

# **LIFESTYLES AND ROUTINE ACTIVITIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN TEENAGERS AT RISK OF BEING TRAFFICKED FOR INVOLUNTARY PROSTITUTION**

**T.M. Lutya**

Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria, Pretoria 0002, South Africa  
Email: thozama.lutya@up.ac.za

## **Abstract :**

The United Nations estimates that 79% of teenage girls trafficked globally every year are forced into involuntary prostitution. About 247 000 South African children work in exploitative conditions, and about 40 000 South African female teenagers work as prostitutes. This paper investigates lifestyles and routine activities of teenagers at risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution. The key concepts involuntary prostitution, intergenerational sex and exploitative conditions are defined in relation to the lifestyles and routine activities of South African female teenagers. Human trafficking for involuntary prostitution is described, based on a literature review. Lifestyle exposure model theory and routine activities theory) help to explain the potential victimisation of these teenagers in human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Actual lifestyle and routine activities of South African teenagers and risky behaviours (substance abuse, intergenerational sex and child prostitution) are analysed as factors that make teens vulnerable to such trafficking. This paper recommends that human trafficking prevention efforts (awareness programmes and information campaigns) be directed at places frequented by human traffickers and teenagers in the absence of a capable guardian to reduce victimisation, as traffickers analyse the lifestyles and routine activities of their targets. South Africa should also interrogate entrenched practices such as intergenerational sex.

## **Introduction**

It has been estimated by the United Nations that 79% of all the teenage girls who are trafficked across the world per year are forced into involuntary prostitution (Sakulpitakphon *et al.* 2009). Delport, Koen and MacKay (2007) claim that approximately 247 000 South African children work in exploitative conditions; and, according to Bolowana's (2004) research, about 40 000 South African female teenagers were already working as prostitutes by 2004. The lifestyles and routine activities of teenagers sometimes put them at risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution. This paper examines these lifestyles and routine activities in order to make some

recommendations to protect South African teenagers, specifically girls, from becoming victims of human trafficking and being forced into prostitution.

In the paper, firstly, the key concepts involuntary prostitution, intergenerational sex and exploitative conditions are defined and described and these problems are linked to the lifestyles and routine activities of South African female teenagers. Secondly, the problem of human trafficking for the purposes of involuntary prostitution is discussed on the basis of the evidence in the literature. Thirdly, theoretical elements drawn from lifestyle exposure model theory (such as role expectations, structural constraints, association, exposure and adaptation) and from routine activities theory (such as suitable target, motivated offender and absence of a capable guardian) are explained as fundamental problems that feed the potential victimisation of South African teenagers in the form of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Fourthly, lifestyle and routine activities of South African teenagers, as well as risky behaviours such as substance abuse, intergenerational sex, and child prostitution, are analysed as factors that create vulnerability to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Finally, this paper makes some policy recommendations for human trafficking prevention efforts.

The aim of this paper is to provide a scholarly analysis of the lifestyles and routine activities of South African teenage girls that could potentially make them vulnerable to becoming victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Adolescents are at risk when they display behaviours that could yield negative outcomes (Fisher 2007) and lead lifestyles that include routine activities that could lead them to encounter human traffickers. Risk factors may not result in negative outcomes directly, but do increase the likelihood of becoming a victim (Maree 2008). Given their stage of development, lifestyles and routine activities, as well as the context within which human trafficking for involuntary prostitution occurs, many South African teenagers may be at risk of becoming victims of the crime.

A few surveys have been conducted in South Africa to ascertain youth risk behaviours, but thus far there has been little research on the risk factors relating specifically to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Cluver, Bray and Dawes (2007) acknowledge that there has been little research on pathways to victimisation in exploitative conditions, especially with regard to human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. Moreover, thus far, no local studies examining the link between routine activities and lifestyle exposure to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution could be found. This dearth of research on the subject is disturbing because

victimisation of teenagers has a lasting impact upon their development. Burton (2006) is of the opinion that teenage victimisation could result in young people's inability to relate to others and form healthy lasting relations in future, as well as repeat victimisation during adulthood, although Burton (2006) does not provide reasons for these consequences. The severity and long-term damage to teenage victims makes it vital to identify lifestyles and routine activities of teenagers that could result in victimisation.

In one of the few studies related to this field of inquiry, Morojele and Brook (2006) investigated the relationship between drug use and multiple victimisations of males and females in Durban and Cape Town. They found that drug use among teenagers increases their risk of becoming victims of crime, because, especially in the absence of a capable guardian, they become attractive targets to motivated offenders. However, Morojele and Brook (2006) fail to show by which crimes teenagers are likely to be victimised. In the current paper, human trafficking is specifically identified as a crime that could affect teenagers pursuing their lifestyles and routine activities.

In the last few decades, the lifestyles and routine activities of South African teenagers have changed dramatically. Teenage girls are no longer domesticated and they do not necessarily pursue or wish to adopt the same gender roles as their mothers, such as caring for and nurturing families. They have become mobile and autonomous in the manner in which they choose to lead their lives (Alsfine 2006). Sadly, the outcomes of this lifestyle change are disastrous for some girls. When they frequent public entertainment areas, they may encounter human traffickers who take advantage of their desire for independence and fun. Bars, nightclubs, parties and discos are a few of the entertainment areas frequented by human traffickers to recruit teenage girls for involuntary prostitution without hindrance (Delpont *et al.* 2007). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC 2007), if human traffickers do not encounter teenage girls in these entertainment establishments, they try to entice potential victims (usually teenage girls aged 13 to 17) through special outings to nightclubs and supply them with drugs until they become addicted. Once teenage girls are addicted, they are kept in prostitution in order to pay for the drugs, allowing traffickers to profit from the girls' labour.

This paper does not imply that the recruitment of potential victims is conducted only in nightclubs and shebeens, or that human traffickers are seeking only teenagers who (ab)use

alcohol and drugs to draw them into involuntary prostitution. The paper does suggest that when an offender is motivated, and when a capable guardian is not present, a suitable target is more easily recruited to become a victim of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. At nightclubs and shebeens, teenagers may be exposed to, and associate with, human traffickers, which increase the teenagers' chances of being victimised. The Youth Victimization Survey report by Burton (2006) points out that, although young men could be at greater risk of becoming victims of crime in general, by virtue of their gender, young women are specifically at risk of becoming victims of sexually related crimes. Moreover, Burton (2006) shows that the exposure of the youth to violence to the point where violence is normalised is so great in South Africa that, in his survey, one in five children had considered committing a crime, and one million young people had committed a crime, as well as knew someone who had committed a crime and/or a person who is currently confined in a correctional centre for performing criminal activities. Exposure to, association with and adaptation to criminal norms and values, as well as the presence of motivated offenders, compounded by the absence of capable guardians, vastly increases the potential for the victimisation of teenagers. Hence the focus of this paper is the problem of human trafficking of teenage girls for involuntary prostitution.

## **Definition of concepts**

### ***Involuntary prostitution***

An act that is performed involuntarily implies coercion or force, something which is done against one's will (Arnott 2006). Roby and Tanner (2009) define involuntary prostitution as prostitution by force, where the earnings from the service are taken by someone else, where the prostitute has limited freedom and where physical and emotional violence is used to constrain the prostitute. The word 'involuntary' precedes the word 'prostitute' to denote the forceful nature of the situation within which the sex worker is coerced to perform prostitution. Teenage girls are recruited through deception by human traffickers and are forced to work as prostitutes against their will. This paper regards these teenage girls' work as involuntary, because they do not choose to work as prostitutes. They have been lured under false pretences from their areas of origin into the job, often with promises of huge payments. When they arrive at the destination areas, human traffickers force them to work as prostitutes. Driven by socio-economic challenges, a lack of skills to acquire better paying jobs and sometimes a sense of adventure, they accept jobs such as these because they are unaware of the complex restrictive conditions under which they have to perform their duties.

### ***Intergenerational sex***

A sexual relationship is intergenerational if it involves two persons in different age brackets. An older man and a younger woman are said to be involved in an intergenerational sexual relationship when there is a huge age gap between them (more than 10 years). This kind of relationship can involve transactional sex (sex in exchange for gifts) or survival sex (an intimate relationship for economic benefit) – in many cases, this kind of relationship is motivated by the financial incentives the younger person (usually a woman) can acquire through her association with an older person (usually a man) (Dunkle *et al.* 2007, Leclerc-Madlala 2003). This kind of relationship may turn into human trafficking for involuntary prostitution when the older person forces the younger person into prostitution in return, for example, for the money the man has used to wine and dine the woman or girl. Delpont *et al.* (2007) report that one successful recruitment strategy used by human traffickers is to lure young girls by taking them out on weekend shopping sprees subsequently the girls are given drugs and alcohol and forced to work as prostitutes. Young women encounter this type of human trafficking when they venture outside their home in pursuing their lifestyles, especially when partying and walking around shopping malls (Molo Songololo 2005).

### ***Exploitative working conditions***

Exploitation occurs if workers are made to perform their duties under conditions contrary to the International Labour Convention rules. According to Belser (2005), any involuntary work that involves control, psychological and physical coercion that cannot be defined as decent work is considered exploitative by the ILC. The workers work long hours and are underpaid; the environment could be detrimental to their health and there is no open communication between the employer and the employee (Belser 2005, ILO 2008). Involuntary prostitutes often work under restrictive conditions, are not paid, are usually confined, do not have access to medical care, are socially excluded and are under constant threat of physical violence from the clients (Moran 2003, UNODC 2008).

### **Problem statement**

I am writing this paper at a time when South Africa is demonstrating interest in investigating scientifically and descriptively the problem of human trafficking. Scholarly work on human trafficking is steadily increasing. The South African legislature has introduced a partial section in the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Act 32 of 2007, as recommended, which could be used to prosecute trafficking in persons for sexual purposes (Lutya 2009). Official

and unofficial sources have revealed that many South African females, including teenagers, have become victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. The South African Police Service (2008-2009) has recorded 19 cases of trafficking in persons for sexual purposes in the period from 2008 to 2009.

Allias (2010) reports that trafficked victims are recruited in and moved from socio-economically deprived areas, such as rural areas and informal settlements, to socio-economically advantaged areas, namely urban areas and cities. Allias (2010) indicates that the provinces where trafficking is most likely to occur are Gauteng, North West, the Free State, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces. Allias (2010) observes that more victims are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation than for the other forms of human trafficking that have been recorded. This is in line with similar research findings by Bermudez (2008), Molo Songololo and the South African Law Reform Commission (2008). However, these government reforms and scholarly investigations have not attempted to link human trafficking for involuntary prostitution specifically to a routine and lifestyle exposure model.

This linkage is important in order to understand whether some female teenagers are exposed to greater risk of being trafficked than others. It seems that girls whose routine activities and lifestyles include partying at nightclubs under the influence of alcohol and other substances are at the greatest risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution (Delpont *et al.* 2007). At nightclubs, human traffickers have an opportunity to recruit intoxicated girls, plying them with drugs, confining them and forcing them into prostitution as a form of payment for the drugs (UNODC 2007). Although girls from all socio-economic backgrounds are at risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution, girls from socio-economically deprived backgrounds may more easily accept job offers from human traffickers. They are likely to be desperate and in need of financial relief – more so than economically privileged girls (Allias 2010, Bermudez 2008, Delpont *et al.* 2007). A theoretical description of risk factors in respect of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution may help to channel interventions to areas where the crime is likely to occur and to groups of teenagers who frequent areas targeted by human traffickers for recruitment.

### **Situational analysis of South African children**

The Children's Institute (2009) reports that in 2007, there were 18 292 000 children between the ages of 0 and 17 years living in South Africa. This comprises 39% of the South African

population. Of these children, 15 441 000 are black, 1 567 000 are coloured, 317 000 are Indian and 968 000 are white. Just under half (48%) of South African children are female. A large percentage (34%) of children is between the ages of 12 to 17 years. There are 148 000 children living in child-headed households, of which 146 000 are black and 2 000 are coloured. Three quarters (75%) of these children are located in the provinces which are more likely to be used as sources of supply for internal human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. The Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal are three provinces from where teenage children as young as 12 to 17 years are recruited to Gauteng and the Western Cape for the purposes of involuntary prostitution (Bermudez 2008, Delport *et al.* 2007, UNODC 2008). All three these provinces experience a shortage of resources, have inadequate infrastructure, as well as high poverty rates and high unemployment rates among their youth.

The Children's Institute (2009) reports that in 2007 there were 18 292 000 children between the ages of 0 and 17 years living in South Africa. This comprises 39% of the South African population. Of these children, 15 441 000 are black, 1 567 000 are coloured, 317 00 are Indian and 968 000 are white. Just under half (48%) of South African children are female. A large percentage (34%) is between the ages of 12 to 17 years. There are 148 000 children living in child headed households of which 146 000 are black and 2000 are coloured. Three quarters (75%) of these children is located in provinces which are more likely to be used as sources of supply for internal human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. The Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Kwa-Zulu Natal are three provinces from where teenage children as young as 12 to 17 are recruited to Gauteng and the Western Cape for the purposes of involuntary prostitution (Bermudez 2008, Delport *et al.* 2007, UNODC 2008). All three provinces experience a shortage of resources; have inadequate infrastructure, as well as high poverty rates and high unemployment rates among their youth.

According to the report by the Children's Institute (2009) nearly 2 million (approx.10%) South African children reside in informal settlements and 66% live in formal dwellings. Half (50%) of all South African children live in rural areas situated in provinces such as Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (Hall and Berry 2006). Children residing in rural areas could be at risk of being trafficked for purposes of farm labour (Cluver *et al.* 2007). South African informal settlements are infamous for being overcrowded, with limited space, inadequate resources such as water, sanitation and electricity; they are also characterised by a culture of violence (Ndlovu 2008). Children who reside in these neighbourhoods could be at risk of witnessing and

experiencing domestic violence, such as child abuse and inter-parental violence, as well as of being infected with diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria (Setswe and Skinner 2008). Interparental violence is one of the reasons for children's running away from home to the streets, where they might encounter child prostitution, leading to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Furthermore, in informal settlements, children have limited space to play safely and interact with other children without the possibility of becoming victims of a crime (Richards, O'Leary and Mutsonziwa 2007). Amidst home and family experiences of violence, most children in informal settlements experience extreme forms of social isolation and social services deprivation (Setswe and Skinner 2008) that could result in their acceptance of offers from human traffickers and their becoming entangled in involuntary prostitution.

A significant number of South African children come from low socio-economic backgrounds, and receive support grants, and many reside in a household where one or both parents are deceased. A high contingent of children residing in low income households lives in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape provinces. The Children's Institute (2009) reports that 75% of black children, 43% of coloured children and 4.9% of white children live in households generating an income below R350.00 a month: 67% of these children are female and 69% are between the ages 12 to 17 years. To counteract the low income situation, 86% of South African children under the age of 14 years receive a child care support grant of between R180 and R220 per month: 90% of children in the Eastern Cape, 89% in KwaZulu-Natal and 92% in the Limpopo province. In addition, 38% of South African children live in households with an unemployed adult. Furthermore, the Children's Institute (2009) reports that, in 2007, 3.8% of South African children lived without parents; 12.9% have lost their father and 3.4% have lost their mother. Despite financial shortfalls, an admirable number of South African children (96.4%) of children between the age of 7 and 17 years attend school (De Lannoy and Hall 2010).

The survival strategies selected by children to counter socio-economic deprivation, such as transactional sex, child labour and prostitution, could endanger their lives (Leclerc-Madlala 2003, Hesselink-Louw 2008). Between the ages of 12 and 17, some teenagers may not be equipped with the necessary literacy and thinking skills to evaluate offers presented to them (Leclerc-Madlala 2003). At that age, considering the suffering many of them have already experienced, they could accept enticing offers without scrutinising the offer; and they lack the skill to assess the risk. A combination of family difficulties, geographical circumstances and the



need to survive financially are risk factors that shape paths to human trafficking for the involuntary prostitution of South African adolescents.

### **Theoretical framework**

The theoretical paradigms drawn on in this paper are constructed using the fundamental elements of the lifestyle exposure model and routine activities theories.

#### ***The lifestyle exposure model***

According to Nofziger and Kurtz (2005), a lifestyle exposure model was developed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo in 1978 to identify and describe the lifestyles responsible for the victimisation of certain individuals. Davis (2005) points out that Hindelang and associates developed this theory subsequent to research conducted in eight American cities on factors contributing to assault and common theft. The theorists concluded that the demographic characteristics of young persons can be associated with the time they spend away from home in the absence of guardianship (Davis 2005). Demographic characteristics include age, gender, marital status, race and income (Davis 2005). Lifestyle exposure theory postulates that a person's demographic characteristics determine the likelihood of the person's becoming a victim of a crime (Nofziger and Kurtz 2005). Teenagers are at risk of being victimised because they tend to spend time away from home in entertainment areas where alcohol and drugs are sold (Davis 2005). The five elements that could result in the victimisation of a teenager are particular role expectations, structural constraints, adaptations, associations and exposure (Davis 2005). These elements may manifest simultaneously or individually, but if they occur at the same time, the chances are high that the potential victim will become a real victim.

#### ***Role expectations***

Individuals can be victimised whilst performing roles expected of them by society (Davis 2005). The person's social role is determined by age, marital status, gender, occupation and education (Davis 2005). For instance, when they are confronted with economic challenges, some parents may expect of their teenage girls to search for and find jobs in order to provide financially for the family. In pursuit of such employment opportunities, teenage girls can be victimised: with limited education and few of the skills required for legitimate and high paying jobs, they could find themselves accepting offers that turn out to be involuntary prostitution from human traffickers (Fayomi 2009, Tsutsumi *et al.* 2008).

### *Structural constraints*

Structural constraints imply the limited resources propelling teenagers to frequent areas with limited or no security (Bjarhason, Sirgurdardottir and Thorlindsson 1999, Nofziger and Kurtz 2005). These constraints are also defined as social and economic structures that restrict a person's behavioural patterns (Davis 2005). People are constrained by certain economic opportunities to maintain lifestyles that are unsafe (Schurink *et al.* 1992). They are then likely to frequent entertainment areas where they can be victimised (Davis 2005). During their teenage years, girls may become constrained by social and economic contexts that expose them to difficult and dangerous lifestyles (Frank *et al.* 2008). Residing in lower socio-economic environments characterised by overcrowding, broken families, domestic violence, child abuse and poverty are constraints that are likely to drive teenage girls into associations with people following deviant lifestyles (Bjarhason *et al.* 1999, Schurink *et al.* 1992) and they may then participate in activities and visit areas that could bring them closer to victimisation, such as shebeens and taverns (Davis 2005).

### *Adaptations*

People adapt to roles prescribed to them by society under pressure from structural constraints imposed by social and legal structures (Nofziger and Kurz 2005). Adaptations to socio-economic circumstances may mean confinement of a person's lifestyle to areas that may increase the chances of becoming a victim (Davis 2005). Adapting to a lifestyle that is characterised by alcohol and drug abuse, partying in nightclubs where they are likely to meet drug dealers, gangsters and pimps may expose teenagers to victimisation (Gover 2004). Human traffickers often sell drugs in and run private rooms as brothels alongside such clubs (Delport *et al.* 2007). Unsafe neighbourhoods that are dominated by motivated offenders may also expose teenage girls to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution.

### *Exposure*

Adaptation to victimising roles and constraining environments consistently expose people to victimisation (Davis 2005, Nofziger and Kurz 2005). Davis (2005) argues that there is a link between lifestyle and exposure to conditions which position a person in a way that puts the person at risk of victimisation. Gover (2004) points out that if a person's lifestyle is pursued among dangerous associations or in a place surrounded with danger, that person might consistently be exposed to victimisation risk. For example, teenage girls who work as child prostitutes are constantly exposed to pimps who might take advantage of their desire to earn a

living (Perschler-Desai 2001). They could recruit them deviously by making false offers and involving them in human trafficking for involuntary prostitution.

### *Associations*

Associations pertain to sustained relationships with deviants with similar lifestyles and interests (Davis 2005). In order to adapt to their structurally constraining lives, it is possible that some girls may adapt to such deviant associations, resulting in their victimisation. Associations with people in a neighbourhood who are involved in criminal activities could create opportunities for victimisation (Zhang, Welte and Wieczorek 2001).

### ***Routine activity theory***

This theory was developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) to illustrate the importance of social interaction in the victimisation of others (Davis 2005). The basic premise of activity theory is that people are victimised when they spend time away from home (Groff 2007). Opportunities for victimisation are created by routine activities of others away from home in spaces, places, areas or locations frequented by motivated offenders (Yar 2005). This means that for a person to become a victim of crime, his or her lifestyle, routine activities and demographic characteristics should resemble those of the offender (Mustaine and Tewksbury 1998). Felson and Cohen (cited in Davis 2005) point out that victimisation may occur as a consequence of routine activities such as involvement in formal work, sexual activities, leisure, learning and social interaction. Cohen and Felson were inspired by the work of Amos Hawley, who emphasized that people often cannot escape victimisation because of the necessity of their participation in routine activities. Routine activity theory identifies three factors that should converge prior to victimisation: the presence of a motivated offender, an attractive target and the absence of a capable guardian (Davis 2005). According to routine activity theory, the attractive target and the motivated offender should be situated in one place, in the absence of a capable guardian, for victimisation to occur. However, Mustaine and Tewksbury (1998) argue that it is not the meeting with a motivated offender that increases a person's chances of victimization, but the type of establishment the person visits, as well as the activities performed by an attractive target in such a place.

### *Motivated offender*

A person is described as a motivated offender if he/she plans to commit a crime intentionally for the benefits that will accrue. Motivated offenders usually study their victims' lifestyles and

routine activities to ascertain an opportunity to successfully victimise them (Groff 2008). For the purposes of this paper, a motivated offender is regarded as human trafficker who either recruits or sells a teenage girl for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Human traffickers approach teenage girls with offers of lucrative jobs with the intention of forcing them into prostitution (Leppänen 2007). Moreover, the recruitment is conducted under the façade that the teenager will achieve some economic advancement. Human traffickers may come across their victims whilst routinely pursuing their activities of trafficking girls for sexual exploitation.

#### *Suitable target*

Motivated offenders seek a specific target to victimise. They plan the victimisation rationally by ascertaining the movements of their victims in relation to their own (Yar 2005). The ease with which a victim may be accessed by the motivated offender is a driver of victimisation (Davis 2005). Motivated offenders consider certain victim traits vital in order to fulfil their aims (Groff 2007). In the context of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, human traffickers (motivated offenders) recruit teenage girls (suitable targets) who venture alone into nightclubs, parties or shebeens with no supervision or monitoring (in the absence of a capable guardian).

#### *Absence of a capable guardian*

A victim is unguarded if the teenager is without any person who might be able to protect the potential victim from the direct actions of a motivated offender (Davis 2005). A capable guardian can be anyone such as a security guard, police officer, parent, older sibling or protective friends (Groff 2008). Victims are usually unguarded at the time of victimisation (Yar 2005), when apparently there is no parental authority or security or safeguard to protect the victim from being harmed by the motivated offender. Davis (2005) maintains that the areas frequented by human traffickers and teenagers are least likely to be guarded for safety and security. That means victimisation in such areas may occur unabated.

#### ***Human trafficking and routine activity theory***

Human traffickers must have effortless access to potential victims for human trafficking to occur. Human traffickers and victims usually share lifestyles that are not closely monitored by a capable guardian. A motivated offender is encouraged by four factors to victimise an attractive target: proximity to the victim, domination of the same area as other offenders, cultural attitudes towards committing a certain act, as well as informational support (Schwartz *et al.* 1999). In shebeens, bars and taverns, teenagers may encounter human trafficking offenders. The

combination of the intoxicating substances that are imbibed and the intentions of human traffickers to recruit teenage girls into human trafficking makes it easy to approach and victimise teenage girls. In the absence of a third party (a capable guardian) who can oppose human traffickers' actions, girls are easily drawn into human trafficking. Human trafficking research reveals that when they are not kidnapped, abducted or coerced, potential victims are most often encountered and approached in the entertainment areas they frequent (Delpont *et al.* 2007, Molo Songololo 2005). The consumption of mind- and mood-altering substances in these establishments may render teenagers incapable of making responsible decisions (Peltzer 2003). There is a greater likelihood of becoming victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution when the attractive target is engaged in a lifestyle centred on alcohol use, where motivated offenders are constantly present and capable guardians are absent.

Furthermore, the stage of development of a teenager and family communication are factors associated with victim vulnerability (Davis 2005) to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. The teenage period can be the most challenging stage for female teenagers (Morojele and Brook 2006). It is a stage fraught with psychological, social, economic as well as moral dilemmas that could make it difficult even for well brought-up teenagers to cope (Bigner 2006). It is a transitional period which entails the assumption of adult roles for someone who is not yet an adult, and of increasing independence, very often with little or no parental supervision and monitoring (Peltzer 2003). The relationship maintained by the teenagers and parents, routine activities and lifestyle of the family may determine the chances of a teenager's becoming a potential victim to human traffickers (Bigner 2006). The use of explicit rather than implicit forms of communication helps families build close bonds that could act as a buffer to dangerous people such as human traffickers.

The teenage stage is often fraught with the desire to experiment, identify with and become part of a recognisable group of friends at school and in the neighbourhood. It is possible that during this stage, teenage girls will create an identity distinct from parents and other relatives. For instance, depending on the personality type of the teenager, girls may seek out experimentation and entertainment in high risk areas frequented by human traffickers. It is postulated by the routine and lifestyle exposure theories that the success of victimisation depends upon the similarity of the lifestyles followed by the attractive targets and the motivated offenders (Bjarhason *et al.* 1999, Davis 2005, Nofziger and Kurz 2005). Thus, according to lifestyle exposure theory, potential victims of crime are likely to lead high-risk lifestyles, frequent high-

risk locations and associate with high-risk individuals, increasing the chances of their becoming victims of involuntary prostitution (Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta 1999). Human traffickers and potential victims tend to frequent the same entertainment establishments, may come from the same ethnicities and neighbourhoods, and could share the same cultural norms and values (Pharoah 2005, Sakuliphitkon *et al.* 2009). For instance, pimps and brothel owners managing child prostitutes and gangsters who reside in the same neighbourhood as teenage girls who are potential victims often share similar lifestyles and routine activities, making it easier for them to access child prostitutes and neighbourhood teenagers for involuntary prostitution (Molo Songololo 2005).

It appears that the distance between South African parents and their teenage daughters is widening, with a real impact on parent-child communication. Parents spend most of their time at work (Frank *et al.* 2008) or looking for work. Whilst parents are at work or searching for work, many female teenagers spend time watching television, attending school and socialising with friends (Morojele and Brook 2006). That may leave limited time for families to communicate explicitly with their teenage daughters. For explicit communication to occur, families should make use of gestures, express their feelings and make interpersonal contact in ways that can be heard, understood and used effectively by both parents and teenagers (Bigner 2006). These lessons should help teenagers to turn down suspicious offers from strangers that they encounter in entertainment establishments such as shebeens and taverns. Sadly, it is not only teenagers in families that tend to communicate implicitly who are at risk of missing vital lessons that could save them from human traffickers, as evidence gathered by Delport *et al.* (2007) and Bermudez (2008) has revealed that even teenagers from affectionate families could be recruited successfully by the human traffickers. However, the greater ease of becoming acquainted with a teenager from a dysfunctional family with limited parental control, guidance and monitoring makes recruitment of this specific set of girls much more effortless.

### ***Limitations of lifestyle and routine activity theory***

There are a number of limitations to the use of lifestyle and routine activities theories to explain human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Problematic lifestyles and the routine activities of potential victims may not necessarily result in victimisation, but could increase the chances of becoming a victim (Davis 2005). Mustaine and Tewksbury (1998) warn that one cannot deduce the certainty or possibility of becoming a victim or escaping victimisation by using routine and lifestyle exposure models of victimisation. According Tewksbury and Mustaine (2003), other

factors such as situational crime prevention and the ability of a potential victim to outwit human traffickers could decrease the chances of becoming a victim, regardless of the spaces in which teenagers and human traffickers congregate. The clandestine manner in which human traffickers perform their activities could make even an intelligent teenager susceptible to victimisation (Bermudez 2008). Not all human traffickers observe potential victims' actions carefully before approaching them (Delpont *et al.* 2007). Nevertheless, entertainment areas such as bars and shebeens are hidden from mainstream society and are frequented by like-minded persons, which make it difficult to determine the chances of potential victimisation of teenagers by human traffickers. Being in a bar, tavern and shebeen may not necessarily mean that observers know the content of an intimate conversation between two persons. Given this fact, it may not be possible to stop a human trafficker from successfully recruiting a teenage girl.

Secondly, the lifestyles and routine activities models do not fully explain why some teenagers become easy prey to human traffickers whilst others do not. The theories are concerned with describing the circumstantial factors exposing potential victims to victimisation, rather than the motivations of offenders (Davis 2005). The motivations of offenders in identifying and selecting victims could also provide insights that would be useful for policy development and could enhance prevention programmes intended to counter human trafficking, but the theories are able to shed some light on the factors that contribute to the victimisation of some teenagers by human traffickers for involuntary prostitution. It appears that the vulnerability and desirability of the victim, gender, as well as the physical qualities of potential victims, are main factors motivating human traffickers to commit this crime (Davis 2005).

Lastly, routine activities and lifestyle exposure models postulate that men are more likely to become victims of crime than women (Davis 2005, Goodey 2003, Karmen 1990), because men tend to spend a significant amount of time outside the domestic area. Lifestyle development amongst teenage girls indicates an increase in the use of intoxicating or mood-altering substances such as alcohol and drugs (Morojele and Brook 2006), as well as in materialism and the consumption of technological gadgets (Alsfine 2006, *Cape Argus* 2003, Molo Songololo 2005, Naidoo 2009, Pharoah 2006). These new lifestyle developments conspire to keep some teenage girls outside of their homes, socially connected to non-relatives (Burton 2006). If one considers the locations targeted by human traffickers who wish to recruit potential victims, it is possible that when they venture into the streets and shopping malls, as well as engage with people on social networking websites, teenage girls may encounter human traffickers who may

recruit them for involuntary prostitution. Although teenage boys do sometimes become victims of human trafficking, Sakulpitakphon *et al.* (2009) points out that teenage girls are more vulnerable to involuntary prostitution. At present, unfortunately, there seems to be a general lack of information and understanding regarding the sexual exploitation of boys.

Along with the contributions made by lifestyle and routine activities theories, it is important to observe the gendered relations manifesting in the private space that could lead to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Research suggests that the perpetrators of human trafficking are likely to be known to the victims, for example, Goodey (2003) claims that some recruiters of women for sex trafficking in Europe are likely to be men from the same ethnic backgrounds as the potential victims. According to Goodey (2003), the lack of access to resources in countries of origin motivates some young women to take offers from home country men regardless of the legitimacy of such offers. Allias (2010) cautions that although strangers are often identified in the human trafficking literature as instigators of the crime, family members are able to traffick teenage female relatives with less effort than recruiters in bars and taverns. This implies that human trafficking prevention should focus first on relations of domination and subordination in private and public spaces that render teenagers potential victims of this crime. Homes and bars are often the sole spaces in which teenagers (sadly sometimes erroneously) think they may express themselves without fear of victimisation. It remains unknown why some family members traffick family members for involuntary prostitution. In South Africa, this situation is particularly relevant to refugee women.

For human traffickers not to use force or threats towards potential victims of involuntary prostitution, potential victims should appear willing and ready to accept their offers (Fayomi 2009), but some traffickers could use violence regardless of the responses of potential victims to the recruitment methods (Molo Songololo 2005). As long as the potential victims possess the physical attributes required by the users of prostitutes such as being young, physically attractive and thin (UNODC 2007), human trafficking may occur (Davis 2005). Its occurrence is made more likely by the gendered powerlessness of potential victims, the absence of a capable guardian as well as lifestyles and routine activities that are similar to those of the human traffickers (Davis 2005).



### **Lifestyles and routine activities of South African adolescents**

The lifestyles and routine activities of South African teenagers are informed by a unique set of circumstances prevalent in the lives of some teenagers. These circumstances may bring about negative consequences such as human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. It appears that potential victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution in South Africa have a number of factors in common: family instability characterised by a lack of or no supervision and monitoring, as well as poor parent-child interaction (Allias 2010, Molo Songololo 2005). This has disastrous consequences such as emotional instability, dislocation and desolation. With limited or no parent-child bonding, some teenagers may miss an opportunity to develop the resilience necessary to withstand difficult circumstances (Killian 2006). With a fragile family foundation, it is possible for limited resilience, self-destruction in the form of substance abuse and intergenerational sex to occur (Dunkle *et al.* 2007, Leclerc-Madlala 2003) – this may bring teenagers within the reach of human traffickers.

### ***Background factors to teenage lifestyles and routine activities***

This section explains why South African teenage girls pursue lifestyles and routine activities that might expose them to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. It is pointed out in this section that absence of parental supervision and monitoring, family dysfunction (dislocation and desolation), social and personal characteristics informed by culture, as well as a lack of teenage resilience are relevant factors contributing to the choice of lifestyles and routine activities of South African female teenagers. The existence of these factors in a teenager's lifestyle do not guarantee actual victimisation, but put female teenagers at greater risk of being recruited successfully for human trafficking for involuntary prostitution.

Absence of parental supervision and monitoring implies that parents are not present to control and monitor the behaviour of their children. Gover (2004) argues that teenagers from single parent-headed households are likely to be unsupervised and unmonitored. In victimological terms, this means that for most of their time a capable guardian is absent. Molo Songololo (2005) and Van der Watt (2009) have reported that many teenagers who have been abducted in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth by human traffickers for involuntary prostitution come from single female-headed households; moreover, at the time when the girls were abducted they were unsupervised and unmonitored. It is possible that motivated human traffickers used the opportunity available by snatching unguarded teenagers suitable for involuntary prostitution. Large numbers of South African teenagers spend time away from their families in areas where

they are likely to encounter danger (Frank *et al.* 2008). They might be alone in the shebeens, bars, and taverns they frequent, and they are sold substances such as alcohol and drugs, according to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR 2005), Holtmann (2008) and Labuschagne (2009).

In order to build an ability to refuse an offer from an unknown person, teenagers need to live in secure environments where they are accepted and tolerated, as well as taught to handle hostility effectively whilst attending to their physical, emotional as well as spiritual development (Killian 2004). The absence of a parent-child attachment or social bonding is a crucial factor that could increase the likelihood that a teenager may become a victim of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. When parents are fully preoccupied with personal and employment activities, parent-child attachment may not be achieved (CSIR 2005) – some South African parents need to spend a significant amount of their time at work or looking for jobs, but there are also parents who do have time to supervise and monitor their children and yet prefer to consume alcohol with friends at home or in shebeens (Killian 2004). One secondary school teacher was cited in a local newspaper as saying that from Friday afternoons through to Sundays some parents go on drinking sprees with friends, never attend parent meetings and punish their children severely if the children request attention by touching liquor or interrupting a parent whilst he or she is socialising with friends (*Mail and Guardian* 2008). The absence of parent-child attachment could lead to association with other like-minded teenagers who could offer the needed attention and sense of belonging that teenagers desire at this stage of development. It is possible that those human trafficking victims who prefer to stay with traffickers rather than return to the barren conditions they had left behind in their places of origin could be trying to escape the emotional poverty in their homes.

The home and family backgrounds of teenagers could inform the lifestyles they select to express themselves interpersonally. Teenagers reared in households with little or limited guidance and supervision may develop an impulsive and adventure-seeking personality with no boundaries (Bigner 2006). During their adventurous pursuit of amusement and excitement, such teenagers may select excessively risky situations that could yield destructive results (Karmen 1990). There is an association between negative emotions, substance abuse (Gover 2004) and recruitment and acceptance of offers from human traffickers. Children who have run away from home to escape domestic violence and a lack of attention from significant others are strong candidates for human trafficking (Molo Songololo 2005). Desolate, homeless and without

guardianship, they use substances to survive the dislocation. When such teenagers become acquainted with a person who seems to offer the likelihood of helping the teenager to survive the dislocation and that person is a human trafficker, in the absence of a capable guardian, under the influence of intoxicating substances and in isolated areas, the likelihood of becoming a victim increases (Gover 2004). Conversely, successful emotional bonding and attachment to significant others, as well as a sense of belonging may safeguard teenagers from participating in activities that could result in victimisation.

Furthermore, dislocated, displaced and desolate in South Africa, refugee children could be at risk of being trafficked by their fellow nationals. In victimological terms, they share the same demographic features as motivated offenders, and they are often in social contact and interact (Davis 2004). Thus they could to a certain degree accept and trust an offer from a fellow national more than one from a South African citizen (Goodey 2003). Some refugee men have been known to force refugee women into involuntary prostitution in order to earn an income (Delpont *et al.* 2007). The male refugee invites sisters, nieces, and even wives or girlfriends to move to South Africa with the intent of forcing them to perform prostitution (Martens, Pieczkowski and Van Vuuren-Smyth 2003). In comparison to the South African demographics that expose local teenagers to involuntary prostitution, refugee females could be more at risk of being confined into victimisation for a prolonged time than South African teenagers, because refugee females depend on the human trafficker, are unregistered as citizens or asylum seekers, and may have entered the country illegally. Their only trusted source of information and help could be the human trafficker.

Some social and personal characteristics which are informed by culture places young rural South African girls at risk of becoming victims of involuntary prostitution. Ancient customs such as *ukuthwala intombi* have long been practised in some rural parts of the Eastern Cape (Lutya 2009). Children as young as 13 have been abducted and/or forced to enter into marriages with older men. Historically regulated by traditional leaders, *ukuthwala* entails a man's spontaneously approaching a young girl and keeping her in his hut or dwelling for a certain period, after which he would send a message to her family that she is being kept for marital purposes (Lutya 2011). Once the girl's family has received the message, *lobola* was paid to the girl's family. Recently, myths surrounding the cure or best way to protect oneself from HIV/Aids (Bermudez 2008) have led to a high contingent of young girls from provinces where this cultural practice started being abducted and used as sex slaves by older men. In some cases, the parents of these young girls

turn a blind eye and allow the sex slavery of their daughters to continue without interference. A high number of these girls fall pregnant from in these 'relationships'. The trauma associated with sexual victimisation, as well as financial hardship and stress resulting from teenage parenthood may put such girls at increased risk of becoming victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution.

Some teenagers lack resilience or the ability to survive hardships. Resilience is a skill that enables a person to cope under stressful and challenging conditions with little or limited support (Killian 2004). It is an individual trait that could prevent teenagers from accepting offers from human traffickers and it is a skill that teenagers ought to acquire before they experience hardships, so that they can use it to deal effectively with problems once they arise. It can be acquired through child parent attachment, positive role models and social support. However, Bruce (2007), Bruce and Dissel (2007) and Pelser (2008) lament that some South African teenagers are growing up without any positive role models, parents or social support systems that could steer them away from non-conforming behaviour and dangerous situations. According to Bruce (2007), such children may also emerge from communities which equate danger with survival. They may prefer to pursue excitement and accept offers without careful consideration.

It is important for teenagers to define their lives in terms of production, contribution and development in order to develop the positive self-esteem that could prevent them from using mind- and mood-altering substances and deriving self-fulfilment from material and status-laden objects (Killian 2004). A productive, contributing and developing life implies attending school regularly, contributing towards community upliftment, as well as adherence to a set of moral obligations or religious beliefs with a clear distinction between right and wrong (Killian 2004). Teenagers may achieve this definition if there are opportunities for participation, contribution, responsibility, decision-making, ownership and belonging and spiritual connectedness (Killian 2004). However, there is some evidence that South African teenagers define themselves in terms of material objects and consumerism which amounts to billions of rands every year (Alsfine 2006). When teenagers cannot afford the material objects they like legitimately, teenagers may pursue these objects in other ways. There are some teenagers who refuse to pursue materialistic goals despite their popularity by accepting their economic shortfalls, but there are also wealthy teenagers who still become targets for human trafficking because of their

excessive materialism. Teenage self-perceptions defined outside of productiveness, responsibility and development can result in victimisation.

In essence, a lack of parental supervision and monitoring, family dislocation and desolation, culturally informed customs targeting girls, as well as lack of resilience among certain South Africa children informs female teenage lifestyles and routine activities that could draw them to human traffickers. The amount of time female teenagers spend away from family with non-family members and partying in public spaces with people of similar personality characteristics may expose them to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution (Davis 2005). Nevertheless, it may not be the absence of a capable guardian that exacerbates chances of victimization but the number of motivated offenders in close proximity to the unguarded targets. To make sense of the link between routine activities and lifestyle exposure theories, it is important to describe the lifestyles and routine activities that exist as a result of the background factors described above.

### ***Lifestyles and routine activities***

The lifestyles and routine activities of teenagers are an accumulation of socialisation experiences drawn from home, school, the neighbourhood, the media and friends (Frank *et al.* 2008, Gover 2004, Thurman *et al.* 2006). Possibly role models or older generations have previously pursued similar lifestyles and routine activities, but in a different era determined by a set of diverse economic, social and political resources. For example, although the previous generation had the freedom to venture around the streets with little or no parental supervision and monitoring, the risk of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution was not as prominent as it is today, in a world put under pressure by issues such as materialism, survival sex, substance abuse, adherence to a dominant culture, child prostitution, children's lack of adaptation to family beliefs, traditions and values, the proliferation of child-headed households (Gover 2004, Thurman *et al.* 2006), as well as a lack of knowledge about human trafficking. Hence, South African children risk being trafficked for involuntary prostitution. One cannot expect teenagers to behave in the same way as their parents, as they are growing up in an era of globalisation which sees teenagers around the world connecting socially, politically and educationally, but this global connection has negative ramifications, one of which is human trafficking for involuntary prostitution.

Risky teenage behaviours are indicative of a culture of materialism which encourages high consumption and discourages morality and human values. The desire to get rich fast, own

expensive material objects, attend glamorous parties and own technologically advanced objects such as the latest brand of mobile phone is a sign of a materialistic culture within which South African teenagers grow up (Alsfine 2006, Nuttall 2005, cited in Ndlangamandla 2006). A person of account in materialistic cultures is defined by what the person wears, what he/she owns and what friends he/she associates with (Ndlangamandla 2006). This image is also propagated as an ideal in the media, especially television, and in society in general (Alsfine 2006). As consumers of popular culture, teenagers become followers of a given style, regardless of the financial resources needed to afford such products. South African parents spend between R6 and R7 billion a year purchasing material objects for their teenage children (Alsfine 2006). The acquisition of these objects makes teenagers feel empowered, happy, fulfilled and socially accepted (Alsfine 2006). The problem with this materialistic scenario is that a large percentage of South African children do not have parents with the buying power to fulfil these desires, although these children still yearn to own material objects of the same kind. Some teenage girls in particular may either date older men who are prepared to purchase them gifts in exchange for sex or pursue employment opportunities that could result in their becoming victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution (Dunkle *et al.* 2007, Leclerc-Madlala 2003).

In many socio-cultural settings in South Africa, casual and secondary relationships are driven by the need to access material goods for survival or subsistence (Dunkle *et al.* 2007). Becoming intimately involved with an older man in order to obtain material goods for subsistence or consumption is a form of risky behaviour that increases the likelihood of becoming a victim of human trafficking. Such relationships may place teenagers at risk of violence because where financial rewards are not followed by sex, the male giver may use violence to force the female into submission (Dunkle *et al.* 2007, Leclerc-Madlala 2003). The transaction of exchanging money for sex could be perceived as a sign of power for men so that teenage girls remain powerless unless the transaction is sealed with sex (Dunkle *et al.* 2007). Human traffickers are known to use this mode of becoming acquainted with teenage girls as a method of introducing them into involuntary prostitution (Delpont *et al.* 2007). UNODC (2007) has reported that South African human traffickers are likely to target beautiful young girls between the ages of 13 and 17 for commercial sex. According to this UNODC report, the traffickers start by asking a teenage girl out. She will be spoiled, given an expensive dinner and taken to expensive fashion label houses for shopping. Afterwards, the teenager is expected to sell her body to pay back the money spent.

Substance abuse among teenage females is another growing concern in South Africa. The most commonly used substances among the South African youth are club drugs, over-the-counter medicine, alcohol, methamphetamines, heroin and cannabis (Pluddemann *et al.* 2009). Teenage girls have been found to be the main users of cannabis in this country (Pluddemann *et al.* 2009). Peltzer (2003) survey shows that teenagers who smoke, drink alcohol and use drugs tend to come from socio-economically deprived communities. Bermudez (2008) points out that deprived communities such as townships, informal settlements and cities are likely to be targeted for recruitment by human traffickers. The survey shows that 44% of teenagers who smoke resided in Cape Town; 40% of alcohol-using teenagers were located in Soweto, whilst 17% of teenage drug users lived in East London. In addition, alcohol use, receiving gifts, as well as a preference for older partners (Frank *et al.* 2008) are some of the reasons teenagers participate in risky sexual behaviours. Substance abuse in itself has negative consequences for users. Disturbing motives for drinking have been expressed by 1434 high school learners between the ages of 15 and 17 interviewed by Betancourt and Herrera (2006): 24% reported perpetrating physical and sexual violence during the period of intoxication and stated that the use of substances is prevalent within their family settings. Binge drinking and alcohol dependence were reported by 12% of the respondents (Betancourt and Herrera 2006).

There is an association between the likelihood of victimization and the use of alcohol during evening leisure activities. Age is a relative risk factor which makes this association more profound and which cannot be altered (Peltzer 2003). Arnold, Keane and Baron (2005) argue that evening leisure activities are a significant contributor towards victimization: if people reduce their evening activities, the chances of victimisation are reduced. In addition, this link may explain a greater likelihood of victimisation if young drinkers who pursue night-time leisure activities have a limited income (Arnold *et al.* 2005). It is possible that without part-time jobs, teenagers from low socio-economic groups may not have adequate finances to support a lifestyle of nights spent drinking (Groff 2008). Intergenerational sex may become a source of income to support such lifestyles (Dunkle *et al.* 2007, Leclerc-Madlala 2003). That in turn brings some teenagers closer to human traffickers. Taxi drivers are perceived to be sources of income by some teenagers, in the sense that they may enter into intimate partnerships with taxi drivers in the hope of accessing material goods and supporting an evening lifestyle of drinking and partying (Leclerc-Madlala 2003). Interestingly, Bermudez (2008), Molo Songololo (2005), Delport *et al.* (2007), as well as UNODC (2008) have identified taxi drivers as among the list of persons known in South Africa to traffick teenagers for involuntary prostitution.

The motives for using substances among teenagers vary, depending on the state of mind of the teenagers prior to their consumption of the substances. Social and enhancement motives, as well as the desire to cope with depression and anxiety are factors that drive teenagers to consume alcohol (Peltzer 2003). The focus in this paper is not an analysis of the motivational factors encouraging teenagers to drink, but to determine whether this lifestyle is a routine activity that could present opportunities to human traffickers for the recruitment of teenage girls into prostitution. When girls are under the influence of intoxicants, their recruitment into human trafficking for involuntary prostitution is made much easier. When a teenager is intoxicated, human traffickers may abduct or persuade the potential victim without obstruction. Medical research reveals that during the state of intoxication, a part of the brain responsible for a person's ability to distinguish between right and wrong stops functioning. For instance, cannabis affects the body psychologically: it induces feelings of decreased anxiety and alertness and it creates tension as well as sociability, slow reactions, difficulty in concentration and impairment in tasks that require attention (Ashton 2001). Intoxication may impede a person's judgement and diminishes a teenager's ability to perceive and comprehend potential danger (Morojele and Brook 2006). Bearing in mind the stage of development of teenagers, in the absence of a capable guardian, in a public entertainment area such as a shebeen or bar or at a party, a motivated offender may gain full access to a suitable target without attracting attention (Davis 2005).

The dominant culture of the community within which potential victims reside could also determine the vulnerability of teenagers to human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. Culture is instrumental in the acceptance or rejection of an offer from a human trafficker. In some cultures, finding employment in urban areas signifies success and prosperity. Johannesburg, for example, is popularly referred to as a city of gold where economic prosperity could be easily obtained. Residing and working in this city is seen as an admirable aspiration – so much so that if an offer to move into the city arises, a rural or semi-urban teenager may accept the offer with little or no verification of the position.

There is a link between the routine activities of human traffickers and lifestyles of child prostitutes. Some drug dealers perform human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. When they are trading in human beings, human traffickers could be involved in other related criminal activities such as pimping (UNODC 2008) in order to expand their business and gain profit.



Victims of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution are often drawn into this situation through their addiction to drugs, also often sold by human traffickers. They could be child prostitutes who use drugs in order to diminish their inhibitions to reduce stress that could result from the work of prostitution. In turn, human traffickers take away the children's earnings to pay back money for drugs. Eventually, they continue to supply them with drugs until the human traffickers own the child prostitute. Furthermore, UNODC (2007) reveals that human traffickers supply voluntary prospective victims with drugs in order to keep them locked into their 'contracts'. The drug inducement enables trafficked victims to work for longer hours with little or no feeling of the work they are performing. In turn, the long working hours entail more gains for the human traffickers. Essentially, leading a lifestyle that situates teenagers with human traffickers either as customers or fellow revellers creates opportunities for victimisation into involuntary prostitution.

Teenagers reside within an ecological framework of interactions which inform the manner in which they adapt, handle and survive life's hardships. They come from families which function in communities with various sub-cultural groups adhering to differing ideologies framing their points of reference (Killian 2004). Teenagers may find themselves caring for family members affected by terminal diseases such as HIV/Aids, a role that could be considered unsuitable for children by those who develop legal policies and legislation. However, community members may have created survival strategies, beliefs and traditions which could allow children to look after sick relatives. Children use such beliefs and traditions to adapt to the sudden family changes once a family member dies. Some children may find it hard to adhere to community beliefs and traditions such as heading households or living with relatives, opting for street living instead. It could be in the streets that children are recruited or kidnapped by human traffickers for the purposes of involuntary prostitution.

The proliferation of child-headed households means that a number of South African children are growing up without primary role models. Regardless of the cause of parental death, such a death creates a vulnerable situation for a teenager (Cluver *et al.* 2007). Orphans are likely to yearn for comfort and sympathy from people who present themselves as helpful. Their situation at the time may consist of financial desperation, emotional vulnerability, as well as the need for protection (Thurman *et al.* 2006). They could be negative, self-loathing, hopeless and suffering from internalised disorders (Thurman *et al.* 2006) when they meet strangers who appear to be willing to help. In this context, for a motivated offender, in the vulnerable spaces which these

children occupy, recruitment and deception of these children is almost effortless. The absence of parents who can offer monitoring, guidance and connection on an interpersonal level, as well as the fact that orphans are less likely to be attending school and more likely to reside in informal settlements (Thurman *et al.* 2006) could cloud teenagers judgement, leading them to accept offers from traffickers without careful introspection.

A question that requires empirical scrutiny is whether the lifestyles and routine activities of teenagers generate fear of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. If a teenager fears something, it may mean that the teenager is aware of the negative consequences of being in a certain place at a certain time (Wyne 2008). Their presence in a place with drug dealers and human traffickers at night in the absence of a capable guardian creates the impression that teenagers frequenting nightclubs and shebeens are not afraid of victimization. The existence of perceived risk creates fear of a specific crime or of being victimised (Wyne 2008). That said teenagers may pursue their lifestyles and routine activities without thinking that they could encounter human traffickers to tie them into involuntary prostitution. South African teenagers continue to frequent areas that could put them at risk of being trafficked. Simply being a teenager who fits the profile of a targeted potential victim almost inevitably means that human traffickers will attempt to recruit a teenager and present offers to them.

Knowledge of human trafficking is another factor that is vital in the potential victimisation of teenagers for involuntary prostitution. UNODC (2008) points out that South Africans lack fundamental knowledge of human trafficking (definition, patterns, recruitment methods as well as factors contributing to the crime). Although research covering human trafficking has been produced in this country (Bermudez 2008, Delpont *et al.* 2008, Martens *et al.* 2003, Molo Songololo 2005, UNODC 2007), it appears that the information from these studies is not reaching many potential victims. A recent Markinor survey commissioned by the International Organisation for Migration has revealed that black women between the ages of 16 and 24 years have little or no knowledge of human trafficking. According to the survey, only 9% of respondents interviewed thought human trafficking was a problem in their community and none thought the crime could be a problem in their community (*Eye on Human Trafficking* 2007). Organisations such as IOM in Pretoria, Masimanyane Women's Support Centre in East London, the South African Catholic Bishops Commission in Pretoria as well as Molo Songololo in Cape Town facilitate capacity building workshops and community awareness programmes to educate communities about human trafficking. These organisations mainly educate practitioners that

could come across victims of human trafficking, school learners, as well as community leaders. Direct contact is needed with teenagers who are frequently within close proximity with the human traffickers.

### **Policy direction**

To further the aim of this paper it is suggested that those who attempt to prevent human trafficking for involuntary prostitution should consider the lifestyles and routine activities of teenage girls at risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution when formulating prevention strategies. It appears that teenage girls who use mind- and mood-altering substances, frequent night entertainment areas and establishments dominated by human traffickers in the absence of a capable guardian who could provide protection are at risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution. It is particularly concerning that the current prevention programmes implemented by civic organisations and government organisations such as the Department of Social Development do not target bars, shebeens, nightclubs, brothels, shopping malls, street corners, refugee centres and teenage parties as centres in which to educate adolescent girls about the crime.

At present, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) facilitates public awareness and information campaigns targeting vulnerable groups, as well as the general public, through the media, such as film and television, print (posters, flyers and stickers), as well as theatre groups touring mining areas (IOM 2010). Molo Songololo has made recommendations for government to launch a public awareness campaign focusing on children and the South African public (Allias 2010). The effectiveness of these initiatives cannot be determined, as they have not yet been evaluated in order to ascertain their impact.

This paper recommends that public awareness programmes should be conducted in areas where human traffickers are likely to recruit potential victims. The programmes to be facilitated should focus only on human trafficking for the purposes of involuntary prostitution, instead of trying to cover substance abuse and other youth-related challenges as well. In areas frequented by teenage girls, the message will be received first-hand by potential victims. Knowledge of the crime, namely its definition, factors fuelling it, as well as a description of an ideal victim and perpetrator could alert the centre owners to the possibility that the crime may occur in the establishment. Human trafficking is subtle, in the sense that the perpetrators may pretend to be partying or socialising whilst looking for an effortless way of acquainting potential victims.

Human trafficking is a relatively new area of research and a new academic focus in South Africa. It is a social contact crime which occurs during the process of interaction among people who may know each other well or could be acquainted. In some cases, it may occur in private areas not accessed by people who are in a position to stop it before it occurs. Even the presence of a capable guardian may not always prevent human trafficking. Potential victims can be recruited during an intimate conversation by a known person. Because its occurrence is uncertain and potential victims are not always easily identified, it is difficult to predict its occurrence and plan prevention programmes accordingly. The most noteworthy academic and civil organisational research covering human trafficking thus far is designed to assist to direct policy focusing on prevention, the protection of victims as well as the prosecution of offenders. The most complex aspect of preventing human trafficking for involuntary prostitution is gauging the circumstances that put teenage South African girls at risk.

Interrogations of behavioural practices which are transmitted from one generation to the next require close scrutiny. Intergenerational sex, the act of surviving from exchanging sex for money or financial reward, is an age-old practice found amongst both the poor and rich women in this country. It is most prevalent amidst the high levels of unemployment and poverty faced by many women in South Africa. Communities could be tolerant towards this practice for the sake of the gains obtained by women in these relationships, but the manner in which human traffickers attract potential victims indicates a need for communities to change their perceptions of this practice. There is an urgent need to educate parents and teenage girls about its disastrous consequences to the development of adolescents.

The provision of more supervised entertaining spaces where teenagers can engage in a productive, contributing and developing life may also offer teenagers an alternative space in which to enjoy themselves among their peers with less risk to themselves.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this paper was to describe the lifestyles and routine activities of teenage girls that may lead to their recruitment by human traffickers for involuntary prostitution. I have identified substance abuse, intergenerational sex, socialising at night in establishments where alcohol is sold, as well as child prostitution, as lifestyles and routine activities that put teenage girls at risk of being trafficked. Whilst girls are partying in nightclubs under the influence of

intoxicating substances such as drugs and alcohol, they might encounter human traffickers who could force them into prostitution. Given limited opportunities for financial advancement, as well as the desire to work in an economically developed area, they might accept deceptive offers from human traffickers without considering the terms and consequences. Dating a teenage girl is another strategy used by human traffickers to lure potential victims into their trap. They may pretend to 'wine and dine' the girls in the hope of forcing teenage girls into prostitution. It is reasonable to suggest that programmes aimed at preventing this crime should focus on areas frequented by human traffickers, such as shebeens, bars, taverns, teenage parties and shopping malls. Although the current programmes implemented in South Africa are admirable, facilitators should also widen their focus to include areas frequented by both teenagers and human traffickers as, in the absence of capable guardians, with motivated offenders and teenagers with no knowledge or limited knowledge of human trafficking, teenage girls can be trafficked at any place and time.

## References

- Alsine K. 2006. Child's play is not for the faint of heart. *Business Day Management Review*. p 2
- Allias C. 2010. *Tsireledzani: Understanding the dynamics of human trafficking in South Africa*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Arnott J. 2006. *Submission to the South African Law Commission on Discussion Paper 111, Project 131: Trafficking in persons*. Woodstock: Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT).
- Arnold R, Keane C, Baron S. 2005. Assessing risk of victimisation through epidemiological concepts: An alternative analytical strategy applied to routine activities. *CRSA/RCSA* 3: 345-364.
- Ashton CH. 2001. Pharmacology and effects of cannabis: A brief review. *British Journal of Psychiatry* 178: 101-106.
- Belser P. 2005. *Forced labour and human trafficking: Estimating the profits*. Geneva: ILO.
- Bermudez LG. 2008. "No experience necessary": *The internal trafficking of persons in South Africa*. Pretoria: International Organisation for Migration (IOM).
- Betancourt OA, Herrera MM. 2006. Alcohol and drug problems and sexual and physical abuse at the three urban high schools in Mthata. *SA Family Practice*, 48: 17-17c.
- Bigner A J. 2006. *Parent-child relations: An introduction to parenting*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

- Bjarhason T, Sigurdardottir TJ, Thorlidsson T. 1999. Human agency, capable guardians and structural constraints: A lifestyle approach to the study of violent victimisation. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 28: 105-119.
- Bolowana A. 2004. *40 000 Child prostitutes: Street children vulnerable to sex trade*. Available at [www.iol.co.za](http://www.iol.co.za) [accessed 5 October 2009].
- Burton P. 2006. Easy prey: Results of the national youth victimisation survey. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 16: 1-6.
- Bruce D. 2007. To be someone: Status insecurity and violence in South Africa. In: Burton, P. (ed) *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into the causes of youth violence in South Africa*. Claremont: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP). pp 57-69
- Bruce D, Dissel A. 2007. *The violent nature of crime in South Africa: A concept paper for the Justice, Crime Prevention and security cluster*. Braamfontein: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR).
- Cape Argus*. 2003. SA spends billions on magazines. *Cape Argus*, p. 1.
- Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). 2005. *Local crime prevention strategy for the Central Karoo*. Pretoria: CSIR.
- Children's Institute. 2009. *Children Count: Abantwana babalulekile*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Cluver L, Bray R, Dawes A. 2007. Monitoring the worst forms of child labour, trafficking and child commercial sexual exploitation. In: Dawes A, Bray R, Van der Merwe A. 2007. *Monitoring child well-being: A South African rights-based approach*. Cape Town: HSRC Publisher. pp 247-268.
- Davis L. 2005. Theoretical approaches and perspectives in victimology. In: Davis L, Snyman R *Victimology in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- De Lannoy A, Hall K. 2010. *Education: Children attending an educational institution*. University of Cape Town: Children's Institute.
- Delpont E, Koen K, MacKay A. 2007. *Human trafficking in South Africa: Root causes and recommendations*. Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).
- Dunkle KL, Jewkes R, Nduna M, Jama N, Levin J, Sikweyiya N, Koss MP. 2007. Transactional sex with casual and main partners among young South African men in the rural Eastern Cape: Prevalence, predictors and associations with gender-based violence. *Social Science and Medicine* 65: 1235-1248.

*Eye on Human Trafficking*. 2007. Issue 1. Pretoria: International Organisation for Migration (IOM).

Fayomi OO. 2009. Women, poverty and trafficking: A contextual exposition of the Nigerian situation. *Journal of Management and Social Sciences* 1:65-79.

Forde DF, Kennedy WL. 1997. Risky lifestyles, routine activities and the general theory of crime. *Justice Quarterly* 14: 265-294.

Frank S, Esterhuizen T, Jinabhai CC, Sullivan K, Taylor M. 2008. Risky sexual behaviours of high-school pupils in an era of HIV and Aids. *South African Medical Journal* 98: 394-398.

Flisher AJ. 2007. Monitoring child and adolescent mental health risk, risk behaviour and substance abuse. In: Dawes A, Bray R, Van der Merwe A. 2007. *Monitoring child well-being: A South African rights-based approach*. Cape Town: HSRC Publisher. pp. 111-128.

Goodey, J. 2003. Migration, crime and victimhood: Responses to sex trafficking in the EU. *Punishment and Society* 5: 415-431.

Gover AR. 2004. Risky lifestyles and dating violence: A theoretical test of violent victimisation. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 33: 171-180.

Groff E. 2008. Adding temporal and spatial aspects of routine activities: A further test of routine activities theory. *Security Journal* 21: 95-116.

Groff ER. 2007. Simulation for theory testing and experimentation: An example using routine activity theory and street robbery. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 23: 75-103.

Hall K, Berry L. 2006. *Facts about children and housing in South Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Hesselink-Louw A. 2008. Child prostitution. In: Bezuidenhout C and Joubert S. *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik. pp 211-217.

Holtmann B. 2008. Action for safer South Africa: Breaking the cycle of crime and violence; a safe society for all. *Development challenges for a safer South Africa*, 9 October, Pretoria.

IOM. 2010. *IOM's Counter trafficking vision statement*. Available at [www.iom.org.za](http://www.iom.org.za). [accessed 10 September 2010].

International Labour Organisation (ILO). 2008. *Combating human trafficking in children for labour exploitation: A resource kit for policy makers and practitioners*. Geneva: ILO.

Karmen A. 1990. *Crime Victims*. California: Wadsworth.

Killian B. 2004. Risk and resilience. In: Pharoah R. (ed) *A generation at risk? HIV/Aids, vulnerable children and security in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies. pp 33-63.

- Labuschagne T. 2009. The vulnerable child in the face of 2010: Sensitizing children on child trafficking – an educational perspective. *Towards multi-disciplinary expertise in handling child abuse – A Focus on Trafficking*. – 4-6 May, Pretoria.
- Leclerc-Madlala S. 2003. Transactional sex and the pursuit of modernity. *Social Dynamics* 29:213-233.
- Leppänen K. 2007. Movement of women: Trafficking in the inter-war era. *Women's Studies International Forum* 30: 523-533.
- Ludden AB, Eccles JS. 2007. Psychosocial, motivational and contextual profiles of youth reporting different patterns of substance use during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 17: 51-88.
- Lutya TM. 2009. Epi-criminological responses to human trafficking of young women and girls for involuntary prostitution in South Africa. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 10: 59-78.
- Lutya TM. (in press). Human trafficking of young women and girls for sexual exploitation. In: Muraskin R (ed.) *It's a crime: Women and justice* (5<sup>th</sup> edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall pp 319-329.
- Mail & Guardian*. 2008. When alcohol abuse becomes child abuse. Available at: [www.mg.co.za/article/2008-03-13](http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-03-13) [assessed 28 September 2009]
- Maree A. 2008. Criminogenic risk factors for youth offenders. In: Bezuidenhout C, Joubert S. *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik. pp 55-83
- Martens J, Pieczkowski M, Van Vuuren-Smyth B. 2003. *Seduction, sale and slavery: Trafficking in women and children in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: International Office for Migration (IOM).
- Molo Songololo. 2005. *Trafficking in children in the Western Cape Province*. Cape Town: Molo Songololo.
- Morojele NK, Brook JS. 2006. Substance use and multiple victimisation among adolescents in South Africa. *Active Behaviours* 31: 1163-1176.
- Moran T. 2003. *Health and human trafficking*. Geneva: IOM
- Mustaine EE, Tewksbury ER. 1998. Predicting risk of larceny theft victimisation: A routine activity analysis using refined lifestyle measures. *Criminology* 4: 829-859.
- Naidoo S. 2009. Cell-phones centre of teen universe. *Sunday Times*, p 1.
- Ndlangamandla C. 2006. *Sex sells – or does it: Responses to the construction of youth identities in print advertisements*. MA thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.



Ndlovu NC. 2008. *Managing the impact of informal settlements on the performance of primary school learners in Kagiso*. MEd, University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Nofziger S, Kurtz D. 2005. Violent lives: A lifestyle model linking exposure to violence for juvenile offending. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 42:3-26.

Parry CDH, Myers B, Morojele NK, Flisher AJ, Bhana A, Donson H, Pluddemann. 2004. Trends in alcohol and other drug use: Findings from three sentinel sites in South Africa (1997-2001). *Journal of Adolescence* 27: 429-440.

Pluddemann A, Parry C, Bhana A, Dada S, and Fourie P (2009) Alcohol and drug abuse trends, January – June 2009. Cape Town: Medical Research Council (MRC).

Pelser E. 2008. *Learning to be lost: Youth crime in South Africa*. Claremont: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP).

Peltzer K. 2003. Drinking motives, behaviour and problems among black South African university students. *African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies* 2: 1-10.

Perschler-Desai V. 2001. Childhood on the market: Teenage prostitution in Southern Africa. *African Security Review* 10: 111-123

Pharoah R. 2006. *Getting to grips with trafficking: Reflections on human trafficking research in South Africa*. ISS Monograph, 123.

Richards R, O’Leary B, Mutsonziwa K. 2007. Measuring quality of life in informal settlements in South Africa. *Social Indicators Research* 81: 375-388

Roby JL, Turner J. 2009. Supply and demand: Prostitution and sexual trafficking in Northern Thailand. *Geography Compass* 1:89-107.

Sakulpitakphon P, Crispin V, Naebklang M, Capaldi M, Madrinan C. 2009. *Their protection is in our hands: The state of global child trafficking for sexual purposes*. Bangkok: ECPAT International.

Schurink WJ, Snyman I, Krugel WF, Slabbert L. 1992. *Victimisation: Nature and trends*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Schwartz MD, DeKeseredy WS, Tait D, Alvi, S. 2001. Male peer support and a feminist routing activities theory: Understanding sexual assault on the college campus. *Justice Quarterly* 3: 623-629.

Setswe G, Skinner D. (eds). 2008. *Interventions for orphans and vulnerable children at four project sites in South Africa*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.

South African Police Service. 2009. *South African Crime Situation*. Pretoria: SAPS.

South African Law Reform Commission. 2008. *Project 131: Report on trafficking in persons*. Pretoria: SALRC.

- Tewksbury R, Mustaine EE. 2003. College student's lifestyles and self-protective behaviours: Further considerations on guardianship concept in routine activity theory. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour* 30: 302-327.
- Thurman TR, Brown L, Richter L, Maharaj P, Magnani R. 2006. Sexual risk behaviour among South African adolescents: Is orphan status a factor. *Aids Behaviour*, 10:627-635.
- Tsutsumi A, Izutsu T, Poudyal AK, Kato S, Marui E. 2008. Mental health of female survivors of human trafficking in Nepal. *Social Science and Medicine* 66: 1841-1847.
- United Nations Organisation on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2008. *Human trafficking: An overview*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Organisation on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2007. *Situational assessment of human trafficking in the SADC region: A survey of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique*. Pretoria: UNODC.
- Van der Watt M. 2009. Trafficking best practices, a case illustration. *Towards multi-disciplinary expertise in handling child abuse – A Focus on Trafficking*. 4-6 May, Pretoria.
- Wittebrood K, Nieuwbeerta P. 1999. Wages of sin? The link between offending, lifestyle and violent victimisation. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 7:63-80.
- Wyne T. 2008. An investigation into the fear of crime: Is there a link between the fear of crime and the likelihood of victimisation. *Internet Journal of Criminology*. Available at [www.internetjournalofcriminology.com](http://www.internetjournalofcriminology.com) [accessed 26 August 2008].
- Yar M. 2005. The novelty of cybercrime: An assessment in light of routine activity theory. *European Journal of Criminology* 4: 407-427.
- Zhang L, Welte JW, Wiczorek WF. 2001. Deviant lifestyle and criminal victimisation. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 29:133-143.