carla let her child be adopted. These experiences of pregnancy, abortion and adoption might have had emotional impacts on them, although these were not discussed.

In Lucy's narrative, an interesting theme emerged. That is her feeling of losing her identity when she lost her material possessions (6.2.1). She felt this in her trafficking situation and also in the safe house where she was supposed to find herself again during the rehabilitation process (6.2.1). Identity was not a focus of this study, so I did not analyse her experience of losing her identity in detail (6.2.1).

The concept of time featured in all the future narratives of the survivors (6.5.3). They found it difficult to think about the future and seemed unable to make future plans for themselves. Reasons for this include their drug addiction, which made them incapable of processing the concept of time. Since their court cases were still proceeding, they did not know how these cases would end.

7.11 Conclusion

Analysing discourse as social practice is a complex process, with a number of levels (4.8.3). These levels are first the immediate situation, then wider situation and lastly a societal level. This chapter showed how discourse as social practice was embedded in these levels.

The process of employing life design narrative inquiry to generate narratives reflected the immediate situation of the survivors after trafficking. The survivor's narratives also contributed to interpretations of employing the life design narrative inquiry. The safe house in which the narratives were generated provided the immediate situation which made an impact on how the narratives were generated.

The narratives are influenced by and could also influence the wider and societal levels. The wider levels could be the organization of the safe house and societal levels the theoretical-philosophical framework. The data were interpreted by reflecting on the theoretical-philosophical framework. This interpretation resulted in thick descriptions and multiple layers

of understanding of child and human trafficking. In the following chapter, I provide the theoretical and empirical conclusions I reached after reflecting on this research study.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This is the first qualitative study in HRE to provide rich descriptions and a theoretical-philosophical analysis of the lived experiences of a human and two child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation. This chapter concludes the study, but it also opens up new research avenues.

Table 8.1 provides the structural overview of this chapter. Next, I briefly reflect on the research problem and the main research aim.

Table 8.1: Structural overview of Chapter Eight

| | |
|---|--|
| 8.1 Introduction | |
| 8.2 Brief reflection on the research problem and main research aim | |
| 8.3 Contribution of the thesis to new knowledge | 8.3.1 Theoretical contribution |
| | 8.3.2 Methodological contribution |
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| 8.5 Reflection on my position | |
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| | 8.6.2 Different purposes of child trafficking |
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| | 8.6.6 Liberal-capitalist societies and trafficking |
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8.2 Brief reflection on the research problem and main research aim

There is a strong tendency for research reports on child trafficking to quantify the number of victims (Allais, 2013:375; HSRC, 2010:1; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005:30). Yet, the narratives and lived experiences of trafficking survivors include personal stories of emotional, physical, sexual and spiritual suffering (USDS, 2014:30) are far more telling. They powerfully reveal the serious effect that the different forms of abuse have on children's academic social, emotional and spiritual development.

This qualitative research on the authentic experiences of three survivors foregrounds their voices. This is exactly what is needed to address child trafficking as a human rights violation in the HRE curriculum (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2013:109).

In South Africa, little research has been done on the experiences of child trafficking survivors (1.3). I was unable to find even one in-depth study of survivors' narratives. This confirmed the need for research on their lived experiences. This research has paid particular attention to decision-making related to their entry into and exit from trafficking. The knowledge that emerged on conceptualisations of freedom will help to construct effective HRE curriculum interventions to prevent trafficking.

The overall aim of this research study was: "To contribute to human rights education through conceptualising freedom in the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation" (1.4). In response to the research aim, this study provided a theoretical-philosophical framework and an in-depth qualitative engagement with the narratives of a human trafficking survivor and two child trafficking survivors.

The theoretical-philosophical framework was interpreted and scrutinised by contrasting discourses in narratives of child trafficking survivors with these frameworks during the final phase of CDA (Chapter Seven). The data generated by the narratives were scrutinised to provide rich descriptions on human and child trafficking survivors' experiences, as well as on their decision-making. The findings of this study thus contribute to the expansion of the theoretical-philosophical framework of freedom discourses for HRE.

In the next section I highlight how this study addressed the research problem and main research aim through discussing the different contributions this thesis has made to knowledge.

8.3 Contribution of the thesis to new knowledge

This thesis contributes to new knowledge theoretically (8.3.1), methodologically (8.3.2) and contextually (8.3.3). In the following sections I justify this claim.

8.3.1 Theoretical contribution

The conceptualisations of freedom in the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation have particular importance for the HRE curriculum in South Africa. I discuss the theoretical findings of this study before summarising the contribution of this study to theory.

Earlier in this thesis, I critiqued some of the inherent complexities in the definition of child and human trafficking in both literature (2.2) and in the survivor's narratives (7.2). This study provides a unique picture of the lived experiences of a human and two child trafficking

survivors by comparing and contrasting their experiences with the existing theory, with due attention being given to the difference between child trafficking and human trafficking (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2010:7).

Secondly, I positioned child trafficking in liberal-capitalist societies as the context in which child trafficking flourishes. This positioning challenges the overall environment of these societies in which the exploitation occurs rather than only responding to the exploited (Pearce, 2009:15). In the context of liberal-capitalist societies, the need for labour, services and products is a result of demand and supply (2.3). Child trafficking is an illegal business which supplies children who provide sexual services. In the case of child trafficking, both pull and push factors contribute to the vulnerability of children.

In the theoretical-philosophical framework, emphasis was placed on sex as a business transaction which reduces children to sex toys. Yet, what is also evident from the data is that their relationships with the traffickers often make victims vulnerable and subjective participants in their exploitation. In such cases, it becomes much more difficult to distinguish whether a case of sexual exploitation should be classified as domestic abuse or as child or human trafficking. The relationship with the traffickers could therefore be seen as a subjective rather than an objective push factor.

Thirdly, I adopted a human rights centred approach to combating trafficking (2.4). This approach includes prevention (2.4.1), prosecution (2.4.2) and protection (2.4.3). The macro and micro research environments (Chapter Five) of this research were dominated by protection and prosecution and did not use a human rights approach to trafficking survivors (7.9.1). I observed various violations of the survivors' human rights, including being used as instruments to secure the prosecution of their traffickers. The various safety rules and features aimed at protecting the victims, yet they created a very unfree and a human rights unfriendly environment for the survivors.

Fourthly, I paid close attention to two basic human rights that are violated during the exploitation phase of victims (2.5) and analysed specific violations of these rights in the context of trafficking (2.5, 7.6 & 7.7). My analysis revealed that the redoubled right to dedicate one's life to the pursuit of pleasure could trap victims in a cycle of trafficking. Those for whom doing one's duty is intertwined with the pursuit of pleasure are likely to continue in the lifestyle of a trafficking victim (7.6.4). It also revealed that pursuing this right could help to promote trafficking in liberal-capitalist societies. On the one hand, there is a strong demand from the clients, as a pull factor. Survivors who pursue duty as their pleasure could inadvertently add to the supply of victims in the trafficking market and create more financial opportunities for the traffickers themselves (2.5). With regard to the second basic human right, namely freedom of

choice (2.5.2), the analysis of the survivors' unfree choices using the lens of discourse as social practice focuses on decision-making in their past (7.7) and addresses the lack of in-depth understanding of children's decision-making in the South African context (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012:256).

Finally, my philosophical scrutiny of the concept of freedom from an anthropological perspective in the context of child trafficking is another contribution. To do this, I unpacked the concept of freedom in Chapter Three. The freedom discourses that emerged from this theoretical discussion were applied to the context of child trafficking. These were discussed philosophically in Section 3.3.3, Section 3.4.3 and Section 3.5.5 and analysed in the context of the narratives of trafficking survivors in Section 7.8.

I analysed conceptions of freedom in the context of child trafficking for three reasons: to understand the role of two of the most basic human rights in the narratives of the child trafficking survivors; to explore more closely how these survivors entered and escaped trafficking; and to contribute to an in-depth understanding of these survivors' decision making. From this study it appears that the survivors of trafficking were unfree in their minds, which resulted in their being trapped in the cycle of trafficking (7.7).

With regard to theory, the research study contributes to an in-depth understanding of the freedom discourses in the narratives of trafficking survivors in rehabilitation through the scholarly engagement with critical theory, human rights in liberal-capitalist societies, freedom and HRE curriculum. It also contributes to the body of scholarship on child trafficking as a human rights violation and of freedom discourses in child trafficking for HRE. In addition, the theoretical-philosophical engagement with the narratives of survivors in rehabilitation contributes to a collective narrative of their experiences in a particular time, space and place. From these collective narratives, discourses of freedom were conceptualised. These contribute to our understanding of how the HRE curriculum can create opportunities to combat trafficking. This study, the first to theorise freedom discourses of child trafficking survivors from a HRE curriculum point of view, should help future curriculum developers to determine what to include in a HRE curriculum.

8.3.2 Methodological contribution

There is a pressing need for qualitative research on child trafficking (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005:30), including empirical research on the narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation. This study makes two methodological contributions. Firstly, it appears to be the first qualitative research study on child trafficking in the discipline of HRE. Secondly, it adds a

new research methodology: life design narrative inquiry. This methodology could be refined (see 7.3–7.4) and used in future empirical research on vulnerable people.

8.3.3 Contextual contribution

Qualitative engagement with child trafficking is needed to conceptualise appropriate approaches to combat child trafficking as a human rights violation in specific contexts. To date, however, child trafficking has not been well conceptualised within HRE in South Africa (1.3). This study therefore contributes to the conceptualisation of preventative approaches to child trafficking in South Africa through curriculum intervention.

There is a lack of progression in HRE curriculum with regard to content knowledge (3.6). To address this, authentic examples of child trafficking could be used to explore this complex social problem in the HRE classroom (3.6). Human rights violations could thus be addressed in increasing complexity throughout the HRE curriculum. This research study provides authentic examples of trafficking.

This study therefore helps to narrow the gap in research on child trafficking in South Africa and could be used as a departure point for curriculum intervention in HRE in South Africa. However, the scope of the research is not limited to South Africa since child trafficking is a global phenomenon. It also contributes to an understanding of the dynamics of how a specific safe house and organization operate in terms of rescue, prosecution and protection. This thesis therefore poses an implicit challenge to a human rights approach to explore ways in which these dynamics could be standardised, coordinated and monitored.

8.4 Arguable limitations of this study

There were no male survivors in the study. The reason is that it is difficult to gain access to this population group. To date, there are no safe houses in South Africa that focus specifically on the rehabilitation of males over the age of 18 who were rescued from trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Another possible limitation is that the survivors of child trafficking who participated in this study were already adults. Different discourses are likely to be generated by child trafficking survivors who are children, which would necessitate different methods of data generation.

Yet another possible limitation is that the research was done in one research environment. Using more than one research environment may have enabled me to gain access to a wider variety of child trafficking survivors with different experiences. More diverse narratives may have emerged, which could have enabled a deeper understanding of child trafficking.

Finally, the nature of the research methodology and sensitivity of the topic make the empirical study time consuming. Gaining access to survivors requires a great deal of patience and persistence. Even when access is granted, there is no guarantee that the decision would not be rescinded before the research could be done.

In the next section, I reflect on my position as researcher.

8.5 Reflection on my position

During my PhD journey, many people asked me about my research. When I told them I was doing research on child trafficking survivors, most of them assumed that I was a social worker or a psychologist. When I said that my field was Curriculum Studies, they found it difficult to see connection. "Why Curriculum Studies?" they asked. I countered by saying: "Why not?" My view is that Curriculum studies should have been one of the first disciplines to address the issue of trafficking. I justify this view in the next three paragraphs.

At the end of my PhD journey I am even more passionate about doing research on the experiences of trafficking survivors than when I started. There is still so much more to learn from these survivors as well as their traffickers. During my survey of the literature, I was unable to find a single study on the life experiences of traffickers. I hope to do research on a trafficker's experiences or at least be a supervisor of such a study.

As I read and thought about human trafficking over the four years, I made a mental list all of the possible role-players. As I see it, these are: the possible victims, the possible human traffickers, the possible spectators, the possible rescuers, the possible activists against trafficking, the ignorant and those who will work in prevention, protection and prosecution. All these future role-players in trafficking will be in the foundation phase classroom at some point in their lives. However, not all of them stay in the school system until grade 12. I am convinced that raising awareness of child trafficking should start in the grade 1 classroom. This means that teachers from grade 1 up need to create awareness of child trafficking. This has direct implications for both in-service and pre-service programmes. Teachers need to have detailed knowledge on child trafficking and on how to teach children about this phenomenon. Before such programmes can be offered, however, much more research needs to be done in Curriculum Studies. The phenomenon of trafficking needs to be thoroughly scrutinised and secondly effective ways of creating awareness about trafficking in the HRE curriculum need to be explored.

Trafficking has been a part of human history for centuries and it will therefore need concerted effort to combat it. HRE should raise awareness not only about trafficking, and it should challenge the value system of people who allow or participate in trafficking. Studies in many

other disciplines are required, as well as multidisciplinary studies. Partnerships in different sectors of society are also required to combat trafficking both locally and globally. In what follows I offer more suggestions on further research possibilities.

8.6 Suggestions for further research

This study raises a number of questions, opening up new avenues of research. I will now elaborate on some of them.

8.6.1 The HRE curriculum

The value of HRE lies in its capacity to reveal the complexities of human rights and human rights violations that are a feature of child trafficking (3.6). These violations are considered as both a cause and a consequence of child trafficking. Therefore the protection of human rights should be at the centre of any preventative measures against child trafficking. The organic spaces within HRE in the South African school curriculum of Life Skills and Life Orientation could be used to address child trafficking as a human rights violation. Research is needed to explore ways in which HRE could serve this preventative function most effectively.

More research is also needed to develop modules to teach in-service and pre-service teachers about child trafficking, what it is, how to identify child trafficking situations, how to teach children about child trafficking and how to address learners in the classroom who are former victims of child trafficking but have been reintegrated.

8.6.2 Different purposes of child trafficking

More research is needed to conceptualise the many other reasons for child trafficking. The research methodology employed in this study could be used to research other forms of child trafficking, such as forced begging, forced labour, and child soldiers. More research is also needed on the link between drug addiction and the different purposes of child trafficking.

8.6.3 Survivors after rehabilitation

Research is needed on the narratives of survivors who had been successfully reintegrated into society. These narratives can be analysed in terms of educational needs of and recommendations for rehabilitation programmes.

More research is also needed on how to help survivors find freedom and balance between the voluntary and the involuntary. The findings of such research should then be used to ways of incorporating them in rehabilitation programmes.

Survivors of trafficking seem to find the concept of time difficult to comprehend and so they are unable to think even one week ahead. They tend to take each day as it comes. This highlights their captivity in mental prisons. More research is needed on the survivors' conception of time and space.

8.6.4 Rehabilitation programmes

More research is needed on rehabilitation programmes, both content and presentation. The effectiveness of such programmes also needs to be analysed. This research should be supplemented with research on the needs of survivors, including the education programmes that should be offered during rehabilitation. A possible question is: What programmes are needed to help child trafficking survivors to study for a profession or to gain skills which would improve their chances of successful reintegration into society?

Another area that warrants research is the effect that practices such as using pseudonyms for survivors during their rehabilitation or recovery has on them.

The meaning of the concept "safe" in safe house also needs to be interrogated. A starting point could be: How do survivors experience the concept "safe" and what do they really need to feel safe (emotionally, physically and spiritually)? More research is also needed on the accountability and role of safe houses. Some questions that could be usefully explored are: Who should these safe houses report to? and How successful are safe houses in helping survivors not to find themselves in a trafficking experience again?

More research is needed on processes and structures for evaluating and monitoring the performance of safe house role-players. There is also a need for research on the level of training and education the various safe house role-players need to successfully facilitate rehabilitation programmes for survivors. Related research should also be done on the kind of support safe house role-players need.

More in-depth research and thought is needed on exactly how a human rights centred approach should be implemented applied, including how best to balance the three elements of restoration, protection, rehabilitation and reintegration.

8.6.5 Researcher's experiences during research about trafficking

Research is needed on the effect that doing research about trafficking has on the researcher concerned.

8.6.6 Liberal-capitalist societies and trafficking

A simple model of commodities, goods and services cannot be applied to human beings. As this and similar studies are trying to establish, the dynamics of the free market can be hostile to human rights. Therefore, more theoretical conceptualisation of the market dynamics within liberal-capitalist societies is needed.

8.7 Conclusion

This study reveals that child trafficking survivors are vulnerable living beings with dreams, desires, emotions and passions. Their narratives raise questions about the conditions in which child trafficking victims make unfree choices. They also highlight the way that liberal-capitalist societies make it possible for traffickers to violate human rights. These narratives and the conceptions of freedom that emerged from them make a significant contribution to knowledge on child trafficking in HRE curriculum on a methodological, contextual and theoretical level.

In this chapter I pointed out several avenues for future research. More research from multiple perspectives is needed to holistically address child trafficking so as to combat this crime committed to children all over the globe.

Children should not be sold as sex toys.

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APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND ON THE REFERRAL AND PROTECTION OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Introduction

The purpose of this document is to provide an oversight into how trafficking victims are referred to shelters of safety for rehabilitation. Victims who have been trafficked experienced trauma in more than one way. Their aftercare and rehabilitation are essential to deal with their traumatic experiences. Another priority is the safety of the victims and protecting them from traffickers as their testimonies may help with the successful prosecution of traffickers.

2. Documents relevant to trafficking in persons in South Africa

The following documents provide legislation and guidelines to the protection of victims and the prosecution of criminals in South Africa:

- Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. s.a. Directives in terms of Section 44(1)(a) of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013.
- Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. 2015. Regulations relating to prosecutor's referral of suspected trafficking victims in persons. *Government Gazette*, 39119, 21 Aug.
- Department of Social Development. 2015. Regulations under Section 43(3) of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013. *Government Gazette*, 39318, 23 Oct.
- Department of Social Development. s.a. Directives in terms of Section 44(6) of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2013 (Act no. 7 of 2013), with special reference to the identification, interviewing, treatment and referral of trafficking victims.
- South Africa. 2005. Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended).
- South Africa. 2007. Criminal Law Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32 of 2007.
- South Africa. 2013. Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013.

3. Role players within the South African government involved in protection of trafficking victims:

In Section 40(1) (South Africa, 2013), the following role players within the South African government should contribute to the combating of human trafficking:

- Department of Finance
- Department of Health

- Department of Home Affairs
- Department of International Relations and Cooperation
- Department of Justice
- Department of Labour
- Department of Social Development:
- National Director of Public Prosecutions
- National Prosecuting Authority
- South African Police Service
- State security

4. Identification of suspected victims

The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (s.a.) provides guidelines on the reporting duties of police officials and the manner in which the reporting of cases related to trafficking in persons must be dealt with. Any person who knows or ought to reasonably know that a child or an adult is a suspected trafficking victim must immediately report that knowledge or suspicion to a police official (South Africa, 2013). The police official may then without a warrant enter any premises if he or she, on reasonable grounds, believes that the safety of that child or adult is at risk and, if necessary, may use force to remove the child or the adult (South Africa, 2013). The police officer must, within 24 hours, refer the adult to an accredited organization and notify the provincial Department of Social Development the suspected adult victim (South Africa, 2013).

The provincial Department of Social Development must then, without delay and in the prescribed manner, assess whether a reported child is a trafficking victim (Department of Social Development, 2015; South Africa, 2013). If a child is suspected to be a trafficking victim, the Department of Social Development must refer the child to a social worker designated by the department to deal with child trafficking cases; the social worker will conduct the investigation so as to establish whether or not the child is a trafficking victim and in need of care and protection, as stated in terms of Section 150 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended) (Department of Social Development, 2015).

In their documents, the Department of Social Development (s.a.:16-19) provides guidelines to the four phases of the identification of suspected victims. The first phase is an overview. The second, third and fourth phases are structured around the three elements of trafficking and consist of an interview to determine whether the victim underwent the three phases of trafficking, namely: act, means and purpose. In the case of a child only two of the three phases needs to be present.

4.1 Phase 1: Overview

Officials need to establish whether the victim is that of human trafficking and not of the following: a smuggler, an irregular migrant, an individual in an abusive or vulnerable situation, someone trying to infiltrate the service organization for other motives.

Factors indicating the vulnerability of the victim of trafficking in persons are:

- physical, intellectual or psychological impairment;
- age;
- dependency on the accused;
- trauma;
- disability;
- cultural differences;
- religious differences;
- gender;
- language;
- race;
- the nature of the offence committed against them, or health status.

Additional material to establish whether the person is a trafficking victim:

- police or immigration reports;
- travel documentation or travel tickets;
- immigration documents, including departure and arrival information;
- reports of any medical treatment provided for any injuries both prior to referral and
- treatment provided through the assistance process;
- copies of employment contracts;
- copies of original advertisement;
- diary entries;
- letters written by the victim;
- witnesses' testimonies;
- photos;
- medical or psychological reports.

4.2 Phase 2: Mobilisation phase (Act of trafficking)

Specific questions, as set out by the Department of Social Development (s.a.:17-18), are to be considered:

- How was contact initiated between the suspected individual and the recruiter?

- What kind of job was promised or expected, either at another location in the home country, or abroad? What were the wages and conditions promised or indicated at the final destination?
- Was any money handed to the recruiter in advance?
- Was the victim transported by force out of the country of origin, or to another location inside the country to be exploited?
- Was the child kidnapped or abducted?

4.3 Phase 3: Means phase (Means of trafficking)

Specific questions, as set out by the Department of Social Development (s.a.:18), are to be considered:

- Were any borders crossed?
- Who paid the travel expenses?
- Were own identity documents used or false ones to gain entry?
- Where are the documents now?
- Did the victim spend any significant amount of time in transit in another country and, if so, did the victim engage in any activity in these countries?
- What kind of activity was involved?

4.4 Phase 4: Exploitation phase (Purpose of trafficking)

Specific questions, as set out by the Department of Social Development (s.a.:18-19), are to be considered:

- What activities was the victim engaged in since arriving at the final destination?
- How soon after arrival at the final destination did this activity begin?
- Was the victim forced into the activity? If so, how?
- How much did the victim earn through this activity?
- Was the victim allowed to keep these earnings?
- Was the victim forced to pay any monies to the traffickers? If so, how much and for what?
- How did the victim perceive the working conditions?
- Did the victim have freedom of movement?

5. Protocol for the referral of trafficking victims to social services, health care and psychological services

The Department of Social Development (s.a.:26-27) provides the referral protocol of suspected trafficking victims to social services, health care and psychological services. In Table 1 below the aforementioned protocol is summarised.

Table 1: Protocol for the referral of victims

| Under the age of 18 | Above¹⁶ the age of 18 |
|--|---|
| Contact provincial or regional Department of Social Development when a child is suspected to be a trafficking victim. | Contact provincial or regional Department of Social Development when an adult is suspected to be a trafficking victim. |
| Speak to the provincial Child Protection coordinator about suspected trafficking victim. | Speak to the provincial Victim Empowerment coordinator about the suspected trafficking victim. |
| Provincial Department of Social Development will assess whether the child is a trafficking victim. | Provincial Department of Social Development will assess whether the adult is a trafficking victim. |
| Trafficking victim is dealt with as a child in need of care and protection in terms of the Children's Act. The principle of the best interest of the child standard will be considered. A suspected child trafficking victim might be placed in alternative care pending further investigation. | Accommodated temporarily in an accredited organization. |
| Victim must be referred to other support structures as required (e.g. psychological services, counselling services, legal services, sheltering, social work intervention, application for maintenance, and medical assistance). | Victim must be referred to other support structures as required (e.g. psychological services, counselling services, legal services, sheltering, social work intervention, application for maintenance, and medical assistance). |
| In cases where victim requires medical care, they must immediately be taken to the nearest hospital or clinic. | In cases where victim requires medical care, they must immediately be taken to the nearest hospital or clinic. |
| Officials should determine the safety of victims first; if there is any risk factor, arrangements with the SAPS must be made to transport the victim to the facility. | Officials should determine the safety of victims first; if there is any risk factor, arrangements with the SAPS must be made to transport the victim to the facility. |
| If any problems are experienced, the Provincial Victim Empowerment Health co-ordinator should be contacted. | If any problems are experienced, the Provincial Victim Empowerment Health co-ordinator should be contacted. |
| Medical intervention could be needed to stabilise the victim. | Medical intervention could be needed to stabilise the victim. |

Table 1: Protocol for the referral of victims (continue)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pre- and post-counselling on medical matters. | Pre- and post-counselling on medical matters. |
| Testing for Sexually transmitted infections. | Testing for Sexually transmitted infections. |
| Determining Human Immune Deficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome status. | Determining Human Immune Deficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome status. |

¹⁶ Could have been exposed to trafficking under the age of 18

6. Cases of suspected victims being foreigners

In the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (South Africa, 2013), protective measures for purposes of investigation and prosecution in respect of foreign trafficking victims are set out in Section 15. The facilitation of police investigation or prosecution in case of foreign witnesses are set out in Section 16 of the aforementioned Act. If a child trafficking victim is an illegal foreigner and is in need of care and protection, the child is allowed to remain in South Africa for the duration of the children's court order (South Africa, 2013). If an adult is a trafficking victim, the police officer must inform them that they may apply for a visitor's visa to remain in South Africa for a recovery and reflection period, as set out in Section 15 (South Africa, 2013).

7. Principles applicable to suspected child trafficking victims

The Department of Social Development (s.a.:9-12) sets out 12 principles which are applicable to suspected child victim(s) of trafficking. These principles are briefly discussed.

- **Rights-based:** A rights-based approach should be followed when working with children and their best interest should always be of paramount importance.
- **Best interest of the child:** All approaches to the child should be targeted to meet specific developmental, intellectual and physical needs of the child.
- **Targeted approaches:** Proceedings, actions or decisions must target the specific developmental, intellectual and physical needs of the individual child.
- **Evidence and results-based:** All services and programmes offered to children must be targeted, designed and planned on the basis of evidence gathered through research, monitoring and programme evaluation.
- **Ecological or nested systems approach:** Programmes must be coordinated and designed based on an ecological or nested systems approach.
- **Local programme:** Programmes should be in the context of local or neighbourhood-type responses.
- **Family preservation approach and strengths-based approach to families:** Programmes should identify and work with the strong elements (strengths) in the family situation; therefore, they should be based on a family preservation approach and strengths-based approach to families.
- **Participation in programmes:** Participation of children, families and communities and their views should be considered in the programme design, implementation and evaluation.
- **Integrated, co-ordinated, inter-sectoral:** The programme should be integrated, co-ordinated and inter-sectoral.

- **Batho Pele and Ubuntu:** Prevention and early intervention programmes should be consistent with Batho Pele and Ubuntu principles.

8. Principles applicable to suspected adult trafficking victim

The Department of Social Development (s.a.:12-16) sets out 14 principles which are applicable to suspected adult victim(s) of trafficking. These principles are briefly discussed.

- **Accessibility:** Suspected adult victims should have accessibility to temporary safe care in a shelter, private home or accommodation in an accredited organization.
- **Accountability:** Officials who are required to execute any function in terms of the Act are accountable for the delivery of appropriate and quality service.
- **Appropriateness:** Services that are provided to suspected adult trafficking victims should be appropriate for the individual taking into account gender, educational, religious, cultural, dietary, health, medical and linguistic needs.
- **Continuity of care and development:** A continuity of care should be provided to the suspected adult trafficking victim.
- **Community-centred approach to services and support:** Services and support should be based on a community-centred approach.
- **Effectiveness and efficiency:** Services must be delivered in the most effective and efficient way and should be consistent with the Constitution of South Africa, the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act and Batho Pele principles.
- **Empowerment:** The resourcefulness of trafficking victims should be promoted by providing opportunities to use and build their own capacity and support networks and to enable them to act on their own choices and sense of responsibility.
- **Family-centred:** Services should be contextualized for the individual within the family, the extended family and the community.
- **Integration:** Services to suspected adult trafficking victims should be integrated, holistic, inter-sectoral, and delivered by an appropriate multi-disciplinary team wherever possible.
- **Normalisation:** Trafficking victims should be exposed to normative challenges, activities and opportunities which promote participation and development.
- **Participation:** Suspected adult trafficking victims should be actively involved in all the stages of the intervention process.
- **Restorative justice:** The approach for services for adult trafficking victims should promote restorative justice.
- **Rights:** The rights of all people, as established in the Constitution (of South Africa), the Service Charter for Victims of Crime in South Africa and international conventions ratified by South Africa, must be promoted and protected.

- **Victim-centred:** Positive developmental experiences, support and capacity building should be ensured through regular developmental assessment and programmes that are aimed at supporting suspected adult trafficking victims.

9. Accredited shelters for child trafficking victims

Sections 150 through 154 in the Children's Act 38 of 2005 the legal aspects of the identification of child in need of care and protection is given. Section 150(1) states that a child is in need of care and protection if/when they have been exploited or live in circumstances that expose the child to exploitation (South Africa, 2005).

The provincial Department of Social Development refers children in need of care and protection to a temporary place of safety (South Africa, 2005). A social worker then does a careful investigation for the children's court to decide if the child is in need of care and protection (South Africa, 2005). According to Section 156(1)(e), if a children's court finds that a child is in need of care and protection, the court may make any order which is in the best interests of the child; if the child has no parent or caregiver or has a parent or caregiver unable or unsuitable to care for the child then this may be, or include, an order for the child be placed in a child and youth care centre (designated in terms of section 159) that provides a residential care programme suited to the child's needs.

10. Accredited shelters for adult trafficking victims

According to Section 24(2) The Minister of Social development must prescribe- (a) a system for the accreditation of organizations which will provide services to adult trafficking victims; and (b) the circumstances in which accredited organizations qualify for financial assistance, within available resources. (3) The system for accreditation referred to in subsection (2) must contain- (a) criteria for the evaluation of the programmes offered by organizations to ensure that they comply with the norms and minimum standards referred to in section 25; (b) mechanisms to monitor the programmes in question; and (c) measures for the removal of organizations from the system, where appropriate. (South Africa, 2013).

According to Section 25(1) the Minister of Social Development must prescribe norms and minimum standards for accredited organizations. (2) The norms and minimum standards referred to in subsection (1) must deal with-

- (a) the safety of trafficking victims, especially those at risk of harm;
- (b) access to and provision of adequate health care;
- (c) the provision of separate facilities for male and female trafficking victims;
- (d) hygienic and adequate toilet facilities;
- (e) access to refuse disposal services or other adequate means of disposal of refuse generated at the facility;

- (f) the drawing up of action plans for emergencies; and
- (g) the manner in which information-
 - I. referred to in subsection (4) is to be collected and collated; and
 - II. relating to a trafficking victim's particulars must be kept confidential.

An accredited organization that provides services to adult trafficking victims who have children in their care must, in addition to the norms and minimum standards referred to in subsection (1), provide-

- (a) a safe environment for children;
- (b) proper care for sick children; and
- (c) safe storage of anything that may be harmful to children.

Further in Section 26(1) An accredited organization-

- (a) must offer a programme aimed at:
 - I. the provision of accommodation to adult trafficking victims;
 - II. the provision of counselling to adult trafficking victims; and
 - III. the reintegration of adult trafficking victims into their families and communities.

Section 26(2) An accredited organization that provides services to an adult trafficking victim who has a child in their care must offer a programme aimed at the reception, care and development of that child.

The Department of Social Development (2015) provides a thorough and detailed description of the regulations and expectations of accredited organizations who provide services to adult trafficking victims.

References

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. s.a. Directives in terms of Section 44(1)(a) of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013.

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. 2015. Regulations relating to prosecutor's referral of suspected trafficking victims in persons. *Government Gazette*, 39119, 21 Aug.

Department of Social Development. 2015. Regulations under Section 43(3) of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013. *Government Gazette*, 39318, 23 Oct.

Department of Social Development. s.a. Directives in terms of Section 44(6) of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2013 (Act no. 7 of 2013), with special reference to the identification, interviewing, treatment and referral of trafficking victims.

South Africa. 2005. Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended).

South Africa. 2007. Criminal Law Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32 of 2007.

South Africa. 2013. Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013.

APPENDIX B: ETHICS APPROVAL FROM NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE OF PROJECT

Based on approval by Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education Sciences, the North-West University Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (NWU-IRERC) hereby approves your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-IRERC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|------|---|--------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|--|--|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|------|--|--------|--|--|--|
| Project title: Narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation: conceptualisations of freedom for human rights education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Project Leader: Prof P du Preez | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Project Team: A Visser & Prof S Simmonds | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ethics number: | <table border="1"><tr><td>N</td><td>W</td><td>U</td><td>-</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>3</td><td>1</td><td>0</td><td>-</td><td>1</td><td>4</td><td>-</td><td>A</td><td>2</td></tr><tr><td colspan="3">Institution</td><td colspan="6">Project Number</td><td colspan="2">Year</td><td colspan="4">Status</td></tr></table> | N | W | U | - | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | - | 1 | 4 | - | A | 2 | Institution | | | Project Number | | | | | | Year | | Status | | | |
| N | W | U | - | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | - | 1 | 4 | - | A | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Institution | | | Project Number | | | | | | Year | | Status | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <small>Status: S = Submission; R = Re-Submission; P = Provisional Authorisation; A = Authorisation</small> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approval date: 2014-11-20 | Expiry date: 2019-11-19 | Category: | N/A | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Special conditions of the approval (if any): None

General conditions:

While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

- The project leader (principal investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the NWU-IRERC:
 - annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the project;
 - without any delay in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project.
- The approval applies strictly to the protocol as stipulated in the application form. Would any changes to the protocol be deemed necessary during the course of the project, the project leader must apply for approval of these changes at the NWU-IRERC. Would there be deviation from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.
- The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU-IRERC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.
- In the interest of ethical responsibility the NWU-IRERC retains the right to:
 - request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project;
 - withdraw or postpone approval if:
 - any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected;
 - it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the NWU-IRERC or that information has been false or misrepresented;
 - the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately;
 - new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.

The IRERC would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the IRERC for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Linda Du Plessis
Digitally signed by Linda Du Plessis
DN: cn=Linda Du Plessis, o=Chair
Institutional Ethics Regulatory
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Prof Linda du Plessis

Chair NWU Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (IRERC)

APPENDIX C: INDEPENDENT CODER

27 March 2017

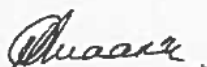
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Centurion
0157

Letter of confidentiality

I write this letter to confirm the agreed terms in respect of the confidentiality and non-disclosure of any data that I will receive from the doctoral student, A Visser.

I will keep the data strictly confidential and only me will have the password to edit the interviews of the participants. This data will only be used for analysing the data in academic context, in such a way that it will cause no harm to any participant.

Thank you



Dr D Minnaar
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APPENDIX D: LETTER FROM LANGUAGE EDITOR

LANGUAGE EDITING CERTIFICATE

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to attest that I have edited the language of the thesis:
Narratives of child trafficking survivors in rehabilitation: conceptualisations of freedom
for human rights education”
by Anja Visser

To be submitted for the degree of
Doctor Philosophiae in Curriculum Development
at the
Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University



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Freelance Editor and Translator

30 October 2017