

Trafficking As a Human Rights Violation: Is South Africa's Curriculum Stuck in a Traffick Jam?

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Abstract

Human trafficking is a form of modern day slavery and is often collectively referred to as a human rights violation. However, human trafficking is more complex than this suggests as this article attempts to demonstrate. It begins by describing the landscape of international trends in human trafficking, with particular attention to child trafficking. Next, national trends in South African legislation and education are outlined. It then describes a qualitative document research study that was conducted to explore the landscape of this phenomenon. The aim was to ascertain the extent to which human trafficking, child trafficking in particular, is addressed in the national curriculum. The document analysis included all of the compulsory subjects in Grades R to 12. By employing content analysis, the areas in the explicit curriculum where human trafficking is included could be identified. Based on the findings of this research, South Africa's curriculum seems to be stuck in a traffick jam in the sense that it does not adequately explore the topic of human trafficking. As a result, children are not gaining an awareness and knowledge of the realities of this kind of trafficking. This article concludes with an appeal to curriculum scholars to embrace curriculum as a complicated conversation that expresses lived experiences and a desire for a profoundly **transformative curriculum** in the future, which can help to prevent the trafficking of our children. Such discourse would be a way of breaking the shackles that are binding our children and preventing them from embracing their vulnerability.

Keywords: *human trafficking; child trafficking; human rights violations; South Africa; explicit curriculum*

1. Introduction

Child trafficking, one aspect of human trafficking, is a form of modern day slavery. Its scope is not well conceptualized at present. Ongoing research is thus essential to establish the degree to which the problem is escalating and the interventions that need to be put in place to guarantee that policies on this issue are enacted in civil society (HSRC, 2010, p. 1). Numerous policy documents and research reports (for example UNESCO, 2007; HSRC, 2010) recommend that more research be done in South Africa on human trafficking, particularly child trafficking, as a human rights violation and the ways in which trafficking can be addressed in the curriculum. To date, however, few attempts seem to have been made to enact human trafficking in the explicit curriculum (written, formal national curriculum). As a preliminary step, this study explores the extent to which human trafficking, in particular child trafficking, features in the explicit curriculum as a human rights violation. The assumption is that planning interventions to transform the curriculum require firm information on the explicit curriculum.

Based on their research, Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) list certain pre-conditions for ensuring that research on human trafficking is effective and has the desired impact. One is that researchers must decide on the stage of trafficking they are concerned with (i.e. persons at risk of being trafficked, current victims, or former victims of trafficking) and which group the interventions are targeting from the outset. Another is that studies in human trafficking need to go beyond quantitative data on the scope of the phenomenon, descriptions of trends, and characteristics of victims in order to do justice to the complexity of human trafficking (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005, p. 17). In line with these recommendations, the focus of this research is awareness raising, preventative interventions through the curriculum for persons in the at risk stage, in particular South African school children. The kind of research chosen was qualitative document analysis, which was conducted to obtain rich descriptions of the phenomenon (human trafficking) in the

explicit curriculum.

In the next section, we explore international trends, referring to statistics and policies related to human trafficking. Policies and research related to South Africa will then be highlighted to provide the background to the inquiry. Thereafter, their implications for the South African curriculum are emphasized in order to make the intellectual conundrum of this study evident.

2. International Trends

Human trafficking is regarded as one of the fastest growing criminal business in the world. Research done by the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2012) indicates that an estimated 21 million people are victims of trafficking and that the market value of human trafficking is 32 billion US dollars. The United Nations (UN) began its efforts to prevent, combat and protect persons in trafficking in the 1990s. However, it soon became clear that these efforts would have only limited success without strong international cooperation. Thus in 1998 the General Assembly established an intergovernmental committee to develop a comprehensive international convention that could be used to act against transnational organized crime and trafficking in persons (UN, 2004, p. 41). By 2000 the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) had introduced two primary legislative policies (UN, 2000): (i) the *UN Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons*, especially women and children and (ii) the *UN Convention against transnational organized crime*. International cooperation was also strengthened by inviting nation states to commit themselves to implementing the legislative policies. By December 2000, 120 nations had committed themselves to participation (including South Africa) and by December 2003 many nations had begun to implement national legislative policies that address the aims of the UN (UN, 2004). The three aims of the UN (2004, p. 42) are:

- a) To prevent and combat trafficking in persons, paying particular attention to women and children;
- b) To protect and assist the victims of such trafficking, with full respect of their human rights; and
- c) To promote cooperation among States Parties in order to meet those objectives.

Along with these aims, the overall goal of the UN (2004) was to arrive at a globally agreed upon definition for 'trafficking in persons' so that countries could synchronize their national laws accordingly. At the same time, the UN recognized that although there can be no universal legislation to address trafficking in persons, national legislation should be devised and underpinned by the common understanding of trafficking in persons as put forward in Article 3 of the UN protocol (UN, 2004, p. 42) as:

...the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

This complex definition reflects the multi-faceted nature of human trafficking, which includes hegemonic, economic, social, political, physical, hierarchal and emotional factors. From another perspective, the UNODC (2009, p. 14) also emphasizes that even when the exploitation is done with the agreement or informed consent of the victim, a perpetrator is not absolved from criminal responsibility. Those under the age of 18 cannot give legal consent and thus the trafficker (if over the age of 18 years) will be held liable. All actions taken that involve children must be guided by applicable human rights legislation such as the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UN, 1995).

Of relevance to this research study is also the international discourses on child trafficking. In alignment with the UN's (2004) definition of human trafficking, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2006, p. 9) argues that elements of exploitation that need to be included in child trafficking are: armed groups or forces, begging, illegal activities for minors, illicit adoption, early marriage, birth registration and child labour for example. At present, child trafficking constitutes 27% of all human trafficking globally, and two out of every three child victims are girls (UN, 2012, p. 7). This is particularly significant for continents such as Africa and the Middle East as these have the highest proportion of child victims of trafficking – approximately 68% of victims are children and only 32% are adults (UN, 2012, p. 10). Child trafficking is a human rights violation that has myriad effects on the development of the child academically, socially, physically and emotionally. The most common forms are child labour and the sex trade. These children are trafficked into the informal economic sector where they frequently become part of abusive, violent and other criminal networks (ILO, 2009). It is also very challenging for children to avoid falling victim to child trafficking because of

their vulnerability, immaturity and lack of legal empowerment (UN, 2012, p. 15).

This research study is concerned with human trafficking in South Africa, partly because of the high statistical indicators in Africa (UN, 2012, p. 10). Distinct patterns of human trafficking into South Africa from Africa include (UNESCO, 2007, p. 20):

- Trafficking of children from Lesotho to towns in the Eastern Free State of South Africa;
- Trafficking of women and girls from Mozambique to Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu Natal of South Africa; and
- Trafficking of women and girls from Malawi to South Africa.

Child traffickers in South Africa use promises of improved education opportunities and the offer of shelter and care to children to find new victims (UNESCO, 2007, p. 20). We will now elaborate on how human trafficking is addressed in South African human rights discourse and policy as well as in the curriculum.

3. South Africa: Research and Legislation on Human Trafficking

Obtaining statistics on the number of victims of child trafficking and their gender, age and nationality is complicated by the ‘underground and hidden’ nature of the phenomenon (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005, p. 18; UNESCO, 2007, p. 19). UNESCO reported in 2007 that approximately 247,000 children were being exploited for labour in South Africa, with child prostitutes making up 8% of this number (UNESCO, 2007, p. 10-11). In 2010, South Africa was assigned a Tier 2 Watch List status by the US Department of State’s Office to monitor and combat trafficking in persons for the years of 2005-2008 (HSRC, 2010, p. 1). A Tier 2 status is given to countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum standards in terms of international trafficking legislation, but which are making efforts to comply with international legislative standards (HSRC, 2010, p. 70). Tier 1 status indicates complete compliance with international trafficking legislation, whilst a Tier 3 status denotes little effort to comply with international trafficking legislation (*ibid.*). In addition to acquiring this status and efforts made to address the problem in legislation, the build-up to the Soccer World Cup that was hosted by South Africa in 2010 increased awareness of trafficking in the country (HSRC, 2010, p. 94).

This increase in awareness of human trafficking resulted in a research project – *Tsireledzani: understanding the dimension of human trafficking in Southern Africa*. The Human Sciences Research Council, in collaboration with Tsireledzani (South Africa Against Human Trafficking) and the National Prosecuting Authority, took responsibility for this research and released its report in March 2010. The study aimed “to construct a more detailed national picture of the phenomenon [trafficking in persons] whilst also examining the issues and challenges for policy, strategy and implementation” (HSRC, 2010, p. 2). The methodology chosen made it possible to gather the necessary statistical information on the phenomenon (HSRC, 2010, p. 13). Chapter 3 of the report focused on the international, regional and national legislative frameworks that are in place to protect people from being victims of trafficking. These frameworks are underpinned by regional human rights instruments such as the *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (1990) and the *Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa* (2003). The link between human rights and trafficking in persons is important here for two reasons. First, human trafficking often occurs in contexts where people are denied basic human rights such as education, a decent job, and the right not to be tortured, submitted to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment (UNESCO, 2007, p. 16). Secondly, when human trafficking occurs, it violates the rights of individuals to be free from slavery, non-discrimination, freedom of expression and participation, etc. (*ibid.*).

4. South African Curriculum and Human and/or Child Trafficking

The recommendations that emanated from the HSRC report (2010) are of particular importance to our research study. The need for national action plans to realize the ideals of combating human trafficking as a human rights violation were central to many of the recommendations. In particular, pleas were made for the inclusion of human trafficking as a topic throughout the explicit curriculum to raise awareness of and ultimately prevent trafficking (HSRC, 2010, p. xi, 5, 24, 168, 169, 170). This recommendation is also endorsed by the UNESCO report of 2007. According to the HSRC report, an extensive public education and awareness campaign has been launched under the auspices of the *Tsireledzani Anti-Trafficking Programme* (HSRC, 2010, p. 169). Unfortunately, an internet search has revealed little about the exact target of this programme, its content or where it has been implemented. It is important for us to know what view of curriculum it takes. If an add-on methodology is employed, it might not be effective because it tends not to deal with the phenomenon ‘head on’ and is often perceived as a ‘quick fix’ to complex societal issues (Cross, 2004, p. 403-404). A transformative approach might be more successful because it advocates the higher-order integration of

knowledge about complex social phenomena that aims to challenge people in terms of what they think they know and/or understand (Cross, 2004, p. 403-404).

In its present form, the explicit South African curriculum shows little evidence of child and/or human trafficking, an indication of the need for the kind of research presented in this article. One can argue that human and/or child trafficking is a null element in the curriculum – that which is *not* taught for whatever reason (Quinne, 2010, p. 613-614). It would be unwise to opt for an add-on approach to address such a complex issue as human trafficking, because it encourages quick fix interventions. In this sense, the curriculum becomes a mere ‘dumping ground’. The result is that social problems are then often dealt with in a reductionist fashion; they are divorced from their context and stripped of the dynamics that perpetuate such problems (Du Preez & Simmonds, forthcoming). Eisner (1994, p. 33) argues that very often when intended curricula are rigidly structured, as is the case in South Africa, it inhibits the potential contribution of the operational (or enacted) curriculum of the teacher. The latter might further reduce the power of curriculum in addressing complex, context specific societal issues. What is required is an integrated, transformative approach in which content on human trafficking is presented on a higher-order level that acknowledges the complexity of the phenomenon (Cross, 2004, p. 403-404).

Research conducted between 2005 and 2011 indicates that human rights content is often dealt with in the explicit curriculum as empty, a-contextual content that can simply be ‘deposited’ into children (Simmonds, 2010; Du Preez, 2012; Du Preez, Simmonds & Roux, 2012). In addition, school-based research indicates that little progression occurs when human rights are dealt with in the curriculum (Du Preez, 2012; Kutu, 2013). The basic contents remain the same, at least from Grades 4 to Grade 7. Other research has also indicated that integration and infusion of human rights throughout the curriculum is ideal, but seldom occurs (Carrim & Keet, 2005; Du Preez, 2008). It is important to recognize that addressing human rights in the curriculum creates an organic space for human trafficking to be integrated. Human trafficking as a human rights violation could readily be addressed in the context of the explicit and enacted curriculum. This is an ideal opportunity to introduce a contextualized and authentic example of human rights violations that could facilitate learning about this complex social problem. It might also prevent the repetition of human rights content and at the same time ensure progression of human rights content.

The intellectual conundrum of this article is thus that human trafficking constitutes a global, social issue within human rights discourse in which myriad complicated curriculum conversations manifest themselves. Elevating these topics from the null to the explicit to the enacted curriculum thus remains a priority to make the curriculum a lived document that can serve the needs of the most vulnerable members of the society. The research question that facilitated this enquiry is: *To what extent is the explicit curriculum enacting awareness of human and/or child trafficking?*

5. The Method

Documents are communicative and representational; they are not containers of content (Flick, 2009, p. 261; Hodder, 2003, p. 160). To explore the extent to which awareness of human and/or child trafficking is enacted in the curriculum, qualitative document research was conducted. Rapley (2007) presents two arguments in favour of using document research. Firstly, documents can be investigated to reveal the implicit (silences, gaps or omissions) and the explicit (development of an argument, idea or concept) meanings embedded in the text (Rapley, 2007, p. 111). These different elements of the text can consolidate or disrupt meaning. Secondly, in document research attention is given to the way specific issues raised by the text are structured and organised. This strengthens the authority of a particular understanding of an issue (Rapley, 2007, p. 123). Document research is a powerful method that can reveal hidden and misunderstood elements. This made it ideal for research on the phenomenon in question in an explicit curriculum.

As part of content analysis, data were generated on references made to human trafficking in the explicit curriculum. Content analysis employs *InVivo* coding, and involves the literal coding of content in documents by revealing the exact or verbatim language or discourse portrayed in the documents (Saldaña, 2009, p. 74). Emphasising the literal or surface meaning of words, terms and phrases makes it possible to reveal content knowledge and how it is organized. To reach this level of transparency a sample or corpus of documents has been analyzed. This article has purposefully selected all the compulsory subjects that children are exposed to during their school years, from Grade R-12. This involved “researchers hand-pick[ing] the cases to be included in the sample, on the basis of their judgment of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 156). This makes it possible to identify a sample that meets the specific needs of the research.

In the next section, Table 2 illustrates the compulsory subjects that children do from their first formal year of schooling (namely, Grade R) until their final formal schooling year (namely, Grade 12). These compulsory subjects are juxtaposed with the findings of two levels of analysis.

6. The Findings

To arrive at the findings, two levels of analysis were conducted. The first level of analysis aimed at eliciting whether explicit reference is made to human and/or child trafficking. The second level analysed the explicit curriculum to identify other concepts that are related to human and child trafficking. In the second level of analysis, concepts related to human trafficking can be identified in the United Nations (2004, p. 42) definitions of these and the UNICEF (2006, p. 9) definition of child trafficking. See Table 1.

Table 1: Concepts Related to Human and Child Trafficking

Human Trafficking (UN, 2004:42)	Child Trafficking UNICEF (2006:9)
Sexual exploitation (including prostitution)	Illegal activities for minors
Forced labour (including slavery)	Illicit adoption
Removal of organs	Child marriage
Abduction (including forced removal and forced migration)	Birth registration
Abuse of power	Child labour

The first and second levels of analysis will now be presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Analysis of South Africa's Explicit Curriculum

Compulsory Subjects <i>Grades R-12</i>	Level One Analysis <i>Explicit mention of human and/or child trafficking</i>	Level Two Analysis <i>Other related concepts</i>
Grade R-3 (Foundation Phase) (South Africa, 2011a;b;c;d;e)		
Home Language	No	No
First Additional Language	No	No
Mathematics	No	No
Life Skills	No	Yes
Grade 4-6 (Intermediate Phase) (South Africa, k;l;m;n;o;p)		
Home Language	No	No
First Additional Language	No	No
Mathematics	No	No
Life Skills	No	Yes
Natural Science and Technology	No	No
Social Science	No	No
Grade 7-9 (Senior Phase) (South Africa, q;r;s;t;u;v;w;x;y)		
Home Language	No	No
First Additional Language	No	No
Mathematics	No	No
Life Orientation	No	Yes
Natural Sciences	No	No
Technology	No	No
Social Sciences	No	Yes
Economic and Management Sciences	No	No
Creative Arts	No	No
Grade 10-12 (Further Education and Training Phase) (South Africa, 2011f;g;h;i;j)		
Home Language	No	No
First Additional Language	No	No
Mathematics or Mathematics Literacy	No	No
Life Orientation	Yes	Yes

6.1 Level One Analysis and Preliminary Interpretation

From the findings it is evident that the curriculum makes explicit reference to human trafficking only once. This is in Grade 10, in Life Orientation under the topic ‘Democracy and Human Rights’ (South Africa, 2011h). In particular, this topic engages with “diversity, discrimination and violations” in terms of “race, religion, culture, language, gender, age, rural/urban, xenophobia, human trafficking and HIV and AIDS” (South Africa, 2011h, p. 12). Human trafficking is mentioned. However, it forms part of an extensive list and thus can easily fail to receive the attention it deserves.

6.2 Level Two Analysis and Preliminary Interpretation

Table 2 demonstrates that concepts related to human and child trafficking do feature in the Grades 7–9 Social Sciences and all (Grades R-12) the Life Skills and Life Orientation explicit curricula. The way that curriculum content knowledge relates to the United Nations (2004, p. 42) definition of human trafficking and the UNICEF’s (2006, p. 9) definition of child trafficking (as displayed in Table 1), will now be presented by way of the following three themes:

6.2.1 Child labour and Slavery is Part of Our History

In the Social Science, History section of the explicit curriculum for Grades 7–9 the topics child labour and slavery feature (South Africa, 2011w). The topic of slavery forms part of the focus on “the nature and impact of the slave trade between West Africa and the American South” and the “colonisation of the Cape 17th–18th centuries” in Grade 7 (South Africa, 2011w, p. 34-35). In Grade 8, curriculum content knowledge pertaining to the Industrial Revolution in Britain and its misuse of “child labour in mills and mines” (South Africa, 2011w, p. 37) is explored. Concepts related to human and child trafficking emanate clearly as these topics engage with forced labour, child labour, forced removal, forced migration and the abuse of power. However, a problematic aspect is that the curriculum approaches slavery and child labour as something of the past. In 2007 it was reported that approximately 247,000 children in South Africa are involved in child labour (UNESCO, 2007, p. 10-11) and globally, child labour and the sex trade are the most common forms of trafficking (ILO, 2009). This is clear evidence that child labour and slavery is not only part of the global world, but it is also very much part of the society in which South African children are growing up in at this present time. Whilst at school, these children are told that it is only something of the past and this is problematic for creating an awareness of human trafficking.

6.2.2 Intersections between Sexual Abuse, Health and Values

As early as Grade 3 children are exposed to topics on sexual abuse in the subject Life Skills (South Africa, 2011e). First it is dealt with as part of how to keep one’s body safe (South Africa, 2011e). Next it is related to physical and emotional child abuse in Grade 5 (South Africa, 2011n) and finally sexual abuse is dealt with in terms of rape in Grade 10 (South Africa, 2011j). A feature of the approach to this topic is that it is interrelated to health issues such as sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and AIDS and teenage pregnancy, for example. In addition, sexual abuse and health issues are intersected with values so that these may be used as strategies to “make responsible decisions regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices to optimise personal potential” (South Africa, 2011j, p. 15). Values such as “respect for self and others, abstinence, self-control...[and] taking responsibility for own actions” (*ibid.*) are promoted in pursuit of minimising sexual abuse, for the victims and the perpetrators.

Although the intersection between sexual abuse, health and values is related to human trafficking topics, it does not adequately address these topics as it assumes that sexual exploitation can be avoided, controlled or even maintained by the individual involved (cf. UN, 2004, p. 42). To raise awareness of sex trafficking and thus combat it, teachers must have the knowledge and skills to make the links between these topics explicit within the curriculum. This calls for a transformative curriculum approach (Cross, 2004).

6.2.3 Abuse of Power

The Grade 11 Life Orientation explicitly draws on curriculum content knowledge pertaining to “unequal power relations, power inequality, power balance and struggle between genders” (South Africa, 2011j, p. 20). The use and abuse of power from a gender stance is predominantly emphasized through cultural traditions (“different morning periods for males and females”), the work place (“sexual harassment”), the family environment (“incest”) and the social sphere (“domestic violence and sexual violence/rape”) (*ibid.*).

One way in which the explicit curriculum engages with this topic is through legislation such as the *Labour Laws*, *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)*, the *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children*, and *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (South Africa, 2011j, p. 12). This is intended to highlight the actions that can be taken to address the abuse of power. We argue that this legislation constitutes empty, a-contextual content that is so abstract that it is merely deposited into children (Du Preez, 2012; Du Preez, Simmonds

& Roux, 2012; Simmonds, 2010). Approaching power abuse through social phenomena such as forced girl-child marriage, forced prostitution of girls and forced labour of boys (for example) provides a curriculum that embraces the complexities of human rights abuse. As a result, its application is more representative of everyday life where children are surrounded by multi-dimensional human rights violations.

The findings and preliminary interpretations reveal that the explicit curriculum addresses human trafficking in a very opaque manner. This warrants further discussion in which discourse is elevated from the explicit and null curriculum to the enacted curriculum.

7. Discussion and Proposal

From the document analysis we have conducted we can conclude that the explicit curriculum does not adequately raise awareness of human and/or child trafficking. This is in line with what was found in the scholarly review (HSRC, 2010; ILO, 2009; UNESCO, 2007; UN, 2012) namely that human trafficking features in the everyday lives of global citizens. Therefore we question why this phenomenon is still limited to the null curriculum (Quinne, 2010). In addition, we also pose the question: why are the organic spaces provided through human rights education not used to address human trafficking (phenomenal reality); and why is this complex phenomenon not elevated to enhance its enactment (noumenal reality)? Figure 1 engages with these questions in order to arrive at a proposal.

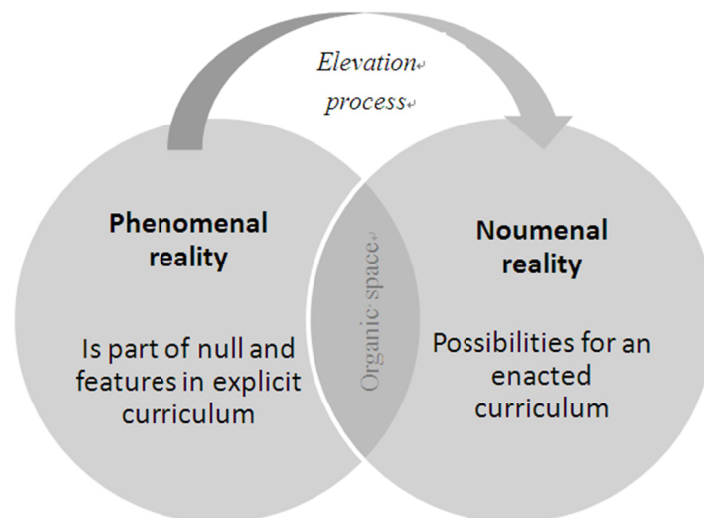


Figure 1: Elevating the Discourse from the Explicit and Null to the Enacted Curriculum

Given the above discussion, we propose that the following steps be taken to elevate the discourse from the explicit and null to the enacted curriculum:

First, it is important that teachers become aware of human (and in particular child) trafficking in all its complexities. We propose adopting strategies such as participative intervention research of human rights (Du Preez & Roux, 2008) to raise levels of awareness to make it possible to analyze the null and explicit curriculum to find organic spaces.

Second, the lack of progression of curriculum content knowledge across Grades R–12 needs to be identified so organic spaces can be created for them. This can occur when human rights related topics are being addressed (Du Preez, 2012; Kutu, 2013) without sufficiently raising the level of conceptual difficulty. Human trafficking becomes part of the enacted curriculum when these organic spaces are consulted as concrete exemplifiers of human rights violations.

Third, an enacted approach creates possibilities for transformative curriculum in which content about human and child trafficking is integrated on a higher-order level as opposed to adopting a reductionist add-on methodology, which simplifies complex issues to quick-fix remedies (Cross, 2004).

Progression creates the leeway for transformative curriculum to emerge from organic spaces to make the curriculum a lived document that can uplift the most vulnerable.

The process of elevation requires that the curriculum be perceived as more than an explicit artefact. The curriculum needs to be embraced as a complicated conversation (Pinar, 2007) that expresses lived experiences and the desire for a profoundly transformative curriculum.

8. Conclusion

The findings and discussions in this article reiterated the need for national action plans to combat human, and in particular child trafficking, as a human rights violation in South Africa. One way to put these national action plans to work, is through elevating the discourses of human and/or child trafficking from the explicit and null curriculum to the enacted curriculum. As suggested, this can be done through higher order integration of knowledge about human rights and human and/or child trafficking. In this way the curriculum, as a complicated conversation, becomes a lived, action-driven document.

To conclude we ask: is South Africa's curriculum stuck in a traffick jam? We believe that an answer to this question is to be found in the following extract from a narrative interview. The eleven-year-old girl being interviewed is part of an ongoing qualitative research project on trafficking in persons that we are conducting:

Interviewer: "What is child trafficking?"

Interviewee: "Well, I'm not really sure, but I think it is ... maybe when a child's in a car, maybe like ... maybe the person that has to assist the children to go across the street. I think then he has to watch over us and see if we are going in the right way and see if we have to stop and see for cars going past."

Interviewer: "Have you ever heard about somebody being trafficked?"

Interviewee: "Trafficked? Like being stopped for speeding?"

This level of awareness is disconcerting given that some research indicates that the average age of persons that are trafficked is eleven. It is also a strong indication that the school curriculum in South Africa is stuck in a traffick jam.

It is a matter of urgency for awareness-raising campaigns to be launched to address human trafficking, in particular child trafficking, as a human rights violation. These should target both teachers and children. In addition, more international studies ought to be conducted that go beyond providing the statistics of trafficking in persons, and instead engage with this complex phenomenon qualitatively. This could create space for international comparative studies. It could also provide more examples of best practice in addressing human trafficking through curriculum interventions.

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