

**MODELING THE DIFFERENTIAL INCIDENCE OF
“CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT
AND EXPLOITATION”¹ IN POOR HOUSEHOLDS
IN SOUTH AFRICA: FOCUS ON
CHILD TRAFFICKING**

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Abstract

This paper is based on an in-progress Ph.D. research² themed: “Modeling the Differential Incidence of Child Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation in Poor Households in South Africa”. The aim of the research is to build a theoretical grounding and to propose a practical model for understanding child abuse. The research argues that the gaps and shortcomings in understanding child abuse are, to a large extent, the consequence of an over-estimation of socio-economic variables as main variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

The paper does not attempt to collect data on child trafficking to explain its extent in South Africa but aims to suggest the use of the Integrated Modeled Theory (IMT) to facilitate the understanding of the incidence of child abuse in general and child trafficking in particular. The IMT combines contributing variables from various theories to explain the incidence of child abuse (including child trafficking) and suggests mechanisms for prevention of and interventions against child abuse (child trafficking). The IMT is therefore a tool that assists in the decision-making process for prevention and intervention actions against child trafficking during and after the 2010 Fifa World Cup

¹ This paper refer to “Child Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation” as “Child Abuse”

² The Ph.D. research is supervised by Professor Mohammed Jahed, Senior Lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg and Head of the Policy Unit at the Development Bank of Southern Africa

tournament seen as a great opportunity for child traffickers.

Introduction

As we approach the beginning of the first ever Fifa World Cup tournament in Africa (South Africa), media and human rights institutions are pressing alarms on the consequences of such big event on prostitution and child trafficking. For January and February 2009 alone, South African newspapers have been inundated with headlines such as “MPs concerned about trafficking”, “Traffickers eye 2010”, “Sex trade booms ahead of 2010”, “Fears of trafficking continue to grow”, “Increased risk of child trafficking in 2010”, “2010 child abuse warning”, “Children at risk during World Cup”. These headlines as well as discussions in the South African Parliament, the Fifa Local Organizing Committee and meetings of human rights and children amount to the fear for the safety of children during the tournament.

This alarming situation needs a particular consideration in the search for a solution. However, because child abuse and specifically child trafficking is a complex phenomenon to understand, prevention and intervention mechanisms need to be based on an integrated model that is based on theories explaining the incidence of child abuse in general and child trafficking in particular.

Definition of the Concept “Child Trafficking”

The South African Constitution stipulates, in section 28 (3) that a “child” means a person under the age of 18 years.

Child abuse is internationally condemned. The term "abuse of children" includes physical, emotional, sexual abuse, commercial exploitation and the neglect of children. The United Nations' Convention of the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) defines child abuse as “*all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse*”. (Article 19, UN CRC). This definition categorises all forms of child abuse as crime.

Munro (2002) proposes a broader definition of child abuse by looking at the 1996 British National Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Child Abuse. This definition

takes the scope of child abuse outside of the family set-up: *“Child abuse consists of anything which individuals, institutions, or processes do or fail to do which directly or indirectly harms children or damages their prospects of safe and healthy development into adulthood”*.

Child trafficking is one specific category of child abuse considered in this paper. According to the website of Swiss Foundation of 'Terre des Hommes' (www.childtrifficking.com): “child trafficking” concerns the business of removing children from their homes and families, transporting them elsewhere, whether elsewhere within the country or overseas, to be put to use by others, usually to make money.

Child trafficking is one of the worse forms of child abuse because of its harms to the child. 'Terre des Hommes' argues that besides the harm inflicted by the exploitation, the separation of the children from its family and its environment aggravates the harm inflicted.

Child Abuse and Poverty in South Africa

The 2004 General Household Survey by Statistic South Africa (2006) shows that children represent 39% of the South African population; they are over 18 million, of which the majority (66%) belongs to poor households. These figures imply that the majority of South African children live in poor households. Expert reports confirm that the incidence of child abuse is dire in poor households because the victims suffer both the impact of poverty and that of the abuse. CHILDLINE's experience on dealing with abused children is that *“children who may already be living with the reality and the consequences of poverty also have to live with a higher level of vulnerability to victimization”* (Sunday Tribune, 10 October 2004).

According to the official statistics from the South Africa Police Service (SAPS), there was a sharp increase of crimes affecting children in South Africa for the period of 2001 – 2002 to 2004 – 2005. The statistics show that, during the said reporting period, crimes affecting children increased by 200% in KZN, 165% in Gauteng and an average of 110% nationally.

The increase in the incidence of crimes affecting children as shown above hinders their care, protection and well-being. As a consequence of remarkable abuse, neglect and exploitation of children in South Africa, in 2005 Child Welfare South Africa (CWSA), an umbrella body representing 169 children's organizations (affiliates, branches and developing organizations) provided services to 108 379 children considered and defined by the Child Care Act as "*children in need of care*". Out of this number there were 5 000 physically abused children, 6 637 sexually abused children, 19 187 neglected children, 10 830 abandoned children and 1 280 adopted children. Other children assisted included 34 360 children in foster care, 17 832 orphaned children, 272 children victims of commercial sexual exploitation and 684 children living on the street. Further to the 108 379 children assisted, 133 589 children received services in 63 early childhood development (ECD) centers, 10 shelters, 23 places of safety, 13 children's homes, 8 street children projects and various after school centers.

Aim of the Paper

The above statistics and figures demonstrate that child abuse is rife and is on increase in South Africa. Because of the level of poverty in South Africa, the understanding of the incidence of child abuse is mostly biased to social and economic conditions of poor households. Consequently, there is an overestimation of social and economic conditions over other variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

Existing models that explain child abuse ignore or underplay integration of multiple variables from different aspects contributing to the incidence of child abuse. Newberger et al (1983) demonstrated the need for further research and the importance of theory for knowledge, prevention and treatment of child abuse. He quoted Gelles, 1973 and Newberger, 1977 to suggest that an insufficient theory base may contribute more to the failure of programmes to treat child abuse than the lack of intervention resources. Furthermore, after discussing various theories, Newberger et al (1983) came to a conclusion that each theory could be described as a

“unitary theory” and for such reason; each theory offers an explanation of child abuse from a single point of view.

The research fully agrees with Newberger and proposes the Integrated Modeled Theory (IMT) as a response to Newberger’s concern. The IMT facilitates the understanding of the incidence of child abuse by combining variables from different theories. The research believes therefore that a good understanding of child abuse will assist in developing proper prevention and intervention mechanisms to deal with such a negative phenomenon. Prevention and intervention mechanisms are direct solutions to the variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

Structure of the Paper

This paper contains four sections leading to recommendations on dealing with the incidence of child trafficking.

The first section briefly explains the methodology applied in the Ph.D. process in general and this paper in particular.

The second section reviews the literature on child abuse and the different theories defining crime causation and the variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

The third section tests the validity of contributing variables through the observation of a child abuse database.

The fourth section combines the variables collected from the literature review and the database to develop the Integrated Modeled Theory that explains the combination of variables from social, economic, cultural, environmental and structural theories in the incidence of child abuse (child trafficking for the purpose of this paper). In this section the paper provides recommendations on prevention and management of child trafficking.

Methodology

The methodology section of the research in general and this paper in particular consists of three major sections. The first section forms the theoretical basis of the research and focuses on literature review and critical theory to justify the need for and the place for this type of research. In building

the theoretical basis of the research, a paper titled “Child Abuse in Theoretical Debates: Towards an Integrated Modelled Theory” was presented and discussed at the Annual Conference of the European Sociological Association - Research Network (ESA – RN29), in Innsbruck, Australia from the 11th to the 13th September 2008. The purpose of the presentation was to test the theoretical basis of the research with scholars and social theorists present at the conference. The paper argued that social theory could guide empirical study on child abuse in South Africa.

The paper demonstrated that social theory was good in situating child abuse research with existing thinking and comparing thinking and findings with evidence. Furthermore, the paper underlined that social theory was a catalyst and a support to the research in developing a new model (the Integrated Modelled Theory) in understanding the incidence of child abuse.

The second section of the methodology, the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) was used to observe the distribution and importance of economic and social variables found in the child abuse cases recorded by the Transvaal Institute for Child Health and Development (TMI). The conclusion of the observation of the database was that poor social and economic conditions of households where child abuse occurred did not necessarily and in isolation cause the incidence of child abuse. This conclusion suggested a further consideration of other contributing variables in the search for a better understanding of the incidence of child abuse.

The third section of the methodology, the Bayesian Networks system (Hugin 7.3 Software) was used to design and develop the Integrated Modelled Theory. The process used prior knowledge and experts knowledge (through a workshop) to identify, explain, link and quantify various variables that contribute to the incidence of child abuse.

The process also included simulations of different networks of the model (IMT) to analyse the probabilities around the incidence of child abuse considering the links and interdependences between the variables.

The choice of the Bayesian Networks system was influenced by its ability to resolve problems under uncertainty using prior knowledge and experts' experience.

Literature Review

There are many variables that contribute to the incidence of child abuse. The research focuses on variables from economic, social, cultural, environmental and structural theories without denying the importance of variables from clinical, psychosomatic and other theories.

The economic theory in crime causation is essential in understanding the incidence of child abuse because of the considerable connection between the risks variables and the vulnerability of children from poor households to abuse, neglect and exploitation. Munro (2002) maintains that poverty is a common feature of abusive families but this, on its own, is not enough information to use as a predictor.

Because economic conditions do not exclusively explain the incidence of child abuse, non-economic based theories such as social, cultural, environmental and structural theories are separately explored in this paper to illustrate a clear picture of variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

Economic Theory on Crime Causation and Child Abuse

Poor economic conditions are often considered as key contributing variables for the incidence of crime in general and for violence and crime against children in particular. Social scientists, economists and activists attribute crime causation to economic incentives in various ways. Most cases of child exploitation (child labor and child prostitution) are motivated by economic incentives.

In an article entitled *Child Abuse and Sexual Exploitation in Africa*³, Rebirth Africa Life on the Continent (RALC) suggests three causes for crime causation. The three causes are apartheid based and include the break down of family structures, the "Group Area Act" and the "Bantu Policy".

³ Child Abuse: Sexual exploitation in Africa:
www.rebirth.co.za/Child_abuse_and_sexual_exploitation_in_Africa.htm

Economically, RALC emphasizes that: “*Our children became the scatterings of South Africa. Child prostitution in South Africa is usually a case of survival sex. Children are often forced to work because of economic circumstances – they have to contribute to the family’s income or provide for themselves*”. In such cases, the parent or caregiver of the child forces him/her to work for compensation little be it. This justifies economic theory of child abuse (child labor or prostitution) as a crime for economic gain.

RALC is concerned about children being used as drug carriers or being made to work in inappropriate environments and conditions in the agriculture and domestic services.

Witte and Witt (2000) support many scientists who argue that the incidence of crime is closely related to work (unemployment), education (illiteracy), poverty and truancy, and that youth unemployment is a product or even measure of social exclusion. The authors argue that from an economic theory point of view, a criminal activity is similar to paid employment in that it requires time and produces an income and/or satisfaction. The research agrees that poverty (and unemployment) is a conduit through which other variables influence crime.

Social Theory on Child Abuse

Social variables are important in understanding the incidence of child abuse because they provide for the analysis of the physical and emotional relationship of children with their parents, caregivers and the governmental social system designed to provide for them.

Social theory on child abuse refers to the way children are brought up in their families and the impact of their upbringing on the abuse, neglect and exploitation they endure. Many social trends affecting parenting contribute to child abuse according to Jones et al. (1988). For these authors, the plethora of books and other advices to parents on how to bring up their children have served to confuse parents and caregivers and undermine self-confidence. Surely the majority of parents read no such literature at all. There is no one size fits all way of nurturing children; each family must discover a unique approach to nurture and educate its children. A good approach of nurturing and educating children depends on constructive social practices.

Jones et al. (1988) emphasize that the mobility of families implies less intense contact with extended families. In the same way, children within single parent families enjoy less contact and interaction with a parent figure impacting on amongst others discipline, academic achievement and self-confidence which are associated with child abuse. Social contributing variables for RALC include the breakdown of family structures in South Africa as resulted from measures put in place by the past apartheid Government. Apartheid forced parents to travel great distances to get to work or to work away from home (migrant labor policies). The "Group Areas Act" stipulated locations where non-whites could live (positioning of townships outside of cities) and dictated the limited resources available to them (social exclusion).

According to Goldman et al (2003), parent or caregiver variables relate to personality characteristics and psychological well-being, history of maltreatment, substance abuse, attitude and knowledge and age. The authors emphasise that children whose parents abused alcohol and other drugs were almost three times likelier to be abused, and more than four times likelier to be neglected than children of parents who were not substance abusers were. They also argue that social isolation and community characteristics contribute to child abuse.

Social isolation for the authors means that parents who maltreat their children report experiencing greater isolation, more loneliness and less social support. Community characteristics mean that children living in dangerous neighbourhoods have been found to be at risk especially when violence is an acceptable response or behaviour to individuals who witness it more frequently.

Environmental Theory on Child Abuse

Linked to social and economic variables, the environmental variables play a critical role in understanding child abuse. Many environmental variables are more obvious in poor households than in rich ones and contribute mostly to the incidence of neglect and child abuse to some extent. The quality of the physical environment in which the child lives significantly affects the quality of childcare.

The most important environmental variable that contributes negatively to children's protection and well-being, is poor housing (in the form of overcrowding and lack of privacy). Unsafe and dirty open and recreational spaces and facilities and low standard health and hygiene conditions affect the nurturing of children. Most of these are provided by the government social system. Jones et al. (1988) reported that, poor housing makes it difficult to maintain high standards of health, hygiene and warmth. Many parents could provide better care for their children if they lived in a more favorable environment.

Cultural Theory on Child Abuse

Cultural theory is equally critical and contributes to the understanding of the incidence of child abuse. Because of varied cultures and the influences thereof, children sometimes experience the clash between parental expectation derived from the original cultural background of their parents and caregivers and the cultural environment in which these children now live. Peer pressure and what children are exposed to and learn on their own contribute to cultural conflicts resulting in their abuse and neglect.

The South Africa Children's Act (Act 38 of 2005) stipulates in Chapter 2, Section 12 (1) that: Every child has the right not to be subjected to social, cultural and religious practices which are detrimental to his or her well-being. The Act notes some cultural practices as being harmful to children and against the Constitution and the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Amongst other practices, the following are critical: marrying under-age children, genital mutilation, virginity test, circumcision of male children under the age of sixteen. For example, in indigenous African families (Zulu culture for example), young girls aged below eighteen are given into marriage without their consent and older men.

Many other cultural practices in poor households such as patriarchy contribute to domestic violence and the abuse, neglect and exploitation of children. Women and children are sometimes considered as owned by the man who disposes of them as he pleases and decides on their fate.

A new cultural variable in the causation of child abuse in South Africa is the myth that sleeping with a virgin girl is a

cure to HIV/AIDS. This myth is more observed in poor environment where it is believed that the younger the girl victim the great the chance of curing the perpetrator's HIV/AIDS status.

Structural Theory

Structural child abuse⁴ is a much more recent addition to the definition of child abuse according to Research Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN). Although RAPCAN considers structural child abuse as a different form of abuse, the research emphasizes that structural child abuse is more of a theory than just a form of abuse. For this reason, the research introduces structural theory on understanding the incidence of child abuse as the policies and practices of government in response to basic needs of the care and protection of children.

A failure of the government to implement the prescriptions of the South African Constitution regarding the rights, protection and care of children constitutes a gross harm to children's well-being. To differentiate structural variables from other variables, the research considers the following as structural variables amongst others: children in prisons, children's access to Early Childhood Development (ECD), basic education and social grants, response of the child protection system, action of the criminal justice system. Structural theory also includes policies and practices encouraging the participation of children in decision affecting their well-being.

Although economic and social variables might appear to be more significant in the causation of child abuse, the review of theories indicates that environmental, cultural and structural contributing variables equally contribute to the incidence of child abuse.

Observation of Child Abuse Database

The review of the literature established, from the social and economic theories, that there is a link between socio-economic conditions of poor households and the vulnerability of children to abuse. This link however, did

⁴ RAPCAN Child Abuse Awareness Training Manual

not fully justify the incidence of child abuse. This gap justifies the emphasis on contributing variables from social, economic, cultural, environmental and structural theories to draw a clearer picture of the incidence of child abuse.

To evaluate how different variables contribute to the incidence of child abuse the research used a child abuse database from The Memorial Institute for Child Health and Development (TMI). The research observed the surveyed TMI's child abuse database to test the combination of different variables from the theories explored in the incidence of the recorded child abuse. The TMI database contains 1,829 recorded cases of child abuse recorded around the city of Johannesburg from 2002 to 2005.

The database questionnaires were completed by professionals. It included questions related to the contributing variables of child abuse. Four sections of the questionnaire covered all variables observed in the incidence of child abuse.

The first part of the questionnaire was completed by different professional nurses and addressed questions related to the type of the abuse and surrounding circumstances and information about the history of the abuse. The second part of the questionnaire was completed by a social worker and reviewed the socio-economic conditions of the abused child and his/her parents or caregivers. The third part was completed by a medical doctor and included questions related to the findings of the physical abuse, the type of the abuse and all technical issues related to the abuse. The last part of the questionnaire related to information on the court procedure and the outcomes thereof. This part was not of interest and relevance to the research.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to cover all aspects leading to the validation of variables contributing to child abuse from the literature review and the TMI child abuse the database. Quantitative method referred to the observation of all cases contained in the database whereas qualitative method consisted of the content analysis technique. Content analysis is a technique used to examine information, or content, in written or symbolic material (Neuman, 1994). Through this method, the literature and other documents relevant to the research were reviewed. Different facts, phenomena and events were

observed to determine variables considered as contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

Summary of Key Findings

The auditing and cross tabulation of TMI's child abuse database revealed that child abuse cases were not influenced by only isolated economic and social variables. The rationale of the research was therefore to equally consider social, economic, environmental, cultural and structural variables in understanding the incidence of child abuse.

In summary, the observation and interpretation of the database found no direct correlation between the incidence of child abuse and the race of parents/care-givers. Considering four racial groups and the distribution of the population in South Africa, the database showed that every child had the same chance of being abused, neglected and/or exploited no matter the racial group of his/her parents or care-giver.

On socio-economic indicators, the level of education and unemployment of parents contributed to the incidence of child abuse but not as major variables. From the database, many children with educated and employed parents were abused than children with non-educated and unemployed parents. Children were as likely to be abused in households with high income as those with low income.

The size of the household was not significant in the incidence of child abuse. In most cases, biological fathers and mothers were the principal breadwinners of the households where abuse occurred. Considering breadwinner/numbers of dependents ratio, the majority of breadwinners had between zero and four dependents. This meant that the size of the households was not an important variable in influencing child abuse.

The housing condition of households was not the key contributing variable of child abuse according to the observation of the database. The majority of children lived in brick houses and flats during their ordeal. Again, the likelihood of being abused, neglected or exploited was equal for a child living in a formal housing structure and the one living in an informal settlement.

Other critical considerations on the incidence of child abuse according to the observation of the database corroborated with the findings of the literature review on various variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse. The perpetrators of child abuse were from all walks of life. Biologic parents accounted for only 12% of all cases of child abuse. Curiously, fathers accounted for only 4% whereas mothers were responsible for 8%, other perpetrators were known and related to their victims.

In view of the above, the observation of TMI's database disproved that the incidence of child abuse is merely dependent on the poor social and economic conditions of the households but a combination of many variables from economic, social, environmental, cultural and structural theories.

Child Trafficking in South Africa

The review of the TMI was not conducted with child trafficking in mind but to contextualize the impact of social and economic variables in the incidence of child abuse. It is therefore important, for this paper, to interrogate the variables that contribute to the incidence of child trafficking the same way the research analyzed the incidence of child abuse.

Generally, trafficking involves the recruitment, transportation and exploitation of individuals. Recruitment takes place with promises of prosperity but end up with deception of victims and violation of their basic human rights. In most cases, victims of trafficking are exposed to physical, psychological and sexual violence and are denied medical care, and legal and labor rights.

General Issues on Child Trafficking in South Africa

Child trafficking is not very different from other types of child abuse besides the fact that the phenomenon is difficult to understand. The 2005 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Innocenti Research Centre's Report (on Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation and Other Exploitative Purposes) points that research on child trafficking and sexual exploitation is challenging because of the complex, clandestine, sensitive and changing nature of the practice

itself. The report states that it continues to be problematic to determine the exact numbers of victims of trafficking and the severity and consequences of the problem, in any region of the world. This is partly due to the lack of a clear national priority to the collection of such data. However, there are also some very real difficulties to gathering numerical data on a reality as hidden and multi-layered as the trafficking of children, in particular when it is associated with a cross-border phenomenon.

It is further difficult to translate the numbers of child trafficking cases into a meaningful understanding of the concrete effects on children's lives because of the variety of the variables that contribute to the incidence of child trafficking. Discussing and integrating the key variables contributing to the incidence of child trafficking is therefore very important.

However, variables from the social, economic, cultural, environmental and structural theories exist in the explanation of the incidence of child trafficking in South Africa. Some variables are explained in this section not in a chronological or hierarchical order but just to paraphrase what has been explained under the review of theories on crime causation and child abuse and the observation of the TMI database.

Section 28 (1) of the Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 contains the basic rights of all children living in South Africa. This includes the right to family care or parental care, basic nutrition, shelter, healthcare services and social services as well as the right to not be abused. Section 28 (2) stipulates that, "a child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child".

Although the Constitution prohibits slavery, servitude and bonded labor, legislation which criminalizes human trafficking is not yet available and applicable in South Africa. This makes it difficult to have accurate statistics on the incidence of human trafficking in general and child trafficking in particular and to prosecute traffickers. In the absence of statistics to explain the extent of the phenomenon, the paper rather focuses on briefly reviewing general issues on child trafficking in South Africa.

A research on self-assessment and observations by ten non-governmental organizations in addressing human trafficking in Africa titled: *Poverty, Gender and Human Trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa: Rethinking Best Practices in Migration Management* took place in 2005. Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN), a South African NGO participated in the research and identified poverty as one of the key variables causing trafficking. According to the research report, in South Africa, around 14 million children live in deep poverty with inadequate access to basic requirements for survival. Under these circumstances, children are vulnerable to being “sold” and trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation, or domestic and agricultural labor. Their parents are also frequently “conned” into thinking that they are sending their child off to a better life with more opportunities.

African Women Empowerment Guild (AWEG), a National NGO in Nigeria believes that the root causes of trafficking are poverty, greed, unstable economy, unemployment, success stories as told by the trafficked and the lack of awareness on the part of those to be trafficked.’ Communities may be aware of the risks of unauthorized migration but may simply continue to engage in the activity with greater awareness of the risks according to AWEG. The remarks from RAPCAN and AWEG explain the economic theory of crime causation and child trafficking for this case. This first block of variables is therefore classified as the “Economic cluster”.

The second important root cause of child trafficking is of social nature according to RAPCAN because deeply patriarchal ethos pervades the South African society. Rigid social constructions of masculinity and femininity and a profoundly conservative ethos relegates women and children to positions of being ‘owned’ (and therefore disposable at the whim of the ‘owner’) and there is limited recognition of women, and even less of children, as human beings with own rights. The structuring of the society creates unequal relationships within households and the community. The harmony, friendliness between men and women and children are inexistent. The relations parent-children and children-society are broken leading to the exploitation of children. The contact between parents and

children are not solid. Positive parenting and bonding are not firm. In such situation, child trafficking is extremely possible because parents can dispose of their child as they please. Adding to poverty, unemployment and other economic variables, there is a great potential for child trafficking. These different variables form the category "Social cluster".

Most trafficked children are from poor households with extremely poor physical environments. In many instances, those children operate in environment not conducive to their protection and wellbeing. The trafficker is not interested in providing a good environment to the trafficked children but to get the most profit possible from them. The environment is therefore filthy, the housing structure mostly inadequate and where the housing is adequate, cases of overcrowding and lack of hygiene are observed. In most of the cases children are either forced to use (and abuse) or are exposed to substance (alcohol and drugs) abuse. These variables for the category "Environment cluster"

The culture of abuse and exploitation of children, the non understanding of risks and consequences of child trafficking contribute to the incidence and perpetuation of child trafficking. As discussed in the cultural theory, the culture of marrying under-age children can be considered as a form of child trafficking because of the material and financial benefit gained by the parent.

The gender of the child is an important variable in the incidence of child trafficking. In some traditions, girls are not considered as important in the legacy of the family. For such reason, it might be accepted that the girl child is sold. This does not exclude the fact boys are more prey to child trafficking when it comes to using them as farm or mine workers because of their physical strength. These variables constitute the "Cultural cluster".

The weakness of the criminal justice system including the non criminalization of child trafficking and non support and protection of witnesses are amongst the variables that contribute to the incidence and perpetuation child trafficking in South Africa. Other variables include the communities not fully being involved in the prevention of

child trafficking and most prevention mechanisms being simply awareness-raising oriented.

The absence of an effective policy environment dealing with a criminalizing child trafficking, poor service delivery, poor coordination and networking amongst different role players, inappropriate funding, ambiguous role of the Government, the undefined and not supported role and responsibility of the community and the society, the non association of the child in decisions are variables that constitute the “Structural cluster” or “Policies and practices”.

The Integrated Modeled Theory on the Incidence of Child Trafficking

The fear of child trafficking by human rights and civil society organizations, parents, children and policy makers is relevant. An integrated theory to facilitate the understanding of the variables contributing to its incidence and a mechanism to prevent and curb such unfortunate phenomenon is the contribution of the research this paper is based on.

The review of the literature established, from the social and economic theories, that there is a link between socio-economic conditions of poor households and child abuse. However, the literature demonstrated that there is no single cause for violence and crime against children. The review of the literature and interactions with experts confirmed the role of other variables in the incidence of child abuse.

The Integrated Modeled Theory (IMT) assists in understanding the incidence of child trafficking and paves a way for the development and implementation of effective prevention and intervention mechanisms against child trafficking before, during and after the 2010 Fifa World Cup tournament in South Africa.

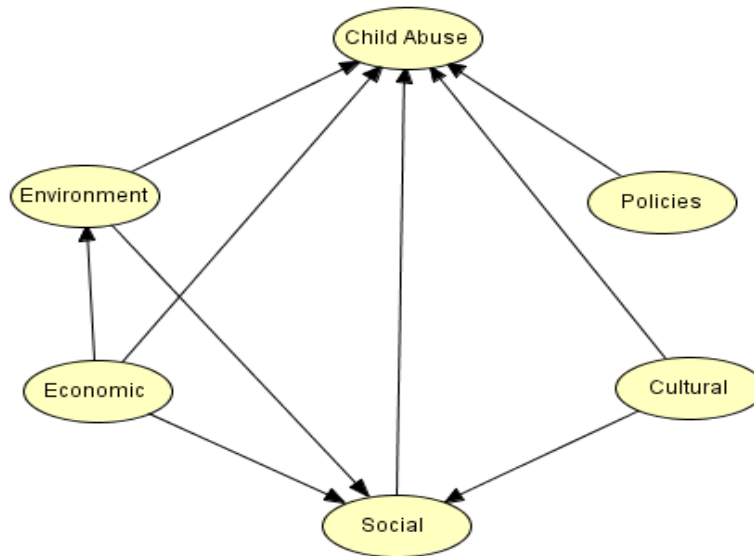
The IMT is an adaptation of the Bayesian Networks system in understanding the incidence of child abuse. All principles of the Bayesian Networks system were observed and enhanced by the outcomes of the observation of the TMI child abuse database and the findings of the literature review.

The IMT mainly assists in combining variables from different theories to facilitate the understanding of the incidence of child trafficking. It demonstrates different scenarios on the links and interdependences between variables contributing to the incidence of child trafficking.

The IMT as represented below considers five clusters comprising variables that equally contribute to the incidence of child trafficking. They are the economic cluster, the social cluster, the environmental cluster, the cultural cluster and the structural cluster also know as policies and practices. All these five clusters have direct links and interdependence with the outcome variable "Child abuse". This means that the outcome variable "Child abuse" depends on and is affected by the state of each of these clusters. Every time the state of one of these clusters changes, or the states of a combination of some of these clusters change or the states of all of them change at the same time, the state of "Child abuse also changes"

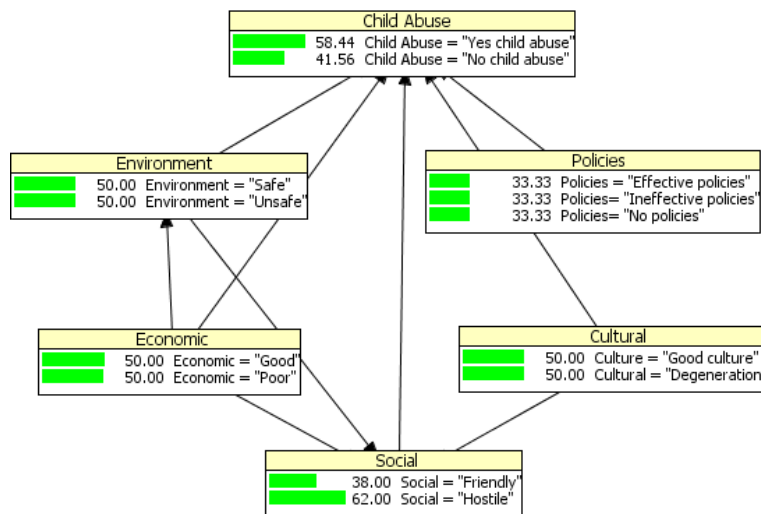
The IMT also demonstrates that there are links and interdependences between the clusters. Social cluster for instance depends on and is influenced by economic, environmental and cultural clusters. This means that the states of the economic, environmental and cultural clusters affect the social cluster. The environmental cluster depends on and is too influenced by the economic cluster. In this case, if the economic condition is not good, the environment will also be negatively affected.

The links and interdependences as demonstrated below denote the importance of the Bayesian Networks system. The impact of such links is explained in the quantification of the sub-model and the simulation of probabilities.



Quantified Clusters

The links and interdependences between the five clusters are represented by the acyclic arrows. Their interpretation considering their equal contributing to the incidence of “Child abuse” (the outcome variable) is as follows:



- The economic cluster remains unchanged. Meaning that the two states are proportionally equal: “Good economy” and “Poor economy”
- The cultural cluster remains unchanged. The two states are proportionally equal: “Good culture” and “Degenerative culture”

- The structural cluster too remains unchanged with three proportional states: "Effective policies", "Ineffective policies" and "No policies".

These clusters remain unchanged because they are independent, meaning that they do not depend and are not influenced by other clusters.

The proportions of the two other clusters change because they are affected by other clusters. Every time the probability (or proportion) of the affecting clusters change, the proportion of these clusters will also change:

- The social cluster changes and has two states with different values: "Friendly social" and "Hostile social"
- The environmental cluster remains unchanged because it depends on only one cluster "Economic cluster. The two states are proportionally equal: "Safe environment" and "Unsafe environment". As soon as the "Economic cluster" substantially change, the "Environmental Cluster will definitely change too.

The outcome variable "Child abuse" changes because it depends and is affected by the five clusters. Every time there a change of the state of any of one, a combination or all the cluster, "Child abuse" will also change.

- The child abuse variable changes and has two different states with different values: "Yes child abuse" and "No child abuse".

Influence Diagrams: What-if Scenarios

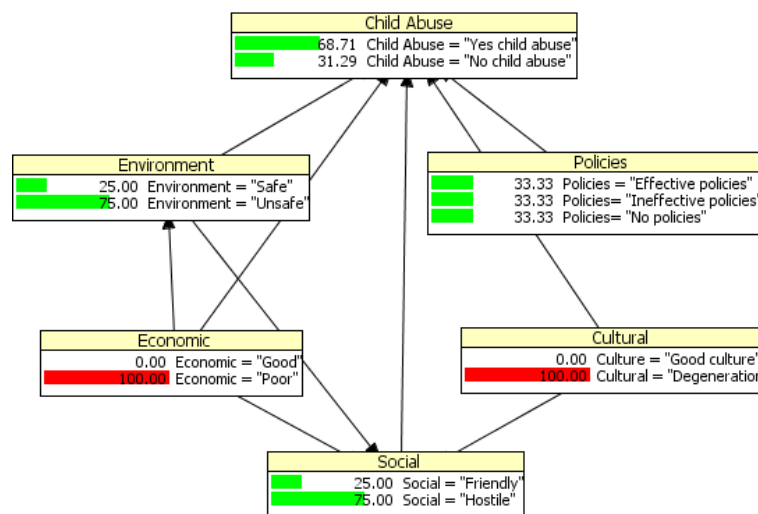
According to Hugin Expert A/S, Algebras for combining certain variables are not mathematically coherent and can lead to incorrect conclusions. For this reason, the Bayesian Networks system uses probabilities and uncertainties to untie the knot. The what-if scenario means that:

- If ... condition, then ... fact
- If ... condition, then action or decision
- If ... condition with certainty x , then fact with certainty $f(x)$
- The certainty of "A and B" is function of the certainty of A and the certainty of B.

The figure above demonstrates a normal distribution of the incidence of child abuse (child trafficking) considering that all the variables have equal chance to be either good or bad or effective, ineffective according to the case of each particular variable. The implication of such normal equal distribution has already showed that, because the social cluster has two parents in the BNs language or depends on both cultural and economic clusters, the states of the social cluster is already unequal and tending towards a hostile social condition. Similarly, this scenario has an impact on the incidence of child abuse (child trafficking) at almost 60%.

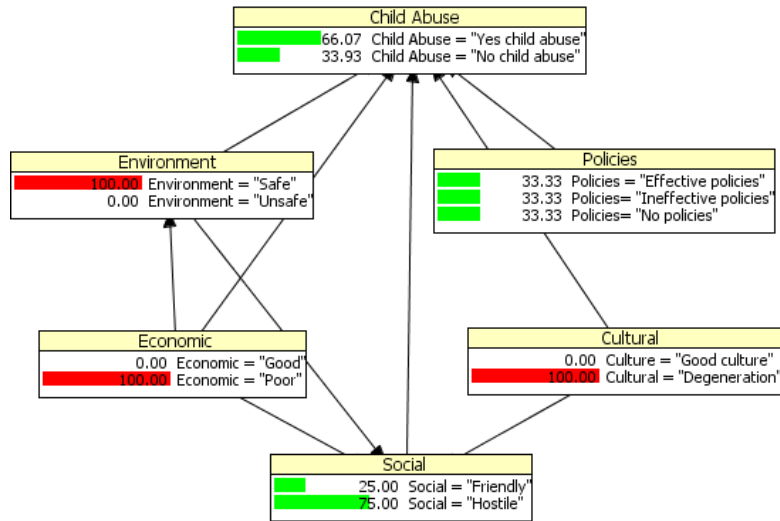
In changing the states of the nodes to either maximum good and bad, the state of the child clusters will change where possible as well as the outcome variable (child abuse). The changes are also affected by the previous probabilities between parent and child clusters and the direct or indirect connections to the outcome variable (child abuse).

If the economic cluster is “Poor” and the cultural cluster is “Degeneration”, the cultural cluster is 75% “Hostile”. The environment cluster becomes 75% “Unsafe” as a direct consequence of “Poor economy” cluster. Consequently, child abuse incidence increases to almost 69%.

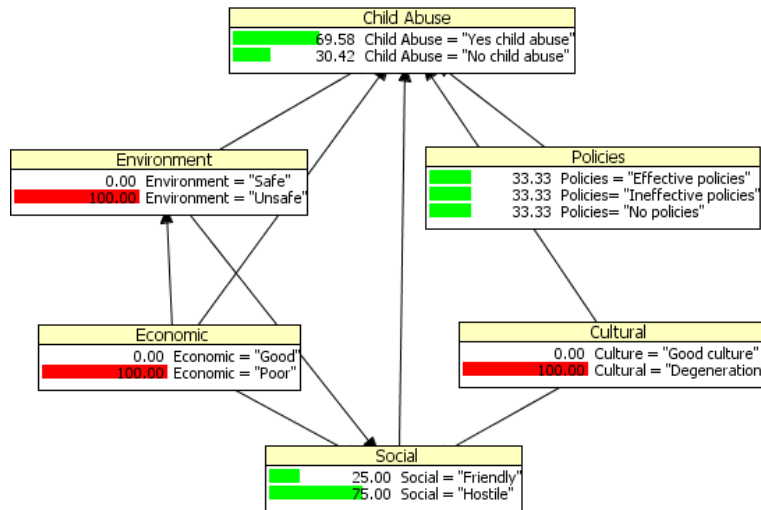


If the economic cluster is “Poor”, the cultural cluster is also “Poor” and the environment is “Safe”, the probability of the incidence of child abuse decreases to 66%. In this case as the previous scenario, the policies and social clusters are

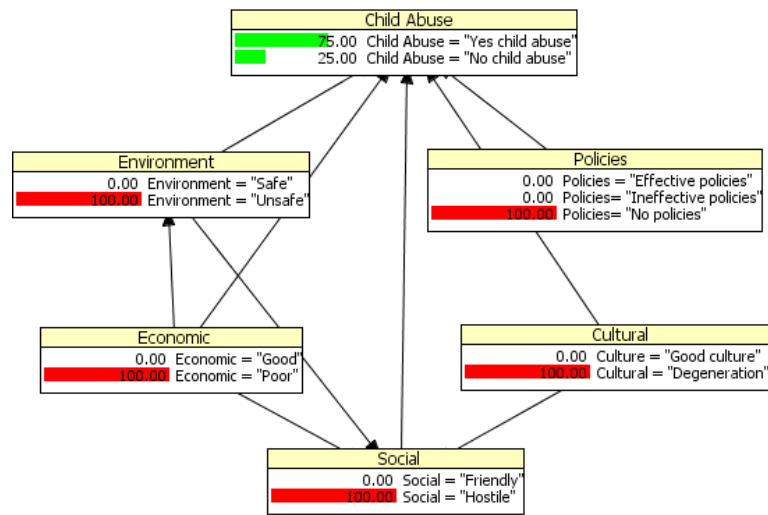
not directly considered. The indirect consideration of social cluster is that it was affected by cultural and economic clusters to change to 75% "Hostile".



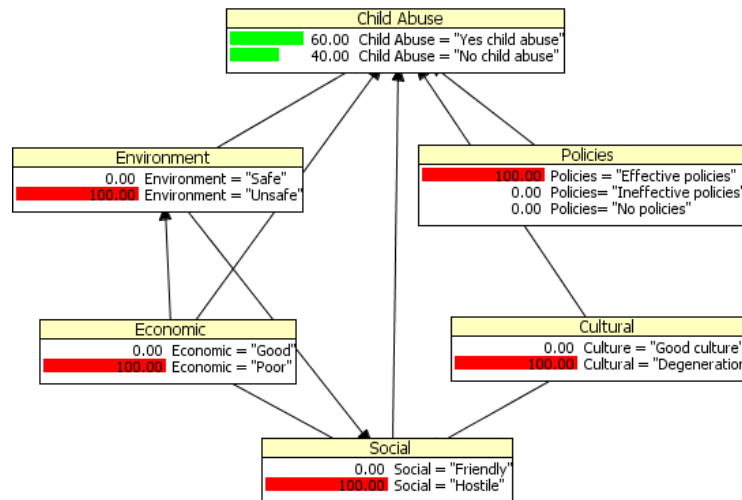
If the previous scenario is maintained and additionally the environment becomes "Unsafe", meaning that the economy is "Poor", the culture is "Degeneration" and the environment is "Unsafe", the probability of child abuse (child trafficking) to occur rises to almost 70%.



The worse case scenario is when the economy is "Poor", the culture is "Degeneration, the environment is "Unsafe", the social is "Hostile and the policies in "No policies". In such instance, the probability of child abuse (child trafficking) to occur escalates to 75%.



A significant change is however possible if the policy cluster changes. Considering the previous scenario but in a situation where the cluster policies is “Effective policies”, the probability of child abuse (child trafficking) changes from 75% to 60%.



This scenario shows that by developing and or implementing effective policies around the provision of services and goods to children, no matter the poor economic, the hostile social, the degeneration culture and the unsafe environment, the probability of the incidence of child abuse (child trafficking) decreases from 75% to 60%.

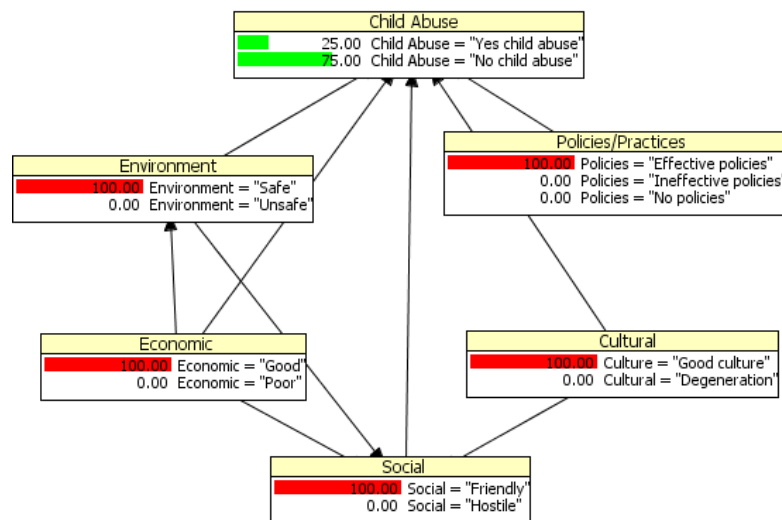
Because the variables are interlinked and dependent, the system shows that good policies will have an impact of

other variables and thus reduce the incidence of child abuse (child trafficking).

Prevention and Intervention mechanisms: Decision Tool

The IMT is a tool that facilitates the understanding of child trafficking by reviewing the contributing variables to inform decision-making processes for effective and efficient policy development and implementation of a mechanism to prevent and deal with cases of child trafficking.

The task of changing all clusters to a normal or acceptable situation (or scenario) facilitates the building of decision-making process to address and manage the phenomenon. The decision modelling explores how to address the clusters that contribute to the incidence of child trafficking. The most ideal situation of the care and protection of children against is depicted in the network below. This network says that if the environment is safe, the economy is good, the culture is good, the social conditions are friendly and the policies and practices are effective, there is a high probability (75%) of addressing child abuse (child trafficking for this case).



To achieve the above ideal scenario, prevention and intervention actions must consider addressing the variables observed in the different networks. Depending on the environment where prevention and intervention actions need to take place, the assessment of all those variables will

produce a list of needs in terms of each contributing variable.

The satisfaction of basic needs of children and their families is necessary and cuts across all variables. This includes the primary commodities (economic cluster), caring and protecting children (social, cultural and environmental clusters) and creating and implementing an effective policy environment on criminalizing and dealing with child trafficking cases (structural cluster).

To address each variable it is necessary to conduct an audit of government, non governmental and community's service providers and their mandate and responsibility for service provision to children at risk of being trafficked, trafficked children, their parents and or caregivers and the community at large. The result of the audit should be the extent of services to be provided by each government body, non-governmental organization and community structure in dealing with each variable contributing to child trafficking.

An important step that cements service delivery is the review of legislation and policies to affect mandates and responsibilities of each participating government department and non-governmental organization as far as the individual contributing variables are concerned. All concerned legislation and policies must be passed by relevant institutions and enacted into enforceable legislation and related regulations. A specific legislation must address the criminalization of child trafficking and a strong criminal justice system to deal with child traffickers.

Once all mandates are established and legislation enacted, a budgeting exercise must be undertaken to determine the cost for the intervention and prevention of child trafficking at national, provincial and local level. This budgeting will consider not only how to address the contributing variables but also the number of beneficiaries and all conditions for proper service delivery. The budgeting exercise must consider a sufficient human resource (especially social workers) and sufficient and sustained financial and material funding. A cost-benefit analysis for the implementation of legislation and policies on child trafficking is therefore indispensable.

Additional consideration must be paid to the training on prevention and reporting of child trafficking cases and parenting skills for parents and child caregivers. The establishment of a coordination system and networks for support and protection of child trafficking witnesses is also necessary. In the meantime, prevention approaches that go beyond awareness-raising are essential to focus on developmental programs such as poverty reduction, job creation and literacy.

Conclusion

This paper set a scenario on understanding the incidence of child abuse in general and child trafficking in particular. The paper uses the Integrated Modeled Theory to show the links and interdependences between variables from the economic, social, cultural, environmental and structural clusters and their equal contribution in the incidence of child abuse and particularly child trafficking.

The theoretical grounding of the research and this paper is that child abuse in general and child trafficking in particular is a social ill that needs a solution. In social theory terms, this paper agrees with Newberger et al (1983) that the construction of scientific theory is also a process of searching for pathways through experience in order to explain cause and effect.

This research is based on the review of the literature that has shown the importance not the onus of isolated socio-economic variables in the incidence of child abuse. The observation of the TMI child abuse database corroborated the outcomes of the literature review to mean that there is no sole variable that contributes in isolation to the incidence of child abuse, neglect and exploitation. Variables from economic, social, environmental, cultural and structural nature contribute equally to the incidence of child abuse.

The Integrated Modeled Theory captures the links and interdependencies among the variables contributing to the incidence of child abuse in general and child trafficking in particular. The clear understanding of the incidence of child abuse in general and child trafficking in particular assists in

developing and implementing prevention and intervention mechanisms on how to effectively address the incidence of child abuse in general and specifically child trafficking in this case.

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