

**CO-MAPPING THE MAZE: A COMPLEX SYSTEMS VIEW OF
HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE EASTERN CAPE**

AMANDA VAN DER WESTHUIZEN

Submitted in complete fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor Philosophiæ in Psychology

In the

Faculty of Health Sciences at the
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

November 2015

Supervisor: Prof. C. N. Hoelson

Declaration

I, Amanda van der Westhuizen (student number 189094530), hereby declare that this thesis, submitted for the qualification of Doctor Philosophiæ in Psychology in the Faculty of Health Sciences at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or for another qualification. I further declare that, as far as is known, all material has been recognised.

Amanda van der Westhuizen

November 2015

Acknowledgements

I thank my God who guided, goaded, encouraged, and inspired me. The protection and restoration of the disenfranchised is Your story. I am merely following Your lead.

I had the privilege of exploring this maze with a kind, generous, and knowledgeable research supervisor: Chris, thank you for your gentle mentoring and guidance of this qualitative novice during this increasingly complex research endeavour.

Thank you very much to my supportive family who forgave me for being present yet absent many, many times. I am grateful for the part each one of you played in supporting me emotionally as well in helping me in all the other ways I needed.

My deepest gratitude to my loyal companions Luke and Chippy who kept me company during long, late-night hours behind my computer. *Blessed is the person who earned the love of an old dog.*

I am thankful to have met each of my research participants who honestly and trustingly co-mapped the human trafficking maze with me. Your passion for mopping up the devastation left behind by this inhuman crime is inspirational.

I am eternally grateful to my friend, “study-buddy”, and complexity theory enthusiast, Marcel. Thank you for your support and unshakeable belief that this research will make a valuable contribution to counter human trafficking efforts.

Thank you very much Nandi Nkosi and Kidwell Ntenti for your repeated guidance about the cultural practices of the Xhosa people and the correct use of isiXhosa. Your love and pride in your cultural heritage is beautiful.

Thank you Prof. Dr. Kirsten Drenkhahn for your guidance and care while I was at Freie Universität, Berlin.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author, and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Declaration	i
Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables and Figures	xi
Caged Bird – Maya Angelou	xiii
Abstract	xiv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Limitations of Existing Human Trafficking Research	4
A Brief Review of South African Research	5
Need for the Current Study	11
Research Aim and Objectives	12
Theoretical Framework	13
Qualitative Research and Complexity	15
Definition of Terms	16
Prostitution and sex work.	17
Victim of human trafficking and survivor of human trafficking.	18
Pimp and trafficker.	21
John and user.	22
Complexity theory terminology.	22
An Overview of the Structure of the Current Study	23
Chapter Two: Complex Systems Theory	25
The Complexity of Social Problems	26
The Postmodern Paradigm	29
Postmodern versus modernist approach to knowledge creation.	29
Ontology.	31
Epistemology.	32
Stance of the researcher.	34
Systems Theory	35
Cybernetics.	36

General systems theory.	38
Bioecological theory of human development.	38
Complexity Theory	41
Complicated versus complex systems.	43
General Characteristics of Complex Systems	44
Types of complex systems.	45
Interconnectedness between elements.	46
Interactions between elements.	47
Feedback and feedback loops.	48
System boundaries.	51
Stability and transition.	52
A system and its environment.	56
Goal and function of a complex system.	57
Learn and manage information.	58
Holism	61
Hierarchy of systems.	62
Individual level.	66
Microsystem.	67
Mesosystem.	67
Exosystem.	68
Macrosystem.	68
Chronosystem.	69
Emergence and self-organisation.	71
Theory of self-organised criticality.	74
Attractors.	76
Limitations of Complex Systems Theory	79
Conclusion	81
Chapter Three: Human Trafficking	83
International Legislative Framework on Human Trafficking	85
Difficulties with definition.	88
A Broad Picture of Human Trafficking	92
Difficulty with establishing the magnitude of global human trafficking.	93

Human trafficking: A broad international picture.	97
Human trafficking in Africa.	102
Human trafficking in South Africa.	106
Magnitude of human trafficking in South Africa.	106
Nature of human trafficking in South Africa.	110
Trafficking flows.	112
Traffickers.	114
Human Trafficking in the Eastern Cape Province.	114
Human Trafficking: The Perpetrators, the Victims, and the Demand	119
The traffickers.	119
Organised crime.	120
Prohibited actions committed by trafficking networks.	123
Prohibited methods employed by trafficking networks.	126
The victims of human trafficking.	133
Effects of exploitation.	134
Rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration.	136
The demand for the services of trafficked persons.	142
Counter-Trafficking Stakeholders	145
South African legislative framework.	146
The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (7 of 2013)	147
The Children’s Act (Act 38 of 2005).	149
The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment (Act 32 of 2007).	150
Government.	151
Civil society organisations.	152
Law enforcement and judicial agencies.	155
Identification of trafficking victims and the crime of human trafficking.	155
Investigation of the crime of human trafficking.	159
Prosecution and conviction.	164
Factors that Create a Context Conducive to Human Trafficking	170
Victim vulnerability.	170
Victim precipitation.	172
Victim-trafficker relationship.	172

Push Factors	174
Socio-economic factors.	174
Entrenched power relations.	175
HIV/AIDS.	176
Traditional cultural beliefs and practices.	177
Lack of education.	181
Lack of knowledge and awareness about human trafficking.	181
Migration, illegal immigration and human smuggling.	183
Societal attitudes towards prostitution.	184
Pull factors.	186
Governmental corruption.	186
Crime.	187
High profits.	188
Impunity.	189
Demand .	190
Drug addiction.	192
Mega sporting events.	192
Limitations of Human Trafficking Research	194
Methodology.	194
Ideology.	196
Theoretical Framework.	197
Gaps in South African research.	198
Conclusion	200
Chapter Four: Research Methodology	202
From Positivism to Postmodernism	202
The Anchoring Research Paradigm of this Study	205
The Qualitative Methodology	207
Research Design and Methods	211
Sampling and participants.	211
Data collection.	216
Data analysis.	219
Data reduction.	223

Data display.	224
Conclusion drawing and verification.	225
The data analysis process followed in the current study.	226
Data analysis process followed: First objective.	226
Data analysis process followed: Second objective.	234
Trustworthiness.	239
Reflexivity.	242
A reflexive account of my background in relation to the current study.	244
Ethical considerations.	249
Informed consent and confidentiality.	249
Protection of participants.	251
Conclusion	252
Chapter Five: Findings	253
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: An Investigating Officer's (IO) Perspective	254
Introducing IO.	255
IO's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	256
IO's reflection on investigating the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	276
Summary of IO's perspective.	281
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Senior State Advocate's (SSA) Perspective	283
Introducing SSA.	283
SSA's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	285
SSA's reflection about ways to improve the prosecution process of human trafficking cases.	303
Summary of SSA's perspective.	311
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze in the Eastern Cape: Dr Karen Müller's (KM) Perspective	313
Introducing KM.	313
KM's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	316
KM's reflection on how the legal system could approach human trafficking investigations and prosecutions in the Eastern Cape.	331

Summary of KM’s perspective.	332
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: Karen Hollely’s (KH) Perspective	334
Introducing KH.	334
KH’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	336
KH’s reflection on responses needed in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	352
Summary of KH’s perspective.	360
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Social Worker’s (SW) Perspective	361
Introducing SW.	361
SW’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	363
SW’s reflection on systemic changes needed among service providers for human trafficking victims and communities.	383
Summary of SW’s perspective.	387
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: John Preller’s (JP) Perspective	389
Introducing JP.	389
JP’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	392
JP’s reflection on knowledge of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	407
Summary of JP’s perspective.	408
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Non-Governmental Organisation National Coordinator’s (NNC) Perspective	409
Introducing NNC.	410
NNC’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	411
NNC’s reflections on strengthening the counter human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	433
Summary of NNC’s perspective.	439
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: Pastor Mercy Cwayi’s (MC) Perspective	441
Introducing MC.	441
MC’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	443
MC’s reflections on strategies to combat human trafficking in the Eastern Cape through community interventions.	459
Summary of MC’s perspective.	463
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Faith-Based Organisation Manager’s	464

(MFBO) Perspective	
Introducing MFBO.	465
MFBO’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	466
MFBO’s reflections on a counter human trafficking strategy among FBOs in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape.	473
Summary of MFBO’s perspective.	479
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: Folorunsho Jaiyeoluwa (FJ) Perspective	480
Introducing FJ.	480
FJ’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.	482
FJ’s reflection on interventions that could reduce the incidence of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape.	494
Summary of JF’s perspective.	498
Conclusion	499
Chapter Six: Discussion	501
Theme 1: The Complexity of Interactions between Traffickers and Victims of Trafficking	502
Theme 2: Witness Credibility in Human Trafficking Prosecutions	524
A Complexity Theory View of the Human Trafficking Maze in the Eastern Cape	536
Principle 1: Self-organisation.	537
Principle 2: On the edge of chaos.	539
Principle 3: Hologrammatic Principle.	541
Principle 4: Impossibility of prediction.	544
Principle 5: Power of connections.	545
Principle 6: Circular causality.	547
Principle 7: Try and learn.	548
Conclusion	550
Chapter Seven: Conclusions, Limitations, and Recommendations	552
Broad Conclusions of the Current Study	552
Limitations	554
Recommendations	557

References	559
Appendices	610
Appendix A : Invitation to Participate in the Current Study	610
Appendix B: Informed Consent Form	612

List of Tables and Figures

		Page
Tables		
Table 1	Summary of characteristics of participants and sampling method employed in the current study.	213
Table 2	Trustworthiness in the current research study	243
Figures		
Figure 1	Eight hierarchical levels of living systems.	64
Figure 2	Ecological Systems Model.	65
Figure 3	Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory of human development.	66
Figure 4	Two attractors, A and B, in one complex system.	78
Figure 5	Constituent parts of the Palermo Protocol’s (2000) definition of trafficking.	87
Figure 6	Components of the data analysis process.	222
Figure 7	Interaction between display and analytic text during the data analysis process.	224
Figure 8	A visual illustration of coding as employed in the current study utilising Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) software.	229
Figure 9	Initial data display of IO’s perspective of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape.	230
Figure 10	An ecosystemic representation of IO’s knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	255
Figure 11	An ecosystemic conceptualisation of SSA’s knowledge and experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape utilising Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	284
Figure 12	KM’s knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory of human development (1994).	314

Figure 13	An ecosystemic representation of KH's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	335
Figure 14	SW's knowledge and experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development (1994).	362
Figure 15	An ecosystemic conceptualisation of JP's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape utilising Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	390
Figure 16	NNC's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	410
Figure 17	An ecosystemic representation of MC's knowledge and experience of the Eastern Cape human trafficking system as conceptualised by Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	442
Figure 18	MFBO's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape conceptualised through Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	465
Figure 19	An ecosystemic depiction of FJ's knowledge and experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape utilising Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.	481
Figure 20	A diagrammatic expression of the main theme and subthemes.	502
Figure 21	A diagrammatic expression of the main theme and subthemes.	525

Caged Bird

*The free bird leaps
on the back of the wind
and floats downstream
till the current ends
and dips his wings
in the orange sun rays
and dares to claim the sky.*

*But a bird that stalks
down his narrow cage
can seldom see through
his bars of rage
his wings are clipped and
his feet are tied
so he opens his throat to sing.*

*The caged bird sings
with fearful trill
of the things unknown
but longed for still
and his tune is heard
on the distant hill for the caged bird
sings of freedom*

*The free bird thinks of another breeze
and the trade winds soft through the sighing trees
and the fat worms waiting on a dawn-bright lawn
and he names the sky his own.*

*But a caged bird stands on the grave of dreams
his shadow shouts on a nightmare scream
his wings are clipped and his feet are tied
so he opens his throat to sing*

*The caged bird sings
with a fearful trill
of things unknown
but longed for still
and his tune is heard
on the distant hill
for the caged bird
sings of freedom.*

Maya Angelou (1983, p. 16-17)

Abstract

Researchers have described human trafficking as a complex, multi-layered crime. South Africa, including the Eastern Cape Province, is a source, transit, and destination country for trafficked people. However, a dearth of research on human trafficking exists in the province. Furthermore, traditional, modernist research using reductionist methods to investigate complex phenomena has proven unable to capture the complex interrelationships between the myriad of interrelated elements inherent in complex phenomena. In this qualitative study, I explore and describe the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape via participants' perspectives through a complex systems approach that consists of two complementary theories, namely Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development and complexity theory. The participants, who were knowledgeable about human trafficking in the province, were obtained through purposive and snowball sampling. Data collection took place through open-ended interviews with individual participants. I analysed the data according to Miles and Huberman's data analysis process and Braun and Clarke's thematic data analysis process. The findings demonstrate that the complex systems approach successfully facilitated the mapping and conceptualisation of an in-depth, multi-level picture of the complex interrelationships within and between multiple system components in the human trafficking system and its environment in relation to the Eastern Cape Province. Participants' perspectives revealed two main themes, namely, the prominence of the nonlinear interactions between traffickers and trafficked persons in the holistic human trafficking system and the major obstacle regarding the lack of witness credibility for human trafficking prosecutions to be successful. Utilising complex systems theory to conduct further human trafficking research could assist counter-trafficking stakeholders with an alternative approach to generating effective planning and executing counter human trafficking strategies in a rapidly changing and increasing complex interconnected world.

Keywords: Bronfenbrenner bioecological theory of human development, complex systems approach, complexity theory, Eastern Cape Province, human trafficking, systems theory

Chapter One

Introduction

The ideal art, the noblest of art: working with the complexities of life, refusing to simplify, to "overcome" doubt (Joyce Carol Oates, cited in Gibson, 2014, para. 1).

The trafficking of human beings is not a recent phenomenon (Aromaa, 2007, p. 13). The trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Americas was the most well-known example of this phenomenon, which started in the 1400s but was abolished in the late 1800s in the Americas (Bravo, 2007, p. 2015). The United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (United Nations, 1948) to prohibit the slave trade in all its forms. However, in the late 1980s awareness grew that a modern form of slavery was a growing phenomenon (Bravo, 2007, p. 2018). This form, however, was an illicit and international enterprise (Bales, 2000, p. 461) which according to estimates generated \$31.6 billion annually (Belser, 2005, p. iii).

In 2000 an international law enforcement instrument, the United Nations Protocol to Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000), known as the Palermo Protocol was adopted. The Palermo Protocol represents a broad international consensus on the definition of human trafficking or trafficking in persons (Müller, 2010, p. 13). However, as human trafficking is a complex crime, the definition is equally broad and complex (Andrees, 2008, p. 5, 14). According to the Palermo Protocol, the definition of human trafficking consists of three elements. The first element defines the acts committed by traffickers to obtain persons for trafficking purposes such as their recruitment or transport. The second element of the definition of trafficking is the means. This refers to the methods used by traffickers to facilitate the first element and include acts such as threats, deceit, and

the abuse of vulnerability. The third component of the definition refers to the forms of exploitation used by traffickers to generate profits such as sexual exploitation or forced labour. When children are trafficked, the second element is not necessary to identify whether a child is the victim of human trafficking (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 46; Laczko & Danailova-Traino, 2009, p. 181; United States Department of State, 2014, p. 24).

The complexity of human trafficking also is manifested through the fact that this crime is a process rather than a single offence (Bales, 2005, p. 133). In this process, a wide range of activities, recruitment methods, types of exploitation, violations, and participants are involved (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 46). Globally a magnitude of operations and multiple forms of human trafficking has been identified. For example, internationally approximately 460 different trafficking flows have been identified usually from less affluent to more affluent regions (United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime, 2012, p. 7). The multiple forms of human trafficking which have been reported globally include sex trafficking, forced labour in areas such as agriculture, mining, and the fishing industry, forced marriage of females ranging from children to adults, forced begging, involuntary domestic servitude, and organ harvesting (Araujo, 2011, p. 2; Cluver, Bray, & Dawes., 2007, p. 259; Ebbe, 2008, p. 21). Similarly, South Africa was identified as source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children exploited for a variety of exploitative purposes (Bermudez, 2008; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, pp. xiii-xiv; United States Department of State, 2014).

The manner in which the perpetrators of human trafficking operate is another factor that contributes to the complexity of the human trafficking phenomenon. These perpetrators operate in syndicates ranging from small local operations, which can even consist of one or two persons, to medium sub-regional syndicates, and large, transnational operations (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 14). The perpetrators of the crime in South Africa have

also ranged from international and national organised crime syndicates to loose local networks of various sizes (United States Department of State, 2013). In addition to human trafficking, organised crime operations also conduct other illicit operations such as drug trafficking, prostitution, or the selling of counterfeit goods (Roelofse, 2011, p. 3).

Gallagher (2014) argued that human trafficking is too complex to be represented accurately by statistics. This complexity is evident in the varying and sometimes contradictory statistics about the magnitude of human trafficking reported by different sources (Kangaspunta, 2007, p. 27). The International Labour Organization (2012b, p. 13) provides a recent indication of the scale of the crime by its estimate that 20.9 million human beings were subjected to forced labour. This estimate includes individuals trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation and labour trafficking. In comparison to the large number cited by the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United States Department of State (2014, p. 45) reported that in 2013, only 44 758 trafficked individuals were identified globally. The disparity between the estimated magnitude of trafficked persons versus identified trafficking victims, however, is suggestive of another facet of the complexity of human trafficking, namely that it is a hidden crime (Aromaa, 2007, p. 20). As an illegal activity, it is thus difficult to attain reliable statistics (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 264).

Similar difficulties to provide reliable human trafficking statistics are also evident in South Africa due to a number of interacting factors such as the lack of a centrally administered database and a lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation that can guide police officers to identify victims of trafficking (Horne, 2011, p. 26). As a result, Van Zyl and Horne (2009, p. 18) argued that human trafficking often was misclassified as other crimes such as prostitution, rape, or abduction.

As human trafficking is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, human trafficking research has not been able to capture the full extent of the crime (Amin, 2010, p. 2). This is reflected in several weaknesses of human trafficking research.

Limitations of Existing Human Trafficking Research

While the issue of human trafficking became more prominent in the public eye and among policy makers in the past two decades (Bravo, 2007, p. 218), it also received more attention among researchers. This resulted in a sharp rise in the number of relevant published reports, manuals, articles, and books about human trafficking (International Organisation for Migration, 2010, p. 3). However, researchers (Di Nicola, 2007; International Organisation for Migration, 2010, p. 3; Tyldum, 2010) noted that research produced internationally was relatively superficial and was characterised by a number of limitations that negatively influenced the value of available information on human trafficking. Amin (2010) noted that the limitations of existing human trafficking knowledge could be due to the fact of the “heterogeneous and complex nature of the phenomenon” (p. 2) which has resulted in “incomplete data, limited knowledge” (p. 2) about human trafficking. Similarly, Adepoju (2005, p. 89) and Lazos (2007, p. 99) asserted that human trafficking is too complex to capture the full complexity of the phenomenon with only one methodology. Therefore, Goździak and Bump (2008) indicated that new innovative methodologies were needed to research the complex phenomenon of human trafficking.

Human trafficking research has also been criticised for mostly being limited to research around the characteristics of victims of trafficking while other aspects of the phenomenon have not yet been adequately researched (Kleemans, 2011, p. 95). Kleemans (2011, p. 95), for example, noted that there is a dearth of empirically sound research regarding the complex interactions between traffickers and their victims. On the other hand, Chuang (2006)

reasoned that not enough research of this “complex problem” (p. 156) that takes a contextual perspective into consideration by, for example, framing the phenomenon within its broader socio-economic context has been done.. Similarly, Lazos (2007, p. 99) argued that human trafficking research that did not incorporate societal history as well as the history of victims was inadequate to capture complexities inherent in the phenomenon.

Numerous researchers (Amin, 2010; p. 2; Araujo, 2011, p. 5; Pharoah, 2006, p. 56; Turner & Kelly, 2009, p. 184; Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011, p. 148) have recognised that human trafficking is a “very complex problem” (Konrad, 2008, p. 178) in which complex interactions between a multitude of individuals, groups, organisations, and factors occur over many geographical locations. Amin (2010) emphasised the dearth of research that conceptualised the complexity of human trafficking which has resulted in a lack of understanding of complexities such as “the dynamics of the [human trafficking] process” (p. 2). Amin (2010) also noted that human trafficking as a system “changes over time and we do not understand how.” (p. 3). Yet, even though Everitt (2013) asserted that the complexity in human trafficking “runs deep” (p. 153) and that a counter human trafficking response should be sensitive to this complexity, Konrad (2008) declared that research and counter trafficking initiatives seemingly aimed to reduce human trafficking as a “highly complex and multidimensional problem to a simplistic, one-dimensional issue.” (p. 179). South African research is also characterised by limitations that restrict the portrayal of the complexity of the human trafficking system.

A Brief Review of South African Research

Pharoah (2006, p. 56) indicated that South African human trafficking research did not convey the complexity of the human trafficking system beyond referring to the highly adaptive nature of the phenomenon (Pharoah, 2006, p. 56). A number of research reports

(Bermudez, 2008; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010; LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness Index, 2013, 2014; Martens, Pieczkowski, & van Vuuren-Smyth, 2003; Molo Songololo, 2000a, 2000b, 2005) aimed to gather more comprehensive data on human trafficking in South Africa. Data collected from reports in the media, secondary sources, interviews with victims of trafficking, and interviews with stakeholders revealed certain features of human trafficking such as trafficking routes, characteristics of victims of trafficking, traffickers and their modus operandi, types of human trafficking, and potential numbers of trafficking victims in South Africa. However, these data were interpreted as disconnected units which revealed more about the extent and nature of human trafficking than an understanding of how a myriad of interrelated agents, organisations, and contextual factors affected the human trafficking system in South Africa (Pharoah, 2006, p. viii).

South African research also failed to reveal an understanding of the complexity of the human trafficking system by only presenting a fragmented picture of it (Mollema, 2014, p. 262). Although a wide range of focus areas have been covered by human trafficking research and each individual study has provided important information about human trafficking, taken as a whole, these studies created a static, disjointed picture of human trafficking (Piper, 2005, p. 216). The danger of presenting such fragmented views of human trafficking is that they diminish the complexity of the larger human trafficking system for counter human trafficking stakeholders (Konrad, 2008, p. 179). This could result in expectations that a one-pronged approach, such as a judicial response, should be adequate to eradicate human trafficking (Mollema, 2014, p. 262).

The international trend in human trafficking research has been to focus research efforts on the victims of human trafficking (Kleemans, 2011, p. 95). South African research has also followed this trend and further limited the multidimensional view of human trafficking by giving more attention to research of victims of sexual exploitation than other aspects of

human trafficking (Gould, 2007, p. 7). South African research regarding victims of trafficking includes research on child trafficking for sexual exploitation (Everitt, 2013; Molo Songololo, 2000a, 2005), the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation (Molo Songololo, 2000b), the effects of the human trafficking process on the health of victims of trafficking (International Organisation for Migration, 2006), an analysis on various forms of child trafficking including commercial sexual exploitation and forced labour (Community Agency for Social Enquiry, 2006), and prostitution and human trafficking in Cape Town, Western Cape province (Gould & Fick, 2008). Research has also been conducted on the trafficking of human beings for organs and body parts (Allain, 2011; Ambagtsheer, Zaitch, & Weimar, 2013; Fellows, 2008; Van Zyl, 2010; Watson, 2006), the labour trafficking of children in the Western Cape province (ANEX-CDW, 2006), and the Xhosa practice of ukuthwala or abduction of young women for the purpose of marriage (Bennett, 2010; Koyana & Bekker, 2007; Maphanga, 2011; McQuoid-Mason, 2009; Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011; Nkosi & Buthelezi, 2013; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012).

Despite indications that contextual factors play a defining role in the way the human trafficking system functions (Adepoju, 2005, p. 84) and that non-linear relationships between contextual factors and human trafficking exist (Cho, 2012, p. 20), there has been scant research that investigated contextual factors in South Africa. Research which considered contextual factors include Lutya (2010) who indicated that certain factors may increase teenagers' vulnerability to be trafficked and De Sas Kropiwnicki (2012) who provided a contextual analysis of human trafficking activities at a border crossing point between South Africa and Zimbabwe. Delport, Koen, and Mackay (2007) researched contextual factors that contributed to human trafficking in South Africa. These studies (Delport et al., 2007; De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2010; Lutya, 2010) did not consider the non-linearity between contextual

factors and human trafficking (Cho, 2012, p. 20) and contextual factors were regarded as causal factors denoting a linear cause-and-effect conceptualisation of contextual factors.

Globally, a need for more interdisciplinary research on the complexity of human trafficking from a number of disciplines and perspectives has been identified (Laczko, 2005, p. 14). In South Africa, researchers from various disciplines have contributed to human trafficking research. However, no human trafficking research that explicitly aimed to depict human trafficking in an interdisciplinary manner has been conducted. The single-discipline perspectives adopted by South African human trafficking research included perspectives from educational science (Dinah, 2012; Nkosi & Buthelezi, 2013), police practice and theory (Horne, 2011, 2014; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012; Van Zyl & Horne, 2009), psychology (Everitt, 2013; Mphanga, 2011; Nabo, 2013) communication and media studies (Hamman, 2011), criminology (Lutya, 2009, 2012; Lutya & Lanier, 2012; Roelofse, 2011; Swart, 2012), political science (Emser, 2013; Emser & Francis, 2014), and geography and environmental science (Ngwira, 2011).

The legal discipline has made a significant contribution to knowledge about the South African human trafficking legislative framework, albeit without contributing much to interdisciplinary knowledge. Such research dealt with concerns regarding the definition of human trafficking in South Africa's comprehensive human trafficking legislation (Leggett, 2004; Rotman, 2005), whether South African legislation is sufficient to prevent and combat child trafficking and meets international obligations (Clayton, 2011; Horn, 2009; Kruger, 2010, 2012; Mashiyi, 2010; Najemy, 2010; Sigfridsson, 2012), and an examination of South African legislation with which to prosecute criminal activities committed during the human trafficking process in the absence of comprehensive human trafficking legislation (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2012). Further research in the legal discipline include a critical analysis of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (7 of 2013)

(Mollema, 2014), an examination of the concepts of consent, coercion, and the consequences of human trafficking in the new Act (2013), and this Act's (2013) potential impact on child trafficking prosecutions (Dafel, 2014). Other research foci in the legal discipline included an analysis of draft child trafficking legislation (Kreston, 2007), comparisons between South African child trafficking legislation and equivalent legislation in Benin (Kamidi, 2007) and Cameroon (Toh, 2009), an analysis of the definition of human trafficking with regards to international legislation and instruments (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011), and a comparison between the counter human trafficking legislative framework in South Africa, the United States of America, Germany, and Nigeria (Mollema, 2013). Other areas investigated by researchers from this discipline include investigations into trafficking for organ and body part trafficking (Watson, 2006; Van Zyl, 2010) and analyses of the legal and human rights perspectives on the ukuthwala practice (Koyana & Bekker, 2007; McQuoid-Mason, 2009; Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011).

According to Richie (2003), social research is most useful when the research data and theoretical insights are “mutually enhancing” (p. 25). However, Goździak and Bump (2008) indicate that despite the large number of global human trafficking research studies, relatively few have been academic in nature and based on “solid theoretical underpinnings.” (p. 9). Numerous South African human trafficking studies (Bermudez, 2008; Gould & Fick, 2008; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010; Martens et al., 2003; Molo Songololo, 2000a, 2000b, 2005) lack theoretical underpinnings to guide the data collection and analysis and inform the research findings (Ritchie, 2003, p. 25). However, the number of theoretically informed studies in South Africa has grown in recent years (Clayton, 2011; Dafel, 2014; Everitt, 2013; Horn, 2009; Horne, 2014; Kamidi, 2007; Kruger, 2010; Maphanga, 2011; Mashiyi, 2010; Mollema, 2013; Nabo, 2013; Ngwira, 2011; Rotman, 2005; Sigfridsson, 2012; Toh, 2009; Watson, 2006; Van Zyl, 2010). These studies utilised a theoretical

framework appropriate to the disciplinary field in which the research was conducted. However, Lutya and Lanier (2012) asserted that human trafficking could be portrayed as a “single-dimensional type of crime” (p. 555) when only one theory stemming from the researcher’s own discipline is used. Lutya and Lanier’s (2012) view, therefore, suggests that the research produced in South Africa may have been less successful in portraying the complexity of the human trafficking system by using theoretical frameworks rooted in single disciplines.

The focus of the current study is to gain an understanding of the complexity of the holistic human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. Only three studies have been conducted on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. Ngwira (2011) investigated the role of law enforcement agencies and civil society organisations in counter human trafficking activities in the province. Nabo (2013) studied the role of non-governmental organisations in combating human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, while Maphanga (2011) researched the needs of women who were abducted for marriage as part of the Xhosa ukuthwala practice. These studies, however, did not include the potential influence of other interrelated agents, organisations, and contextual factors (Pharoah, 2006, p. viii) within the human trafficking system and its environment, thereby limiting the portrayal of the complexity of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape.

Two recent studies aimed to portray a more complex perspective of human trafficking through the theoretical framework utilised in the current study. Everitt (2013) utilised an ecological framework to portray the experiences of child victims of human trafficking. Emser (2013) aimed to analyse and assess counter human trafficking governance and strategies of a provincial human trafficking task team from a complexity theory perspective. These studies, however, remained within a single disciplinary boundary and focussed on one

aspect of the larger human trafficking ecology, thereby neglecting to address the multi-dimensional nature of the human trafficking system.

A review of South African research on human trafficking revealed a dearth of research which provided a comprehensive picture of the complexity of the human trafficking phenomenon through the conceptualisation of human trafficking as the product of a myriad of interrelated agents, organisations, and contextual factors (Pharoah, 2006, p. viii). There thus existed a need for a study to conceptualise the complexity of the human trafficking system and that examined the interconnectedness between the components of the system .

Need for the Current Study

South Africa's second largest province, the Eastern Cape (South African government, 2014, para. 1) has been identified as a prominent origin for victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation and forced labour (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31). Furthermore, the Human Sciences Research Council (2010) identified the largest city in the province, Port Elizabeth, as one of the trafficking "hotspots" (p. 16) in South Africa in which West African crime syndicates were prominent in the trafficking of females for sexual exploitation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 9). In addition, ukuthwala or abduction of young women for the purpose of forced marriage, practiced by the traditional Xhosa ethnic group in the Eastern Cape, was reportedly to be common in the rural areas of the province (Godongwana, 2009; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010).

Despite the reported vulnerability of Eastern Cape male and female citizens to be trafficked and the prevalence of human trafficking activities in the province, only three studies (Maphanga, 2011, Nabo, 2013; Ngwira, 2011) have examined human trafficking in the province. Due to the narrow focus areas of these three studies, as discussed in the previous section, knowledge about human trafficking in the province offered a one-

dimensional and fragmented picture of human trafficking. Therefore, a need existed for research which conveys the multidimensionality of human trafficking by examining “the complex inter-twining or inter-connectivity” (Mittleton-Kelly, 2003, p. 26) between the different systems, subsystems, and elements which shape the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. A less fragmented, more comprehensive portrayal of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape could assist policy makers and counter trafficking organisations to appreciate the “breathtaking intricacy” (Konrad, 2008, p. 179) of the human trafficking system. Hence, information generated from the current study could assist government and other role-players involved in counter human trafficking activities to understand how systemic issues and interrelationships contribute to the development, growth, or reduction of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. This could contribute to the development of effective counter trafficking policies and strategies in the Eastern Cape (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 167; Laczko, 2007, p. 42; Savona & Stefanizzi, 2007, p. 126, Tyldum, 2010, p. 11).

Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the current study was to explore and describe the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. Within this broad aim, there were two research objectives.

The first objective was to describe the human trafficking system in the province from the perspectives of the study participants. Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development was used to conceptualise their perspectives as systemic components of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. In addition, Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) theory also enabled the description of interrelationships, linkages, and processes between the components of the human trafficking system based on the participants’ perspectives.

The second objective was to determine whether the nature of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, according to the individual and pooled perspectives of the study participants could be conceptualised through the principles of complexity theory (Cilliers, 1998). The use of complexity theory enabled the description of the interrelationships and interconnections between system components that influenced the functioning of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

Lutya and Lanier (2012, p. 556) argued that a combination of more than one theory enables the construction of a more comprehensive view of human trafficking. For this reason, two complementary theories: complex systems theory (Cilliers, 1998) and Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development were employed as the theoretical frameworks that informed the current study. These theoretical frameworks are introduced next but are discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

Theoretical Framework

Van der Watt (2014) asserted that a complex systems approach that utilises "complex systems thinking" (p. 2) is a valuable approach through which to facilitate an understanding of the complexity of the human trafficking system. However, despite its suitability to facilitate a more thorough understanding of the complexity of the human trafficking system which, according to Williams (2009) "has all the characteristics of a complex system" (p. 416), a complex systems approach has not been used extensively in human trafficking research. Wolf-Branigin (2009), Wolf-Branigin, Jensen, and Smith (2008), and Wolf-Branigin, Garza, and Smith (2010) demonstrated the value of complexity theory by applying complexity principles to assist a large, international non-governmental organisation to develop its capacity to improve services to victims of human trafficking in the United States of America. Emser (2013) used complexity theory to conceptualise the politics of human

trafficking in South Africa. The current study is therefore the first to employ complex systems theory to conceptualise and study human trafficking system from the multiperspectives of diverse and knowledgeable research participants.

From the complex systems perspective, human trafficking is conceptualised as a product of non-linear, unpredictable interactions (Morgan, 2005, p. 4) between a multitude of “internal components and subsystems” (Manson, 2001, p. 410). The interactions between the human trafficking system components are more important than the features and characteristics of the components themselves when considering the complexity of the whole system (Cilliers, 2001, p. 140). As the interactions between component parts are non-linear, it is impossible to establish simple, linear cause-and-effect relationships within a complex system. Small interactions within the system can have large effects on the whole system and vice versa (Morgan, 2005, p. 4).

The complex systems approach to study a system is a significant departure from the modernist scientific approach. The latter approach views a complex system by considering it as too complex to study as a whole. Therefore, the separate parts of the system are analysed in the hope that a comprehensive understanding of the whole complex system could be formed when the disconnected units of knowledge are synthesised (Cilliers, 1998, p. 2). However, Cilliers (1998, pp. 3-5) asserts that the complexity can only be grasped when the non-linear interactions between the constituent parts of the system, the system and its environment, and the history of the system are considered (Cilliers, 1998, pp. 3-5). The traditional, modernist scientific method in which only the constituent parts and not the interconnections are described (Cilliers, 1998, p. 2) is therefore not able to conceptualise the system as a whole (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 16) or make sense of dynamic shifts or changes in the whole complex system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 2).

According to the traditional scientific approach, a researcher would study the features and characteristics of discrete human trafficking system components such as the victims of trafficking, the legislative framework in a country, or the perpetrators of the crime in an attempt to create a deeper understanding of the human trafficking system. However, according to Skyttner (2001), this approach has resulted in an “archipelago of disconnected data” (p. 34) which “completely misjudges the complexity of human trafficking” (Konrad, 2008, p. 179). However, the complex systems approach utilised in the current study with its focus on conceptualising the interrelationships between system components and contexts provided a holistic and rich perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

A rich and in-depth understanding of the human trafficking system was further facilitated through the research methodology used in the current study. Savona and Stefanizzi (2007, p. 3) asserted that it is impossible to comprehend the full complexity of the human trafficking system through quantitative research. For this reason, the qualitative research approach was utilised to capture the complex, multifaceted nature of human trafficking in the current study.

Qualitative Research and Complexity

The qualitative approach allows a researcher to reveal complexity (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10) especially when a deep understanding of a complex phenomenon is sought (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 5). Researching a complex system, however, is not a simple task. Gleick (as cited in Patton, 2002) described this knowledge construction process to be like walking through a maze in “which walls rearrange themselves with every step you take” (p. 124). In addition, Laczko (2007) explained that human trafficking “crosses so many disciplinary...boundaries” (p. 42) that an in-depth understanding of the complexity of the human trafficking system requires the incorporation of a range of perspectives originating from more than one discipline (Laczko, 2007, p. 14). The qualitative approach enables the

inclusion “multiple realities” (Suter, 2012, p. 347) of participants from several disciplines and contexts about a complex phenomenon which makes this approach suitable to address the complexity of the human trafficking system. The current participant perspectives included a law enforcement perspective, a criminal justice view, and perspectives from managers in various non-governmental organisations.

The multiple perspectives included in the co-mapping of the complex human trafficking system also revealed the complexity of different meanings attached to relevant terms in the literature and those used by participants. It is therefore necessary to clarify certain concepts and terminology of the current study.

Definition of Terms

According to the Willig (2008, p. 10) the language people use to describe their views and experiences does not “simply mirror reality” (p. 10). Language is not value free and does not have universal meanings attached to it by speakers or listeners (Cheek, 2004, p. 1144). Even everyday language contains different narratives about power and social organisation that are historically and contextually specific. Through these narratives, people organise their social realities and the different competing narratives that exist within language. These narratives are contextually specific and therefore individuals are dependent on the narratives available to them to construct their social reality through language (Richardson, 2000, p. 929). In the current study, research participants made use of specific terms to convey their perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. These terms are laden with contextual meanings that are briefly described. In addition, I employ my own voice as a researcher and “co-mapper” of the human trafficking maze to clarify the meaning I attach to certain terms I utilised in the current study.

Prostitution and sex work.

De Sas Kropiwnicki (2012, p. 257) indicated that terminology used in feminist and gender studies literature when referring to sex work or prostitution reflects an ideological stance regarding the legalisation of prostitution. The legalisation debate can best be understood from the feminist perspective that itself contains two main ideologies around the view of voluntary prostitution. On the one hand, there is the belief that prostitution can be a legitimate choice of employment (Gould, 2006, p. 21). This view acknowledges that prostitution may not be the optimal way for women to earn an income but when prostitution is legalised or decriminalised, the rights of women involved in prostitution are supported and enhanced (Bonthuys, 2012, p.13).

The other ideological stance by feminist abolitionists regards even consensual prostitution as exploitation and a violation of human rights (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 54). This perspective argues that a patriarchal system creates a context in which it is necessary to distinguish between 'choice' and 'free choice' (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012, p. 236). From this point of view, it can be argued that the decision to enter prostitution may be influenced by a complex range of factors and therefore, engaging in prostitution cannot be regarded as freely chosen. The notion of survival sex in which a person decides to engage in prostitution only because other options for income are very limited applies in a context of socio-economic deprivation, marginalisation, and violence, (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012, p. 236). According to Bonthuys (2012) factors such as the ways in which the wider society's beliefs about sexuality both construct and sustain women's "economic dependence on men as well as the routine exploitation of women's sexuality" (p.11) create and maintain conditions which force people to enter prostitution. Therefore, consent to take part in prostitution cannot be regarded as true consent from this perspective (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 57).

According to De Sas Kropiwnicki (2012, p. 257) an ideological stance regarding the legalisation or criminalisation of prostitution is often reflected in the language used. Abolitionists in favour of the criminalisation of prostitution prefer the term “prostitute” or “prostituted woman”. Those in favour of decriminalisation or legalisation generally make use of the term “sex worker” and the “sex industry” (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012, p. 257). In the current study, all participants used the term “prostitute” to describe women involved in prostitution.

The meaning I attached to prostitution leans more towards the abolitionist view of women in prostitution due to my perception that significant structural issues such as patriarchy and socio-economic barriers that limit the employment and income generation options of many women in South Africa. This view is informed by research such as that by Gould and Fick (2008, p. 23) who studied prostitution and human trafficking in Cape Town. In their study, 76% of the women engaged in street-based prostitution in Cape Town indicated that they entered prostitution because they needed the income. In addition, these women related that they started prostituting themselves as they were “forced by circumstances, including dysfunctional families and poverty” (p. 23). In the current study, therefore, I use terminology such as “prostituted woman” or “women engaged in prostitution” when reflect my own opinion or voice within the study. When I represent the research participants’ perspectives, I used the terminology employed by the research participant.

Victim of human trafficking and survivor of human trafficking.

Human trafficking literature refers to trafficked individuals in various ways. Terms such survivors of trafficking (Everitt, 2013; Shigekane, 2007), trafficked persons (Cullen-DuPont, 2009; Shigekane, 2007), and victim/survivors of human trafficking (Richards & Lyneham, 2014) are used, sometimes interchangeably. The most common term used in literature is

“victim of trafficking” (e.g., Bermudez, 2008; Swart, 2012; World Bank, 2009; Zimmerman et al., 2006). These various terms in use reflect the complex rhetoric around the use of “victim” (Kulwicksi, 2008, para. 1). In general, victimology literature assumes the definition of the term victim to include the notion that it is an individual who has been adversely affected through a criminal act (Bohmer, 2000, p. 33; Republic of South Africa Department of Social Development, 2006, p. 2). However, because of the strength-based approach adopted in helping professions in the 1980s (Bohmer, 2000, p. 33; Swart, 2014, p. 1) implicit, pejorative meanings are connected to the term victim such as “A victim is someone who is too pathetic to help themselves. Someone who sits in a heap and cries. Someone cowardly and weak, lacking will and agency” (Swart 2014, p. 1). As a result, the term “survivor” replaced the use of victim in helping professions’ vernacular, especially in the area of sexual crimes and domestic violence (Bohmer, 2000, p. 33).

Srikantiah (2007) challenged the stereotypes attached to victims in trafficking situations and used the term “iconic victim” (p. 189) to describe the stereotypical victim as envisioned by law enforcement. This iconic victim is someone who passively waits to be rescued by law enforcement after which she fully cooperates with law enforcement and is a good witness during prosecutions. The shortcoming of this naive victimhood concept is that it does not recognise that victims of human trafficking may exercise agency, albeit in a limited way due to the environment of psychological and psychological coercion in the trafficking situation. Individuals in trafficking situation can therefore be both victims and survivors who make choices to, for example, protect their families or other victims from harm (Srikantiah, 2007, p. 198). Swart (2014) agreed that while the agency of victims of crime should be acknowledged and celebrated, the premature adoption of the survivor term should be guarded against. According to Swart (2014), when victims of crime are labelled as survivors before they have been allowed the space to process the shame of being a victim, negative mental

health consequences such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder can result.

Therefore, Swart (2014) asserted that “while we need to tell the story of strength, triumph above adversity, and regaining power, we need the foil of victimhood for it to make sense.” (para 26).

Participants in the current study used the term victim to describe the individuals who were in trafficking situations. Many of the trafficked individuals who interacted with research participants were still in the process of grieving their victimhood and dealing with the consequences of being victims of a crime and I therefore deemed their use of the term as accurate and justified when considering Swart’s (2014) assertions about the premature use of the survivor label.

I, however, found it difficult to take a stance in the victim and/or survivor discourse. I was of the opinion that the crimes perpetrated against the victims of trafficking as described by the study participants justified the use of the word victim due to the meaning of being victimised attached to the term. However, I also recognised that these individuals in trafficking situations exercised agency even while they found themselves in very difficult circumstances. They were therefore survivors while they were also victims. I therefore rejected the exclusive use of either term when representing my own voice in the current study. My choice was therefore to emulate Cullen-DuPont (2009) and Shigekane (2007) and use the term “trafficked persons” as well as “victims of trafficking” interchangeably when I represented my own voice in the current study. My intention is to portray my recognition that individuals who are the victims of a heinous crime can also hold on to their personhood by choosing to exercise free will and retain their personhood.

Pimp and trafficker.

The traditional use of the term “pimp” refers to a person who lives off the earnings of prostituted persons (Aronson, 2006, p. 359) sometimes by actively promoting prostitution by procuring clients for the individuals they prostitute. The term is used more often to refer to men who manage women involved in street-level prostitution (Weitzer, 2005b, p. 227).

Participants in the current study at times used the term pimp in the traditional manner to describe the actions of traffickers who promoted the prostitution of the persons they trafficked for sexual exploitation. The meaning attached to the traditional use of pimp is elucidated by Royal (1998), an ex-pimp, who wrote a manual for those who wanted to enter the prostitution “game” (p. 7). Royal described a pimp as “evil personified” (p. 21) whose sole purpose it is to construct all his relationships to benefit himself, including the relationships with the women he prostitutes:

- When you think of a pimp, think of a vampire, Count Dracula. The pimp has no love in his heart for a ho [prostitute]. A pimp has no love in his heart for anyone but himself. When he establishes his game, he constructs paths so all roads lead to himself. (p. 21)

According to Coy, Wakeling, and Garner (2011), however, the term pimp has entered contemporary popular culture to represent the relationship between pimp and prostitute in a glamorous manner. Coy et al. (2011) argued that this “pimp and ho chic” (p. 442) representation in sexualised popular discourse disguised the gender equality underpinning this relationship and the negative effects this relationship has on the prostituted women. Due to these contrasting representations of the term, I chose to use the word trafficker to refer to a person who trafficked women into sexual exploitation and lives off their earnings.

Participants in the current study also used the term pimp and trafficker interchangeably.

John and user.

Globally women involved in prostitution make use of different terms to describe their customers such as “johns”, “tricks”, “dates”, or “steamers” (Farley et al., 2011b, pp. 65-66). Participants in the current study referred to individuals who made use of the services of women trafficked into sexual exploitation as johns or clients. I used these terms when I represented research participants’ perspectives in the current study. To reflect my own viewpoint, I referred to the clients by utilising the phrase “users of the services of trafficked persons” irrespective of the purpose for which the person was trafficked.

Complexity theory terminology.

There is no one unified complexity theory. Instead, a number of theories are grouped together under the banner of complexity theory (Manson, 2001, p. 405). Complexity notions are applied across a number of disciplines such as managerial science (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003), economic science (Bak, Chen, Scheinkman, & Woodford, 1992), social sciences (Byrne, 2005), and philosophy (Cilliers, 1998). In addition, complexity theorists’ insights develop and shift over time (Porter & Córdoba, 2009, p. 325). Horgan (1995) thus argued that there are “slippery terms” (p. 15) in complexity theory, that is, terminology which is not universally agreed upon by complexity theorists (Horgan, 1995, p. 105). For example, Walby (2007, p. 458) rejected the presumption that complex systems are nested and thus utilised the term “system” when describing interconnected phenomena in social systems. On the other hand, Cilliers (1998, 2001) and Manson (2001) used terminology such as subsystem, component, and element to describe the internal structure of complex systems. As the latter offer a wider range of terminology to describe the various component parts of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, I employed the terms subsystem, components, system components, and elements in the current study. However, when I describe the human

trafficking system according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development, I use terminology consistent with the theory such as microsystem or macrosystem.

An Overview of the Structure of the Current Study

The current chapter comprises of an introduction to the current study and describes the limitations involved in researching human trafficking due to the complexity of the phenomenon. These limitations in international and South African research are discussed after which the need for the current study is explained. After the research aim and objectives of the current study are provided, the suitability of the complex systems theoretical approach and a qualitative research approach to represent the complexity of the human trafficking system is discussed.

Chapter two describes the theoretical underpinnings of the current study, a complex systems approach, which consists of two complementary theories: complexity theory and an ecosystemic theory, namely Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development. A detailed overview of systems theory, including Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development and complexity theory is provided. The discussion of the systems and complexity theory is introduced by explicating how the postmodern view of knowledge construction contributed to the development of systems and complexity theory.

Chapter three presents an overview of the crime of human trafficking. Human trafficking is described through providing a definition of the crime, a brief overview of the relevant legislative framework, and a brief description of the magnitude and the nature of the crime. A discussion of the main role players in the human trafficking system, namely the traffickers, the victims of trafficking, the users of the services of trafficked persons, and the counter

human trafficking stakeholders is also provided. A brief discussion about contextual factors that facilitate the development and growth of human trafficking activities in South Africa as well as a brief discussion of the limitations of human trafficking research is also included.

Chapter four describes the research methodology of the current study by discussing the qualitative research paradigm and the relevant methods employed.

Chapter five consists of representations of each research participant's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape conceptualised through Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development. Each participant's perspective is organised to indicate the systems, subsystems, and elements involved in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as well as the interrelationships between these system components. I introduce each participant and provide a brief contextual description of his or her experience with human trafficking in the Eastern Cape before I summarise his or her perspective in a diagrammatic representation.

In chapter six, the complexity of the human trafficking system is first represented through the two core themes that emerged from the combined view of the participants' perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. The second section of the chapter describes the complexity of the interrelationships and interconnections between system components of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. The description is structured according to De Toni and Comello's (2010) consolidation of the characteristics of complex system into seven principles.

Chapter Two

Complex Systems Theory

As a true science, it [complexity theory] sounds a call constantly to create new knowledge; it forces creativity, rather than recycling the old and familiar; it is a theory of perpetual novelty, disequilibrium and creativity; and it is a restatement of the need for humility and humanity in admitting that our knowledge, though only partial and incomplete, may be the best that we can do (Morisson, 2008, p. 33).

The trafficking of human beings has been described as a very complex problem (Araujo, 2011, p. 5; Konrad, 2008, p. 178; Turner & Kelly, 2009, p. 184). This study endeavoured to gain understanding of human trafficking through the co-construction of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape through the multi-perspectives of various participants.

According to Skyttner (2001, p. vi) theories introduce order and meaning to otherwise chaotic findings. It enables researchers to establish connections between previously unrelated phenomena to solve problems or make recommendations (Skyttner, 2001, p. vi). It is therefore necessary to discuss the theoretical approaches that shaped the current study, namely complex systems theory.

The complex nature of social problems requires that methodologies appropriate to both linear and nonlinear dynamics (Capra, 1996, p.3) are explored first. Nonlinear dynamics gradually were incorporated in the social sciences, mirroring the wider societal shift from modern to postmodern approaches to knowledge creation and reality (Dallos & Draper, 2010, p. 11). Two related theories that gradually evolved, systems theory and complexity theory, acknowledge the significance of non-linear dynamics (Manson, 2001, p. 406; Skyttner, 2001, pp. 31, 33). The development of systems theory is explored with reference to cybernetics

(Cullin, 2005, p. 140), general systems theory (Von Bertalanffy (1968, 1972), and the bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1994). Thereafter the development of complexity theory is described, followed by a discussion of the features of complex systems after a brief overview of the limitations of the complex systems theoretical approach has been discussed.

The Complexity of Social Problems

“We have to deal with what we do not understand, and that demands new ways of thinking” (Cilliers, 1998, p.2.)

Scientific advances in recent centuries have contributed to a modern world more complex than any other before in the history of humankind (Byrne, 2005, p. 99). Dimitrov and Woog (1997) described this complex, modern society as having “chaotic dynamics” (p. 502) where “a tangled web of ever-changing interactions of huge numbers of factors” (p.502) result in the unpredictable, spontaneous emergence of phenomena, events, and processes that may be economical, political, ecological, and cultural in nature.

In the process of seeking solutions to complex social problems, social sciences also explored ways to bridge the discrepancy between the status quo and the future state of social phenomena. The difficulty with social issues, however, is that each issue is essentially unique, embedded in a unique array of related problems (Byrne, 2005, p. 95) and unique contexts (Manson, 2001, p. 410) in which multiple dimensions interact to “create and re-create the problem-space” (Mitleton-Kelly, 2011, p.3). In these complex social problems, traditional cause-effect type explanations have proved to be inadequate to understand nonlinear dynamics (Dimitrov & Woog, 1997, p. 502). Sterman (2006, p. 506) illustrated the inadequacy of the traditional scientific approach to solving the HIV/AIDS crisis in which effective medical treatment was regarded as the panacea to curb the global pandemic.

Antiretroviral treatment radically reduced mortality among those infected with the virus, which was the goal of the medical fraternity. However, the pandemic proved to be a social problem as antiretroviral treatment had unexpected consequences. Risky sexual behaviours increased among youth and other groups that in turn gave rise to a rebound in HIV infections and a proliferation of treatment-resistant HIV strains (Stermann, 2006, p. 506). An emerging social problem could for example merely be the symptom of another problem, related to other social problems and issues. It is possible to comprehend each social problem in numerous ways, each influenced by the intentions of the observer (Skyttner, 2001, p. 401). The result is that no one solution will solve all social issues (Byrne, 2005, p. 97). Moreover, even the formulation of a well-defined problem statement about social problems may be problematic in the light of the complex, nonlinear dynamics evident within social systems (Dimitrov & Woog, 1997, p. 502). A possible solution would have to co-evolve with the problem and its exogenous broader context (Mitleton-Kelly, 2011, p. 3). This is radically different from the traditional scientific view that knowledge and solutions are universal (Byrne, 2005, p. 97).

According to Skyttner (2001, p. 397) social, behavioural, and organisational fields have increasingly found that traditional, positivist methods have substantial shortcomings in finding effective solutions for social evils. This disenchantment has led to a movement towards the appreciation of nonlinear dynamics as incorporated in the complex systems perspective as an attempt to understand and manage “intertwined problems of complex systems” (Skyttner, 2001, p.397) in which social problems “are systemic problems, which means that they are interconnected and interdependent” (Capra, 1996, p. 3). A new paradigm incorporating nonlinear dynamics became a necessity (Capra, 1996, p. 3) to describe “how things are” before trying to “understand how to make different futures” (Byrne, 2005, p.95). According to Capra (1996), this new paradigm required a shift of perceptions “from the parts to the whole, from objects to relationships, from contents to patterns” (p.82). Relevant

methodologies and knowledge free from “the fragmentarity of expert knowledge” (Capra, 1996, p. 3) and cause and effect kind of explanations (Capra, 1996, p. 3) to social problems emerged to reflect this nonlinear perspective. One such nonlinear approach applied in social sciences in recent decades is the complex systems perspective (Skyttner, 2001, p. 41).

Notions on the value of nonlinear dynamics have developed in various disciplines in the social sciences, including psychology. Humanistic psychology, for example, emphasises that mental health requires the development of an integrated personal understanding of all aspects of one’s being. This emphasis on the whole person gradually developed into the concept of the person as a complex system (Guastello, 2001, p. 26). Psychosocial adaptation to chronic illness has also been conceptualised according to complexity theory (Livneh & Parker, 2005).

Dallos and Draper (2010, p. 11) pointed out that nonlinear dynamics were also incorporated into family therapy. Before 1970, the predominant view of processes in a family was based on the modernist idea that dynamics in families could be accurately mapped through observation and analysis by an objective therapist. The realisation that the perception of observers frequently influenced their perceptions led to the realisation that there is no one accurate view of reality. Different perceptions and constructions of a family’s dynamics depend on the person who makes the observations and interpretations about family functioning (Dallos & Draper, 2010, p. 11). Philosophical reflection about what we know about the world and how we acquire this knowledge has been central to philosophical deliberations for centuries (Cilliers, 2005, p. 607). The integration of nonlinear dynamics in the process of knowledge creation reflected a societal paradigm shift towards postmodernism (Dallos & Draper, 2010, p. 11).

The Postmodern Paradigm

Our new science of complexity...may open a new window upon reality (Jörg, 2011, p. 3)

A number of theories, loosely included under the term postmodernism imply a relatively new approach to research (Cilliers, 1998, p. viii). The postmodern perspective developed in reaction to the limitations of the positivist paradigm to explain complex social phenomena (Alvesson, 2002, p. 5). The traditional, modernist approach gradually developed in Europe during the late 1600s (Skyttner, 2001, p. 9), reaching its full expression in the mid-eighteenth century's age of Enlightenment prominent in the Western world (Seidman, 1994, p.1). The culture of the Enlightenment informed the culture of the modern Western world with notions such as science as "truth" and the existence of an objective reality (Skyttner, 2001, p. 20).

Skyttner (2001, p. 21) attributed the first significant blow against the modernism paradigm of knowledge creation to be Albert Einstein's theory of relativity which he published first in 1905. Thereafter the development of quantum mechanics and the recognition of emergent properties in biological systems in the 1920s gradually gave way to the age of relativity in which the focus of research switched from objects to transformations, processes, and transitions (Skyttner, 2001, p. 21).

Fundamental philosophical premises such as views on how knowledge is created and notions about reality define all philosophies (Hicks, 2004, pp. 5-6). The following discussion compares the differences between modernist and postmodern approaches to knowledge creation.

Postmodern versus modernist approach to knowledge creation.

Cilliers (2000, p. 8) revealed that ideas around knowledge have traditionally adopted one of two views. On the one hand, the positivist or modernist paradigm held the belief that

knowledge about the world gained through rationality and observation could be objective. The postmodern perspective, on the other hand, insists that knowledge is personal, cultural-specific, and subjective (Cilliers, 2000, p. 8). Postmodern knowledge abandoned foundational or grand theories of knowledge, called metanarratives, in favour of historically contextualised, local, and pragmatic social knowledge to uncover the practical purpose and situational impact of these knowledges (Seidman, 1994, p. 5). Therefore, instead of searching for one discourse that unifies all forms of knowledge, postmodernism considers how different contexts produce different streams of knowledge “which are not reducible to each other” (Cilliers, 1998, p. 114).

Postmodernism questioned the modernist approach’s rigidly imposed disciplinary boundaries between natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, art, and literature (Rosenau, 1992, p. 6). This had a profound influence on social sciences as boundaries between disciplines blurred to create “new interdisciplinary knowledges” (Seidman, 1994, p. 2). Postmodernism therefore introduced a new way of knowledge creation that influenced the perception of reality, truth, and worldview (Skyttner, 2001, p. 25).

Modernism and postmodernism also have different approaches and philosophies towards understanding complex social phenomena. Modernism aims to simplify complexity (Rosenau, 1992, p. 8) by tapping the underlying “order of things” (Morgan, 2005, p.34). In the process of creating knowledge, modernism pursues unity, consensus, and security (Morgan, 2005, p. 34) by approaching complex phenomena with the supposition that it is too complex to grasp as a whole. Therefore, complex phenomena are separated into manageable units to be analysed and then synthesised, hoping to gain knowledge about the whole phenomenon (Cilliers, 1998, p.2). Cilliers (1998, p.8) argued that this fragmentary reductionist approach to knowledge creation created the illusion that all phenomena are governed by a set of laws or rules that could be made explicit. For this reason, modernism

was especially inappropriate for activities that involve dynamic, “webby, nonlinear, entangled” (Morgan, 2005, p.8) social systems, as it attempts to deal with problems separately with a simple cause and effect approach (Morgan, 2005, p. 6). Modernism’s knowledge creation methodology regarding social problems in a complex modern world has been criticised by a number of authors. For example, Morgan (2005) concluded that the modernist “‘micro-smart’ and ‘macro-dumb’” (p. 6) method to comprehending social problems brought about an inability to make sense of how social problems occur and operate. According to Byrne (1998) this meant “positivism is dead” (p. 37) in the context of understanding complex social problems.

Postmodern knowledge creation, on the other hand, “thrives on instability, disruption, disorder, contingency, paradox, and indeterminacy” (Jackson, 2000, p.36). It offers little security (Jackson, 2000, p. 36) while incorporating diversity, complexity, the unique, differences, reflection, speculations, personal experience, metaphysics, and intertextual relations rather than causality in its “radically interdisciplinary character” (Roseneau, 1992, p.7). The complex systems paradigm is often defined by its contrast to the explanatory limitations of the modernist, positivist paradigm (Merali & Allen, 2011, p. 32). A brief discussion of the main differences between the two paradigms will highlight the differences between these two approaches. This comparison is organised according to differences in (a) ontology, (b) stance of the researcher, and (c) epistemology (approach to knowledge).

Ontology.

Ontology is the study of the being and the nature of existence (Crotty, 1998, p. 10) and reality (Krauss, 2005, p. 758). According to the traditional, positivist approach to knowledge creation, reality is independent from the observer (Alvesson, 2002, p. 2). Reality and truth are therefore objective (Skyttner, 2001, p. 20) and “fixed” (Alvesson, 2002, p. 2). Thus, the

researcher can discover and measure truth and reality through indications of reality, namely data (Alvesson, 2002, pp. 2, 7). Only observable data, treated logically, are acceptable as reliable knowledge of reality (Skyttner, 2001, p. 14). With this approach to knowledge, various scientific disciplines describe different parts of this discovered reality (Skyttner, 2001, p. 20) by the so-called 'grand narrative' that, once discovered, applies to all people, contexts, and cultures (Lyotard, 1983). This means that all phenomena are measurable and predictable, even before they have occurred (Skyttner, 2001, pp. 16-17).

Postmodernism, on the other hand, views reality as personally and socially constructed (Cox & Lyddon, 1997, p. 202). According to this approach, reality is subjective, often contradictory, (Skyttner, 2001, p. 25) and ambiguous (Patton, 2002, p. 588). Postmodern ontology regards causation as "multidirectional, multiple, and mutual" (Anderson, Carter & Lowe, 1999, p.16). As this perspective views the world in terms of wholeness, interconnectedness, inclusivity, and context (Cox & Lyddon, 1997, p. 203), change can be initiated at any point in a system and can be seen either as a cause or as an effect elsewhere in the system. Although complex, Anderson et al., (1999, p. 17) regarded this ontological approach of causality to be a closer representation of the reality of nonlinear, systemic relationships than positivistic linear causal chains. Ontological and epistemological issues are closely related when adopting any theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998, p. 17) and research methodology (Krauss, 2005, p. 258).

Epistemology.

Whereas ontology involves the philosophy of reality, epistemology focusses on the nature and scope of knowledge. The main concerns of epistemology are the process of knowledge creation, the sources of knowledge, and the limits of knowledge (Foucault, 1971). The scientific, traditional modernist approach views the world in a mechanistic way. Thus,

like a giant clock, it can be 'fixed' or engineered through the installation of improved components (Morgan, 2005, p. 6). All knowledge is related to concrete objects, while abstract concepts such as values and needs have no part in truth (Skyttner, 2001, p. 20). Only the reification of variables can lead to an understanding of social systems (Byrne, 2005, p. 99). As this paradigm aims to control the effect of the environment on the studied phenomenon, the environment is considered irrelevant in both the research and the studied phenomenon (Skyttner, 2001, p. 14).

Skyttner (2001, p. 14) explained that traditional science aims to describe, control, predict, and explain phenomena. It does not ask questions like 'why' and 'why for'. This approach employs a doctrine known as reductionism. According to this doctrine, a researcher gains understanding of a phenomenon by reducing it to its basic parts. Knowledge about phenomena is thus also limited to the static and structural knowledge of these small, basic, and individual parts (Skyttner, 2001, p. 14). Researchers employing the traditional scientific approach collect this knowledge through experiments and observations that result in absolute knowledge contained in theories and models, a doctrine called empiricism (Skyttner, 2001, p. 16). As the focus of the analytical method is on parts of phenomena, it leads to categorisation and specialised or disciplined-based thinking to assemble knowledge in which the 'either/or' dichotomy applies (Morgan, 2005, p. 5).

The postmodern approach to science, on the other hand, views knowledge as local and contextual. Knowledge is socially constructed and describes reality only as it exists at that current moment in time (Gergen, 1982, pp. 201-202). According to this paradigm, the only way to understand a phenomenon in a holistic manner is synthesising knowledge about the whole phenomenon and its context, not just its parts (Skyttner, 2001, p. 30). According to Krause (2005), epistemology is also concerned with the relationship between the "knower

and what is known” (p. 259). This relationship as viewed by both modernism and postmodernism is explored in the following section.

Stance of the researcher.

In the traditional modernist paradigm, the researcher is a neutral, independent, uninvolved, and objective observer (Skyttner, 2001, p. 14). The researcher, who remains external to the observed phenomenon (Esade & McKelvey, 2010, p. 415), collects and quantifies absolute facts about a part of a phenomenon. If different researchers conducting the same research in different parts of the universe find dissimilar results, it is due to human deficiency or deception and the results are considered as unreliable (Skyttner, 2001, p. 15).

In the postmodern research paradigm, the social world cannot be discovered objectively (Esade & McKelvey, 2010, p. 419) because the researcher is part of the system that is being researched and influences the researched in some way. The interpreted and the interpreter can therefore not exist independently (Speer, 2005, p. 8). Within this framework, the research has the attitude of continually expanding his or her focus (Skyttner, 2001, p. 31), while at the same time keeping in mind that no researcher can have a complete view of a system or a process in a system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 122).

Cilliers (1998, p. 114) and Jörg (2011, p. 9) argue that the postmodern and complexity approach to knowledge creation about complex real-world situations does not oppose knowledge created by the traditional, scientific method. Cilliers (1998, p. 114) noted that it is important to understand that neither reductionist nor postmodern knowledge represents all true knowledge. These two approaches to knowledge creation, however, are complementary types of science (Jörg, 2011, p. 8).

Systems theory, which views humans and their environment as part of a set of integrated systems, aims to create a holistic understanding with the multiple perspectives of all

interacting systems (Skyttner, 2001, p. 31), which is why the theory is more compatible with the postmodern approach to knowledge and reality (Cilliers, 1998, p. 112). Systems theory developed gradually as the relevance of modernist knowledge on social sciences was questioned (Skyttner, 2001, p. 32).

Systems Theory

“Knowledge can come from the analysis of parts. But understanding comes from synthesis and a systems approach” (Morgan, 2005, p. 12)

According to Morgan (2005, p. 5), the systemic worldview was the most common form of human epistemology for past millennia until the advent of the Enlightenment. Since the 1950s, the systems view became more prominent when it became clear that classical science with its over-specialisation and compartmentalisation proved itself unable to handle societal problems of increasing complexity such as increasing substance abuse, urbanisation, commercialisation, deforestation, crime, and decreasing biodiversity (Skyttner, 2001, p. 33). Furthermore, the rise of information and communication technology fed the development of new bodies of knowledge associated with a more “dense, interconnected world” (Morgan, 2005; p. 10), the “global village” (Adams, 2010, p.315).

According to Skyttner (2001, p. 35) an increasing awareness grew that understanding of a whole problem through knowledge of its parts could no longer provide the knowledge needed to address complex issues. As the interaction of system variables in complex issues are interlinked, cause and effect could not be established via the analytical method (Skyttner, 2001, p. 35). The traditional scientific method’s approach to solving social problems is an ‘either/or’ approach; a social problem is solved by remedying a clear cause with a clear solution. However, in an increasingly complex ‘both/and’ world, the scientific method’s difficulty in dealing with complexity means that the solution to a problem is reduced to

merely dealing with the symptoms, fixing things in the short term, but possibly making it worse in the long term (Morgan, 2005, p. 6). When scientists applied the traditional scientific method to study complex phenomena, they merely “assembled knowledge into islands, extending into an archipelago of disconnected data” (Skyttner, 2001, p. 34). Awareness of the limitations of the traditional scientific approach led to the recognition of the potential of systems theory to find solutions to real problems in life (Skyttner, 2001, p. 34).

The value of systems theory to understand complex, rapidly changing systems was further underscored by Byrne (1998) who called for the urgent need to “revive” (p. 4) systems approaches to social sciences beyond the “limitations of the homeostatic systems model” (p. 35).

In the current study, systems theory is an umbrella term to refer to the general assumptions of the systems approach that includes a number of prominent theories in the systems movement. These theories include (a) the field of cybernetics (Heylighen & Joslyn, 2001), initially an independent field which later integrated with (b) the general systems theory (Boulding, 1956; von Bertalanffy, 1968), and (c) the bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The latter is a systemic theory developed in the field of developmental psychology in reaction to the restricted scope of research in the field at the time (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 38). Aspects of these theories are included in the discussion on the general characteristics of complex systems.

Cybernetics.

Cybernetics is an interdisciplinary field that developed in the 1940s. It focused on purposive, goal-directed behaviour in functional systems in machines and animals, and later social systems (Heylighen & Joslyn, 2001, p. 156). In essence, this approach sought to develop a common language to explain process of communication and control in systems

(Cullin, 2005, p. 140). By introducing the concept feedback to describe how a system can adapt itself to its environment (Alhadeff-Jones, 2008, p. 70), cybernetics offered new ways of understanding certain processes such as biological evolution, guided missile systems, and the development of schizophrenia (Cullin, 2005, p. 140).

In the late 1970s, second-order cybernetics emerged from the more mechanistic cybernetic approaches (Heylighen & Joslyn, 2001, p. 156). There were significant ontological and epistemological differences between the two movements. A “first-order” cyberneticist regarded a system as a passive entity that can be objectively and freely observed, manipulated, and taken apart (Heylighen & Joslyn, 2001, pp. 156-157). Second-order cybernetics, on the other hand, recognised that both the observer and the observed system are cybernetic systems. Observation became a recursive process in which the observer and the observed are part of a broader observing system (Cullin, 2005, pp. 140-141) which influenced the result of the observations (Cullin, 2005, p. 140; Heylighen & Joslyn, 2001, p. 158). Second-order cyberneticists were concerned with the interrelatedness of systems (Cullin, 2005, p. 141) and how relational concepts such as order, organisation, complexity, hierarchy, structure, information, recursiveness, self-correction, and control manifested in different types of systems (Cullin, 2005, p. 141; Heylighen & Joslyn, 2001, p. 160).

The development of cybernetics and general systems theory coincided as both approaches aimed to build a transdisciplinary science that could establish the common principles that govern evolving systems (Cullin, 2005, p. 2). The cybernetics and general systems theory, for all practical purposes, can be integrated within the systems approach (Skyttner, 2001, p. 70). General systems theory, one of the most prominent systems theories (Skyttner, 2001, p. 52), is briefly discussed next.

General systems theory.

Von Bertalanffy (1968, 1972), an Austrian theoretical biologist, became dissatisfied with the reductionist approach to explain growth and change in living organisms, believing that change is brought about through interactions between parts of an organism. He regarded all living and non-living entities as systems that could be studied by observing the inputs, outputs, and outcomes of the system (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 4).

Von Bertalanffy (1968; 1972) regarded general systems theory as a way to organise and understand information rather than to explain observations. It thus has transdisciplinary value as different scientific fields can use theories from their own fields to explain the interaction within the system and between its surrounding systems (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 4; Skyttner, 2001, p. 52). General systems theory evolved into a metatheory as it integrated a range of systems theories. Under the umbrella of general systems theory, a broad range of patterns and processes common to a number of theories were identified and named (Skyttner, 1996, p. 16, 2001, p. 52).

According to Bowen (2004), a “kinship” (p. 62) exists between general systems theory and the bioecological theory of human development. As a result, concepts from both theories can be combined to create an ecosystemic perspective (Bowen, 2004, p. 62) to capture the complex dynamics that occur within and between social and human systems (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 9). Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory of human development as an exemplar of ecosystemic theory is explored next.

Bioecological theory of human development.

Multiple socio-ecological theories evolved in the social sciences (Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2012, p. 5). In psychology, Bronfenbrenner, an American psychologist, focussed on human and social systems in the development of this theory. Bronfenbrenner (2005) asserted

that a developing individual is involved in “progressively more complex reciprocal interactions” (p. 6) with other “persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate external environment” (p. 6). He therefore observed that a person’s development cannot be seen in isolation but must be viewed within the context of that individual’s constantly evolving interactions with his or her multiple, interconnected environmental contexts (Campbell et al., 2012, pp. 3-5; Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 5;). Bronfenbrenner subdivided these environmental influences into multiple levels based on the types and frequency of the interactions with the individual (Campbell et al., 2012, p. 5). The theory thus conceptualised a complex systemic environment beyond here-and-now systemic circumstances. For example, events that occur in settings where the individual is not even present, as well as historical and cultural factors could have profound effects on the person (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p.10).

Bronfenbrenner (1977, p. 1) initially called his theory ecology of human development. However, as the initial theoretical concepts of the theory extended from a focus on the environment to an emphasis on processes between the developing person and aspects of the context, it was renamed the bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 794). The bioecological theory of human development added concepts such as the dimension of time and the subjective experience of the developing person (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The theory also added a research design that allowed for the simultaneous investigation of the form, power, content, and direction of enduring interactions between the developing person and persons, objects, and symbols in his or her immediate environment. This research design is referred to as the Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. 7; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 798). Like general systems theory, Bronfenbrenner’s model introduced order by offering conceptual clarity (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 10) and a framework to analyse the complex

nature of interactions at multiple levels of the social environment (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 3).

Postmodernism, unlike modernism, approaches complexity with an understanding that “it is not possible to tell a single and exclusive story” about a truly complex phenomenon (Cilliers, 1998, p. viii). However, ‘telling the story’ of a complex phenomenon has not been the exclusive domain of systems theory. The increased appreciation of the complexity of social issues brought about by postmodernism and systems thinking also resulted in the development of the broad field known as complexity science in the 1970s and 1980s (Horgan, 1995, p. 108), which some authors such as Levy (1994, p. 169) considered to be a natural extension of systems theory. Similarly, Cilliers (2001) argued that complexity theory was a “continuation of what was done in cybernetics, general systems theory, and chaos theory” (p. 136).

As with systems theory, a number of theories concerned with complex systems fall under the banner of complexity theory that is applied in a myriad of disciplines such as geography, information sciences, managerial sciences, natural sciences, and social sciences (Manson, 2001, p. 412). Similar to systems theory, complexity theory is also considered to be “a pioneering break from a moribund Newtonian worldview” (Manson, 2001, p. 412) in that it considers social problems in the light of a multiplicity of localised, yet networked social discourses in which knowledge is distributed and created through the interaction and competition of different paradigms (Manson, 2001, p. 411).

Horgan (1995) argued that even though the study of systems from various perspectives has revealed that nonlinear systems are governed by a set of similar principles, complexity scientists have not been able to agree on the more technical aspects of the theory. Therefore, no unified complexity theory exists. In the absence of a unified theory of complex systems

(Horgan, 1995, p. 105, 107), the term complexity theory in the current study refers to the key concepts of complex systems.

Complexity Theory

The reality of the complex – the complexity of the real. (Byrne, 1998, p. 35)

According to Levy (1994, p. 168) chaos theory is one of the contributory theories to complexity science. Chaos theory made the scientific world aware of the presence of nonlinear dynamics in an apparent chaotic system in which “predictably unpredictable” (Horgan, 1995, p. 104), yet patterned results can emerge (Levy, 1994, p. 18). Similar to chaos theory, complexity theory also assumes a constant repositioning of elements within complex systems (Walby, 2007, p. 456) and a great amount of randomness and unanticipated consequences (Morgan, 2005, p. 12). For example, small occurrences in a complex system may have dramatic effects, such as the effect Einstein’s theory of relativity had on the scientific world. On the other hand, large events such as a long-awaited conference of world leaders can have little discernible effect (Eidelson, 1997, p. 62). Complexity theory therefore rejects linear and simple cause and effect notions proposed by traditional science. Change is seen as the result of nonlinear interactions between system elements (Dolan, Garcia, Diegoli, & Auerbach, 2000, p. 3). Simple causes can result in complex effects (Phelan, 2001, p. 130) and system change and evolution do not occur continuously, but in spurts (Dolan et al., 2000, p. 3). Moreover, as cause and effect are separated in time and space, micro effects can have macro causes and vice versa (Morgan, 2005, p. 4). De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 45) indicated that reality is better represented by the cybernetic understanding of nonlinear cause and effect connections between the myriad of elements in a complex system in which “The various causes and the various effects are often intertwined or exchanged; they are retroactive

and can diverge or converge” (p. 44). In a complex system, thus, causes and their effects are connected and effects “retroact” (p.46) upon their causes. Circular causality also suggests that the interconnections in a system are not fixed in time and therefore can sometimes be “indefinitely stretched through time” (p. 45).

Complexity theory built on chaos theory by postulating that complex systems may hover on the edge of chaos to galvanise enough diversity to adapt to environmental demands in novel ways (Bütz, 1997, p. 5). Complexity theory therefore supposes that an array of patterns, interactions, and relationships occur between in the constituent parts in a complex system (Cilliers, 1998, pp. 3-4; Walby, 2007, p. 458) which results in a range of changing and co-evolving elements (Jackson, 2000, p. 81; Manson, 2001, p. 409). For this reason, complexity theory includes concepts that can describe both stable and unstable, rapidly changing systems equally well (Bütz, 1997, p. 9).

Complexity theory is compatible with the postmodern worldview for a number of reasons. For example, complexity theory is concerned with creating a holistic view of complex systems (Mitleton-Kelly, 2011, p. 4) by attempting to grasp the actual pattern of change, the trajectory, of such systems instead of merely studying elements of systems in a reductionist way (Byrne, 2005, p. 97). Byrne (2005) thus asserted that achieving a holistic picture of systems is more about asking, “how have things come to be as they are” (p. 97) than discovering linear cause and effect relationships in the traditional scientific way. True to the postmodern paradigm’s view of reality as consisting of a number of co-existing narratives, complexity theory is an “interdisciplinary understanding of reality as composed of complex open systems with emergent properties and transformational potential” (Byrne, 2005, p. 97). Therefore, multiple fields of knowledge contribute to complexity theory as “complexity is everywhere” (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p.31).

According to Byrne (2005, p. 97) and Mitleton-Kelly (2011, p. 23), describing a system's trajectory is therefore best done through reflexive participatory social research in which human agents are also engaged with the system being studied because inherent to complexity theory is the assertion that knowledge is contextual and local (Byrne, 2005, p. 97). This appreciation of complexity, holism, and social engagement to construct reality is what makes complexity theory have better explanatory value of social phenomena than linear, traditional scientific models (Bütz, 1997, p. 5). For this reason, Byrne (1998) asserted that complexity theory is useful as "it helps us to understand the things we are trying to understand" (p. 3). In light of Bütz (1997, p.5) and Byrne's (1998) belief that complexity theory is useful in understanding complex systems, complexity theory was selected to understand human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. Dekker (2011, p. 149) and Cilliers (1998, p.2) asserted that complicated and complex systems are not the same concept, it is therefore useful to briefly differentiate between complex and complicated systems.

Complicated versus complex systems.

Cilliers (1998, p. 2) provided a useful distinction between 'complex' and 'complicated' systems. Both concepts are approached from the view that a system could consist of a huge number of components. However, when a system can be accurately analysed and understood in terms of its individual constituents, it is merely complicated. An example of a complicated system would be a jumbo jet or a computer (Cilliers, 1998, p. 2).

De Toni and Comello (2010) distinguished between complex and complicated systems by examining the etymology of both terms. The Latin term for complicated is translated to "paper crease" (p. 15). Once each crease has been considered and explained, the creases can be reassembled and the problem as a whole in this complicated system is solved. This corresponds with the linear approach followed in the modernist, traditional research paradigm

(De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 16). To solve a problem in a complicated system one would attempt to find the solution by “unfolding’ the problem in its ‘creases’.” (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 16).

De Toni and Comello (2010) revealed that the Latin word for complex can be translated as “knot, weave” (p. 15). Thus, if a complex system is likened to an interwoven knot or woven fabric, a researcher will not be able to recreate the original system by analysing each thread of the knot or fabric (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 16). Grasping complex systems requires synthetic logic which looks at the problem from above to understand the complex system as a whole (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 16).

Cilliers (1998, p. 2) emphasised that a complex system thus cannot be understood merely by describing and understanding its different constituent parts. There are also interactions between the constituents of the system, the system and its environment, and the system and its history. Moreover, these interactions and relationships change and shift continually, leading to changes in the system as a whole (Cilliers, 1998, p. 2). De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 16) emphasised that a complicated system can thus be represented and understood by an equation but “something complex can only be narrated.” (p. 16). Complex systems are usually associated with living things such as the brain, social systems, and language and have a number of characteristics (Cilliers, 1998, pp.3-5) which are explored next.

General Characteristics of Complex Systems

Complexity is an idea whose time has come. (Byrne, 2005, p.98)

Richardson and Midgley (2007, p. 167) asserted that specific definitions of complexity theory and systems theory concepts are not easy, or even productive, as similar concepts are used in different ways by theorists. Similarly, Horgan (1995, p. 195, 205) concluded that

there is a lack of consensus on the definition of complex systems. Cilliers (1998, p. 2) indicated that as complexity is difficult to define by a specific definition, it would be more productive to develop a general description of complex systems through an analysis of the characteristics of complex systems. As Richardson and Midgely (2007, p. 168) asserted that both complexity theory and systems theory contain similar perspectives and “the same basic ideas” (p. 168), a synthesis of the key concepts of both theories are presented to describe the general characteristics of complex systems. The first general characteristic of complex systems that is explored is the different types of complex systems.

Types of complex systems.

According to Skyttner (2001, pp. 55-57) systems can be (a) concrete, (b) conceptual, (c) abstract, and (d) unperceivable. Concrete systems can be living or non-living and consist of at least two elements. Conceptual systems are composed of an organisation of ideas expressed in symbolic form. A conceptual system can only exist within some form of concrete system and often regulates the operation of a concrete system. For example, religious morals (conceptual system) have an influence over human beings (concrete system). Abstract systems consist only of concepts. An interesting notion about abstract systems is that an observer in the light of his or her interest or theoretical viewpoint selects the elements of such systems. This means that the elements of an abstract system are a mix of empirical and conceptual factors. Culture as a system is an example of an abstract system. Unperceivable systems consist of many elements with intricate interrelationships between these elements, which hide the actual structure of the system (Skyttner, 2001, pp. 55-57).

All system types have structures (Skyttner, 2001, p. 57) which define the way they are organised and governed (Marion, 1999, p. 66). A number of systems theorists offered definitions of systems that emphasise the interactional properties between elements within

systems. For example, Von Bertalanffy (1972) defined a system as “a set of elements standing in interrelation among themselves and with the environment” (p. 417). Therefore, both complexity theory and systems theory recognise the importance of interrelationships and interactions between elements in the system and between systems (Cilliers, 1998, p. 3; Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 7) which leads to an interconnectedness between elements and subsystems within the system.

Interconnectedness between elements.

Systems theory acknowledges that elements in systems are interconnected but places more emphasis on the interaction between systems and their environments (Skyttner, 2001, p. 64). Complexity theory, on the other hand, stresses interconnectedness between elements within a system. The theory also accentuates the way in which interconnectedness between elements contribute to the growth of and changes within complex systems (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 7; Marion, 1999, p. 72). Complexity theorists also consider the interactions between system elements as more important than the actual attributes of the system elements themselves when describing the nature of the system (Cilliers, 2001, p. 140; Manson, 2001, p. 409).

According to complexity theory, a complex system emerges from dynamic and diverse interaction patterns between simple elements, each responding to limited information available to it (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). For example, in the human brain, no complex behaviour is discernible at the level of the individual neuron. However, a system of neurons is capable of performing complex tasks when it responds in a nonlinear fashion to local information available to it (Cilliers, 1998, p. 18). Therefore, according to complexity theory, complexity in a system can only emerge when both interconnectivity and interaction are present (Juarrero, 2010, p. 1). Moreover, growth in complex systems is facilitated by the nature of

the interactions, the frequency, and strength of interactions, and the number of connections between systems (Eidelson, 1997, p. 45). Thus, Mitleton-Kelly (2003) argued that complex behaviour within a complex system stems from the “intricate inter-twining or interconnectivity within a system and between a system and its environment.” (p. 26).

In complex systems, there are numerous, powerful, and often nonlinear connections which gives complex systems its ability to self-organise and to be “more than the sum of its parts” (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 42). De Toni and Comello (2010) used the brain described as “the most complex organization in the universe” (p. 41). The brain consists of several billion neurons, connected to thousands of other neurons to form a huge neuronal network. However, the brain is more than only the sum of its neurons. Millions of neurons, merely connecting and firing in compliance with its biological laws of living cells, collectively self-organise to result in human intelligence (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 42). Having a better understanding of the nature of these interactions is therefore necessary.

Interactions between elements.

The interactions between the elements in complex systems have a number of unique characteristics, namely:

- The interactions are nonlinear. This guarantees that small causes can have large results and vice versa (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). Nonlinear causality is also a hallmark of systems theory (Skyttner, 2001, p. 31).
- Interactions usually have a fairly short range as information is passed to neighbouring elements in a complex system. However, long-range interaction is not impossible (Cilliers, 1998, p.4).
- While information is usually received from immediate (not necessarily in a spatial sense only) neighbours, wide-ranging influence is possible when interaction is

rich. The influence is modified with each interaction; it can be enhanced, suppressed, or altered (Cilliers, 1998, p.4).

- Interactions within the various elements of a complex system often take the form of clusters of elements that co-operate and collaborate with each other while there is competition with other clusters (Cilliers, 1998, p. 7).
- Communication and information exchange between elements, subsystems, and systems take place through interaction within a complex system and between different complex systems. This exchange is related to the notion of feedback (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 7).

Feedback and feedback loops.

Systems and complexity theory place the concept of feedback as central to the concept of a system (Walby, 2007, p. 463). According to these theories, feedback loops occur when information about the result of the activities of the system are delivered back to the system (Skyttner, 2001, p.77) in a circular way from one element to the next (Walby, 2007, p. 464). Therefore, Cilliers (1998) argued that the output from an element or from the interaction between elements eventually influences the input back into that element either “directly and sometimes after a number of intervening stages” (p. 4). Feedback loops always have the effect of altering the activities of the receiving element (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4), thereby containing the potential to either regulate or to disrupt a complex system (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 7). However, feedback loops play an essential role within complex systems as Sterman (2006, p. 509) noted that learning within complex systems results from feedback loops.

Two types of feedback loops occur, namely (a) negative feedback loops and (b) positive feedback loops (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 37; Skyttner, 2001, p. 74). Negative feedback

loops occur when information fed back into the system opposes what the system is already doing. Higher negative feedback will lead to lower output of the system in the specific area of feedback (Skyttner, 2001, p. 74), suppress a certain activity (Marion, 1999, p. 75), and detract or inhibit interactions with other elements (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). Negative feedback loops can have a self-corrective, adaptive, and stabilising effect on the system (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 37; Skyttner, 2001) aimed at restoring balance in the system after changes or perturbation to the system. Byrne (1998, p. 30) described negative feedback as a mechanism to dampen change in a complex system. The concept of negative feedback loops is related to a systems theory notion that a system always will attempt to maintain equilibrium (Walby, 2007, p. 464). For this reason, Marrion (1999, pp. 75-77) noted that the notion of negative feedback loops are emphasised more in systems theory than in complexity theory due to the former theory's emphasis on system equilibrium and homeostasis. Gilstrap (2005, p. 6) regarded the professional and moral obligations of teachers and educational leaders to act on unethical or disruptive behaviour by colleagues or students as negative feedback that will bring the school as a complex system back into balance.

Positive feedback loops, on the other hand, are self-reinforcing (Eidelson, 1997, p. 49). They reinforce and escalate the change tendency in a complex system (Byrne, 1998, p. 172; Walby, 2007, p. 464). Positive feedback loops occur when feedback confirms or encourages existing activities or patterns (Anderson et al, 1999, p. 37). Marion (1999, pp. 76-77) referred to positive feedback loops as “increasing returns” (p. 76) as initial energy, information, or matter in a system is amplified through this type of feedback loop. Positive feedback loops increases output, which further enhances or stimulates interactions between elements. Therefore each new interaction becomes larger than the previous (Skyttner, 2001, p. 79) much like a “rolling snowball accrues snow” (Marion, 1999, p.75). Positive feedback loops drive small changes that can lead to large effects in a nonlinear way, thereby escalating

change and disturbing equilibrium in a system (Walby, 2007, p. 464). According to systems theory, this self-accelerating loop is normally halted before the system disintegrates when negative feedback inside or outside of the system begins to restore more regular system behaviour (Skyttner, 2001, p. 79). Complexity theory, on the other, holds that self-organisation results from rapidly amplified interactions (Cilliers, 1998, p. 12). Success is an example of positive feedback. The more successful an interaction or action is, the more other elements in the system are inclined to attempt similar interactions or actions (Mitleton-Kelly, 2011, p. 15).

Positive feedback can also amplify negative consequences. Byrne (1998, p. 127) illustrated the effect of positive feedback through an example of a school which served a poor, inner-city neighbourhood. Parents in the neighbourhood preferred to enrol their children in schools in more affluent areas. As a result, the school lost its higher achievers that reinforced the opinion in the neighbourhood that the school caters only for low achievers; further motivating parents to enrol their children in other schools. The school eventually had to close due to low intake numbers (Byrne, 1998, p. 127).

According to Skyttner (2001, p. 80) it is necessary to distinguish between extrinsic and intrinsic feedback. Positive and negative feedback loops can be extrinsic or intrinsic. When system output crosses the system boundary and is modified by the environment before it is fed back into the system, it refers to extrinsic feedback. When output is modified internally within the system boundary, it is called intrinsic feedback (Skyttner, 2001, p. 80). The concepts of extrinsic and intrinsic feedback include the notion that all systems have boundaries (Skyttner, 2001, p. 58).

System boundaries.

Boundaries are usually non-spatial (Skyttner, 2001, p. 60) and often conceptual or social constructs (Richardson & Midgley, 2007, p. 169). Boundaries indicate what is part of the system and what is not (Skyttner, 2001, p. 60). For example, in social systems, boundaries can indicate who or what is excluded and who or what is included in a system, whether stakeholders, people, issues, or values (Richardson & Midgley, 2007, p. 169, 170).

According to Skyttner (2001, p.60) interactions within the system are more intense compared to interactions which cross boundaries. To cross a boundary also requires the modification and transformation of the energy, information, or matter involved in order to cross boundaries. As a result, “that which comes out is very seldom identical with that which goes into a system” (Skyttner, 2001, p. 60).

Systems theory distinguishes between (a) open, (b) closed, or (c) isolated systems (Skyttner, 2001, pp. 58-60). In an open system, the system boundary is permeable (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 8) to enable the active exchange of energy, information, or matter between the system and its environment ‘through’ the system boundary (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 8; Skyttner, 2001, p. 58). As the energy that is exchanged contributes to system change and growth, boundary permeability are critical for its functioning and possibly even survival (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 8).

Skyttner (2001, p. 58) regarded a closed system as a system that only receives energy, information, or matter into the system. At times, a system can choose to make its boundary less permeated to environmental influences to protect itself from negative environmental pressures (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 8). A system can then be an isolated system, which is isolated from its environment (Friedman and Allen, 2011, p. 8) because the system boundary does not allow the exchange of any type of input with the environment (Skyttner, 2001, p. 59).

Complexity theory considers all complex systems as open systems and regards a closed or isolated system as merely complicated, not complex (Cilliers, 1998, p.4). The amount and variety of input received from the environment fuels emergence and dynamic changes in a system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 91), which means that a closed system will eventually 'run down' (Skyttner, 2001, p. 59). On the other hand, an open, complex system is likely to grow and expand if it has the tendency to import more matter, energy, and information than is required for output. While not contradictory to a system's strive for dynamic balance, this dynamic means that a system is understandable only over time (Skyttner, 2001, p. 58).

The concepts of enhancing, stimulating positive feedback loops and detracting, inhibiting negative feedback loops as essential functions in a complex system are present in both systems and complexity theory (Skyttner, 2001, p. 70; Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). These theories differ, however, regarding the necessity for a system to remain balanced (Walby, 2007, p. 464).

Stability and transition.

A major difference between systems and complexity theory revolves around a system's striving for stability and balance. According to systems theory, system survival is closely linked to the maintenance of order (Skyttner, 2001, p. 65) and a state of dynamic balance (Anderson et al, 1999, p. 24). A system constantly adjusts and adapts to changing conditions in its environment and within itself to maintain balance and order (Skyttner, 2001, p. 65). Therefore, Dallos and Draper (2010, p. 35) argued that systems theory is more focussed on stability than change and development.

Complexity theory, on the other hand, rejects the notion of order and stability and the possibility of gradual, proportional change in a complex system (Walby, 2007, p. 464) in favour of the view that equilibrium equals the death of a complex system (Cilliers, 1998, p.

4). According to complexity theory, it is the lack of order and balance in the system that drives the constant flow of energy through the system and supports the tendency of a system to maintain the self-organisation tendency of the complex system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4; Walby, 2007, p. 464). A single fluctuation can move a complex system to a “chaotic transitional period” (Bütz, 1997, p.16) in which it seeks to again self-organise (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 27).

Bütz (1997, p. 8) reasoned that when a complex system exhibits instability, change is either about to take place or is in the process of occurring, whereas stability indicates that change has just taken place. Therefore, Bütz (1997) asserted stability in a complex system “lies between bifurcation, the edge of chaos, and chaos” (p. 113). Bifurcations refer to abrupt, nonlinear, and often dramatic transformations that are generated by complex systems’ internal dynamics or because of environmental forces (Eidelson, 1997, p. 50).

According to De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 34), complex systems always evolve towards the edge of chaos, an area of where a dynamic equilibrium between order and disorder exists. Marion (1999) conceptualised the edge of chaos as the “thin transition zone” (p. 23) between predictable stability and chaos. Marion (1999, p. 82) asserted that true complex behaviour in the complex system can only be found at the edge of chaos. Horgan (1995, p. 105) postulated that a complex system can be distinguished from two types of systems. On the one hand, there are systems where, due to high degrees of order, any novel development is predictable. On the other hand, complex systems are also unlike completely chaotic systems that exhibit a high level of unpredictability and randomness. Horgan (1995) concluded that a truly complex system is a system that appears “at the border between rigid order and randomness.” (p. 105), that is, at the edge of chaos. At the edge of chaos, a complex system exhibits maximum adaptability and optimal information exchange effectiveness (Eidelson, 1997, p. 55), simultaneously facilitating innovation and creativity

and stable growth (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 34). A system therefore attempts to remain poised in this state for as long as possible by making use of increasingly complex strategies and feedback mechanisms (Eidelson, 1997, p. 55).

Anderson et al., (1999, pp.25-26) distinguish between the concepts of (a) steady state, (b) equilibrium, and (c) homeostasis in a system. According to Anderson (1999) et al. a system in a steady state is characterised by a sufficient degree of organisation, complexity, and openness to its environment to allow it to adapt and be modified to maintain the system's integrity. A system in a steady state does not find itself in a fixed balance. It consistently has to find new balance that may lead to a new steady state that leaves a system that differs radically from the previous state. A system that is maintaining a steady state is able to manage a high degree of stress. In fact, social systems may even prosper from stress and disturbance and therefore often seek out stressful situations in order to grow and achieve synthesis (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 26).

Anderson et al., (1999, p. 26) described a system in equilibrium as being like a seesaw in which balance can be achieved albeit within narrow limits of being in balance. When a system is in a state of equilibrium, it is sensitive to even small changes in the environment. Therefore, to remain in equilibrium, a social system may close its boundaries to its environment to limit stress and disturbance. A system in homeostasis requires minimal stress and disturbance but is able to manage moderate interchanges with its environment. Such a system is able to manage more environmental disturbance than a system in equilibrium, but less than a system in steady state (Anderson et al., 1999, pp. 25-26).

Closely related to the idea of equilibrium is the concept of entropy. This concept originated from thermodynamics but in systems theory refers to the "measure of the relative degree of disorder that exists within a closed system at a defined moment in time" (Skyttner, 2001, p.65). Entropy relates to energy or information in the system that is not available for

use or being utilised. Unused information or energy in the system decreases interaction among the component parts of the system, which increases the tendency of the system to move towards disorder (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 10). An example of entropy is the manner in which a deserted building turns into a pile of rubble that eventually disappears after a few centuries (Rihani, 2002, p. 69).

Higher entropy refers to higher disorder that increases the likelihood that a system will collapse. This is more likely in systems with less permeable boundaries or in systems where a lack of organisation exists. For example, in social systems, the lack of common values, identity, financial resources, information, legitimacy, or commitment can lead to entropy and ultimate collapse of a system, as evidenced in the collapse of various political systems and private enterprises (Morgan, 2005, p. 9). On an individual level, Anderson et al, (1999) indicated that entropy can be heard in expressions like “He’s not performing up to his potential” (p. 10) to denote energy and information that are either not utilised or are not available for use.

In open systems the concept of negentropy applies when the tendency towards entropy of the system is resisted through purpose, organisation, and importing more information and energy from the environment (Skyttner, 2001, p. 65). According to Anderson et al., (1999, p. 10) this notion is also known as synergy. Synergy increases interaction among the component parts of the system as more energy and information is made available in a system. Negentropy may lead to an increasingly unpredictable but fluid organisation and dynamic growth as a system absorbs new information to adapt to the environment which ultimately leads to new relationships and ideas (Anderson et al, 1999, pp. 10-11). According to Rihani (2002, p. 70) entropy and negentropy can be illustrated by planet Earth’s relationship to the Sun. Rihani (2002, p. 70) explained that a constant supply of energy from the Sun is “absorbed, dissipated, and used to drive numerous local interactions that in total produce the

stable pattern that we perceive as life on Earth” (p. 70). Without energy from the Sun’s rays, most life-giving process on Earth would cease, leading to complete equilibrium and eventually “nothingness” (Rihani, 2002, p. 70). From the complex systems concepts previously discussed such as feedback loops and boundaries, it was noted that all systems operate within a context or environment (Byrne, 2005, p. 105) which is briefly discussed next.

A system and its environment.

According to Skyttner (2001, p. 60) systems and their environments have constant, mutual interactions. There are differences, however, in the core focus of systems theory and complexity theory concerning the system and its environment. Systems theory focusses on the systemic interaction with its environment in which systems constantly negotiate their environments by either adapting to the environment or by modifying the environment. This dynamic is especially pronounced in social systems (Skyttner, 2001, p. 60).

Complexity theory, on the other hand, is more sensitive to the internal dynamics of the system and how those dynamics influence the external dynamics (Marion, 1999, p. 72). This theory further emphasises how the system processes information, especially information generated within the system (Marion, 1999, p. 81). Complexity theory further regards systems as more resistant to environmental pressures than systems theory as “systems don’t hop to every environmental wind” (Marion, 1999, p. 72).

It was noted earlier in this chapter that all systems have boundaries. The definition of a system boundary, however, is difficult as it is problematic to define precisely where a system ends and where the environment starts (Cilliers, 2001, p. 140; Dekker, 2011, p. 139). Thus, systems are not “neatly bounded” (Westhorp, 2012, p. 409) and clearly presented to the observer (Skyttner, 1996, p. 17). This dilemma is known as the frame problem (Dekker,

2011, p. 139). Each unique system's boundaries are defined by what its observers "are looking for and at" (Byrne, 2005, p. p. 105), which is determined by the perceptions, interests, knowledge, and purpose of the person doing the description (Dekker, 2011, p. 139). Cilliers (2001, p. 141) agreed that system boundaries are a product of the strategy of the person describing the boundary, reflecting the postmodern ontology that system observers "plays a very active role in creating the world we observe, precisely because of our observations" (Dekker, 2011, p. 140). Cilliers (2001, p. 141) asserted that boundaries are the function of the activity of the system itself, which is driven by the goal and function of a system (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 13).

Goal and function of a complex system.

According to Skyttner (2001, p. 54) a system's purpose and function plays an important part in its existence and is a significant characteristic of all living systems. Goal-directed or function-driven activity can be located within the system or be directed towards activity outside the system to achieve its goals (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 13). Feedback loops play an important role in element compliance with system goals. Goal-directed activity also involves securing adequate information and energy for the existence of the system (Anderson et al., 1999, pp. 12-13). If the functions of elements directed towards the goal is rewarded, goal-directed activity is likely to increase (positive feedback), while those functions directed away from the goal are punished (negative feedback) and reduced (Skyttner, 2001, pp. 75-77).

Within a system, goal-directed activity leads the co-ordination of labour among the elements. It also may result in a division of functions within a system. Therefore, to preserve the function of a system, it needs some sense of identity that it aims to continue through goal-directedness (Skyttner, 2001, p. 54).

Skyttner (2001, p. 67) distinguished between (a) goal-maintaining systems, (b) goal-seeking systems, (c) multigoal-seeking systems, and (d) reflective, goal-changing systems. Goal maintaining systems are simple regulatory systems with only one possible response to fulfil a pre-determined goal. Goal-seeking systems make use of their learning from previous behaviour to deal with variable behaviour within the system to fulfil the goal of the system. Multigoal-seeking systems can choose from a range of alternative actions in response to changed external conditions to fulfil the system's goal. Such systems choose alternatives based on extensive memory-based learning. Reflective, goal-changing systems are able to reflect on previous decisions made by the system and to create new alternatives for action. Reflective processes within these systems are characterised by will, purpose, autonomy, learning, feedback, and consciousness, which are characteristics of living systems (Skyttner, 2001, p. 67). Living systems, including social systems, therefore have the ability to anticipate the future, based on stored information and prior learning, and attempt to manipulate that anticipated future (Marion, 1999, p. 23).

Learn and manage information.

Systems gain momentum and energy from information. Information and new understanding within the system lead to learning and the adaption of actions to prevent entropy (Marion, 1999, p. 23). The flow of information about the environment, the history of the system, and other elements in the system are essential for the existence and survival of social systems (Skyttner, 2001, p. 64). The transmission of information, energy, and knowledge throughout a system is, however, highly vulnerable to delays and degradation. The capacity of coordinating systems to anticipate the information or knowledge that will be needed by far removed system components are particularly inadequate in social systems (Eidelson, 1997, p. 45).

Cilliers (1998, p. 11) stated that information available to elements in the system has to be 'stored' and made meaningful in some way so that it is available for future use. For example, a complex system must be able to store information regarding the environment for future use to enable an appropriate future response to environmental demands (Cilliers, 1998, p. 11). Sterman (2006, p. 509) emphasised that mental models, which include the misperceptions of feedback, judgemental biases, and defensive routines, interfere with the course of information processing in humans. Aspects of the environment such as cultural norms, organisational strategies, and institutional structures further influence the process of meaning making of information (Sterman, 2006, p. 509).

Through feedback, learning, and the management of information about past behaviours of system elements, systems construct their own histories of interactions that are imported into their present structures (Juarrero, 2010, p.2). Thereby, the past co-determines the present behaviour of system elements and therefore of the system as a whole. As a result, two similar systems placed in identical conditions could respond in very different ways if they have different histories (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). The dimension of time thus has to be considered to understand complex systems (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4; 2000, p. 9).

De Toni and Comello (2010) stressed that it is through trying and learning that a complex system in a "situation between necessity and hazard" (p. 46) manages the complexity of its environment. According to De Toni and Comello (2010), a complex system learns by either refining knowledge which already exists in the system or it learns through a more radical learning strategy namely exploration and trials or "try & learn" (p. 46). The latter strategy suggests radical changes in the connections between system elements in the complex system as some connections are discarded while new connections are initiated. "Exploring, trying, acting, learning, these are the new keywords for learning." (p. 48).

Sterman (2006, pp. 505-506) cautioned that learning in complex systems can often be a weak and slow process, even when reliable evidence for change exists. Especially within social systems, Sterman recognised that complexity and the counterintuitive behaviours that occur within these complex systems hinder learning from evidence. A barrier to learning in a complex system, according to Sterman (2006), is the overwhelming complexity of the real world that “dwarfs” (p. 510) the ability of the human mind to conceive all the information in the environment. As a result, humans “are forced to fall back on rote procedures, habit, rules of thumb, and simple mental models” (p. 510). Learning within a complex system is further restricted when information entering and processed within the system is modified through the characteristics and limitations of the system elements. For example, Sterman (2006, p. 509) noted that human beings tend to focus more on information that matches their existing expectations and perceptions and give less relevance to other information. This may create a self-reinforcing feedback loop between expectations and perceptions. Another factor which can restrict learning in social interactions is what Sterman (2006) termed “defensive routines” (p. 511) according which people resist the receipt of new information to “save face” (p. 511). Sterman (2010) surmised that defensive routines can also result in “groupthink” (p. 511) which develops when group members “mutually reinforce their current beliefs, suppress dissent, and seal themselves off from those with different view or possible disconfirming evidence” (p. 511).

According to Cilliers (1998, p. 5), due to the holistic nature of a complex system, one element cannot carry the full meaning of information within the whole system. If it did, it would imply that the system’s complexity would have to be present in that one element. Information available in the system can only have full meaning in terms of patterns of relationships with many other elements that result in the complex structure of a complex system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 5). The implication is that the behaviour of the system as a whole is

the result of the activities of its constituent parts (Walby, 2007, p. 462), which is referred to as holism or “wholeness” (Skyttner, 2001, p. 62).

Holism.

The term “holism” was coined by South African statesman Jan Smuts (1926) in his book, *Holism and evolution*, in which he challenged the analytical approach of his contemporaries to study the theory of evolution. He argued that scientists should consider the whole to understand systemic changes, such as evolution (Smuts, 1926). Viewing a system holistically is a hallmark of systems (Skyttner, 1996, p. 20) and complexity theory (Morrison, 2008, p. 28). Von Bertalanffy (1968) strongly supported a holistic view of systems in his general systems theory, which is equated to a “science of wholeness” according to Friedman and Allen (2011, p. 3). Furthermore, Skyttner (1996, p. 16) highlighted the concept of holism in systems by defining systems as “a set of interacting units or elements that form an integrated whole intended to perform some function” (p. 16). Holism applied to a system, therefore, indicates that variation in any element in a system affects all the other elements, which brings about change in the whole system (Skyttner, 2001, p. 62).

Systems theory and complexity theory’s approach towards holism varies. Phelan (2001) argued that according to systems theory “everything affects everything else” (p. 132). Thus, the whole context in which a phenomenon is embedded should be considered when the phenomenon is studied. Complexity theory’s focus on holism, on the other hand, is on the interactions between elements in the system that influence the system as a whole (Phelan, 2001, p. 132).

Having a holistic view of a system means that one captures not only a linear picture of a particular system but also a “vertical and horizontal and circular” (Morgan, 2005, p. 4) view in which individual systems are embedded within subsystems which interact in a three-

dimensional way both vertically and horizontally (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 10). The notion that systems are “complex wholes” (Skyttner, 1996, p. 20) which consist of smaller subsystems is referred to as a hierarchy of systems (Skyttner, 2001, p. 60).

Hierarchy of systems.

The hierarchical arrangement of systems suggests that any element of a system simultaneously can be a subsystem, a system, or an element or the environment of another system, depending on the focus of the person describing the system (Skyttner, 2001, p. 61). All societies, such as the South African society, contain infinite numbers of such interconnected, nested systems in the sense of an individual, being part of a group, is part of a formal or informal organisation, which is part of a national system that is, in turn, part of a regional or global enterprise (Morgan, 2005, p. 8).

With a hierarchical perspective, systems such as the economy or civil society can take other systems as their environment (Walby, 2007, p. 458). Walby (2007, p. 460) further argued that sets of social relations such as ethnicity, gender, or class are also systems, each with their own environments. Social relations systems overlap with one another to influence other systems in their environments. Similarly, Palla, Derényi, Farkas, and Vicsek (2005, p. 814) cautioned against the conceptualisation of social systems as co-existing interconnected systems and subsystems. Instead, Palla et al. (2005, p. 815) asserted that social systems consist of highly overlapping cohesive system elements. The environment of interest is not the ‘total’ environment, but the environment that affects and is affected by the system that is the current focus (Juarrero, 2010, p. 2). Therefore, each subsystem within a system, whether large or small, complex or simple, is a holon; a term that expresses the notion that each component is simultaneously a part and a whole. This signifies that “any system is by definition both part and whole” (Anderson et al., 1999, p. xi). De Toni and Comello (2010),

summarised this hologrammatic notion as “The part is in the whole. The whole is in the part.” (p. 36). Therefore, information about the whole system is found in the smallest element within this complex system such as with stem cells. These cells are both microscopic parts within the whole system, the body, but also contain information about the whole body (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 39).

Cilliers (2001) cautioned against regarding these hierarchies as too clearly defined or permanent. In reality, hierarchies “interpenetrate” (p. 143) each other in that there are relationships between elements that “cut across different hierarchies” (p. 143). The result is that it may become difficult to determine the exact hierarchy in a complex system, especially when extensive interpenetrations makes it difficult to distinguish between “prime and subordinate parts” (p. 143) of a complex system. Hierarchies are also transformable entities in that hierarchies tend to change as the context of the system changes. Hierarchies are therefore able to shift as they transform (Cilliers, 2001, p. 144). According to Skyttner (2001, p. 64), some systems can be interrelated in a non-hierarchical way. This multilateral structure occurs when certain systemic elements occur simultaneously in many systems.

Within the framework of holism offered by the wider systems theory, the question arises: How does one distinguish between systems and subsystems? Manson (2001, p. 409) argued that complexity theory provides the analytical framework to distinguish between systems and subsystems by examining the strength of interconnectedness between elements. Thus, subsystems are formed where clusters of strong connections between elements exist (Manson, 2001, p. 409).

According to Byrne (1998, p. 3) differences exist between the way in which systems theory and complexity theory view the concept of holism. Byrne (1998, p. 3) noted that systems theory places emphasis on the necessity to view a system in its totality as a holistic unit rather than the constituent parts. Systems theory tends to overlook interactions and

organisation within the system, while complexity theory, on the other hand, focuses on interactions between the constituent parts of a system (Byrne, 1998, p. 3).

System theorists have conceptualised the holistic hierarchy of systems in different ways. Miller (1978, p.8), for example, distinguished between eight nested hierarchical levels in his general living systems theory, shown in Figure 1. According to this distinction, all living systems from the simplest, such as an amoeba to more complex such as a society can be divided into eight “very real and concrete hierarchical levels” (Skyttner, 2001, p. 112). Each new systemic level comprises all lower level systems and is more differentiated than lower level systems. However, system components and elements of each level are systems in their own right (Skyttner, 2001, pp. 112-113).

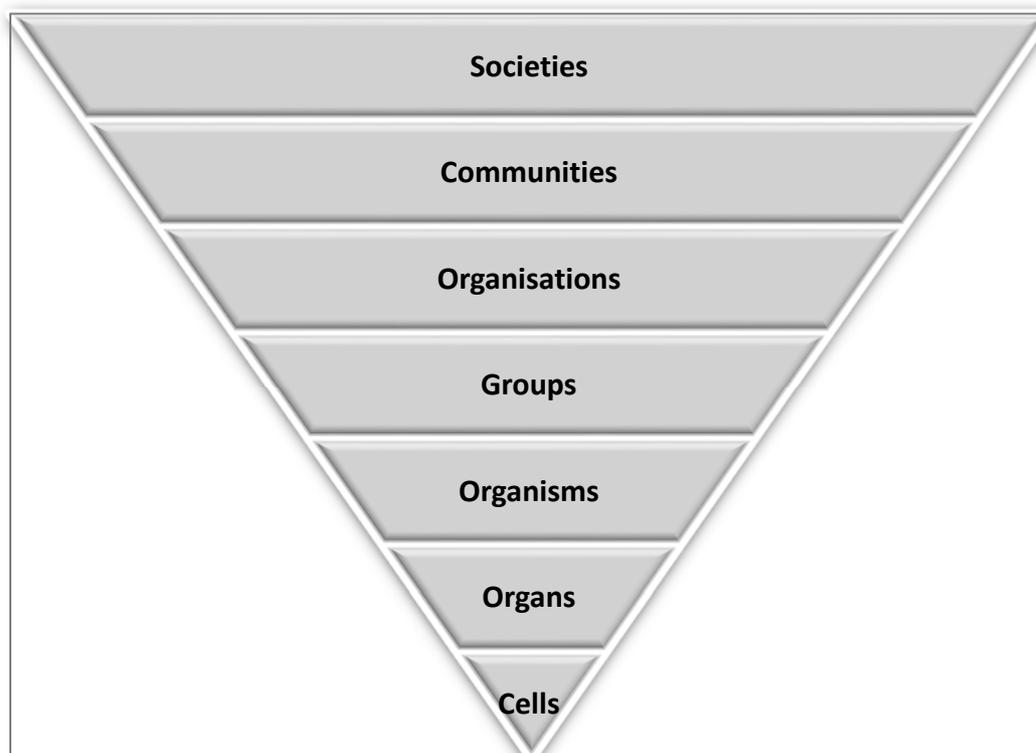


Figure 1. Eight hierarchical levels of living systems. Adapted from “*General systems Theory, Ideas and Applications*” by L. Skyttner, 2001, p. 112-113. Copyright 2001 by World Scientific Publishing Co.

According to Friedman and Allen (2011, p. 10), the hierarchical nature of systems can also be conceptualised as an ecological systems model, reflecting an integration of systems theory and Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. Friedman and Allen refer to the integrated model as the ecological systems model, depicted graphically in Figure 2. According to the ecological systems model both horizontal and vertical interactions take place with the individual as the unit of analysis. Vertical interactions may originate from the lowest hierarchical level, the individual's psychological or biological systems or from the highest hierarchical level such as community values. Horizontal interactions also take place, for example, between individual family members (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 10).

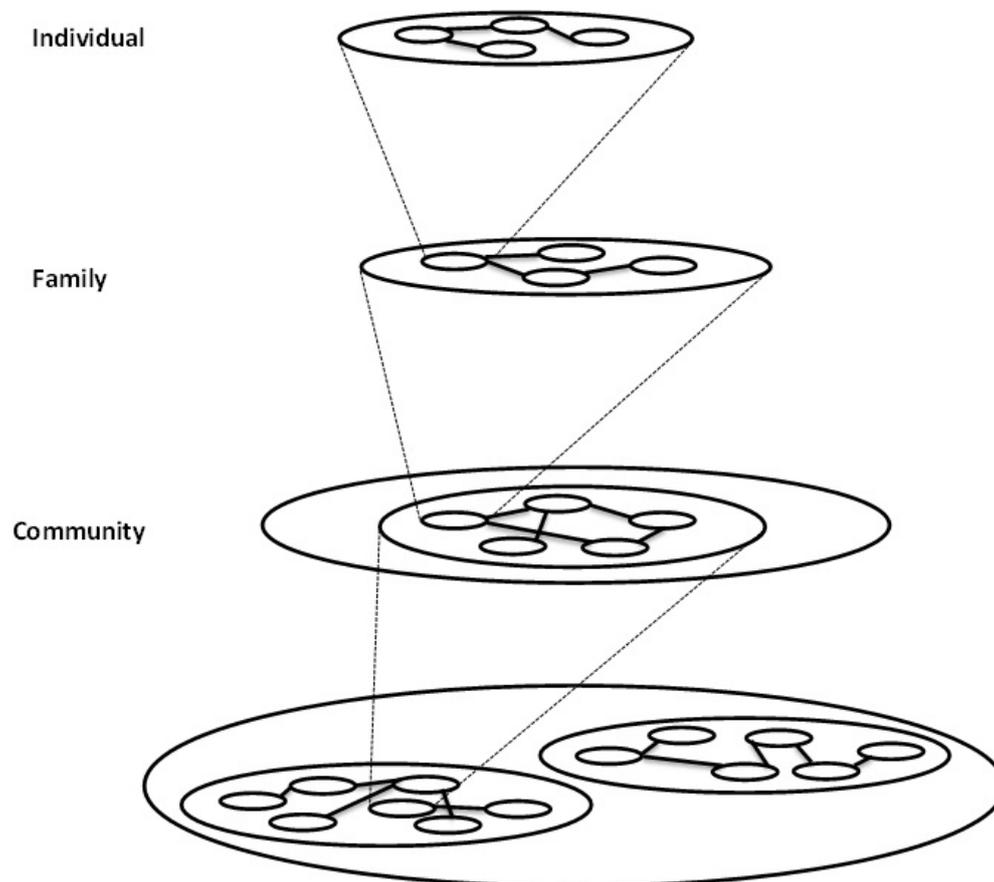


Figure 2. Ecological Systems Model. Adapted from “Systems theory,” by B.D. Friedman and K.N. Allen, 2011, J.R. Brandell (Ed.), *Theory and Practice in Clinical Social Work*, p. 10. Copyright 2011 by Sage Publications.

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1994, 2005) reflected the nested nature of systems by subdividing environmental influences into five nested levels reflecting the relative size, proximity of interaction, and degree of formality of the environmental context (Campbell et al., 2012, p. 5). This model is shown in Figure 3.

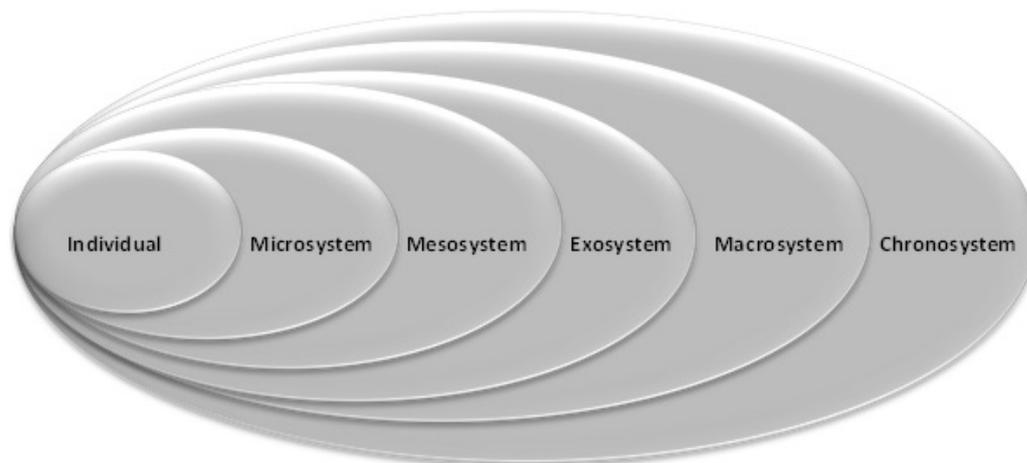


Figure 3. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. This theory conceptualised the environment in terms of nested systems ranging from the individual to the chronosystem. The individual is the focus of analysis. Adapted from "An ecological model of the impact of sexual assault on women's mental health," by R. Campbell, E. Dworkin & G. Cabral, 2012, in C.M. Renzetti, J.L. Edleson, and R.K. Bergen (Eds.), *Companion Reader on Violence against Women*, p. 6. Copyright 2012 by SAGE Publications, Inc.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceptualised the ecological environment, depicted in Figure 3, to be "a set of nested structures, each inside the other like a set of Russian dolls" (p. 3). These nested levels are the (a) individual level, (b) microsystem, (c) mesosystem, (d) exosystem, (e) macrosystem, and (f) chronosystem.

Individual level.

Although Bronfenbrenner developed his model to conceptualise constantly evolving interactions between individuals and their interconnected environmental influences

(Campbell et al, 2012, p. 5; Swick & Williams, 2006, p. 71), Johnson (2008, p. 2) asserted that the model can also be extended to the development of organisations. The individual level contains all the bio-psycho-social characteristics of individuals or organisations (Campbell et al., 2012, p. 5).

Microsystem.

This system is defined as the pattern of complex activities and relations between the individual or organisation and the environment in an immediate setting containing that individual or organisation (Johnson, 2008, p. 3) in which the individual or organisation is an active participant (Härkönen, 2007, p. 9). The individual or organisation has specific, unique characteristics such as systems of belief and temperament while the setting also has particular physical and material features (Johnson, 2008, p.3).

The relationship between the setting and individual or organisation is reciprocal (Johnson, 2008, p.3). The person or organisation engages in a pattern of activities, roles, and relationships for particular periods of time (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p.514; Johnson, 2008, p.3). These actions have specific physical, social, and symbolic characteristics that “invite, permit, or inhibit” interactions in “sustained, progressively more complex interaction” with the immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39). However, the interactions of the individual or organisation depend on the content and structure of the microsystem and the individual or organisation’s ability and power to influence the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39).

Mesosystem.

In essence, a mesosystem is a “system of microsystems” (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515). It comprises the interrelationships, linkages, and processes that take place between major microsystems that contains the individual or organisation. The influence between the

individual or organisation and microsystems is bi-directional (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515; Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40; Johnson, 2008, p.3). The bi-directional interactions either can be coinciding interactions, which are supportive or it can be in opposing directions and be perceived as conflicting or even “clashing” by the different microsystems and the individual/organisation (Härkönen, 2007, p. 11).

Exosystem.

The exosystem represents the linkages and process that takes place between two or more micro- or macrosystem elements (Johnson, 2008, p. 4). At least one of these elements does not physically contain the individual or organisation (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). The exosystem incorporates events, contingencies, decisions, and policies over which the individual or organisation has no direct influence. This uni-directional relationship from the exosystem to the individual level directly or indirectly influences the individual/organisation (Johnson, 2008, p. 4) with both negative or positive results (Swick & Williams, 2006, p. 372).

Macrosystem.

This systemic level differs in a fundamental way from the systemic levels described thus far, as it does not refer to a specific context that influences the individual or organisation (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515). Instead, it is an overarching pattern of embedded system characteristics that consists of values, belief systems, traditions, bodies of knowledge, material resources, life-styles, hazards, opportunity structures, political trends, customs, and resources embedded in the broad social context. The macrosystem has a uni-directional influence on the individual or organisation and its micro-, meso- and exosystems (Härkönen, 2007, p. 13; Johnson, 2008, p. 4; Swick & Williams, 2006, p. 372). Johnson (2008) described the macrosystem as a “social blueprint”(p. 4) of a given culture, subculture, or

other broader social context in which micro-, meso-, and exosystem characteristics are nestled (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 40). Swick and Williams (2006) were of the opinion that the macrosystem functions as an umbrella of system characteristics that “help us to hold together the many threads of our lives” (p. 372).

Chronosystem.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) asserted that the chronosystem “extends the environment into a third dimension” (p. 40) and examines the cumulative effects of multiple changes over the individual or organisation (Campbell et al., 2012, p. 7). It represents a time-based dimension that includes long-term and short-term (Johnson, 2008, p. 4) change or consistency over time that influences the individual or organisation and its setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40).

Initially Bronfenbrenner (1994, p. 40) conceptualised the chronosystem to include changes over the life course of an individual such as the socio-historical changes, socio-economic status changes, or changes in the place of residence. Later, however, the notion of changes over time was extended to include micro-time, meso-time, and macro-time dimensions. Micro-time refers to some specific activity or interaction; meso-time refers to more consistent activities and interactions (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009, p. 201), and macro-time focusses on changes and events in the larger society within and across generations (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 796). The chronosystem therefore reflects socio-historical changes (Johnson, 2008, p. 4) and roles, relationships, and actions which can change over time and have an influence on the individual or organisation and its environment (Härkönen, 2007, p. 13). Changes over time can be due to normative transitional events or non-normative events (Campbell et al, 2012, p. 7).

In social systems there are social conventions and norms that can act as centralised coordinators that can organise activities and interactive patterns, for example, forming lines at

a shop counter or unplanned uncoordinated activity of strangers confronted with an emergency situation (Eidelson, 1997, p. 3). These societal norms can eventually contribute to forming centralised systemic controls as is in the case of societal norms that lead to the formulation or enactment of laws (Eidelson, 1997, p. 45).

According to Skyttner (2001, p. 93), one of the general principles which are valid for all kinds of systems is the darkness principle. The darkness principle consists of two notions. The first notion refers to the concept of incomprehensibility that proposes “no system can be known completely” (Skyttner, 2011, p. 93). Richardson (2004) asserted that “the best representation of a complex system is the system itself and that any representation other than the system itself will necessarily misrepresent certain aspects of the original system” (p. 77).

According to Cilliers (1998, pp. 4-5) and Manson (2001, p. 409), the second notion which contributes to the darkness principle accentuates how elements in a system are mostly ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole, but only responds to information locally available to the element. If a single element or even subsystem were aware of the system as a whole, it would require that all of the complexity have to be present in that one element or sub-system (Cilliers, 1998, pp. 4-5). Manson (2001) argued that there is no “constantly updated common body of information” (p. 409) about the whole system available to the system’s constituent parts (Manson, 2001, p. 409). A system element is therefore largely unaware of the bigger surrounding system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). It will thus miss most of the causes and effects separated in time and space across the system (Morgan, 2005, p. 4). In fact, Morgan (2005, p. 16) held that a person in a system tends to see himself or herself as freestanding and autonomous with a lack of awareness of the wider system and its history. Such a person often will not recognise the dance while they are dancing (Morgan, 2005, p. 16).

It was mentioned previously that the system property of holism indicates that the whole system can exhibit properties not displayed by any of its parts (Skyttner, 2001, p. 92). According to complexity theory, this occurs when microlevel behaviour results in emergent behaviour at macrolevel behaviour that is difficult to trace back to the microlevel from which it emerged (Ratter, 2013, p. 3; Richardson, 2004, p. 76). The idea that “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts” (Byrne, 1998, p. 3) is an essential characteristic of change in complex systems (Ratter, 2013, p. 3), rejecting the scientific notion that the whole can be understood as the sum of its parts (Dekker, 2011, p. 155). Therefore, Richardson (2004) noted, “in terms of complexity language we might re-label the system holism principle as the principle of vertical emergence” (p. 76). Emergence in a complex system is the result of a complex system’s capacity for self-organisation (Cilliers, 1998, p. 90; Eidelson, 1997, p. 47).

Emergence and self-organisation.

A complex system must be able to adapt, develop, and change in response to changing and novel conditions both inside and outside it (Cilliers, 1998, p. 10). The constant spontaneous evolution of a complex system that takes place without the presence of some form of centralised internal control is called self-organisation (Cilliers, 1998, p. 91; De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 32). De Toni and Comello (2010) described self-organisation as “one of the most fascinating aspects of complex systems.” (p. 32). According to Cilliers (1998), self-organisation is defined as “a property of complex systems which enables them to develop or change internal structure spontaneously and adaptively in order to cope with, or manipulate, their environment” (p. 90). Self-organised change results from the interaction of large numbers of elements within a system that relies on “a kind of distributed, bottom-up intelligence” (Dekker, 2011, p. 157) to drive the behaviour of the system as a whole (Dekker, 2011, p. 157). Spontaneous self-organisation, which results from the interactions between

elements in the system as a whole or in a large enough subsystem (Cilliers, 1998, p. 91), is referred to as emergent behaviour (Dekker, 2011, p. 157). Dekker (2011, p. 157) used the example of slime mould to illustrate emergent behaviour. A clump of slime mould consists of a collective of fungi that, in a series of experiments, have shown the ability to move through a maze to find food. Slime mould has no central nervous system, yet this collection of very simple components is able to exhibit goal-directed, complex behaviour in interaction with its changing environment (Dekker, 2011, pp. 156-157). In an organisation, self-organisation would take place if people in the organisation take action and responsibility themselves without direction (Morgan, 2005, p. 19). Each person in the organisation, however, can only respond to information available to him or her (Cilliers, 1998, p. 92). Due to this fact, people often make decision based on information available to them, without considering the unintended “so-called side effects” (p. 507) of their decisions and actions or the unintended consequences of other agents within the complex system (Sterman, 2006, p. 507). In addition, Sterman (2006, p. 507) asserted that human beings tend to think in short causal chains in which each effect has only a single cause.

Smuts (1926) used the “concept of Creativeness” (p. 119) to explain self-organisation and emergence in complex systems. Smuts (1926) emphasised that the whole is not an intermediate component between the system and change but that “the whole...is the parts in their intimate union, and the new reactions which result from that union.” (p. 118). These new reactions, according to Smuts (1926), are not the result of the “mechanical actions of the parts” (p. 118) as conceptualised by the traditional, scientific approach. Rather, Smuts (1926) argued that it points to the consequence of wholeness or holism: “Holism is of the parts and acts through the parts, but the parts in their new relation of intimate synthesis...give them their unified action” (p. 119).

Competition among the elements and subsystems within a complex system often drives self-organisation, especially in the face of finite resources (Cilliers, 1998, p. 94). However, cooperation also increases emergence between at least some units. Cooperation increases the complexity of a system as it influences variance in interactions such as frequency, consistency, and necessity of interaction patterns. Cooperation and mutual positive interaction patterns are, in fact, preconditions for a rich and meaningful structure (Cilliers, 1998, p. 94). Byrne (2014, p. 47) distinguished between two types of emergence. Micro emergence refers to the emergence of phenomena from the interaction between agents or individual system elements. Macro emergence refers to larger scale emergence through interactions between complex systems.

According to Cilliers (1998, p. 93) self-organisation is not driven by an attempt to perform a function. Although elements of a system become part of a larger complex system due to shared functions or goals, specific goals do not guide or determine larger complex systems (Cilliers, 1998, p. 93; Manson, 2001, p. 409). It is therefore difficult to talk about the function of a complex system. The functions of subsystems within a complex system can only be described in terms of the subsystem's function within the larger system. For example, one can describe the function of the endocrine system of a lion, but it is difficult simultaneously to talk about the function of the lion itself. It is therefore impossible to describe a complex system. However, the function of the whole system is ultimately an emergent process whereby it continually self-organises to adapt to increasing complex circumstances inside and outside the system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 92).

Nonlinear interaction is a precondition for self-organisation in a system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 95). A complex system is sensitive to small fluctuations in interactions between elements or changes in interaction patterns. The combination of nonlinear interaction patterns result in the formation of new interaction patterns (Cilliers, 1998, p. 95). As a result, small changes in

one interaction can cause large changes in the larger system (Cilliers, 1998, p. 95; Manson, 2001, p. 410). A relatively simple and unstructured system may therefore emerge as a system with a complex structure (Cilliers, 1998, p. 12). Emergent behaviour in a complex system is typically unexpected, unpredictable (Cilliers, 1998, p. 96; Manson, 2001, p. 410), and non-deterministic (Dekker, 2011, p. 157). This aspect of self-organisation is a hallmark of complex systems and makes the prediction of linear cause-effect relationship impossible. If cause and effect is perceivable, it will only be in retrospect. Furthermore, an exact effect might be a once-off result of nonlinear relationships, never to be repeated (Kurtz & Snowden, 2003). Thus, causal dynamics in complexity theory are “a kind of complex process of dynamic interweaving” (Jörg, 2011, p. 4). For this reason, De Toni and Comello (2010) regarded complexity as “the space of possibility.” (p. 40) as everything is possible in a complex system. However, only some of these possibilities and maybe even none of the possibilities may be fulfilled; it is impossible to predict with certainty the future state of a complex system. Consequently, De Toni and Comello (2010) expressed that complexity is the “mother of freedom of change” (p. 41) which “requires the acceptance of the possibility, the surprise and the novelty” (p. 410).

At times, self-organisation within a system is too fast for the system structure to accommodate it (Manson, 2011, p. 410). However, as system survival depends on the ability to adapt to its environment (Cilliers, 1998, p. 10), complex systems have the ability to reach a critical point without collapsing. This ability is referred to as self-organised criticality (Manson, 2001, p. 410).

Theory of self-organised criticality.

The theory of self-organised criticality, a form of self-organisation (Manson, 2001, p. 410), has been used to explain phenomena as diverse as political behaviour (Brunk, 2001),

earthquakes (Bak et al., 1992), and economic fluctuations (Scheinkman & Woodford, 1994). The theory holds that a self-organising system will aim to balance itself at a critical point between rigid order and chaos through sudden, unexpected, and far-reaching changes (Bak et al., 1992; Cilliers, 1998, p. 96). This could explain why a small change in one element or interaction can result in a large change in another (Manson, 2001, p. 410).

According to Bak et al., (1992), the prototypical example of such self-organised criticality is a sand pile. If one pours grains of sand onto a small disc, a pyramid of sand will form. While the slope of this pile is not steep, dropping additional grains of sand at randomly chosen sites will modify the shape of the pile in the immediate area in which the grains are dropped and will only have microscopic effects on the grains of sand on which additional grains of sand are dropped. However, when the sand pyramid has reached average height, sand will start to roll down the slope. This is because the slope of the pile has reached a critical slope where avalanches of all sizes can occur in response to the dropping of a single additional grain of sand. A large avalanche will collapse the pile of sand to a flatter and more stable configuration. Thus, when reaching the state of self-organised criticality, even one grain of sand has a macroscopic effect that influences not only the grains it touches but also grains far from it (Bak et al., 1992; Cilliers, 1998, p. 96). The example illustrates how, with the addition of sand, the pile changed from a stable system in which the effect of individual grains is local, into a critical system with global emergent dynamics (Frigg, 2003, p. 616). Even in a sub-critical state, changes in one element or part of the system is only sufficient to influence neighbouring elements (Bak et al., 1992, p. 2). At a certain point, however, a system will reach the critical point and one interaction or one change in one element can lead to effects that affect the entire system (Frigg, 2003, p. 616).

Through self-organised criticality, a system is able to change its state with the least amount of effort (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97). Self-organised criticality therefore increases the

robustness of a complex system (Bak et al., 1992). The system prevents itself from becoming too unstable and chaotic but also from becoming too rigid to respond to unexpected new information as "...a system that only behave chaotically is useless...a system that is too stable is handicapped" (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97). The concept of self-organised criticality is self-organised because this pattern occurs spontaneously without some centralised control (Frigg, 2003, p. 616). Attractors are a feature of complex systems as they adapt to novel situations (Rihani, 2002, p. 78) and are discussed below.

Attractors.

The behaviour of a system in the process of self-organisation is often visualised by describing it in state-space. State-space consists of separate dimensions for each independent variable for the system. A system with three variables will thus have a three-dimensional state-space (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97). When a complex system at a critical point attempts to reach balance between rigid order and total disorder, it will move through many states until it reached a desired state (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97; Rihani, 2002, pp. 78-79). When the trajectories of these many possible states of a system lead toward a specific point in state-space, that point is an attractor (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97). Attractors therefore describe the long-term behaviour of a complex system (Rihani, 2002, p. 78) and act as magnetic forces that pull complex systems into a particular trajectory (Gilstrap, 2005, p. 58).

Complex systems have more than one attractor pattern (Gilstrap, 2005, p. 58). A very stable system will have few strong attractors, while there might be many weak attractors in a very unstable system. During self-organisation, a system that has reached critical point would therefore aim to optimise the number of attractors available to it (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97). Attractors can refer to elements, whether a single person, groups, organisations, beliefs, or groups of interactions that attract interactions or actions (Bak et. al. 1992) into patterns of

interactions (Coleman, Vallacher, Nowak, & Bui-Wrzosinska, 2007, p.5) that moves a complex system towards given trajectories (Gilstrap, 2005, p. 58).

Various elements and patterns of interactions are considered to be attractors in complex systems. For example, Coleman et.al. (2007, p. 4) argued that intractable conflict in the Middle East is an attractor as it channels mental and behavioural experiences of agents in the conflict into a narrow range of coherent states. Bütz (1997, p. 21) proposed that in psychological therapy, a client is caught in the struggle of changing attractors when facing “the opposing forces of what are casually termed a healthy agenda and an unhealthy agenda” (p. 21). Bak et al. (1992, p. 3) regarded the critical state of a system as an attractor as a complex system naturally evolves towards this state. In the sphere of organisation theory, Gilstrap (2005, p. 62) regarded a shared vision within an organisation as an attractor, while Dolan et al., (2000, p. 10) included organisational values as attractors within organisations.

Attractors evolve over time in complex systems (Lucas, 2004) and can represent a place of equilibrium in a complex system as it tends to return to the attractor state, even after attempts at change from within the system (Coleman et. al., 2007, p.5). There are usually a number of attractors in a complex system (Lucas, 2004). A simple metaphor that captures the attractor concept represents a ball on a hilly landscape. This metaphor is portrayed in Figure 4.

Figure 4 illustrates two basic properties of attractors, namely (a) the basin of attraction and (b) the strength of the attractor. The first is a set of states that will evolve toward the attractor. The wider basin A in Figure 4 indicates that a wider variety of states will evolve toward Attractor A than toward Attractor B. Therefore, a wider range of ideas and actions connected to elements in a system are attracted towards the attractor. The depth of two valleys in Figure 4 portrays the strength of an attractor. Attractor B is a stronger attractor than Attractor A and would be more difficult to disrupt. When there is sufficient force to

dislodge a system from its current attractor, it would gravitate to another attractor (Coleman et. al., 2007, pp. 5-6).

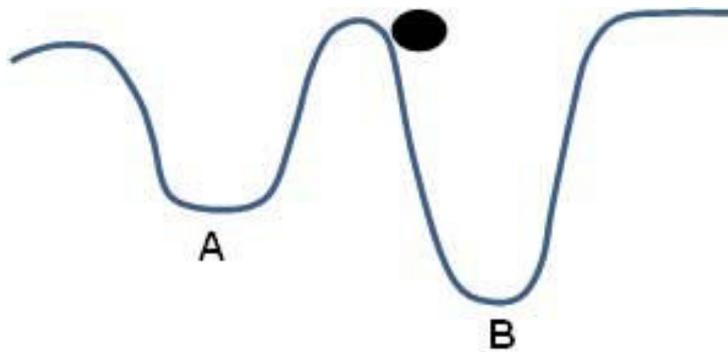


Figure 4. Two attractors, A and B, in one complex system. Attractor A is wider and will attract a wider variety of states. Attractor B is a stronger attractor and not easily disrupted. From “Intractable conflict as an attractor: A dynamical systems approach to conflict escalation and intractability,” by P.T. Coleman, R. R. Vallacher, E. Nowak, & L. Bui-Wrzosinska, 2007, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(11), p. 6. Copyright 2007 by American Behavioral Scientist.

Attractors attract interactions and refer to points of equilibrium in a system (Coleman et. al., 2007, p. 4). Repellers, on the other hand, refer to unstable points in a system as interactions lead away from this point. Sometimes interactions can be attracted and repelled by the same person, group of people, organisation, belief, or group of interactions, in which case it is known as meta-stable (Cilliers, 1998, p. 97).

Horgan (1995, p. 109) and Skyttner (2001, p. v) indicated that both systems and complexity theory have been criticised for attempting to be a universal theory or a “theory of everything” (Skyttner, 2001, p. v) which may offer a more abstract and general comprehension of phenomena, but sacrifice concrete explanations (Skyttner, 2001, p. v). Further limitations in the application of the complex systems theory are briefly discussed next.

Limitations of Complex Systems Theory

We cannot deal with reality in all its complexity. (Cilliers, 2001, p. 138)

According to Morgan (2005, p. 4) the complex systems approach is more an orientation or paradigm to explore real life than a formula to represent real life. This paradigm encourages the observer to look for patterns of interaction and underlying structures that shape the emergent patterns of behaviour in a system (Morgan, 2005, p. 4). The purpose being to understand why the complex system is robust and has the capability to function and survive under a variety of conditions (Cilliers, 1998, p. ix). The self-transformative nature of self-organisation means that the system is continually in a reflexive process of change. This does not allow for a static, complete, metalevel description of a complex system. The metalevel construction of a system would therefore only contain snapshots of the system as it existed at a given moment in time; “frozen moments that do not incorporate the residues of the past or shadows of the future” (Cilliers, 1998, p.109). It therefore focusses more on the effects of interactions than focussing on outcome prediction (Morgan, 2005, p. 4). The view of a system is therefore entirely dependent on when and under what conditions it was observed (Bütz, 1997, p. 9). Therefore, the complexity theory and systems theory can offer an explanation of the human trafficking system, but only an explanation that is local in time and place (Byrne, 2005, p. 97).

Complex systems ‘thinking’ can also be a demanding intellectual exercise that requires a multidisciplinary approach to identify a broad range of trends, events, patterns, and agents (Morgan, 2005, p.29). Another factor complicating the description is the fact that no complex system and its boundaries can be completely and perfectly defined as “there is no ‘pure’ position outside the system” (Cilliers, 2005, p. 606) which an observer can take to accurately determine the parameters of a complex system (Cilliers, 2005, p. 606; Morrison, 2008, p. 32).

According to Manson (2001), understanding and tracing the relationships of a single element is difficult and mapping them in an entire system “verges on the impossible” (p. 409) due to the variety and number of these interactions. Emergent social phenomena can disappear when one reduces the system into components. Therefore, a conceptually coherent view of a complex system is hard to link to reality (Manson, 2001, p. 411).

The darkness perspective is another limitation in the complex systems approach in that one can “never know it completely – we will always be in the shadow of the whole” (Richardson, 2004, p. 77). In addition, Cilliers (2000) argued that the nonlinear nature of interactions in a complex system makes complexity “incompressible” (p. 9). There can be no complete or accurate representation of a complex system, nor can it be simplified, as reducing complexity inevitably misrepresents complexity (Cilliers, 2000, p. 9). Therefore, Jörg (2011) asserted that “we cannot reach certainty of knowledge about the very complexity of complexity itself” (p. 5)

According to Morisson (2008, p. 29) both systems and complexity theory are descriptive theories which are able to offer post-hoc explanations for change and evolution in a complex system. These theories, however, are not able to predict change in a complex system, that is, be prescriptive theories. However, these theories may offer suggestions for practice, such as policies, but “it gives no guarantees” (Morrisson, 2008, p. 29).

Complex systems theory is “a child of a postmodern world” (Morrison, 2008, p. 30). Therefore, system participants at a particular socio-historical-geographical conjuncture construct knowledge about a particular system. Complex systems theory has therefore been dismissed by ‘hard sciences’ as being relativist (Morrison, 2008, pp. 30-31) and in need of “help in terms of empirical analysis” (Morgan, 2005, p. 28).

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the theoretical approach that informed the current study. It was emphasised that the traditional modernist reductionist approach to create knowledge regarding complex social problems proved inadequate to address the complexity inherent in these social problems. This approach attempts to understand complex social problems by isolating the different parts of the problem with the hope that assembling knowledge about the separate parts will result in a full understanding of the social problem. The main shortcoming of this reductionist method is that it discounts the non-linear interconnectedness between these separate parts. Thus, the traditional scientific approach is unable to conceptualise how the interrelationships between a myriad of factors, individuals, and organisations contribute to the development, preservation, and growth of the social problem.

A contrasting paradigm to knowledge creation about complex phenomena, which rejected the reductionist approach, emerged during the course of the 20th century. This approach, the complex systems approach, postulates that complex social problems should be understood in the contexts in which they occur. The complex systems approach also rejects linear, simple cause-effect relationships proposed by the traditional scientific approach. Instead, the complex systems approach postulated that non-linear cause and effect relationship between a myriad of elements present in complex social problems contributes to the complexity of social phenomena. This approach also favour a holistic view of social problems to facilitate knowledge creation which conceptualised the complex, dynamic interconnectedness between all the elements within these complex social problems and how these interrelationships contributes to changes in social systems.

The value of the complex systems approach is that it enables the description of “how things are” (Byrne, 2005, p.95) which may offer valuable suggestions for practical ways in

which to address complex social problems. The human trafficking system is one such complex social problem. As shown in chapter one, the broad aim of the current study was to explore and describe the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. The current study thus, did not attempt to follow a reductionist approach by separating the human trafficking system into separate parts such as the traffickers system or the victims of trafficking system. Rather, in the current study, knowledge about the interrelationships between all the different components of the holistic human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape was created through the complex systems approach. The human trafficking system consists of a myriad of components that contribute to the complexity of this social problem. The next chapter will describe the component parts that constitute the human trafficking system in order to create a more comprehensive understanding of this system before describing their interrelationships and interdependence within and between each other and the whole human trafficking system.

Chapter Three

Human Trafficking

Birds in cages sing of freedom; birds in freedom fly (Thorolf Rafto, cited in Svendson, 1990, p. 3)

Various authors have defined human trafficking as a multifaceted, highly complex, and multidimensional crime that encompasses a number of issues (Araujo, 2011, pp. 3, 5; Obakata, 2006, p. 38; Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, pp. 14, 17). It is therefore vital to have a sound and broad understanding of human trafficking in all its complexity. As interest, awareness, and the prevalence of human trafficking have grown, the amount of research generated globally has increased. In view of the magnitude of information generated internationally on human trafficking, the discussion in this chapter will mainly focus on human trafficking in South Africa although an international perspective will be included to provide a broader context regarding human trafficking in South Africa.

This review on human trafficking is introduced through a brief discussion about the development of international legislative initiatives in response to increased awareness of the crime of human trafficking in the international community (Fredette, 2009, pp. 103, 108). A definition of the crime of human trafficking, which was developed for the purpose of the international legislative instruments, is discussed. However, the process of defining the crime exposed the myriad of complexities of this multilayered crime (Araujo, 2011, p. 3).

After defining the crime, an overview of the magnitude and nature of human trafficking is provided. Complexities regarding the gathering of reliable, accurate statistics on the prevalence of human trafficking activities are discussed in more detail after which human trafficking on an international level is discussed briefly. A more detailed depiction of human

trafficking in South Africa is provided thereafter which entails a discussion about the magnitude of human trafficking in South Africa in which contextual issues, which have complicated the accurate measurement of the prevalence of the crime in South Africa, are highlighted. The nature of the crime in South Africa is elucidated by describing the forms of trafficking, trafficking flows, the characteristics of the victims of trafficking, and the perpetrators of the crime as revealed by research.

Human trafficking has been construed as a market-driven crime based on the principles of supply and demand involving three parties, namely the traffickers who traffic individuals, and the human supply who sell their services to those who demand it (Shively et al., 2012, p. iv). The characteristics of these three parties are described in terms of the nature of the traffickers' criminal activities, the effects of the trafficking situation on the victims of trafficking, and the characteristics of the demand component.

Human trafficking, as a complex, diverse, and multifaceted crime (Araujo, 2011, pp. 3, 5; Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, pp. 14, 17) requires an equally multifaceted and integrated multidisciplinary response to respond effectively to the fluid and systemic nature of organised crime involved in human trafficking (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). The discussion on counter-trafficking strategies and stakeholders starts with a broad overview an international counter-trafficking framework that reflected the first attempt to include a multidisciplinary approach in the combat of human trafficking (Wuiling, 2006, p. 46). Thereafter the South African legislative framework to address human trafficking is briefly discussed, followed by a discussion on the stakeholders in counter-trafficking namely government departments and agencies, civil society organisations (SCOs), and law enforcement and judicial agencies.

Human trafficking activities do not take place in a vacuum but are driven by systemic factors (Cluver, Bray, & Dawes, 2007, p. 253). These specific contextual factors are briefly discussed to highlight the systemic nature and the complexity of the context in which human

trafficking activities take place. Finally, the limitations of existing research on human trafficking are discussed in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved in human trafficking research.

International Legislative Framework on Human Trafficking

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2004, pp. 48-) indicated that the first system of globalised slavery was the transatlantic slave trade that involved several regions and continents namely Africa, North and South America, the Caribbean, and Europe. This slave trade continued for approximately four centuries and was sustained through the intellectual legitimisation of the systematic enslavement of black Africans through anti-black ideologies. Most notable was the Code Noir, a French edict of March 1685 which declared slaves to be “movable property” (p. 49). This code served as a model for similar edicts drafted in the 1700s. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2004, p. 49) estimated that between 15 and 18 million Africans were traded during this period. The transatlantic slavery system progressively was abolished between the late 1700s and late 1800s (Bravo, 2007, p. 2015).

The first instrument to prohibit slavery was the Declaration Relative to the Universal Abolition of the Slave Trade (Vienna Declaration) (1815) that was signed in 1815 (Bassiouni, 2008, p. 543). A number of other international instruments and documents to address the issue of slavery followed the Vienna Declaration. These instruments, however, only prohibited the trafficking of women, girls, and boys. For example, The International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children (1921) addressed the trafficking of women and children while the Slavery Convention (1926) was the first instrument that defined slavery and included forced labour (Bassiouni, 2008, p. 540). The United Nations adopted the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the

Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949). This convention prohibited trafficking in both females and males (Bassiouni, 2008, p. 572) and promoted the prosecution of perpetrators (Müller, 2010, p. 6). However, a comprehensive instrument to consolidate all the definitions and content of all the different international agreements was necessary. Hence, the United Nations Protocol to Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000), commonly known as the Palermo Protocol (2000), was adopted in December 2000. To date this is the most comprehensive international anti-trafficking instrument that also formed the foundation of international anti-trafficking legislation and actions (Hyland, 2001, p. 38). The Palermo Protocol (2000) is primarily a law enforcement instrument and focusses on the prevention and combating of human trafficking. It provides a comprehensive definition of the crime of human trafficking, specifies who should be prosecuted, includes provisions for the protection and assistance of trafficked persons, and instructs signees of the Protocol to adopt legislative and other measures necessary to criminalise trafficking (Müller, 2010, p. 8).

The Palermo Protocol's (2000) comprehensive and seemingly complex definition of the crime of human trafficking is divided into three constituent parts, illustrated in Figure 5. These parts are (a) mobilisation, which refers to what is done, that is, the act or the conduct of the traffickers, (b) means, which describe how it is done, that is, the method or means used by the trafficker to commit the acts mentioned under mobilisation, and (c) purpose, referring to why these acts are committed, that is, the purpose of the trafficker (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 46). The act and method aspects of the Palermo Protocol (2000) are discussed in more detail under the section dealing with the traffickers. The Palermo Protocol (2000) requires that only the 'act' and 'exploitative purpose' components of the definition be met when it involves the trafficking of a child, that is a person under the age of 18 years (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 53).

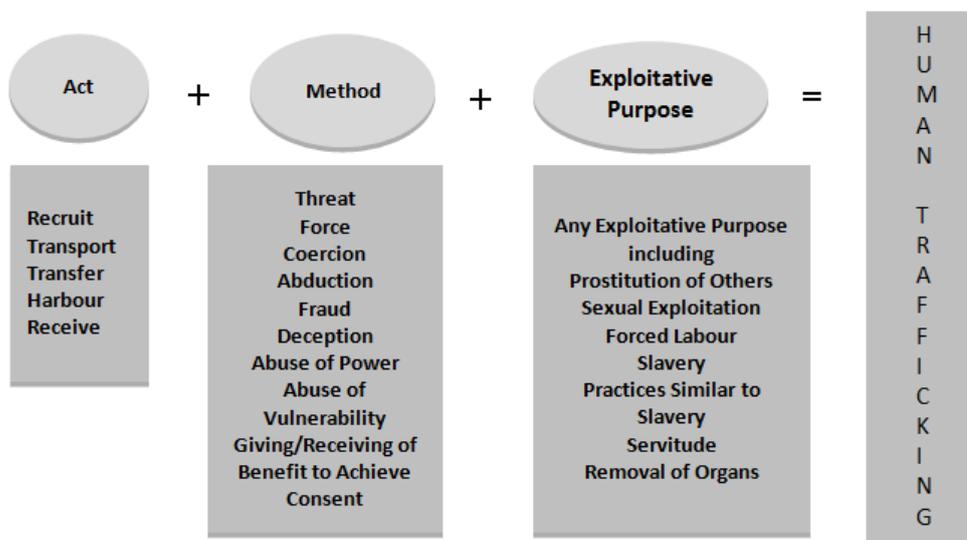


Figure 5. Constituent parts of the Palermo Protocol's (2000) definition of trafficking. From "Looking behind the mask of confusion: Towards a better understanding of human trafficking," by B. Kruger and H. Oosthuizen, 2011, *Child Abuse Research*, 12, p. 47. Copyright 2011 by the South African Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (SAPSAC).

The Palermo Protocol (2000) does not define the term exploitation but lists some common forms of exploitation, such as: "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" (Palermo Protocol, 2000: art. 3).

Kruger and Oosthuizen (2011, p. 50) elucidated that sexual exploitation can take different forms such as prostitution, sexual slavery, mail-order brides, forced marriages, the production of pornography, and sex tourism. Labour trafficking includes the supply of people for labour in different markets such as the domestic, agricultural, mining, fishery, industrial, construction, textile, garment, manufacturing, tourism, catering, and entertainment sectors. The trafficking of people to remove and sell their organs is prohibited but should not be confused with the trafficking of organs alone. The trafficking of persons for the exploitative purpose of removing other body parts such as skin, bone, cartilage, blood, and

corneas, also fall into the scope of the Palermo Protocol (2000), although not specifically listed (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 50).

One of the problems in formulating a definition of human trafficking is that the crime encompasses a wide range of activities, recruitment methods, types of exploitation, violations, and participants (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 46). As such, human trafficking even can be regarded as an umbrella term (Laczko & Gramegna, 2003, p. 181) or “blanket term” (Gould, 2006, p. 19) to cover a range of diverse actions and outcomes. The broad definition of human trafficking as expressed in the Palermo Protocol (2000), highlights how difficult it is to formulate an exact definition of the crime “given the multilayered and varying nature of the criminal activity” (Araujo, 2011, p. 3). Formulating a definition, however, is essential in order to identify and define a problem before it can be addressed (Araujo, 2011, p. 3). Some complexities regarding the identification and definition of human trafficking are examined next.

Difficulties with definition.

Gould (2006, p. 15) aptly noted that human trafficking is “a slippery concept, something that is hard to pin down and come to grips with” (p. 15). Therefore, in an attempt to “cast the net widely enough to capture all the perpetrators in the chain of deception and abuse” (Gould, 2006, p. 20), the Palermo Protocol (2000)’s definition of human trafficking was purposefully constructed to be broad.

While a broad definition of human trafficking was necessary, it was also required that it be clear as human trafficking shares a number of components with other activities such as prostitution (Gould, 2010, p. 32), human smuggling, and migration (Araujo, 2011, p. 4). The area of conflation between prostitution and human trafficking (Gould, 2006, p. 21) and the issue of consent was an especially contentious issue at the time the Palermo Protocol’s (2000)

definition of human trafficking for sexual exploitation was formulated. The issue of consent provoked much debate from the feminist lobby at the time. The debate focussed on whether adults who entered prostitution voluntarily, that is, none of the prohibited methods in the Palermo Protocol (2000) were used to obtain their consent, still constituted trafficking (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 54).

This debate can be best understood from the feminist perspective that itself contains two main ideologies around the view of voluntary prostitution. On the one hand, there is the belief that prostitution can be a legitimate choice of employment (Gould, 2006, p. 21). This view acknowledges that prostitution might not be the optimal way for women to earn an income. However, when prostitution is legalised, the rights of women involved in prostitution are supported and enhanced (Bonhuys, 2012, p. 13). A voluntary, non-coerced choice to do sex work, in this view therefore does not constitute exploitation and therefore the proponents of this perspective believed the Palermo Protocol (2000) should only apply to non-consensual prostitution (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 54). The proponents of this view opposed the inclusion of the word “deceit” into the definition of human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol (2000) as it was interpreted as denoting an underlying reasoning that women could not enter the sex industry voluntarily, and therefore had to be coerced or deceived (Gould, 2010, p. 41).

On the other hand, feminist abolitionists such as the Coalition against the Trafficking of Women (CATW) regarded even consensual prostitution as exploitation and a violation of human rights (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 54). This perspective argued that a patriarchal system created a context in which it was necessary to distinguish between ‘choice’ and ‘free choice’ (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012, p. 236). From this point of view, it can be argued that the decision to enter prostitution may be influenced by a complex range of factors and therefore, engaging in prostitution cannot be regarded as freely chosen. In a context of socio-

economic deprivation, marginalisation, and violence, the notion of ‘survival sex’ in which a person decides to engage in prostitution only because other options for income are very limited, applies (De Sas Kropiwnicki, 2012, p. 236). Therefore, consent to take part in prostitution cannot be regarded as true consent (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 57). This view emphasises the prosecution of both traffickers and the persons who make use of the services of prostitutes, while the decriminalising of prostitutes as in the Swedish model is supported (Bonthuys, 2012, pp. 13, 17). Bales (2005, p. 131) illustrated the complexities involved in the definition of human trafficking and the area of consent through an example of the use of deceit in the mobilisation phase and the occult and debt bondage as the means of controlling the exploited woman. A young Nigerian woman consented to work as a prostituted woman in Italy. On arriving in Italy, she found that she had to repay an enormous sum of money. In addition, a traditional Nigerian occult practice where a sachet of her blood, hair, and nail clippings was collected, gave the traffickers psychological power over her (Bales, 2005, p. 131).

Member states signed and ratified the Palermo Protocol (2000), thereby acceding to the expectation that trafficked persons would be protected and assisted, traffickers would be prosecuted, and that members would cooperate with other states to reach these objectives. Translating these expectations into practice, however, has proven to be problematic as seen in the low conviction rate of traffickers globally and the probability that most trafficked persons are not identified as victims of the crime (Araujo, 2011, p. 3).

South Africa signed the Palermo Protocol (2000) on December 14, 2000 (Hamman, 2011, p. 13) and ratified it in 2004 (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 54). When a country ratifies the Palermo Protocol (2000), it is obligated to incorporate human trafficking as a crime based on the definition of the Palermo Protocol (2000) into its own legislation and to prosecute traffickers accordingly (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12; Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p.

54). The South African counter-trafficking legislative response, however, was slow to develop, and for many years was fragmented and not in full compliance with international counter-trafficking standards (Kruger, 2012, p. 252).

The United States Department of State releases an annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report to monitor human trafficking activities in specific countries. The aim of the TIP report is to free trafficked persons, prevent human trafficking, and bring traffickers to justice. The annual TIP report includes recommendations for the prosecution of traffickers, protection of victims, and prevention for each country. The United States Government uses information from this report to engage foreign governments in dialogue to advance counter-trafficking reforms (United States Department of State, 2013).

Every year, the report ranks countries on their achievements in addressing human trafficking in their own country (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12) according to the United States' Trafficking Victims Protection Acts' (TVPA) minimum standards (United States Department of State, 2013). Countries can receive one of four possible rankings: Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, and Tier 3. Only Tier 1 ranking indicates which countries' governments have fully complied with the TVPA minimum standards. The other tiers are non-compliant and vary in terms of their level of effort to reach compliance. Countries ranked Tier 3, the worst performing category, are ineligible to receive non-humanitarian, non-trade aid in the following fiscal year (Sisken & Wyler, 2013, p. 12) or until they make significant efforts to comply with the TVPA minimum standards (Gallinetti, 2010, p. 15).

Tier 2 Watch List refers to countries whose governments are making efforts to comply but have failed to provide evidence that they are making increasing efforts in counter-trafficking activities compared to the previous year's report (United States Department of State, 2013). South Africa was placed on the Tier 2 Watch List from 2004 to 2009 due to the government's inability to meet the minimum standards of the TVPA for the elimination of

human trafficking in South Africa (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12). South Africa was re-classified as Tier 2 in 2010 when the government showed more commitment to enact comprehensive counter-trafficking legislation (Dinah, 2012, p. 66).

Human trafficking is a globalised crime reported in many countries and regions including Western, Central and Eastern Europe, India, West Africa (Van den Anker, 2004), Latin America, North America (Shelley, 2007, p. 119), Asian countries such as Thailand, China, Cambodia, and Vietnam (Obakata, 2006, p. 40), the Middle-East (Vlieger, 2011, p. 1), and the United Kingdom (Obakata, 2006, p. 41). A brief discussion on the global picture of human trafficking follows and includes a short discussion of human trafficking on the African continent, after which human trafficking in South Africa is explored in more detail.

A Broad Picture of Human Trafficking

The past few decades have seen growth in transnational crimes such as drug and human trafficking (Shelley, 2007, p. 116). Among the many issues debated regarding the trafficking of human beings, the international community, civil society organisations (CSOs), and researchers have all agreed on one issue: there is a lack of reliable data on human trafficking (Di Nicola, 2007; Kangaspunta, 2003). Difficulties around the issue of reliable data on the magnitude of human trafficking are discussed before a broad overview of its global dimension is provided.

Difficulty with establishing the magnitude of global human trafficking.

De Sas Kropiwnicki (2012) observed that many research reports on human trafficking started with a “standard caveat” (p. 253) about the lack of reliable information regarding the exact scope of trafficking. Although researchers such as Lazos (2007, p. 103) considered statistics as generalizable but “formal and abstract, contentless form of expression” (p. 103), he also admitted that the public and state authorities respect statistics and identify it as

‘science’ (p. 103). However, reliable information about human trafficking is necessary to address the crime and to prevent the creation of human trafficking policies guided by research skewed through rhetoric and ideology (Vermeulen, 2007, p. 107). Di Nicola (2007, p. 61), however, noted that unfortunately “a wide and contradictory range of figures” (p.61) are quoted by researchers “with no regard to the estimation criteria used” (p. 61). In addition, Weitzer (2012, p. 1354) noted that that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and interest groups supporting certain policies tend to generate figures, “not derived from careful research” (p. 1354), for the purpose of advocacy. Gallagher (2014) asserted that human trafficking might be too complex to be accurately represented through statistics. However, as the anti-trafficking field regard statistics as a valid indicator with which to drive global anti-trafficking initiatives, Gallagher (2014) concluded that:

This creates an almost irresistible temptation to make a silk purse out of a very tattered sow’s ear: to harness the power of statistics and number to create an illusion of concreteness that masks the slipperiness of what we are counting” (para. 5).

Methodological difficulties have hampered the accuracy of estimates of the magnitude of human trafficking. In 2006, the United States (US) Government Accountability Office (GAO) (2006, p. 2) released a report casting doubt on the methodology and reliability of official US Government figures. For example, the US government’s estimate that 600 000 to 800 000 persons were trafficked across international borders was developed by a single person who did not document all his work. The estimate may therefore not be replicable, casting doubt on the reliability of the estimate (United States Government Accountability Office, 2006, p. 2). Many of the global estimates do not contain information on how the figures were calculated and by who it was calculated, casting more doubt on the accuracy of the figures (Di Nicola, 2007, p. 61).

Another attempt at calculating the number of people in human trafficking situations was discredited due to a weak statistical methodology. The Walk Free Foundation (2014, p. 6) estimated that globally 35.8 million people find themselves in a human trafficking situation. However, Gallagher (2014) criticised the methodology of this report as “extremely crude” (para. 7) as “fragile sample data” (para. 8) from 19 countries was extrapolated across 148 countries.

A global problem is that data on illegal, taboo, and underground activities are unreliable which makes it very hard to attain reliable numbers or proportions of persons who are trafficked (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 264; Hicks, 2010, p. 107). One of the main complexities of human trafficking is that it is hidden with a high ‘dark number’, which makes it hard to identify (Aromaa, 2007, p. 20). It is a basic fact that criminals often go to great lengths to conceal their criminal activities (Bales, 2005, p. 88). Part of the problem in accessing a hidden population is the stigmatisation and commission of illegal acts that makes members of a hidden population reluctant to cooperate or to give misleading information when approached by researchers in an effort to protect themselves (Di Nicola, 2007, p. 53). The tendency of trafficked persons to remain hidden is explained by prominent human trafficking activist Benjamin Skinner (Long, 2012): “These are not people who stand in line, raise their hands, and wait to be counted. They’re in many cases victims that are convinced that their very survival relies on keeping their victimization hidden” (p. 22). Other limitations in data gathering of global statistics include the varying natures of national criminal justice systems. For example, statistics on some forms of human trafficking may not be gathered nationally if there are no laws against such crimes (Sisken & Wyler, 2013, p. 8).

Difficulties with the definition of human trafficking have limited the usefulness of research generated (Di Nicola, 2007, p. 52). The differences between national definitions of human trafficking between countries and definitions changing over time as new laws are

enacted, makes a comparison of data over time challenging (Sisken & Wyler, 2013, p. 8). Many countries lack a centralised database for human trafficking and various government bodies may also collect and provide discrepant statistics for the same measure of anti-trafficking enforcement (Sisken & Wyler, 2013, p. 8). Another difficulty with collecting statistics on human trafficking is that when a strictly legal definition of human trafficking is used for data collection, many incidents of human trafficking, where it converges with conflating crimes such as human smuggling, are excluded from statistics. In practice, the boundaries between these two crimes are not as clear as legislation suggests (Di Nicola, 2007, p. 52). Human smuggling that starts out as a migratory practice can turn into a trafficking situation. At times, the abusive practices that take place during human smuggling can mimic human trafficking practices, making it difficult to distinguish between the two crimes (Horwood, 2009, p. 5).

Due to these limitations, researchers often are forced to resort to indirect sources and construct their own operational models to “get at least a little closer to the elusive target” (Aromaa, 2007, p. 20). These severe limitations with data about human trafficking have resulted in estimates of trafficking that have “varied wildly” (Sisken & Wyler, 2013, p.7). This has contributed to “persistent questions about the true scope and severity” (p. 7) of human trafficking with researchers surmising that the extent of human trafficking is either over- or underestimated. For example, Gould (2006, p. 19; 2007, p. 8) and Di Nicola (2007, p. 61) argued that estimates were inflated to serve the interests of politicians and organisations who aim to divert financial resources towards anti-trafficking activities. Other authors such as Cluver et al., (2007, p. 264) and Di Nicola, (2007, p. 53), on the other hand, noted that due to the clandestine nature of human trafficking, it is likely that report-driven data on hidden populations ultimately under-represents the problem. Di Nicola (2007, p. 53)

asserted that “we cannot see and we cannot count a hidden population...what we see or know is only a part of the entire population” (p.53).

Ideological and political factors may also lead to underreporting of human trafficking figures. For example, Bales (2005, p. 89) argued that some governments may aim to demonstrate that there have been few violations of international treaties on exploitative labour practices and human trafficking in their countries. This interferes with the collection, analysis, and interpretation of information, suggesting that human trafficking figures in these contexts might be lower than the actual figures (Bales, 2005, p. 89).

Even though limitations exist which severely hamper the accuracy of estimates, there have been numerous attempts to make accurate estimations of the scope of human trafficking. In 1997, a United States government estimate suggested that 700 000 women and children might be trafficked globally across borders. If trafficking within countries were to be included, the United States government estimated that between 2 million to 4 million people were trafficked annually (Sisken & Wyler, 2013, p. 7).

Several researchers, academics, and non-governmental organisations have also conducted studies to estimate the global scope of human trafficking. In 2005, the International Labour Organization (ILO) published the first global estimate of forced labour which concluded that a minimum of 12.3 million persons were in forced labour at any point in time between 1995 and 2004. In 2012, the ILO used an improved methodological model with stricter data validation and extrapolation criteria compared to the ILO’s 2005 and 2009 global estimate reports (International Labour Organization, 2012b). The ILO (2012a) was quick to point out, however, that it was not yet producing “sufficiently robust [data] to monitor trends at national, regional, and global levels” (para. 25).

The ILO (2012a, p. 13) concluded that 20.9 million individuals are subjected to forced labour, including labour and sex trafficking as well as state-imposed forms of forced labour.

It is not known, however, how many of these persons were trafficked (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, p. 1). Furthermore, the ILO (2012a, p. 13) estimated that 4.5 million people were in situations of forced sexual exploitation, while 55% of all people in forced labour were women and girls. Despite the limitation in gathering data, research on human trafficking has grown dramatically since the 1990s and has provided increased information regarding the global occurrence of human trafficking (Pharaoh, 2006, p. 13).

Human trafficking: A broad international picture.

A United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2012, p. 7) report indicated that women and children were the most vulnerable to being trafficked and estimated that women and girls accounted for 75% of all people trafficked, with 27% of all trafficked persons detected globally being children. The 2014 TIP Report (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 9) reported that globally, nearly one third of all detected human trafficking victims were children. In Africa and Middle East, children comprise a majority of detected victims of trafficking (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 11). The UNODC further indicated that people trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation accounted for 58% of all detected cases of human trafficking globally, while 36% of detected cases were people trafficked for forced labour and trafficking for begging accounted for about 1.5% of trafficked cases detected. Trafficking for the removal of organs was detected in 16 countries. Despite the large estimates of the number of people in trafficking situations globally, only a fraction of these are identified. The 2013 TIP Report (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 46) indicated that 46 500 trafficked persons were identified globally in 2012, compared to 30 961 in 2008.

Various forms of human trafficking were reported globally involving adults and children. These were sex trafficking, forced labour, involuntary domestic servitude, use as child

soldiers, forced marriage, forced begging, pornography, the selling of children through pornographic Internet sites to paedophiles or paedophile rings, forced drug dealing, debt bondage, and organ harvesting, (Araujo, 2011, p. 2; Cluver et al., 2007, p. 259; Ebbe, 2008, p. 21). The 2013 TIP Report (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 35) noted that there was a growing awareness globally that men and boys are subjected to trafficking for labour and sex trafficking in a number of countries. The report (2013, p. 35) documented that males were exploited in agriculture, construction, mining, and logging industries globally such as the exploitation of Burmese and Cambodian men and boys on Asian fishing vessels. In Afghanistan and coastal Sri Lanka, boys are more likely than girls to be forced into prostitution, while Brazilian men were identified in situations of forced prostitution in Spain (United States Department of States 2013, p. 35). Regional differences exist concerning the main form of human trafficking. The United States Department of State (2014, p. 9) reported trafficking for sexual exploitation was the most prevalent form identified in Europe and Central Asia. Forced labour was the most prevalent form of human trafficking in East Asia and the Pacific. In North and South America, these two forms of human trafficking were detected in near equal proportions (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 9).

Although accurate statistics are not available, research resulted in a thorough understanding of the pattern of trafficking flows. For instance, the UNODC (2012, p. 7) detected approximately 460 different trafficking flows. Generally, trafficking tends to take place from more impoverished to more affluent regions (Bales, 2005, p. 151). For example, Ebbe (2008, p. 17) noted that trafficked women and children originate from poorer regions such as east and Central Europe, east and Southeast Asia, South and Central America, including Mexico, and Africa. Destination countries, on the other hand, are more the affluent countries in Western Europe, North America, the Middle East, Japan, and Australia (Ebbe, 2008, p. 17). The most prominent transnational flow documented between 2007 and 2010

was a trafficking flow originating in East Asia. However, 70% of trafficked persons detected in the Middle East were from other regions (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, p. 7). Not all trafficked persons are moved from impoverished to regions that are more prosperous. The UNODC (2012, p. 7) reported that almost half of people trafficked globally were trafficked across national borders but remained within the same region. Trafficking within a country's borders accounted for 27% of all global trafficking cases between 2007 and 2010 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, p. 7). Some countries also served as both origination and destination countries such as India, Nigeria, Russia, Hungary, South Africa, and Kenya (Ebbe, 2008, p. 18). The United States Department of State (2014, pp. 7-8) highlighted the transnational nature of human trafficking. Trafficked persons with citizenships from 152 countries in 124 destination countries were identified between 2007 and 2010. More than six in ten of all victims of trafficking identified between 2010 and 2012 were trafficked across at least one national border (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 8).

A myriad of factors contributed to the global presence of human trafficking such as the political, economic, social, or historical contexts in the source or destination country (Bales, 2005, p. 139). For example, Obakata (2006, p. 42) argued that the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991 resulted in economic reforms which led to greater unemployment in eastern Europe. This encouraged the trafficking of persons to the more affluent western Europe and the United Kingdom. In another example, Obakata (2006, p. 44) argued that it is a tolerated practice in Thailand for parents to sell their children and women into prostitution. The lack of educational and employment opportunities for women in emerging economies are contextual factors that have made them susceptible for to exploitation by traffickers (Obakata, 2006, p. 44).

There has been little research on the human traffickers (Troshynski & Blank, 2008, p. 32). However, research has revealed that different types of people are involved in the trafficking process, ranging from family members, relatives, friends, acquaintances, labour brokers, and organised crime (Obakata, 2006, p. 46). The highly organised Russian, Ukrainian, Chinese triads, and Japanese Yakuza crime syndicates have been found to be involved in human trafficking activities globally. Also involved in human trafficking are Latin American, Mexican, and Nigerian human traffickers who tend to operate as individuals, primary groups, and small ad hoc groups connected in loose crime networks (Ebbe, 2008, p. 21). Nigerian criminal networks extend into European countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, and Italy where they operate in the European sex industries (Loubser, 2009, p. 58).

The 2014 TIP Report (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 14) presented a typology of the type of human trafficking operations found internationally. The typology is organised according to the transnational nature of transnational flows of victims, the number of trafficked people victimised at the same time, and the constancy and endurance of the trafficking operation. The report distinguished between small local operations, medium sub regional operations, and large transnational operations. Small operations require very limited organisation as they conduct domestic or short-distance trafficking of a small number of victims by a single or a few traffickers such as a Nigerian case in which a woman trafficked two young boys into street hawking. Small operators often traffic intimate partners (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 45).

According to the United States Department of State (2014, p. 14) large transnational operations, on the other hand, are sophisticated organisations that traffic a large number of victims, involves many traffickers, and generates high profits. One such complex, resourceful transnational operation that illustrated the complexity and resourcefulness of a

single transnational operation was a Nigerian crime network that reportedly trafficked a steady flow of victims from West Africa to Western Europe. One victim found and assisted in Norway was smuggled illegally from west Africa through north Africa, and south eastern Europe until she reached Norway. The United States Department of State (2013, p. 45) emphasised that a considerable level of organisation is required to facilitate illegal immigration along the route used in this case. Traffickers in this Nigerian crime organisation also had contact with the victim's family members in Africa and different parts of Europe. Through threats to her family members, the victim was coerced to repay debt of 50 000 euro to her traffickers through sexual exploitation (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 45).

The number of convictions of traffickers is relatively low when compared to the number of victims identified. The UNODC Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (2012, p. 7) noted that in the 132 countries covered by the report, 16% did not have a single conviction of a trafficker between 2007 and 2010. The 2013 TIP report by the United States Department of State (2013, p. 46) reported that globally 4746 convictions of traffickers were achieved between July 2012 and June 2013 while there were 7705 prosecutions of traffickers. In the same period, 46500 trafficked persons were identified (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 46).

The practice of slavery and the slave trade using African people were common in ancient civilisations such as the Roman and Ottoman Empires. From the 15th century, brisk trade of African slaves took place in Europe, England, and the United States (Obokata, 2006, p. 11). In its modern form, human trafficking, slavery still takes place in Africa.

Human trafficking in Africa.

Historically, a variety of male-dominated migration configurations such as cross-border movements, migrant labourers, refugees, and displaced persons were common in Africa (Adepoju, 2005, p. 76). Human trafficking in Africa, however, involves the movement and exploitation of men, women, and children for various forms of forced labour and sexual exploitation (Adepoju, 2005, p. 76).

Data on the scope of human trafficking on the African continent are lacking due to inadequate data capturing of human trafficking on the continent (Adepoju, 2005, p. 84). There are, however, some data on the number of victims, prosecutions, and convictions available. The 2013 TIP report (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 57) indicated that 10 043 trafficked persons were identified between July 2012 and June 2013 in Africa. In the same period, prosecutions of 493 traffickers took place while 252 traffickers were convicted. The ILO (2012a, p. 15) estimated that four out of every 1000 Africans were in forced labour situations. The 2014 TIP Report (United States Department of State, 2014) revealed that 10 096 victims of trafficking were identified in Africa between July 2013 and June 2014, while 341 convictions took place on the continent in the same reporting period.

The media can also be a source of information on human trafficking, although this information is “utterly without organisation” (Bales, 2005, p. 101). The LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness Index (HTA Index) (2013) is an attempt to organise information on human trafficking published in the media. The HTA Index was compiled by analysing 1 763 articles published by African media between August 2011 and August 2013. It revealed 5 450 potential victims of trafficking on the continent; more than half of these trafficked persons were children. This figure excludes South African data. According to the HTA Index, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Rwanda, Uganda, and Egypt reported the largest number of human trafficking incidents. The main types of

exploitation shown in the HTA Index for Africa were the forced recruitment of child soldiers, exploitative child labour, illegal adoptions and ‘baby factories’, sexual exploitation and sexual slavery, and asylum seekers who turn to human smugglers and traffickers to secure entrance into a country (LexisNexis, 2013). Traditional exploitative child labour practices on the continent were also shown to be human trafficking by researchers such as Derby (2010, p. 191) who uncovered a traditional practice of trafficking children as young as four to serve as aides for fishermen in Ghana. However, even though human trafficking activities are reportedly rife in the sub-Saharan region, more than 30% of countries in the region have only partial legislation or no specific anti-human trafficking legislation. Due to the lack of legislation, most sub-Saharan countries report very low numbers of convictions (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 85).

Trafficking flows in Africa have been described as complex and dependent on factors such as geographical proximity, availability of public transport, ease of crossing borders, and the presence of organised crime networks in a country or on the trafficking route (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005, p. 13). Almost all human trafficking flows originating in Africa were directed either towards other African countries and the Middle East or towards Western Europe (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, p. 7). The United States Department of State (2014, p. 83) reported that domestic trafficking and “short range” (p. 83) cross border trafficking flows accounts for more than three quarters of detected victims in sub-Saharan Africa.

Some countries, like Nigeria and South Africa, serve as a source, transit, and destination of human trafficking (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005, p. 7). According to Odigie and Patience (2008, pp. 63 -66) human trafficking was “highly prevalent” (p. 63) in Nigeria. Within the country, there are well-established internal trafficking practices such as the trafficking of children and disabled persons into organised

begging and “baby harvesting” (p. 65), the illegal adoption of teenage and single mothers’ babies for large amounts of money. Cross-border trafficking takes place to Europe, other African countries, the Middle East, and South America. A unique feature in the Nigerian human trafficking context is the use of voodoo traditions with which traffickers exert psychological pressure on victims of trafficking to ensure compliance (Odigie & Patience, 2008, p. 70). Ibeh (2013, para. 1) reported that Nigeria’s Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) warned the country’s citizens against making use of fraudulent travel and immigration agencies. These agencies ask a fee to place Nigerians in overseas positions or scholarships, but unknowingly provide them with fraudulent passports, visas, and supporting documents.

There is a dearth on research on human trafficking in South Africa’s neighbouring countries, although existing studies suggests that “a diverse range of human trafficking activities” occurs in the region (Martens et al., 2003, p. 15). Martens et al., (2003) investigated human trafficking in southern Africa. The study largely focussed on understanding trafficking flows into South Africa from other countries, but uncovered that South Africa’s neighbouring countries are origin, transit, and destination countries for human trafficking.

A baseline study of human trafficking in Namibia (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, 2009, p. 11) found cases of sexual exploitation and forced labour in the country. The study highlighted the lack of knowledge about human trafficking in the country as well as the inadequacy of the existing legal framework to address human trafficking (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, 2009, p. 12).

Human trafficking research in Mozambique (Boaventura et al., 2006, p. 14) revealed that it was a country of origin, transit, and destination for human trafficking. The most prevalent forms of human trafficking were forced labour, and sexual exploitation of mostly women and

children (Boaventura et al., 2006, p. 14). Cases of men and boys trafficked into forced labour were also found (International Organisation for Migration, 2006, p. 23). A disturbing practice revealed by research was an increase of trafficking of humans for the sale of body parts used as muti (Fellows, 2008) and organ harvesting for transplantation (Boaventura et al., 2006, p. 24) in Mozambique. Muti is the Zulu word for medicine. The normative use of the word refers to potions made from indigenous herbs but has been expanded to include the use of body parts which is believed would enhance fertility or ensure economic success (Bermudez, 2008, p. 6).

According to Nkiwane and Muso (2007) Lesotho was mainly a country of origin and transit of children and women into South Africa, facilitated by Lesotho's porous border and poor border control. Internal and international trafficking in Lesotho was largely for the purpose of sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, agricultural forced labour, and forced marriage. Boys were also trafficked to work as herd-boys within Lesotho itself (Nkiwane & Muso, 2007).

The IOM (2006, p. 23) stated that Zimbabwe is a source, transit, and destination country for adults and children who are either trafficked internally or to other countries such as South Africa, China, Egypt, and other African countries. Women and girls, recruited with false job or scholarship promises, were trafficked into domestic servitude, commercial sexual exploitation (International Organisation for Migration, 2006, p. 23), or forced labour on farms (Kropiwnicky, 2010, p. 40). Kropiwnicky (2010, p. 41) also revealed that adults and children were trafficked from Zimbabwe to South Africa for the purpose of criminal activity such as the selling of drugs or the smuggling of illegal cigarettes. Anecdotes of persons who were smuggled into South Africa with their consent, but were then forced to commit criminal acts in South Africa, were also reported (Kropiwnicky, 2010, p. 41).

As the largest economy on the African continent (World Bank, 2013b, p. 35), South Africa seems to offer attractive opportunities for migrants. However, South Africa also offers demands for services which traffickers are ready to satisfy by exploiting vulnerable persons (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 18). As a result, South Africa has been described as a “trafficking hub” (Araujo, 2011, p. 4) that serves as a source, transit, and destination country for trafficked men, women, and children (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010: xiii).

Human trafficking in South Africa.

Earlier in the chapter, the lack of accurate statistics on the magnitude of human trafficking internationally was discussed. In South Africa, a similar lack of empirically validated data on the actual prevalence of human trafficking exists (Horne, 2011, p. 26; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xii). In the following paragraphs, the specific reasons for the dearth of statistics are explored, followed by a brief overview of the nature of human trafficking in South Africa with reference to the types of human trafficking reported, persons vulnerable to be trafficked, characteristics of traffickers, and trafficking routes.

Magnitude of human trafficking in South Africa.

Multiple interacting factors sabotage the generation of accurate statistics on human trafficking in South Africa. The first is that no centralised database exists in South Africa (Hicks, 2010, p. 107; Horne, 2011, p. 26) neither is there a single central organisation that is responsible for the “collection, collation, analysis, and harmonisation of trafficking statistics” (Horne, 2011, p. 26). Instead, different government departments and NGOs have different reporting structures that use diverse classification systems (Hosken, 2013, para. 6). Many cases of human trafficking when identified as such by the South African Police Service (SAPS) could not be captured on their Central Administration System (CAS) as there was no crime code for child trafficking on this data capturing system. If a child trafficking case was

reported to the police, it was captured as abduction or kidnapping (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 20).

The second factor, related to the first, was the lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation. Without such legislation, human trafficking cases could not be captured and registered as such on the South African Police Service's (SAPS) CAS (Horne, 2011, p. 25).

The third reason for the lack of accurate statistics on the scope of human trafficking in South Africa relates to difficulties with the accurate identification of human trafficking cases. One of the main reasons for not identifying a trafficked person is due to the lack of knowledge about human trafficking by members of SAPS (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 18), prosecutors, immigration officials, and other service providers (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xvi). A human trafficking case could therefore be misclassified as prostitution, child delinquency (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 18), smuggling of humans (Horne, 2011, p. 25), or sexual abuse (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xvi).

The fourth reason relates to the complexities surrounding the definition of human trafficking that complicates the gathering of accurate statistics (Gould, 2006, p. 21). For instance, Gould (2006) reflected how distinguishing trafficked persons from "self-identified sex workers who have been abused, raped, or exploited" (p.21) complicated the situation for police officers in the accurate identification of trafficked persons.

Accurate statistics on the scope and prevalence of the crime in a country is essential for a number of reasons. First, statistics play a very important role in the criminal justice system (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 20) and assist law enforcement to better understand the extent of the problem (Horne, 2011, p. 25). Without accurate statistics, for example, human trafficking trends per region cannot be monitored (Ngwira, 2011, p. 107). Second, the systematic collection and analysis of data from sources such as NGOs, the National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa (NPA), the Department of Social Development (DSD), and SAPS

could aid the understanding of the nature and extent of human trafficking in South Africa to inform resource allocation and victim assistance programs (Gould, 2006, pp. 24-25).

Accurate statistics, however, require departmental co-operation, an agreed method of gathering and recording information, and a centrally administered database (Gould, 2006, p. 24) which has been largely absent in South Africa (United States Department of State, 2013).

The DSD is the only government department that has a database on trafficked persons assisted by this department. DSD statistics for 2012 indicated that its accredited shelters hosted 43 foreign and 44 South African trafficked persons, an increase from the 59 trafficked persons referred to these shelters in 2011 (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 335). It further reported that accredited shelters hosted 93 victims of trafficking in 2013, compared to 87 victims in 2012 (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 350).

An attempt at a centralised database in South Africa was created by content and technology solutions provider LexisNexis South Africa through a search of articles published by the South African media between August 2011 and August 2013 (LexisNexis, 2013, p. 4). The first LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness Index (HTA Index) was released in November 2013. The database mapped trends, incidents of human trafficking, and victim and trafficker profiles from 655 unique articles. The first report released in November 2013 revealed that 540 people, including 67 children were potentially trafficked into and within South Africa since 2011. According to this report, 96 people were trafficked for sexual exploitation, 271 for forced labour, 90 for organ trafficking, four for forced marriages, and two as drug mules (LexisNexis, 2013, p. 4). The report identified a number of new phenomena in human trafficking in South Africa. The first was that of people selling their children for adoption and sex (Hosken, 2013, para. 2). The other was that traffickers were transitioning from using trafficked people only for sexual exploitation to also using them as drug mules (LexisNexis, 2013, p. 4).

Non-governmental organisations such as the IOM, involved in counter-trafficking activities, also collect data (Laczko 2007, p. 41). The IOM managed a victim assistance programme in South Africa between 2003 and 2010. From January 2004 to January 2010, the organisation identified and assisted 315 trafficked persons including 57 children. The trafficked persons were from South Africa, other African countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Mozambique and Eastern Europe, the Philippines, China, India, and Thailand (Tørres & Du Toit, 2010, pp. 11-12). The Walk Free Foundation (2014, p. 19) estimated that there are 106 000 persons in human trafficking situations in South Africa.

The hidden and clandestine nature of the crime of human trafficking makes it even more difficult to draw representative and reliable samples for accurate estimates of the magnitude of human trafficking (Horne, 2011, p. 26). Few attempts have been made to empirically quantify the occurrence of human trafficking in South Africa. One such study aimed to identify the extent of human trafficking in Cape Town (Gould & Fick, 2008). The researchers (Gould & Fick, 2008) surveyed 10% of prostitutes working in Cape Town brothels in 2007 and found that trafficking had taken place, but only on a small scale. Only eight cases of trafficking and 21 allegations of exploitation or abuse, pointing to the potential of human trafficking, were encountered during the research period. Gould (2007, p. 9) concluded that the researchers of the study (Gould & Fick, 2008) were “confident that these findings are an accurate reflection of the size of the problem” (p. 9) and concluded that the number of actually trafficked persons “may be lower than may have been believed.” (p. 9). The study design (Gould & Fick, 2008), however, did not consider a number of documented facts regarding trafficked persons which places doubt on the accuracy of the findings of the study. For example, the researchers asked street-level and brothel prostitutes in Cape Town whether they or anybody they knew were forced to prostitute themselves (Gould & Fick,

2008, p. 112). The researchers (Gould & Fick, 2008, p. 112) reported that 95% of respondents answered in the negative. However, a number of authors (Di Nicola, 2007, p. 53; Laczko, 2007, p. 39; Long, 2012, p. 22) noted that trafficked persons are likely to disguise the fact that they are in a forced situation due to their distrust of authority figures or the threat of violence from the traffickers.

Nature of human trafficking in South Africa.

A number of reports (Bermudez, 2008; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010: xiii; United States Department of State, 2014) identified South Africa as a source, transit, and destination country for trafficked men, women, and children. The most vulnerable South Africans to be trafficked have been black and coloured people under the age of 30 from lower socio-economic groups (Bermudez, 2008, p. 8).

Swart (2012) argued that the “ultimate objective of human trafficking is the exploitation of victims” (p. 71). Accordingly, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) reported that, in South Africa, people were trafficked for various types of exploitation such as prostitution, pornography, forced marriage, begging, and criminal activity such as drug trafficking (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiv). HSRC (2010, p. xiv) also found that trafficking and exploitation in the form of domestic servitude and forced labour in the agricultural, security, hospitality, and retail sectors were reported. Trafficking for domestic servitude was reportedly prominent in the Western Cape (Bermudez, 2008, p. 46), while trafficking into the agricultural sector was prominent in the Free State, Mpumalanga, and Limpopo provinces (Bermudez, 2008, p. 54).

The HSRC (2010, p. xiv) indicated that women and girls constituted the largest group of trafficked persons. Children, estimated to be around 60% of all people trafficked (United States Department of State, 2010, p. 297), were trafficked for domestic servitude, commercial

sex work, as personal sex slaves, illegal adoption, forced marriages (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 259), religious rituals and sacrifice, pornography (United States Department of State, 2009, p. 260), and forced begging (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiii). Females constituted the largest group of trafficking victims and girls as young as 4 years old have been trafficked to and from and within South Africa for commercial sexual exploitation, forced marriage, street vending, food service, begging, criminal activity such as drug trafficking, and domestic servitude (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010; Molo Songololo, 2005; United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334). Little is known about the trafficking of men and boys (Allais, 2013), although anecdotal accounts of the trafficking of males have been recorded. For example, accounts about the trafficking of males from Lesotho for illegal mining in the Free State and Northern Cape provinces have been recorded (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiv).

Reportedly, people have been trafficked for body parts such as skulls, hearts, eyes, tongues, hands, feet, and genitals for use in traditional African medicine (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 52). In many cases, body parts were taken from victims while they were still alive or directly after they were murdered (Fellows, 2008, p. 28). The trafficking of people to South Africa to facilitate organ transplant have also been recorded. In November 2010, Netcare Kwa-Zulu (Pty) Ltd pleaded guilty to 102 counts of illegal harvesting of organs that involved the harvesting of kidneys from Israeli, Romanian, and Brazilian citizens brought to South Africa for Israeli recipients (Allain, 2011, p. 117). The recipients paid between US\$100 000 and US\$120 000 per kidney, while the Israeli suppliers received \$20 000 and Brazilian and Romanian suppliers received \$6 000 (Allain, 2011, p. 118). Five minors were also exploited as organ suppliers (Allain, 2011, p. 119).

Trafficking flows.

The HSRC (2010, p. xiii) identified a number of trafficking streams involving South Africa. First, mainly women were trafficked from outside South Africa into the country through air travel, mainly through Johannesburg's O.R. Tambo Airport. Women and girls from Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Thailand, Pakistan, Philippines, India, China, Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, the Ukraine, and India have been trafficked into South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010; United States of America Department of State, 2013, p. 334). In South Africa, they were exploited sexually and debt bonded for prostitution in illegal brothels, domestic servitude, and other forced work in the service sector (Molo Songololo, 2005; Pharoah, 2006, pp. 29, 38). Men from the People's Republic of China and Taiwan have been trafficked to mobile sweatshop factories in Chinese urban enclaves in South Africa (United States of America Department of State, 2009, p. 260). In 2012 (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334), it emerged that Asian men were victims of forced labour aboard fishing vessels. For example, the United States Department of State (2013, p. 334) reported that Malagassy men were found in forced labour conditions on a Chinese vessel in South African waters.

The second flow, according to the 2013 TIP report (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334) entailed the trafficking of women, girls, and boys from other African countries into South Africa for sexual exploitation and forced labour. While the main countries of origin were South Africa's neighbouring countries, trafficking from other African countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Somalia were also reported (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiii). People from other African countries often migrate voluntarily to South Africa to work on farms, but often find they had to work for long periods with little or no remuneration, after which their employers have them arrested and

deported as illegal immigrants (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 335). South Africa was also a transit country for people trafficked from Lesotho and Swaziland to South African international airports to travel by air to other international destinations (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiii).

The third trafficking flow involved the internal trafficking of women, girls, boys, and to a lesser extent, men, from South Africa's rural areas to its urban areas and between city centres. Trafficking of women from townships to surrounding cities have been reported (Bermudez, 2008, p. 8). Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth were the primary destinations for underage sex tourism that involved children between 10 and 14 years of age (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. vi). Young girls from the rural areas in the Western Cape, Northern Cape, North West, and Eastern Cape provinces have also reportedly been trafficked by employment agencies to Cape Town for domestic servitude (Bermudez, 2008, p. 8). The trafficking of male children for sexual exploitation through commercial sexual exploitation and for use in pornography has also taken place (Bermudez, 2008, p. 37). Young men and boys from neighbouring countries who voluntarily migrated to South Africa have been trafficked into forced labour conditions in the agricultural sector (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334).

The fourth trafficking flow comprised the international trafficking of South Africans to countries such as Ireland, Zimbabwe, Israel, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Macau, and the Middle East where they are forced into prostitution or domestic servitude (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiii). This trafficking route is reportedly less voluminous than the other streams (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiii).

Traffickers.

According to the 2013 TIP report, a wide range of international and South Africa perpetrators were involved in the trafficking of persons in South Africa. These range from international and national organised crime syndicates, less well-organised, loose local networks, and family members or acquaintances of the trafficking victim. The main organised crime networks involved in human trafficking have been the Nigerian, Russian, Bulgarian, and Chinese crime syndicates, while street gangs and local criminal rings also operated in various South African cities (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 333). Diaspora communities have also been identified as “channels” for the trafficking of people, often family members, into South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xiv). Men as well as women have been identified as traffickers. The HTA Index identified at least 19 instances where women recruited and trafficked women and children in South Africa (LexisNexis, 2013, p. 4). The current study focussed on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. A brief overview of the salient characteristics of the province is provided after which human trafficking in the province is described.

Human Trafficking in the Eastern Cape Province.

South Africa was divided into nine provinces after the first democratic election in 1994 (South Africa History Online, 2014a, para. 7). The Eastern Cape Province is the second largest of nine South African provinces and is situated on the southeastern coast of South Africa (Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, 2014, para. 1; South African government, 2014, para. 1). According to the Eastern Cape Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEDEAT) (2013, p. 11), 6.7 million people, 12.7% of the South African population, resided in the Eastern Cape in 2011 (Statistics South Africa,

2012a, p.15). The following are some of the salient demographic characteristics of the province according to the 2011 Census (Statistics South Africa, 2012a, 2012b):

- The majority of the Eastern Cape's residents (86.5%) identified themselves as belonging to the black population group, while the other population groups were significantly smaller with 8.3% belonging to the coloured population group, 4.7% identified themselves as belonging to the white population groups, while the smallest population group were self-identified as Indian (0.4%) (Statistics South Africa, 2012a, p. 17).
- The province had a relatively young population as 60.2% of residents were between the ages of 15 and 64 and 33% were younger than 15 years of age at the time of the census (Statistics South Africa, 2012b, p. 14).
- There were more female than male residents with 89 males per 100 females in 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2012a, p. 19). As the Eastern Cape reflected the highest net migration numbers between 2006 and 2011, this ratio can be attributed partly to the migration of men from the Eastern Cape to provinces with better employment opportunities (DEDEAT, 2013, p. 28).
- The educational level of Eastern Cape residents showed improvement between 1996 and 2011. For example, the proportion of Eastern Cape residents older than 20 years who completed Grade 12 increased from 11.2% in 1996 to 19.8% in 2011. The percentage of residents older than 20 years with tertiary education also increased from 5.1% to 8.7% between 1996 and 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2012b, p. 17).

Statistics South Africa (2014, p. xiii) revealed in its Quarterly Labour Force Survey for the period July to September 2014 that the Eastern Cape had an unemployment rate of 29.5% Cape which was higher than the national unemployment rate of 25.4%. More men (56.1%)

than women (43.9%) were unemployed in the Eastern Cape during this period. Younger people were disproportionately represented among the unemployed as 73% of the unemployed in the Eastern Cape were between the ages of 15 and 34 years of age (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p. xv).

The Eastern Cape Province is divided into six districts and has two metropolitan municipalities (Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council, 2012, p. 3). The Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality is the sixth largest metropolitan area in South Africa and includes the city of Port Elizabeth and the surrounding towns of Uitenhage, Despatch, and Colchester. This metropolitan area is the hub of economic activity in the Eastern Cape mainly because of a large automotive manufacturing industry and two ports where products such as automotive components and manganese ore are exported (Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, 2014, para. 1; The Local Government Handbook, 2014, para. 1). The Buffalo City Metro consists of East London, Bhisho, and King William's Town. The metropolitan area also has a large manufacturing industry including automotive and textile manufacturing sectors. Bhisho is the administrative capital of the Eastern Cape Province (Buffalo City Metro, 2014, para. 1).

The Eastern Cape is among the provinces with the lowest average socio-economic status (DEDEAT, 2013, p. 1). The average annual income per household in South Africa in 2011 was R103 204 (Statistics South Africa, 2012a, p. 41) compared to the average annual income per household in the Eastern Cape of R64 550 (Statistics South Africa, 2012b, p. 28). Moreover, the average annual income per household for the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (R105 602) and the Buffalo City Metro (R97 554) were considerably higher than the average annual income per household of rural districts such as the Alfred Nzo district municipality (R37 147) and the Oliver Tambo district municipality (R43 652).

According to Seekings (2007, p. 26) the lower socio-economic levels in the rural and eastern part of the province can partly be attributed to the apartheid government's Bantustan

or homeland policy which commenced in the 1950s. Coles (1993, pp. 714-718) explained that this policy, based on the apartheid government's separate development ideology, aimed to relocate all black South Africans to ten Bantustans. Each black ethnic group was designated its own Bantustan. Members of the Xhosa ethnic group were moved to two Bantustans situated in the present Eastern Cape province, namely Ciskei and Transkei. The South African government declared the Transkei as independent and self-governing in 1976. The independence of Ciskei followed in 1981. The undeveloped local economies in the independent Bantustans remained dependent on the South African government (South African History Online, 2014a). For example, Transkei received annual grants of R573 million between 1978 and 1980 and had to accept a R73 million bailout in 1980 (South African History Online, 2014b, para. 25). Due to the failure to develop an autonomous economy, 500 000 Transkei residents worked in South Africa while about 20 000 residents worked for the Transkei government or government-sponsored projects. Their remittances home contributed 70% to the Transkei government's income (South African History Online, 2014b, para. 38). The Bantustans ceased to exist after South Africa's first election in 1994 and were re-incorporated in South Africa's nine provinces (South African History Online, 2014a, para. 7).

The Eastern Cape featured prominently in reports on human trafficking activities in South Africa. In a 2008 study (Bermudez, 2008), the Eastern Cape was noted as the province of origin for most victims of human trafficking in South Africa. West African organised crime syndicates operated extensively in Port Elizabeth by trafficking local black South African females into commercial sexual exploitation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 9). The tradition of "ukuthwala", the abduction of 11 to 13 year old girls for the purpose of forced marriages to much older adult men was also rife in the province (Godongwana, 2009, para. 1), especially around Lusikisiki (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. viii).

Seethal and Ngwira (2009) found that at any one time, 10 to 15 girls were trafficked through Port Elizabeth, while girls and women of all races and socio-economic levels were trafficked in the city. Traffickers abducted or recruited females from traditionally black neighbourhoods in East London into trafficking situations. Trafficked persons from the Eastern Cape were less expensive to acquire compared to those trafficked in other provinces. Traffickers reportedly categorised trafficked women according to their race to determine their price. Prices ranged from R2 500 for black victims, to R5 000 for coloured victims and R7000 for white victims. Each trafficker “owned” between five and fifteen trafficked persons who each were required to bring in between R1 500 and R5 000 per night. As a result, there often was strong competition between the trafficked girls for business (Seethal & Ngwira, 2009).

Trafficking in the Eastern Cape is a profitable enterprise (Seethal & Ngwira, 2009). A trafficker with five trafficked persons, each earning R2 000 per day in prostitution could therefore earn approximately R300 000 per month. According to Seethal and Ngwira (2009) trafficked persons in the Eastern Cape were likely to be involved in other criminal activities besides prostitution such as selling drugs, robberies, theft, and breaking into vehicles.

It was mentioned in a previous section that human trafficking, as a crime, is a market-driven crime based on the principles of supply and demand (Polaris, 2014, para. 1). The traffickers are motivated to victimise vulnerable individuals “in their desire to profit from the existing demand” (Polaris, 2014, para. 1), the victims of the crime form the suppliers, while the demand for the services of trafficked persons is the “engine in the machinery of exploitation” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005, p.8). These three components of the human trafficking system are discussed next.

Human Trafficking: The Perpetrators, the Victims, and the Demand

Globally, researchers have mainly paid attention to the victims of trafficking in an effort to develop counter-trafficking interventions (Surtees, 2008, p. 39). However, little research has been conducted on traffickers, therefore surprisingly little is known about those who enable or participate in the complex and multifaceted crime of human trafficking (Troshynski & Blank, 2008, p. 32; United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, 2008, p. 1). The operations of traffickers are explored next by discussing the organised manner in which some trafficking networks in South Africa operate. Thereafter, following the Palermo Protocol (2000)'s definition of human trafficking, the prohibited means and actions of traffickers are explored.

The traffickers.

According to the Palermo Protocol (2000) definition of trafficking, trafficking activities do not have to be committed by the same person. In fact, it is more common for a number of people to be involved in the trafficking process (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47). In South Africa, a single person sometimes commits the human trafficking process. It is, however, more common for a number of persons to be involved in an organised crime network. These can range from a loose trafficking network to a highly sophisticated, powerful, and transnational organised crime network (Araujo, 2011, p. 5; Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47). Therefore, different individuals may recruit, transport, harbour, and exploit a victim (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47). Each person in the network has a different responsibility and role, although one person can take on more than one role. The term trafficker therefore can include the recruiters, brothel keepers, pimps, brothel owners, taxi drivers, employment agencies (Bermudez, 2008, p. 30), corrupt border guards, receivers, and producers of false documentation. Males and females of varying ages, ethnic, groups, and

social and economic backgrounds (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 26) commit human trafficking activities. Small and loose networks may comprise family networks or be connected through shared ethnicity (United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, 2008, p. 14). The broad definition of human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol (2000) therefore means that not only the recruiters, but also the owners, managers, and supervisors in places of exploitation such as a brothel, farm, boat, factory, or household could be part of the trafficking network (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47).

Besides human trafficking, organised crime activities include drug trafficking, the selling of counterfeit products, prostitution (Roelofse, 2011, p. 3), pornography, corruption, and racketeering (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). It has, for example, been found that women trafficked for sexual exploitation are involved in other criminal activities such as providing drugs to their clients (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xvi). To understand human trafficking in South Africa, it is necessary to explore the characteristics of organised crime networks operating in South Africa as “to look at human trafficking outside the context of organised crime is like studying medicine without studying viruses” (Roelofse, 2011, p. 3).

Organised crime.

There is a dearth of empirical research about organised crime activities in southern Africa (Loubser, 2009, p. 39). Thus Delpont et al. (2006, p. 27) acknowledged that, “there is much speculation” on the extent of organised crime activities in the region, but conjectured that fluid crime networks of various sizes which “form, mutate, and develop according to shifting circumstances” (p. 27) exist. Loubser (2009, p. 39) noted that the region has a “large and multifaceted organised crime problem.” (p. 39). Organised crime networks in the region operate transnational and internationally (Loubser, 2009, p. 39).

In South Africa, foreign nationals often operate organised crime syndicates and use South Africans as recruiters (Bermudez, 2008, p. 9). Research (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31; Roelofse, 2011, p. 5; United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334) has identified that the three main organised crime networks active in human trafficking in South Africa are the Chinese criminal groups, Nigerian crime networks, and East European groups such as the Russian and Bulgarian mafia.

Roelofse (2011, p. 3) noted that the Chinese criminal groups in South Africa are linked to the Chinese Triad organisations in Hong Kong and Taiwan. These groups are also involved in the illicit trade of rhino horn and ivory, money laundering, contraband, and the trafficking of Chinese migrants into South Africa (Roelofse, 2011, p. 3). They also reportedly coordinate the sex trade of Asians in South Africa (Bermudez, 2008, p. 36; United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334).

In addition to human trafficking, the Nigerian syndicates are also involved in drug trafficking, prostitution, Advanced Fee Fraud, kidnappings, money laundering, and cheque and credit card fraud (Roelofse, 2011, p. 5; Shaw, 2001, para. 13). Bermudez (2008, p. 31) and the United States Department of State (2013, p. 333) reported that Nigerian organised crime syndicates are prominent in trafficking operations in the central business districts of Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth. Nigerian crime networks have also been making use of street gangs and local crime rings to organise child prostitution (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334).

Shaw (2001, para. 30) revealed that Nigerian criminal networks do not have clearly structured criminal hierarchies. Instead, loose and often temporary alliances form around specific criminal opportunities. This flat and fluid hierarchical structure facilitates instant communications between members, allows for the rapid expansion of criminal activities, and complicates police investigations into the criminal activities of such loose, adaptive networks.

The Nigerian crime networks are notoriously difficult to penetrate because associations between syndicate members have been built on long-standing associations within ethnic groups. Members of the Nigerian syndicates seldom are willing to serve as State witnesses during prosecutions. Partnerships with person of other nationalities and ethnic groups have been formed but only because of potential financial gain through such allegiances. Limited social contact takes place between Nigerian crime syndicate members and people of other nationalities and ethnic groups (Shaw, 2001, para. 36).

Eastern European syndicates such as the Russian and Bulgarian mafia are also involved in human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa (Bermudez, 2008, p. 36; United States Department of State, 2013, p. 333). These syndicates own clubs in South Africa where Eastern European women are trafficked to South Africa to work (Roelofse, 2011, p. 6).

Human trafficking activities of organised crime are motivated by the large financial profits that results from the crime. Some numbers mentioned by participants in Bermudez' (2008, p. 31) study noted that a trafficked person can fetch between R2500 and R3500, while Seethal and Ngwira (2009) found that a trafficked woman can fetch up to R7000. It was previously mentioned that traffickers can earn up to R300 000 per month from their trafficking operation (Seethal & Ngwira, 2009). Other factors that motivate traffickers in their activities are the demand for cheap labour, the desire for power, and the low risk of negative consequences for the trafficker for involvement in human trafficking (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31).

Roelofse (2011, p. 68) explicated how the growth of organised crime involved in human trafficking in South Africa is stimulated by a number of factors. During the times of political instability in South Africa and in neighbouring countries, infiltration routes for arms and insurgents were established which are now used for organised crime activities. South Africa's favourable geographical location between the Far and Middle East and the Americas

and Europe, coupled with the country's porous borders and corrupt officials in the DHA and SAPS who provide false travel documents, marriage certificates, work permits, and even citizenship to members of organised crime, further fuelled organised crime network presence in South Africa (Roelofse, 2011, pp. 6-8).

It previously has been discussed that people are trafficked for a number of purposes in South Africa such as the exploitation in the sex industry, forced agricultural labour, and domestic servitude (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 334). Human trafficking is a process rather than a single offence (Bales, 2005, p. 133). The most common human trafficking process starts with the recruitment of suitable individuals after which they are moved away from familiar surroundings to where the exploitation begins in earnest (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47). The initial steps in the trafficking process are referred to as prohibited actions (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47).

Prohibited actions committed by trafficking networks.

A variety of recruitment techniques ranging from force to deceit are used to trafficking individuals, depending on what might be the most successful technique in a specific situation (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47). Bermudez (2008, p. 9) found that advertisements in newspapers have been used as a recruitment technique to deceive young women into the sex industry as has recruiting through social media (Bermudez, 2008, p. 41). Organised crime is highly resourceful in finding avenues to target potential trafficking victims. Bermudez (2008, p. 31) described how an owner of internet cafes in Gauteng would flag young women that visited one of the shops to scan or copy their curriculum vitae as potential recruits into a trafficking operation. According to Bermudez (2008, p. 31) fictitious offers of employment were the most frequently used method to deceive victims for trafficking in South Africa. Traffickers also offered travel allowances to enable victims to travel to urban centres.

Promises made to victims such as opportunities to create a new lifestyle in their destination, the ability to send back money to their families, and the potential of meeting a wealthy husband further motivated victims of trafficking (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31).

Trafficking can be facilitated by parents or other family members, older sex workers, gangs, brothel owners, or organised crime syndicates (Molo Songololo, 2005). Recruiters often are known by the victims and can be a family member, friend, neighbour, or an acquaintance from the same community as the trafficked person (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31). Recruiters have included women who travel from village to village where they know poor people who would be willing to either leave for employment in cities or are willing to send their children elsewhere for education or work opportunities (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 27). Second wave trafficking, when a trafficking victim becomes a trafficker, is also common. For example, a former victim can recruit others by contacting people from her place of origin or even return to her place of origin to do so (Lutya, 2009, p. 60).

Victims may also be lured into a trafficking situation through methods in which the traffickers use positive and negative reinforcement to gradually condition victims to participate in the exploitation process (Beeson, 2015, p. 50). The grooming process is a manipulative psychological process aimed to manipulate a victim into exploitation, by capitalising on the victim's vulnerabilities (Beeson, 2015, p. 50). The "loverboy" method (Dutch National Rapporteur, 2012, p. 2; Gunderson, 2012, p. 59) is a specific recruiting method used by traffickers internationally (Beeson, 2015, p. 50; Gunderson, 2012, p. 59) and in South Africa (Bermudez, 2008, p. 40; Lutya 2012, p. 16). The process starts when a trafficker assumes a "boyfriend" role with a potential victim and so capitalises on his or her emotional or physical needs. Through both positive and negative reinforcement, a relationship based on domination and dependency is created, through which the victim is conditioned into participating in his or her exploitation (Beeson, 2015, p. 50).

After being recruited, trafficked persons have often been transported within the country of origin or across national borders to where they can be exploited (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47). In South Africa, Bermudez (2008, p. 30) found that trafficked persons were often transported to their destinations through minibus taxi with the taxi fare often paid for by the recruiter (Bermudez, 2008, p. 30). Truck drivers have also been involved in transporting prostitutes to brothels in the southern African region with promises of reception work at these brothels (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xv).

According to Bermudez (2008, p. 47) recruiters also make use of deceit when recruiting young women from rural areas for domestic work in cities. While reportedly knowing that they will be working as domestic workers, they are unaware of the exploitative nature of the employment such as the long hours, conditions under which they will live, and the debt bondage that they will incur for the recruitment fee of between R250 and R400, transport costs, and the cost of accommodation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 47). Members of Nigerian crime syndicates use deceitful methods to mislead naïve South African women to act as drug mules (Dardagan, 2014; Davis, 2012). In 2014, the Brazilian government repatriated a South African woman previously convicted and imprisoned in the country for drug smuggling after it was established that she was a victim of trafficking (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 348).

The Palermo Protocol (2000) describes the methods (see Figure 5) used to “snare victims in the trafficking net” (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 47) and to exert control over the exploited person (Bermudez, 2008, p. 8) by disorienting them, increasing their dependence, and to establish fear and obedience (Bales, 2005, p. 145). These prohibited methods used in the trafficking process are discussed next.

Prohibited methods employed by trafficking networks.

Kruger and Oosthuizen (2011, p. 48) grouped these methods to control victims of trafficking into three main categories, namely (a) methods focusing on force, (b) methods which involve the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, and (c) methods focusing on deception. These methods range from being obvious and brutal to being a subtle process of degradation and subjugation (Bales, 2005, p. 145).

In South Africa, Bermudez (2008, pp. 8, 31) found that all three methods have been used to control persons in trafficking situations which makes it difficult for them to leave the trafficking situation. Smith (2010, p. 342) reported a number of violent methods used by traffickers to condition victims into compliance such as repeated gang rapes, daily rapes, violence, and other sexually humiliating treatment. The physical abuse may begin in the initial stages of the trafficking process. Lutyia (2009, p. 64) indicated that traffickers would ‘test-drive’ new acquired girls prior to getting them to work as prostitutes. Test-driving is a practice whereby traffickers rape trafficked persons to prepare them for the work of prostitution. This practice can take place at the location of origin during transit, or at their destination (Lutyia, 2009, p. 65). Whether by force or through befriending the person, the aim of the “grooming/breaking” (Reid & Jones, 2011, p. 219) process is to gain complete control over victims through making them feel used and dehumanised (Martens et al., 2003, p. 29). Royal (1998) describes this process in an instruction manual for those desiring to control women for the purpose of prostitution: “After you have broken her spirit she has no sense of self-value. Now pimp, put a price tag on the item you have manufactured.” (p. 65).

Traffickers commonly assault the victims of trafficking (Lutyia, 2012, p. 6). A systematic review by Oram et al. (2012, p. 5) indicated that a prevalence of violence and mental distress is experienced by women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation. Three studies in the review indicated that the prevalence of violence at or shortly after women’s entry into

prostitution were significantly higher for trafficked women compared to the experiences of non-trafficked women (Oram et al., 2012, p. 5). In extreme cases, the violence can lead to death of the trafficked person (Bales, 2005, p. 148). For example, in Port Elizabeth a case was reported of a young woman who was thrown off a balcony after failing to comply with the demands of an organised crime syndicate (Bermudez, 2008, p. 42). Persons trafficked into sexual exploitation also may face violence and abuse from the users of their services (Wilson & Butler, 2013, p. 4), especially if they are “street prostitutes” (Weitzer, 2005b, p. 219).

Coercion does not have to be physical to be effective. Hopper and Hidalgo (2006, p. 186) argued that psychological coercion can be as effective as physical violence in exerting control over a person. According to Hopper and Hidalgo (2006, pp. 187-188) physical violence is the predominant way in which perpetrators of the crime create fear. However, if an environment of fear exists, violence can be used infrequently. Therefore, by using non-violent, yet psychological coercive methods, Hopper and Hidalgo (2006) noted that traffickers can generate “high levels of control, exposure to chronic stress and threat, isolation, provocation of fear, and the creation of a sense of helplessness in victims.” (p. 191). Hopper and Hidalgo (2006, p. 192) indicated that psychological, non-violent methods utilised by traffickers include subjecting the trafficked person to verbal abuse or humiliation, exposing them to ambiguous situations or contradictory messages such as alternating kindness and threats to produce disequilibrium, forcing them to betray or harm others, or being forced to witness acts of violence against others. The trafficker might also threaten to report the trafficked person to the police or make immigration-related threats (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006, pp. 189, 192). Traffickers also make use of strategies such as deprivation of sleep and food to destroy the trafficked person’s sense of autonomy (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006, p. 197) or they may confiscate the person’s travel or identity documents to establish

control over the movements of the trafficked person (Bales, 2005, p. 145). Threats of violence and intimidation against the trafficked person or their family by traffickers to encourage compliance in the trafficked person are another non-violent coercive technique, which is reportedly common in the South African human trafficking context (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31; Lutya, 2012, p. 6). Hopper and Hidalgo (2006, p. 196) postulated that traffickers may also increase their psychological control over trafficked persons by creating an isolated community of the trafficked persons under their control. This closed community similar to a cult community has its own rules and pressures to conform. The trafficker then makes use of group dynamics to ensure that the trafficked persons remain destabilised. The trafficker may feign a romantic relationship with one trafficked person, granting him or her privileges and special treatment, thereby creating hierarchies in the trafficked group (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006, p. 196).

Traffickers are able to exert enough psychological control over their trafficking victims to enable them to give their victims a cell phone and send them to earn a certain amount of money in the street sex trade without apparent fear that the victims will run away or go to the authorities to report their situation (Bermudez, 2008, pp. 8, 31). Verhoeven et al. (2013, p. 1-3) argued that the relationships between traffickers and victims show several characteristics similar to domestic violence relationship dynamics. In this trafficker-victim relationship, Verhoeven et al. (2013) found that “sex trafficking is often embedded in intimate relationships” (p. 2). This relationship comprises intimidation, methods to control the victim, and violence, affection, and economic dependency. This offender-victim relationship results in victims who do not run away from the trafficking situation or do not want to press charges against the trafficker (Verhoeven et al., 2013, p. 2).

The strength of the psychological bond between trafficker and victim can be conceptualised by using the notion of Stockholm syndrome. The term Stockholm syndrome

was first used to denote the emotional bond certain hostages developed with hostage-takers during a bank robbery in Stockholm, Sweden in 1973 (Jülich, 2008, p. 109). Graham (1994) extended the original Stockholm syndrome to provide an overarching theory of the emotional bonding that occurs between a victim and a perpetrator. According to Graham (1994, pp. 42-43) Stockholm syndrome consists of a number of indicators present to varying degrees in the relationship between victim and perpetrator. These indicators include signs that the victim is grateful for small kindnesses shown by the perpetrator within the general context of terror, he or she exhibits hypervigilance to ensure the perpetrator's needs are met to avoid violence, and the victim finds it difficult to separate physically and psychologically from the perpetrator (Graham, 1994, pp. 42-43). Small acts of kindness, not even noticed under conditions of safety, appear to be huge. For example, the cessation of violence can be perceived as kindness (Graham, 1994, p. 35). Jülich (2008, p. 109) explained that the Stockholm syndrome serves as a survival strategy for victims. The complex relationship between trafficking victim and trafficker can also be conceptualised according to a coping strategy called trauma bonding which Reid and Jones (2011) referred to as “the superglue of sexual exploitation” (p. 218).

Dutton and Painter (1981; 1993) developed the traumatic bonding theory to expound the powerful emotional attachments that develop in physically and psychologically abusive relationships. According Dutton and Painter (1981) two common structural features in seemingly diverse relationships such as “battered spouse-battering spouse, hostage-captor, abused child-abusing parent, cult follower-leader, prisoner-guard” (p. 147) can be distinguished. Two common features form the basis of the traumatic bonding theory (Dutton & Painter, 1981; 1993). The first feature is the existence of a power imbalance in which the maltreated person perceives himself or herself as subjugated or dominated by the other party. The second feature is the intermittent “good-bad treatment” (Dutton & Painter, 1993, p. 105).

Herman (1992) explained that in abusive relationships, an abused and isolated person will bond with the abuser in an “intense, almost worshipful dependence on an all-powerful, god-like authority” (p. 92). The abused person simultaneously lives in terror of the wrath of the abuser but also views the abuser as a source of strength and guidance (Herman, 1992, p. 92). Traumatic bonding between the abuser-victim increases with time. The strength of this bond interferes with the ease with which an abused person can leave the abusive relationship (Dutton & Painter, 1993, p. 109). Attachment between the abuser and abused remains even after the two parties have separated that makes it difficult for the abused person not to return to the abuser (Dutton & Painter, 1993, p. 117). As soon as the abused party leaves the relationship, the attachment forged through the traumatic attachment is triggered, resulting in increasing positive memories of the abuser and a tendency to reduce the negativity and severity of the abuse (Dutton & Painter, 1993, p. 118). Dutton and Painter (1993) described this tendency for the attachment between victim and abuser to strengthen from the time of separation as “an increase in undertow” (p. 118) back to the abuser. The legal profession is unable to comprehend the notion that relationships are strengthened by the abusive dynamics through trauma bonding (Dutton & Painter, 1981; 1993). Hence Dutton and Painter (1993, p. 117) asserted that it is the role of the expert witness to clarify the seemingly counterintuitive difficulty abused parties have in leaving abusive relationships.

According to the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (2008, pp. 5-6) some instances of second-wave trafficking can be conceptualised as the result of trauma bonding or Stockholm Syndrome as victims identify with their traffickers’ world. Victims evaluate the transition from victim to trafficker as a form of promotion in light of the lack of options to escape the trafficking situation. However, victims remain under the control of traffickers when they engage in trafficking activities (United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, 2008, pp. 5-6) as they become accomplices to the crime. They are

therefore less likely to report the traffickers to authorities (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 56). Violence or the threat of violence may also contribute to second-wave trafficking (United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, 2008, p. 6). Lutya and Lanier (2012, p. 566) conceptualised second wave trafficking as a psychological mechanism according which victims of trafficking manage losses encountered during the trafficking process. By recruiting new victims, “the cycle of violence and victimisation is displaced upon a second group of victims.” (p. 566).

Defrauding or deceiving vulnerable persons into a trafficking situation are reportedly common in South Africa. In a context of a lack of education and employment opportunities, people are motivated by the pursuit of a better life (Araujo, 2011, p. 2) and promises that they will be able to send money home, a change of lifestyle, and even the potential of meeting a rich husband (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31). They are then lured or deceived into trafficking by the offer of false opportunities such as employment, education, or marriage opportunities elsewhere (Araujo, 2011, p. 2). Often, people in positions of power such as parents, community members, teachers, or employers inappropriately use their positions of authority to facilitate trafficking (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 49). Van der Watt and Ovens (2012, p. 18) illustrated this strategy in a case of a girl who was sold to a foreign citizen by her mother. Skinner (2010) reported how an orphaned 16-year old and her 15-year old friend from Indwe in the Eastern Cape were promised work by a woman in a neighbouring town. However, after she drove them to Bloemfontein, she sold them to a Nigerian syndicate for \$120 and crack cocaine after which their traffickers forced them into prostitution.

Persons can also be deceived through misinformation about the conditions under which they will work, such as the remuneration, the level of violence, their working hours, the place where they will work, and the health risks they will experience (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 48). One trafficking operation in South Africa revealed how young women were lured

from rural areas in the Western Cape to Cape Town with promises of work as domestic workers. When they arrived in Cape Town, they were held with nearly 20 to 30 other young women in one room. They had to sleep on the floor while they waited for prospective employers to select a worker (Bermudez, 2008, p. 47). While in the service of their employers, the trafficked persons often did not receive their full salaries, had to work between 14 and 18 hours per day, and endured physical, verbal, and sometimes sexual abuse from their employers. As these women did not have alternative employment opportunities, these women would escape one trafficking situation but go back to the original employment agency with the hope that they would find a better employment situation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 50).

Debt bondage is a prominent feature of labour and sex trafficking. When under debt bondage, victims are expected to pay back exorbitant amounts of debt for transportation and living expenses before they are allowed to leave the trafficking situation (Arocha, 2010, p. 47). Bermudez (2008, p. 34) reported how trafficked persons in South Africa found that they had to perform sex acts with men as a way to earn money to pay off debts incurred while under the care of the recruiter.

Drugs and alcohol as means to control trafficked persons are common, especially when the trafficked person is in a situation of commercial sexual exploitation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 33; Farley et al., 2004, p. 63; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xv; Ngwira, 2011, p. 90). Young women forced into sexual exploitation use drugs to cope with the psychological distress experienced while prostituting themselves (Bermudez, 2008, p. 43; Raymond et al., 2002; Wiechelt & Shdaimah, 2011, p. 161). Those recruited into sexual exploitation often are introduced to drugs, primarily crack cocaine, after which they become dependent on a steady supply of the drug. The practice where a trafficked person is forced to

take drugs to initiate dependency does occur, although it is less common (Bermudez, 2008, p. 34).

Raymond et al. (2002) compared the patterns and health consequences of women trafficked into sexual exploitation in Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Venezuela, and the United States of America. They found that a large number of participants were targets of physical and psychological control strategies by traffickers. More than 80% of the participants reported emotional abuse, almost 80% of participants experienced physical harm, while more than 70% of participants received verbal threats. Traffickers coerced or encouraged nearly 70% of participants to use drugs or alcohol to maintain control over these trafficked persons (Raymond et al., 2002, p. 61). Drug addiction also makes it more difficult for victims to leave the trafficking situation (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 348).

The previous discussion on the nature of human trafficking in South Africa indicates that victims of trafficking are not a homogenous population but that they can be “young or old, female or male, rich or poor, informed or uninformed, from any culture or country” (Araujo, 2011, p. 4). The previous discussion on the modus operandi of traffickers repeatedly referred to the experiences of the persons who have been trafficked. The effects of these experiences on the victims of human trafficking are explored in the following section.

The victims of human trafficking.

As a “severe form of violence” (Zimmerman et al. (2006, p. 2), human trafficking victims are exposed to extreme forms of exploitation and dehumanisation (Roelofse, 2011, p. 1). The effects of being trafficked on victims of trafficking are discussed next.

Effects of exploitation.

The abuse, exploitation, and degradation victims experience while in the trafficking situation, results in physical and psychological damage and trauma (Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 2), serious health problems, disease, displacement, and in some cases death (Araujo, 2011, p. 1; Oram et al., 2012; Zimmerman et al., 2006). Common physical health problems found among trafficked persons include psychosomatic reactions such as headaches, stomach pains, and back aches (Oram et al., 2012, p. 9). According to Smith (2010, p. 342), the effect of being trafficked into sexual exploitation is especially debilitating because “the body itself becomes the subject of repeated violations” (p. 342). When trafficked for sexual exploitation, significant sexual and reproductive health problems such as sexually transmitted diseases and unsafe or forced abortion have been reported (International Organisation for Migration, 2006, p. 4; Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 3).

To cope with traumatic experiences, many sex trafficking victims develop coping patterns such as dissociation, drug use, denial and minimisation of the abuse, traumatic bonding with the perpetrators, hyper-vigilance, suicidal and self-destructive behaviours, and self-blame (Smith, 2010, p. 342). Trafficked persons display a complex range of psychological symptoms such as hopelessness, despair, explosive anger, memory problems, anxiety, and distrust, dissociative episodes (International Organisation for Migration, 2008, p. 4), depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Oram et al., 2012, p. 10), hostility, irritability, (Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 3), suicidal ideation, and insomnia (Lutya, 2009, p. 65). Limited evidence also points to the effects of the duration of the exploitation period. The longer trafficked women found themselves in exploitative trafficking situations, the higher the mental distress shown by them (Oram et al., 2012, p. 10).

Everitt (2013, pp. 119, 133) revealed that child victims of sex trafficking found it difficult to trust and form close relationships with others. These girls also exhibited anger

and hostility towards others. Everitt (2013, p. 108) surmised that this dynamic was the result of betrayal, rejection, and exploitation by people they had trusted before. Thus, the lack of vulnerability is “the ultimate survival tactic” (p. 108). Everitt (2013, p. 110) postulated that the previously trafficked adolescents transferred their anger regarding the unpredictability of their family environments to the safe house environment by showing hostility towards other victims in the safe house as another protective mechanism. Everitt (2013) considered the tendency of some child victims to create a fantasy life where “evil is contained” (p. 136) also to be a coping mechanism to manage the harsh realities of negative experiences before and during exploitation.

According to Zimmerman et al., (2006, p. 12), the psychological symptoms of women and adolescents who were trafficked in Europe were so severe that they were comparable, or even exceeded symptoms experienced by torture victims. Zimmerman et al., (2006, pp. 20, 22) pointed out that the high psychological symptom levels and significant cognitive impairment experienced by trafficking victims are likely to interfere with their ability to make careful decision on their cooperation in the prosecution process against a perpetrator. For example, victims have difficulty with sustained concentration, which could interfere with offering detailed evidence related to the crime. Similarly, Zimmerman et al. (2006) noted that “Memory difficulty is a fundamental element of a psychological portrait of a trafficking survivor.” (p. 22). Memory loss and confused recollections of events during the trafficking period therefore have the potential to pose significant difficulties with credibility of human trafficking victims during the prosecution of perpetrators (Zimmerman et al., 2006, pp. 20-22). Moreover, psychological effects of being trafficked may contribute to the willingness of trafficking victims to collaborate with their traffickers to lure other vulnerable people into trafficking either because of displaced anger from their own unresolved trauma (Lutya, 2009, p. 54) or as a survival strategy (Smith, 2010, p. 342).

Research on European trafficking victims (Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 3) showed that they had a need for longer-term rehabilitative and psychological care before psychological symptomology showed a significant reduction. Symptom-levels of PTSD, anxiety, and hostility gradually decreased the longer the person spent in care after they left the trafficking situation (Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 3).

Counter-trafficking responses typically adopt the “4P” strategy which includes four elements, namely prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnerships (United States Department of State, 2011a). The 4P strategy is described in more detail later in this chapter. The element of protection encompasses the victim-centred approach to trafficking and consists of the three R’s of intervention practices namely rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration of the victims of trafficking (Pandey et al., 2013, p. 52).

Rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration.

Pandey et al., (2013, p. 53) defined rescue as the removal of a trafficked person from the trafficking situation, usually by law enforcement officers. In the context of human trafficking, rehabilitation refers to the concept of restoration to a former state or enabling the trafficked person to recover from the physical, psychological, and social impact of being trafficked. Reintegration implies “long-term and multidimensional stages of integrating the previously trafficked person back into his or her original setting or in a host country” (Pandey et al., 2013, p. 53). Pandey et al. (2013) regarded reintegration to have been achieved when the individual became “an active member of the economic, cultural, civil, and political life and perceives that he or she has orientated and is accepted” (p. 53).

The Combating and Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2013) adopted a victim-centred approach reflecting the changing international paradigm that moved beyond the rescue of trafficked persons to the “restoration of dignity and belief that they are survivors

capable of reclaiming productive lives” (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). Due to the wide scope of needs by previously trafficked persons, rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration requires a multidisciplinary approach. This approach involves the partnering between professionals such as medical practitioners, psychologists, social workers, educators (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 45; McNiel, Held, & Busch-Armendariz, 2014, p. 611), and law enforcement (United States Department of State, 2011a). It requires a coordinated response between a number of entities to manage measures such as security, psychosocial care, legal assistance, and sometimes repatriation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 65). Those involved should have a thorough understanding of the human trafficking process so trafficked persons are assisted effectively in their rehabilitation and reintegration process (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 45).

Although the rescue of human trafficking victims often results from raids by law enforcement, there are accounts where trafficking victims escaped from their trafficking situation by physically fleeing the premises to notify local law enforcement, school officials, church workers, or health workers including sangomas (A sangoma is a practitioner of traditional medicine in South Africa) (Bermudez, 2008, p. 33). NGOs and faith-based organisations (FBO) also assisted victims to leave the trafficking situation (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 83) as well as friends or users of the services of trafficked persons (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 83).

Some research and reports (Nabo, 2013; Ngwira, 2012; Sambo & Spies, 2012, p. 127; Seethal & Ngwira, 2009; United States Department of State, 2012, p. 317) have revealed that South Africa does not have sufficient resources to address the rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficked persons effectively. A lack of resources such as enough personnel, adequate training and knowledge about human trafficking, funds allocated, and infrastructure such as secure, trafficking-specific shelters and shelters for trafficked men have been found to be

barriers for the provision of adequate care and services to trafficking victims (Sambo & Spies, 2012, p. 127; United States Department of State, 2012, p. 317).

The Department of Social Development (DSD), the only body authorised to refer victims to private shelters, accredited 13 multipurpose shelters in South Africa to house trafficking victims and identified 22 more that potentially could house trafficking victims once they have been accredited (United States Department of State, 2012, p. 317). The DSD also oversees 17 safe houses managed by non-governmental organisations. The latter provide temporary shelter to victims of trafficking before they move to an accredited shelter (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 350). The United States Department of State (2014, p. 350) indicated that the DSD has decided that accredited shelters may not house child victims of trafficking, but has to refer these children to DSD for placement in facilities for vulnerable children, called places of safety. However, there are no specific services related to their needs as trafficking victims in these places of safety. NGOs reportedly referred at least 20 child trafficking victims for placement to DSD in 2013 and seven child trafficking victims were sheltered by the DSD in 2013 due to ongoing prosecutions (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 350).

Prolonged physical and emotional trauma reportedly complicate the reintegration process of trafficked persons (Bermudez, 2008, p. 33) and therefore community resources to provide long-term care, for example, to deal with enduring symptoms of PTSD, are vital even after victims have been reintegrated into their communities (Panday et al, 2013, p. 53). The United States Department of State (2014, p. 350) highlighted the lack of adequate drug treatment and rehabilitation facilities for previously trafficked persons, especially in the rural areas of South Africa. There is only one shelter available for men available in South Africa, which is located in Gauteng province.

Seethal and Ngwira (2009) noted that the Eastern Cape had severe problems with the rehabilitation process of previously trafficked persons due to the lack of secure shelters where up to 24 months of rehabilitation is necessary to support previously trafficked women. Nabo (2013, p. 104) revealed that especially NGOs in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape have a severe lack of resources where some NGOs indicated that they were not able to offer anything more than counselling to previously trafficked women.

However, most of the accredited shelters focus on the provision of housing and services to victims of other crimes such as domestic violence and abuse. As trafficking victims have unique needs that require specialised and secure shelters and care (Sambo & Spies, 2012, p. 128), a lack of specialised skills to support trafficked women has been reported (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. ix). It is especially the lack of multisectorial services to cater for the variety of physical and mental health difficulties experienced by trafficking victims that have been considered as a barrier to the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of previously trafficked women (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. ix). To address the lack of specialised training, the DSD developed a nine-week psychosocial rehabilitation program for adult trafficked persons. It also developed an intake booklet with which to train employees in its accredited shelters (United States Department of State, 2012, p. 317). According to the United States Department of State (2014, p. 350) previously trafficked persons can also choose a short-term program which includes counselling and reintegration services.

Civil society organisations such as NGOs and FBOs play a prominent role in the rehabilitation and reintegration of previously trafficked persons in South Africa. Ngwira (2011, p. 94) reported that a number of shelters in the Eastern Cape took in trafficked women and gave them shelter, food, and healthcare. The main problem facing these CSOs is the lack of adequate funding to assist trafficked persons. As a result, many of these organisations

have to rely on volunteers who are not able to manage previously trafficked persons effectively (Ngwira, 2011, p. 110).

The issue of security is important in both the rehabilitation and reintegration of a trafficking victim (Panday et al., 2013, p. 54). Traffickers regard the victims as their property and it is a long-term reality for victims that traffickers will try to get them back into the trafficking situation (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 86). In order to ensure safety for the victims, they are moved between shelters in different locations to prevent traffickers from finding them. This adds to the isolation and lack of a sense of security that victims need during the rehabilitation process (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 83). Many victims also find it hard to adapt to the social isolation they experience in the shelters (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 83). Language barriers with internationally trafficked persons are also an obstacle to effective assistance, counselling, and emotional support (Ngwira, 2011, p. 111).

Rehabilitation and reintegration activities aim at building protective mechanisms in the trafficking victim that also reduce the chances of re-victimisation of the person (Panday et al., 2013, p. 54). A number of factors hamper reintegration of previously trafficked persons. First, is the fact that they tend to experience intense shame in their communities of origin that limits their integration into the community (Bermudez, 2008, p. 33). Nabo (2013, p. 98) explained that Eastern Cape communities view the trafficked persons as a persons of low morals, thereby rejecting them when they want to return to their communities.

According to Reda (2012, p. 87), a lack of understanding by home communities about the previously trafficked persons' experiences in the trafficking situation complicates the reintegration process. Reda (2012, p. 87) found that Ethiopian victims of labour trafficking who experienced a lack of understanding from their home communities and family members about the challenges they had experienced while in the labour trafficking situation in the

Middle-East, experienced pressure from family members and neighbours to provide financial assistance. Reda (2012, p.88) further indicated that victims were worried because of family expectations that they would return with a lot of money from the trafficking situation.

Reintegration measures should therefore assure some minimum social acceptance of the trafficked person in the community to prevent discriminatory social treatment (Panday et al., 2013, p. 53).

Secondly, trafficked persons are very vulnerable to being re-trafficked after they have left the trafficking situation (Adams, 2011, p. 208). The re-trafficking of especially women trafficked for sexual exploitation has been reported globally (Surtees, 2005) and in South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 62). Many of the factors that contribute to being vulnerable to trafficking in the first place also contribute to the vulnerability to re-trafficking. For example, the lack of opportunities to earn an income in a community increases the risk of re-trafficking (Surtees, 2005, p. 186). Some trafficked persons voluntarily return to their traffickers, often by absconding from shelters. Those involved in the rehabilitation of trafficked persons in South African shelters have ascribed this phenomenon to the Stockholm syndrome (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 83).

Another contributing factor to unsuccessful reintegration of previously trafficked persons is inadequate repatriation policies for trafficking victims. Cases have been documented where repatriated trafficked persons were re-trafficked upon their arrival in their country of origin (Adams, 2011, p. 208). Occurrences of haphazard repatriation have been reported in South Africa. For example, NGOs and the NPA reported that the Department of Home Affairs repatriated trafficking victims, in some cases without informing the NPA, often before they were interviewed by the NPA or were able to participate in the prosecution of their traffickers (United States Department of State, 2012, p. 317). A prominent contributing factor to re-trafficking in South Africa is the fact that many trafficked persons develop drug

addiction while in trafficking situations. The lack of drug detoxification and rehabilitation services within shelters makes trafficked persons especially vulnerable to returning to exploitative situations (Bermudez 2008, p. 33; Ngwira, 2011, p. 90).

The final step in the human trafficking process is for the trafficked person to be exploited for a specific purpose such as prostitution or agricultural labour (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 29). The demand for the services of trafficked persons is discussed next.

The demand for the services of trafficked persons.

The ILO (2006, p. 2) distinguished between three levels of demand. The first level refers to employer demand such as direct employers, managers, of subcontractors of trafficked persons. The second level is consumer demand. These include users of the services of prostituted women, corporate buyers such as manufacturers that use forced labour, and private households in which domestic servitude take place (International Labour Organization, 2006, p. 2). The ILO asserted that the third level of demand refers to traffickers who benefit from the recruitment and movement of people towards the final destination where continued exploitation will take place. This level includes the recruiters, agents, transporters, and others who participate knowingly in the movement of people for the purposes of exploitation in the demand-side of human trafficking (International Labour Organization, 2006, p. 2). The ILO (2006, p. 3) pointed out that demand for services such as cheap labour does not necessarily equate to demand for a trafficked person. The only exception was those individuals who deliberately sought out children for sexual purposes.

Demand in its broadest sense refers to the desire and preference for a particular commodity, product, or service (International Labour Organization, 2006, p. 2). A wide range of factors such as social, cultural, political, economic, legal, and development factors shape this demand. For example, a cultural context in which sexual exploitation is tolerated and

promoted may fuel trafficking for sexual exploitation (George, 2012, p. 296). This implies that the demand for human trafficking victims as well as the extent and nature of exploitation of trafficking victims differ between contexts (International Labour Organization, 2006, p. 2).

According to Shively et al. (2012, p. iv) the three main components of any market where illicit products and services are sold are the demand, supply, and distribution of the product or service. Feedback mechanisms and interactions among these three main components take place. For example, traffickers are responsive to the needs of those people that create the demand and therefore can shift their operations as new markets emerge or clients develop new preferences such as the desire for exotic or younger prostituted women (Yen, 2008, p. 666). Shively et al. (2012, p. iv) argued that historically interference with the supply and distribution components has been largely ineffective in the illegal commercial sexual markets where sex trafficking takes place as short-term interruptions in these two components are quickly restored. Arrested pimps and traffickers are soon replaced as long as demand remains strong. Similarly, Shively et al. (2012) asserted that “Supply is plentiful and easily acquired” (p. vi). Thus, Shively et al., (2012, p. iv) reasoned that removing or reducing demand in these types of markets may be the strongest predictor for the elimination of the market. Reducing or eradicating demand, however, requires a comprehensive strategy as single approaches such as increased law enforcement against demand have not resulted in the elimination of demand (Shively et al., 2012, p. 20). Similarly, the ILO (2006, p. 23) indicated that the reducing demand for the services of trafficked persons requires investigation into why the demand is met by trafficked persons.

According to Yen (2008, p. 667), it is difficult to determine the magnitude of male demand for the services of prostituted women as less research has been conducted about the persons who create the demand for commercial sexual service than about the persons from who they purchase sex (Farley, Macleod, Anderson, & Golding, 2011a, p. 2). Farley (2007)

explained that this might be due to difficulty accessing representative samples of users of prostituted women as “they hide” (p. 4), even in countries where prostitution is legal. Research (Farley et al, 2009, Gould & Fick, 2008) revealed that men who use the services of prostituted women are average citizens of all ages, professions, social classes, and ethnicities. However, Farley et al. (2011b, p. 4) reported that men who buy sex engage in more criminal activity than non-sex buyers do. These crimes include substance abuse-related crimes and crimes related to violence against women. Moreover, Farley et al. (2009, p. 4) found that men who buy sex have engaged in more sexually coercive acts like rape against women than men who do not buy sex. Difference in empathy towards prostituted women were also found between men who buy sex and non-sex buyers as the former acknowledged fewer harmful effects prostitution could have on the prostituted woman and the community as a whole (Farley et al., 2011b, p. 4). Gould and Fick (2008, pp. 67, 69) revealed that 20% of brothel-based prostituted women and 37% of women engaged in street prostitution experienced physical abuse from the users of their services.

According to Cauduro (2009, p. 5) a fundamental gap exists in research knowledge about the demand for trafficked prostituted women as research in the human trafficking field has mainly focussed on the analysis of the supply of trafficked persons for sexual exploitation in prostitution. Therefore, it is unknown whether demand for the services of prostituted persons affects the trafficking of people into sexual exploitation. It is also unclear whether the clients of prostituted women are aware that they are using victims of human trafficking (Cauduro, 2009, p. 19).

Araujo (2011) argued that the complexity of the nature of human trafficking requires and equally “protean” (p. 5) counter-trafficking responses that ideally are multidisciplinary and integrated at an international, regional, and national level. A diverse variety of stakeholders can, and should, be involved in counter-trafficking efforts. In countries such as the U.S.A.

where counter-trafficking efforts are more established than in South Africa, stakeholders include law enforcement, social service providers, health services, mental health services, government, and community organisations (Fukushima & Liou, 2012, p. 2). Stakeholders involved in counter-trafficking in South Africa are briefly discussed in the following section. Reference is made to the “4P” framework introduced by the United States (United States Department of State, 2011a) to conceptualise the breadth of the counter-trafficking response necessary to counter the complexities of human trafficking (Fukushima & Liou, 2012, p. 4).

Counter-Trafficking Stakeholders

Due to the complexity of the crime of human trafficking that spans different industries, victim profiles, trafficker profiles, and methods of trafficking that affect the type of trafficking cases, an equally broad variety of responses are necessary for each case of trafficking identified (Fukushima & Liou, 2012, p. 4). The 4P paradigm is the framework employed internationally to combat human trafficking. The framework was originally introduced as the 3P paradigm—prevention, protection, and prosecution—outlined in the United Nations’ Trafficking in persons protocol and in the U.S.A.’s Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). In 2009, USA Secretary of State, Hillary Rodham Clinton added the fourth P—partnership—to the paradigm. The 4Ps are closely intertwined. For example, effective prosecution and law enforcement practices can inform prevention policies (United States Department of State, 2011a).

According to the World Bank (2009, p. 9) prevention activities include public awareness campaigns, expanding and rectifying laws which omit emerging forms of human trafficking, and implementing measures which can address vulnerabilities. Protection consists of the “three Rs”, namely rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration. Protection is the key to the victim-centred approach of counter-trafficking activities, as is the identification of the victims

of the crime of human trafficking. Prosecution involves the investigation, prosecution, and conviction of trafficking offenders. Partnerships refer to multidisciplinary and inter-organisational cooperation between government departments, government agencies such as law enforcement and judiciary agencies, international organisations such as the ILO and IOM, NGOs and CSOs, media, academics, business, and individuals (World Bank, 2009, p. 9) to facilitate prevention, protection, and prosecution (United States Department of State, 2011a). One example of an effective existing partnership in South Africa is the KwaZulu-Natal Intersectoral Task Team known as the KwaZulu-Natal Human Trafficking, Prostitution, Pornography, Brothels Task Team. The task team consists of a variety of organisations such as national, provincial, and local government departments, corporate organisations such as the Airports Company South Africa, South African and international NGOs and FBOs, and international organisations such as the ILO (Emser, 2013, p. 115).

International legislative instruments were discussed earlier. However, according to Kruger (2012), international treaties alone are not sufficient to combat human trafficking, but should be incorporated in an “effective national legal response” (p. 257).

South African legislative framework.

Kruger (2010, p. 257) indicated that the South African government started with the legislative reform process to meet the minimum counter-trafficking standards as laid down in the Palermo Protocol (2000) in 2004 by formulating comprehensive counter-trafficking legislation. This process, however, took long to realise. The South African response, however, has been fragmented and consists of three main parts. The first part comprises existing common law and statutory crimes that can be applied in some human trafficking prosecutions. Common law crimes include abduction, kidnapping, and common assault (Kruger, 2010, p. 418-425). Statutory crimes are covered by legislation such as the

Prevention of Organised Crime Act (121 of 1998) (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 263), the Child Care Act (74 of 1983) (Araujo, 2011, p. 2), and the Immigration Act (13 of 2002) (Kruger, 2010, p. 439).

The second aspect of the South African response consists of interim anti-trafficking provisions in two pieces of legislation. These are the Children's Act (38 of 2005) and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (32 of 2007). The final part of the domestic response was a comprehensive piece of legislation, namely The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Person Act (7 of 2013) (Kruger, 2012, p. 257).

The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (7 of 2013).

President Jacob Zuma signed the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (TIP Act) (2013) into law on 29 July 2013 (Mollema, 2014, p. 246). However, the TIP Act (2013) will be operationalised only once all stakeholder departments have finalised their implementing regulations (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 348).

According to Mollema (2014, p. 247) one of the reasons for developing the TIP Act (2013) was to provide a clear definition of human trafficking and a comprehensive counter human trafficking approach. Comprehensive legislation like the TIP Act (2013) has the potential to promote efficiency in the criminal justice system as a "single codified piece of legislation" (p. 247) assists especially inexperienced or under-trained prosecutors to prosecute human trafficking cases. It is anticipated that the investigation and prosecution of trafficking would be accomplished with more ease with the TIP Act (2013) (Mollema, 2014, p. 247).

The TIP Act (2013) extended the framework presented by the Palermo Protocol (2000). For example, the TIP Act (2013) criminalises forced marriage of children and adults (Mollema, 2014, p. 247). Any type of involvement in human trafficking is criminalised in

the TIP Act (2013). Penalties vary from a fine or a minimum of five years imprisonment to a maximum of life imprisonment or a fine not exceeding R100 million. If the offence is severe, a human trafficker could receive both imprisonment and a fine (Mollema, 2014, p. 252).

The TIP Act (2013) aims to address the demand side of trafficking by prohibiting the use of the services of a trafficked person. The TIP Act (2003) prescribes a punishment of up to 15 years in prison for this offence (Mollema, 2014, p. 253). It gives priority to victim protection and identification to procure the best possible protection to victims of trafficking. This includes measures such as temporary residence visas to victims of trafficking (Mollema, pp. 254-255). Multidisciplinary and inter-sectoral service delivery to victims of trafficking that includes mandatory services which victim of trafficking should receive are included in the TIP Act (2013). For example, the Act stipulates that the immediate and long-term needs of the trafficked person should be determined and attended to with a specific plan of action. Other mandatory services to victims of trafficking include accommodation, counselling, and reintegration into their families and home communities (Mollema, 2014, p. 257).

Mollema (2014, p. 260-262) identified a number of limitations of the TIP Act (2013). For example, the Act fails to encourage preventative measures, it did not specify the initiatives and measures that should be taken in South Africa to discourage the demand for the services for trafficked persons, and it did not expressly deal with traditional South African cultural practices such as ukuthwala that are misused.

As the TIP Act (2013) is not yet in operation, the combating of human trafficking is still reliant on fragmented auxiliary and transitional legislation (Mollema, 2014, pp. 246-247). A broad description of the counter-trafficking aspects of the two main pieces of anti-interim counter-trafficking provision, namely the Children's Act (2005) and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (2007) (Sexual Offences Act) (Kruger, 2012, p. 257) is given next.

The Children's Act (Act 38 of 2005).

The Children's Act (2005) reflects aspects of the Palermo Protocol (2000) (Araujo, 2011, p. 2). It defines child labour, child exploitation, sexual abuse, and commercial sexual exploitation of children including the procurement of children for use in pornography and trafficking of children for sexual activities such as prostitution and pornography (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 250). Under exploitation, the Children's Act (2005) includes all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery including debt bondage, forced marriage, sexual exploitation, servitude, forced labour or services, and the removal of body parts (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 249). Adoption secured through illegal means, that is, the exploitation of the adoptive system and laws with the purpose of exploiting children are included in the definition of trafficking in this Act (Kruger, 2012, p. 259).

The Children's Act (2005) specifies that trafficking is both a practice but also a process and therefore all the stages in the trafficking process are included (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 250). The Children's Act (2005) applies to trafficking both within and across the borders of South Africa, therefore covering transnational trafficking, as well as trafficking that occurs within South Africa (Kruger, 2012, p. 262). Under the Children's Act (2005), street children, child labourers, and refugee children are also protected (Araujo, 2011, p. 2). Chapter 18 of the Children's Act (2005) expanded child protection to include children involved in child labour and trafficked children by enforcing social work intervention and investigations into the circumstances of those children (Dinah, 2012, p. 67). The Children's Act (2005) recognises the conceptual overlap between the different forms of exploitation and abuse of children. For example, commercial sexual exploitation is a form of harmful labour and can be the result of trafficking (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 250).

Comprehensive trafficking provisions were built into this child-related law. However, prosecution of human trafficking was made more difficult as it had to be proven that the

trafficking and exploitative acts took place while the trafficked person was under the age of 18 years (Araujo, 2011, p. 3). Its anti-trafficking provisions also only came into effect in 2010, and the applications of these anti-trafficking provisions have not always been adequate (Kruger, 2010, p. 404). Counter-trafficking provisions applicable to the trafficking of adults for the purpose of sexual exploitation is covered by Sexual Offences Act (2007) (Kruger, 2012, p. 264).

The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment (Act 32 of 2007).

The Sexual Offences Act (2007) criminalises sexual abuse and exploitation by defining the act (action) and method (means) components of the trafficking definition shown in Figure 5. However, this Act (2007) only provides for sexual exploitation, including the grooming of a person for sexual exploitation (Kruger, 2012, p. 265). The Sexual Offences Act (2007) also criminalises the organising, directing, supervising, commanding, and controlling of human trafficking activities, including the transportation of trafficked persons within South Africa and across national borders. According to this Act (2007), trafficked persons are also not liable for any criminal offence they commit as a direct result of being trafficked, such as prostitution and migration-related offenses (Kruger, 2012, p. 268).

According to the Sexual Offences Act (2007), consent has to be voluntary or unforced, in contrast to the Palermo Protocol (2000) that provides that the consent of a trafficked person is irrelevant when any of the prohibited methods have been used (Kruger, 2012, p. 265). The Palermo Protocol (2000) defines any person under the age of 18 as a child. The protocol further specifies that the issue of method or means does not apply to children. The Sexual Offences Amendment Act, however, provides that children under the age of 12 are not able to

provide valid consent, while the issue of consent by children of age 12 to 17 is not defined by the Act (Kruger, 2012, p. 266).

Responding to human trafficking requires intersectoral cooperation between various stakeholders including national governments, national government agencies such as law enforcement and judiciary departments, international organisations such as the ILO and IOM, CSOs, media, academics, business, and individuals. National government and government departments play a vital role in the combat of human trafficking (World Bank, 2009, p. 9).

Government.

In any country, the national government plays a pivotal role in counter-trafficking activities in order to develop a comprehensive, national strategy against human trafficking given the complex, multifaceted nature of human trafficking (World Bank, 2009, p. 9). The South African government's national strategy started with the signing of the Palermo Protocol (2000) in 2000 and continued with a system that aimed to coordinate the actions of government departments, government agencies and CSOs involved in the field of human trafficking (Tørres & Du Toit 2010, p. 16; World Bank, 2009, p. 9). A number of government departments and agencies are involved in counter-trafficking and victim assistance activities. These include law enforcement agencies such SAPS and the NPA, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) concerning immigration issues of both trafficked persons and traffickers, the Department of Health to assist trafficked persons in the rehabilitation and reintegration stage, and the Department of Social Development (DSD) that has been tasked with the responsibility of coordinating victim assistance in South Africa (Republic of South Africa Department of Home Affairs, 2005). The DSD has a Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) that addresses the needs of crime and violence, including the needs of trafficked women through the Transnational and Violent Crimes sub-directorate.

The Justice Crime Prevention Structure (JCPS) and the Departments of Health and Education also participate in this programme (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xi).

According to the World Bank (2009, p. 9), government is a pivotal counter-trafficking stakeholder. However, CSOs have also been very active in counter-trafficking activities in South Africa even before governments became aware of the severity of human trafficking and its effects on the security and welfare of people. CSOs involved in various aspects of counter-trafficking efforts include raising awareness, conducting research, assisting law enforcement to identify victims, and the provision of rehabilitation and reintegration services to the victims of human trafficking (World Bank, 2009, p. 9).

Civil society organisations.

Bales (2005, p. 69) argued that in recent decades the nature of political action has shifted from established political parties to non-state, issue-based campaigning groups formed around moral aims. This shift is a reflection of a growing awareness among citizenry that relevant issues that affect their lives transcend the reach of political parties and governments. These non-state organisations were not restricted by nation-state boundaries and thus were able to expand their operations beyond cultural boundaries (Bales, 2005, p. 78). Aided by globalisation and the expansion of telecommunications, these non-state actors (Bales, 2005) also referred to as CSOs (World Bank, 2013a) have become significant players in the delivery of social services and other development programs to complement government action (World Bank, 2013a).

The World Bank (2013a) defined the term civil society to include a wide variety of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations “that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious, or philanthropic considerations” (para. 4). CSOs therefore refer to a

wide variety of organisations including NGOs, faith based organisations (FBOs), community based organisations (CBOs), and public benefit organisations (PBOs) (Republic of South Africa Department of Social Development, 2006, p. 21).

Shabangu (2010, p. 16) asserted that CSOs are well placed to work with trafficked persons for several reasons. Trafficked persons often fear and distrust state-based organisations due to fear of deportation, fear of traffickers, fear of being pressurised to testify, and the involvement of corrupt police and government officials in human trafficking. According to Shabangu (2010, p. 16) the majority of trafficking victims are identified through referrals from CSO operations such as shelters and outreach work. Law enforcement identifies less than 30% of victims of trafficking. CSOs therefore are often first in line in counter-trafficking actions such as victim identification and assistance (Tsvetkova, 2002, p. 61).

International and national civil society organisations are strongly involved in victim-assistance programmes in South Africa, especially in providing secure shelters for persons who leave trafficking situations (Tørres & Du Toit, 2010, p. 24) and lobbying government to focus on human trafficking (Roelofse, 2011, p. 16). Prominent civil society organisations in the field of human trafficking in South Africa include the Salvation Army's Anti-Human Trafficking Program, STOP Human Trafficking, Anex, and the A21 campaign. The National Freedom Network (NFN), launched in 2011, is a CSO that acts as a connection point for its 450 counter-trafficking member organisations and individuals with the aim of increasing the effectiveness of all stakeholders involved in counter-trafficking actions. The NFN has specific objectives such as community mobilisation to identify recruiters and the industry networking (D. Wilkinson, personal communication, September 9, 2013).

The IOM was very active in South Africa and ran a comprehensive victim assistance programme in southern Africa between 2003 and 2010. The two-stage Southern Africa

Counter-Trafficking Assistance Programme (SACTAP) focussed on information and research, awareness raising, training, policy dialogue, and the protection of trafficked persons in southern Africa. The IOM also developed information tools and awareness campaigns in southern Africa, aided in the development of a referral network between government and NGOs (Tørres & Du Toit, 2010, p. 6), and supported CSOs. The organisation also helped previously trafficked persons reintegrate back into their communities (Ngwira, 2009, p. 94).

In the area of human trafficking, CSOs often have taken up the challenge of meeting the needs of trafficking victims in the relative absence of government initiatives and assistance (Tzvetkova, 2002, p. 60). Despite the limited resources of many civil society organisations such as limited funds, training, and access to information, Tsvetkova (2002, p. 60) argued that NGOs often have taken the lead in combating trafficking in their respective countries. Although CSOs provide services that government often do not have the expertise and resources to provide, in recent years NGOs in South Africa have experienced difficulty in securing adequate funding to provide for the needs of the communities they serve (Davis, 2012). A 2012 survey by a public service organisation, Greater Good SA, revealed that 80% of the 695 NGOs surveyed had experienced significant funding cuts in 2012. As a result, 17% of the NGOs had no operating funds and only 29% had enough funds to remain operational for one month (The Big Issue, 2012, para. 6). Among the NGOs reportedly most severely affected were the Saartjie Baartman Centre in Cape Town that caters for abused women and children and also takes in human trafficking victims for rehabilitation and reintegration. In May 2012, the centre faced imminent closure due to lack of funds. After a fundraising campaign by private citizens and a R1.1 million grant from DSD, the centre was able to remain open (Davis, 2012, para. 14).

A vital aspect of counter-trafficking activities is the implementation of the law through the investigation of possible human trafficking cases, followed by the prosecution and

conviction of human traffickers (United States Department of State, 2011a). The counter-trafficking activities of law enforcement are discussed next.

Law enforcement and judicial agencies.

Law enforcement has been recognised as the counter-trafficking entity with greatest chance to identify a trafficked person (Clawson & Dutch, 2008, p. 4). The importance of the correct identification of a trafficked person is not only of “vital importance for an investigator” (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 15), it also is consistent with the modern victim-centred law enforcement approach in which the correct identification of trafficked persons are as important as the investigation and criminal justice process (Sison-Arroyo, 2008, pp. 852-853).

Identification of trafficking victims and the crime of human trafficking.

The first step in the investigation of any crime is the identification of the crime that has been committed, the identification of the victim, and the positive identification of the perpetrator, and the perpetrator’s unlawful participation in the crime (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 15). Gallagher and Holmes (2008, p. 329) identified factors which contributed to low rates of victim identification internationally. These include the covert nature of human trafficking activities, high levels of trauma experienced by trafficking victims, distrust of law enforcements, and the lack of awareness of trafficked individuals of their legal rights and their status as victims of human trafficking. Also in South Africa, a number of factors have interfered with the effective identification of trafficked persons. The most prominent factor has been the lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation in South Africa (Araujo, 2011, p. 2) which resulted in a lack of comprehensive and coordinated policy around human trafficking. It also made the identification of human trafficking in all its forms almost impossible, as only child trafficking and trafficking for sexual exploitation were illegal

according to interim legislation. This influenced the implementation of preventative measures, the prosecution of traffickers, and the protection of trafficked persons (Araujo, 2011, p. 3) and contributed to a prominent characteristic of human trafficking, namely that it is a hidden, clandestine crime (Swart, 2012, p. 71).

Even when existing legislation prohibited some form of trafficking, the broad definition of human trafficking made the identification of the crime more difficult. For example, it is difficult to distinguish between human trafficking for sexual exploitation and voluntary prostitution (Gould, 2006, p. 21; Luty, 2012, p. 15). As there is no clear-cut definition of what constitutes exploitation, Gould (2006, p. 21) argued that almost any act through which an individual ends up in an exploitative situation can be interpreted to be human trafficking (Gould, 2006, p. 21). As a result, the identification of trafficked women is made more difficult for police officers, as they have to distinguish between women who prostitute themselves voluntarily but who also experience abuse, rape, or exploitation, and trafficked persons forced into prostitution (Gould, 2010, p. 33). A broad definition of human trafficking therefore is a double-edged sword. It means that traffickers can be charged with some aspect of the crime, but it also leads to difficulties in locating and identifying trafficked persons (Gould, 2006, p. 21).

Police officers have also found it difficult to identify child trafficking, as at first it may appear to be a common law such as abduction or kidnapping (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 16). As a result, the police registered many cases of child trafficking as kidnapping, rape, or abduction. Even if the police officer recognised the crime as trafficking, he or she was not able to register it as such due to shortcomings in the SAPS' data capturing system. A participant in Van Zyl and Horne's (2009, p. 16) study revealed how "approximately 10 to 15 former cases [of human trafficking] I identified were registered as kidnapping, abduction or rape" (p.16).

A number of studies (Bermudez, 2008, p. 35; Gould & Fick, 2008; Ngwira, 2011) have revealed that characteristics of police officers in SAPS have interfered with the identification of trafficked persons. The first such factor relates to the lack of training of SAPS officers in human trafficking. Bermudez (2008, p. 35) revealed that law enforcement officials often did not have adequate training to identify trafficked persons, especially when they were women who were being sexually exploited and involved in prostitution. Similarly, Ngwira (2011, p. 136) confirmed that many police officers in the Eastern Cape felt that they did not have adequate training to deal with the crime. Due to a lack of training, police officers often confused the smuggling of humans, migration, and human trafficking (Araujo, 2011, p. 4). Trafficked persons have also been misclassified as prostituted women (Seethal & Ngwira, 2009), juvenile delinquents, or regarded as missing persons. When such misclassifications took place, human trafficking cases were channelled to incorrect units for investigation (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 18).

According to Ngwira (2011, p. 158), the quality of training police officers have received is also regarded as a contributing factor to the under identification of trafficked persons. For example, although human trafficking can differ radically between urban and rural areas, Eastern Cape police officers complained that their training did not consider this as rural and urban police officers received generic human trafficking training. It was noted that most human trafficking training took place in urban areas, although human trafficking was also perceived to be rife in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape (Ngwira, 2011, p. 158). Ngwira (2011, p. 158) revealed that only higher ranked police officers and civil society management were invited to training on human trafficking. Ngwira (2011, p. 159) argued that although it could have been assumed that management would train more junior ranked officers and civil society organisation workers, it is usually the lower ranked personnel that come into contact

with trafficked persons first. Therefore, Ngwira asserted that they “need to be exposed to first-hand information as well” (p. 159).

Bermudez (2008, p. 35) noted that another aspect limiting the identification of trafficked person is the seeming unwillingness of members of SAPS to take action when a case of human trafficking is reported to them. Many counter-trafficking stakeholders reported instances when they reported information about human trafficking to SAPS, after which SAPS took no action (Bermudez, 2008, p. 35). One community organisation, for example, reported how it reported information about two underage girls trafficked from Pretoria to Port Elizabeth to SAPS after which “nothing happened” (Bermudez, 2008, p. 35). The 2013 Trafficking in Person report (United States Department of State, 2013, p. 335) noted an incident where SAPS took one week to respond to a distress call from a trafficked person.

The fourth interfering factor relates to the distrusting relationship between SAPS and prostituted women that makes it unlikely that prostituted women will identify women forced into prostitution or disclose that they are in such a situation to a member of SAPS (Fick, 2006, p. 16). Recent studies (Bird & Donaldson, 2009, p. 43; Fick, 2006, p. 16; Gould & Fick, 2008, p. 55; Richter et al., 2010, p. 4; Richter & Massawe, 2010, pp. 24-25) have reported that members of SAPS raped, assaulted, extorted, intimidated, and unlawfully arrested prostitutes. Gould and Fick (2008, p. 55) found that 47% of street-based prostituted women had been threatened by police, 12 % had been raped by a police officer, 63% had been verbally abused by a police officer, and 28% of prostituted women surveyed had been asked for sex in exchange for being released from custody. Distrust of SAPS increases further when police officers make themselves guilty of corruption. For example, Bird and Donaldson (2009, p. 43) reported that brothel owners and pimps expect prostitutes to have sex with police officers for free to avoid being fined or arrested.

Research evidence also suggests that women involved in street-level prostitution are unlikely to report violence, such as rape, to the police as police often traumatised and humiliated prostituted women when they attempted to report a crime (Fick, 2006, p. 16). Luty (2012, p. 6) suggested that stigma against prostituted women plays a role in the negative relationships between police officers and prostitutes, noting that girls trafficked for sexual exploitation is often assumed to “be just another group of morally depraved girls searching for easy money” (p. 6). Araujo (2011, p. 4) asserted that during raids on brothels and street brothels, police officers are not focussed on identifying persons involved in prostitution as a result of trafficking but treat these women as criminals, as prostitution is illegal in South Africa (Araujo, 2011, p. 4).

In addition to the intricacies involved in the identification of trafficked persons, Verhoeven and Van Gestel (2011) argued that the investigation of human trafficking cases is a “complex undertaking” for law enforcement (p. 149). The investigation of human trafficking and the difficulties involved in this process are discussed in the next section.

Investigation of the crime of human trafficking.

Investigative aims have transitioned from a traditional law enforcement model that focussed on bringing offenders to justice to a victim centred model that include issues such as adequate protection during prosecution and allows for the recovery, rehabilitation, and reintegration of previously trafficking persons in addition to the investigative function (Sison-Arroyo, 2008, p. 853).

As human trafficking is such as multifaceted and complex crime, the need for the input of professionals from various disciplines is essential to ensure a holistic counter-trafficking approach (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 45). Therefore, within the victim centred investigative approach, investigators should work with multidisciplinary teams consisting of

social workers, criminologists, NGOs, and FBOs. Case conferencing, during which all stakeholders meet to discuss the progress of cases while solutions to problems are sought, are common where criminal investigators follow the more modern investigation process (Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 22). Horne (2014, p. 289) found that police investigators and state prosecutors highlighted the need for multisectoral cooperation during human trafficking investigations and prosecutions.

Human trafficking investigations are usually lengthier and more complex than other criminal investigations (Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011, p. 149) due a number of challenges. The first is that human trafficking cases are complicated due to the involvement of organised crime syndicates and the covert nature of the crime (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, pp. 10, 15). This necessitates a shift in police strategy from a conventional or traditional investigation strategy to a more unconventional and covert investigative approach to counter similar methods used by organised crime and its perpetrators. This strategy requires that proper information and intelligence be gathered (Roelofse, 2011, p. 15) and that this information be properly managed and secured in such a way that the privacy and protection of previously trafficked persons are guaranteed (Araujo, 2011, p. 8). Gallagher and Holmes (2008, p. 332), however, acknowledged that effective proactive investigation capacity such as adequate resources and skills are not available in many countries in which human trafficking takes place.

The second challenge, necessitating a move away from traditional investigative methods is that human trafficking is not a “single, static, ‘event’ but much more a process” (Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011, p. 150) with many offenders and crime sites. The investigation into human trafficking therefore differs from criminal investigations into ‘single event’ crimes such as drug trafficking (Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011, p. 150). To prove each element of the human trafficking crime, the investigator has to obtain evidence about

each element of the crime. In addition to witness and victim statements, evidence can also include physical evidence such as computer and cell phone evidence, documents, blood, semen, drugs, and firearms. Human trafficking investigations are also time-consuming as many different departments and organisations are involved such as the Department of Home Affairs, the DSD, and Interpol (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 21).

A third challenge that complicates human trafficking investigations is that trafficked persons are difficult witnesses to work with. They are often drug dependent and may return to their trafficker to obtain drugs (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 21). They may also give inconsistent victim statements when they fear retribution from the traffickers should they give evidence (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, pp. 15-16).

Aromaa (2007, p. 18) reported how Finnish police officers found that trafficked persons were reluctant to identify themselves as 'victims' and press charges against their traffickers. This hampered the investigations which invariably rely on the statements of these trafficking victims, as they would often not cooperate, deny that they are being exploited, and attempt to escape from those people that are "trying to help him/her" (Gould, 2006, p. 22). A similar denial of being a victim of the crime was noted by Lutya (2009, p. 64) who, after interacting with prostituted women involved in street prostitution, reported that some of these women were aware of human trafficking activities in South Africa. For example, one prostituted woman revealed during an interaction with Lutya: "some pimps do sell girls to other pimps in exchange for cash." (p. 64). Others admitted that their pimps took their earnings away, while Lutya observed that men following them around and reminding them to attempt to lure johns controlled the movements of some of the women. However, as these women had voluntarily selected to work as prostituted women, they denied that their situation amounted to human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Verhoeven and Van Gestel (2011, pp. 149-150) asserted that this reluctance can be attributed to shame when the trafficked person blames herself for

the situation she finds herself in or to the ambivalent attachment between the trafficked person and the trafficker. Sometimes, it is in the interest of the trafficked person to continue working even if it is in exploitative conditions because she does make some money by prostituting herself (Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011, pp. 149-150). The reluctance of trafficked persons to press charges influences the active support of SAPS managers into investigating human trafficking as they often perceive trafficked persons as people “who do not want to be helped” (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 21).

According to Gallagher and Holmes (2008, p. 332), human trafficking investigations rely greatly on the cooperation and testimony of victims of trafficking. This strong reliance on victims, who are often unreliable witnesses, increases the necessity for the use of proactive investigation techniques (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008, p. 332). Horne (2014, p. 221) revealed that among the reasons victims of trafficking identified in South Africa did not want to cooperate with the law enforcement and criminal justice system included substance withdrawal and fear of traffickers’ retaliation. Horne (2014, p. 290) also found that South African prosecutors have learned that victim care and support is vital in human trafficking cases. For example, public prosecutors noted that the criminal justice system has to “take care of the victim first; to prevent secondary abuse and trauma to victims as without the victim’s evidence there is no case.” (p. 290). Prosecutors also highlighted the complex nature of human trafficking prosecutions as stakeholders have to “expect the unexpected” (p. 290) during investigations and prosecutions.

Van Zyl and Horne (2009, p. 17) asserted that the fourth challenge specific to the South African context has been the lack of legislation, formal policy, and guidelines in SAPS which focussed on trafficking investigations. As a result, many detectives investigating human trafficking had to create their own investigative process, which complicates investigations as well as complicates the prosecution of traffickers. Trafficking cases were also not channelled

to the correct investigative units (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 17). Van Zyl and Horne (2009, p. 20) further noted that there has also been a lack of specific guidelines to deal with and assist trafficking victims. Again, individual detectives have created their own processes, which are time consuming and could be potentially harmful to the trafficked person. For example, in one case police officers had no specific guidelines on how to obtain the immediate cooperation of a social worker to provide emotional support to a trafficked person, even though experience had shown that such cooperation could assist the rehabilitation and reintegration of a trafficked person (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 20).

As trafficking cases are demanding and complex, Van Zyl and Horne (2009, p. 23) argued that “only experienced and well-trained investigators may achieve success” (p. 23). These investigators should have specialised knowledge of, for example, the investigation of organised crime, common law, and statutory crimes involved in trafficking, issues such as the trauma experienced by trafficking victims and how it influences the investigation, and the collection of exhibits (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, pp. 17, 22). Such specialised investigative teams should also be able to undertake proactive investigations that necessitate skills such as intelligence gathering and management, surveillance techniques, and undercover operations (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008, p. 325). A lack of skills in investigating human trafficking among police officers and State prosecutors emerged as one of the reasons for the lack of success of counter-trafficking efforts in the Eastern Cape (Seethal & Ngwira, 2009). One such skill is the special investigative skills to build trust between themselves and the victim of child trafficking to obtain reliable victim statements. At times, the lack of material resources also limits the efficacy of an investigation (Ngwira, 2011, p. 141). For example, suitable venues to interview child trafficking victims were not available at SAPS’ Organised Crime Units, which limited the effectiveness of interviews with child trafficking victims (Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 21).

One of the purposes of an investigation is the prosecution and conviction of the perpetrator (Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 22). Under the Palermo Protocol (2000) framework, prosecution is an indispensable element to counter human trafficking (United States Department of State, 2011a).

Prosecution and conviction.

The National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa (NPA) is the body mandated to institute and conduct criminal prosecutions on behalf of the State (National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa, 2014). The NPA and police officers work together during such processes. For example, investigating officers take statements from witnesses and victims from which they give evidence in a court of law (Ngwira, 2011, p. 89).

There have been few human trafficking prosecutions and convictions in South Africa (Thelwell & van der Merwe, 2014). The number of prosecutions has shown an upward trend, however, as the United States Department of State (2014, p. 348) reported that prosecution against 12 prosecutions alleged sex traffickers began in 2014, compared to 2013 figures when prosecutions involving only seven suspects were initiated. There have been no successful prosecutions against large international syndicates responsible for the majority of sex trafficking in South Africa (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 348).

An alleged national human trafficking syndicate was exposed in South Africa in 2008 after a police officer from Port Elizabeth investigated a case of a missing Port Elizabeth teenage girl. His investigation uncovered a human trafficking syndicate in Bloemfontein with strong links to another syndicate in Port Elizabeth. A raid in August 2008 at the Maitland Hotel in Bloemfontein involving a large number police officers resulted in the rescue of three trafficked women—two from Port Elizabeth—the arrest of 10 people, the confiscation of drugs and stolen goods, and information about five Port Elizabeth-based

Nigerian men allegedly involved in the human trafficking syndicate (Hayward, 2008). This operation resulted in the prosecution of six Nigerian men in the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court in 2010 (Wilson & Mphande, 2010, para. 1). The process of prosecution started with a bail hearing. In light of the absence of comprehensive human trafficking legislation (Preller 2011, para. 4), the men were charged with 30 counts based on acts named in the Sexual Offences Act (2007) and the Children's Act (2005). These charges included luring an 11-year old girl into the sex trade for profit, the sexual assault of a 12-year old girl, and living off the proceeds of prostitution from 2005 to 2008 (Preller, 2011, para. 2; Wilson & Mphande 2010, para. 1). The State opposed bail and in January 2011, the Magistrate denied bail to the six charged Nigerian men (Preller, 2011, para. 9). Even though the presiding officer commented that he was impressed with the preparation of the case for the bail application hearing (Preller, 2011, para. 9), the case was withdrawn due to severe contradictions in the statements of the four trafficked women. This affected the probability that the men could be convicted of acting as a crime network involved in human trafficking activities. While some of the accused could have been prosecuted for the sexual exploitation of the four trafficked women, the state prosecutor decided that it would be psychologically damaging for the victims to be witnesses in four consecutive prosecutions considering their contradictory statements (Z. Swanepoel, personal communication, January, 13, 2014).

This case illustrates how a number of factors can contribute to unsuccessful prosecutions. David (2008) argued that prosecutors will have great difficulty to prosecute traffickers when the legal frameworks are "incomplete, unclear or inadequate" (p. 1) for example, when the laws focussed only on women and children as victims or only on trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation as is the case in South Africa until the comprehensive Act (2013) is operational. In South Africa, the lack of prosecutions has largely been due to a lack of comprehensive legislation (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 60; Ngwira, 2011, p.

138; Seethal & Ngwira, 2009) as traffickers could only be charged with secondary offenses such as sexual assault, rape, or kidnapping (Bermudez, 2008, p. 35). According to research by the HSRC (2010, p. 60) the lack of sufficient directives, protocols, and training manuals available to stakeholders in the investigative and prosecution process further contributed to the low number of trafficking prosecutions in South Africa. Directives are administrative instructions issued to prosecutors by the national or provincial offices of the NPA on specific topics such as the referral of certain categories of cases to the High Court after initial appearance in the lower courts. A protocol refers to an agreement setting out the responsibilities of each stakeholder, usually detailing the practical steps to be followed by each stakeholder (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 60).

The HSRC (2010, pp. 63-64) indicated that the poor quality of investigations contributed to the lack of prosecutions. For example, a poorly taken police statement taken from a witness could impact on the credibility of a witness in court. The HSRC noted that various other factors also contributed to the poor quality of human trafficking investigations. These factors include the level of experience and training of police officers, the lack of intelligence-gathering capacity of investigators, and the heavy workload of police investigators. The HSRC (2010, pp. 63-64) suggested that special investigators in human trafficking cases could improve the quality of police investigations in human trafficking cases.

Farrell, Owens, and McDevitt (2014) indicated that victim testimony in human trafficking cases is “virtually an absolute necessity” (p. 157). However, as illustrated above, trafficked persons are often traumatised and unreliable trafficked persons who are often unwilling to give evidence (Bermudez, 2008, p. 35; David, 2008, p. 1; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 67; Seethal & Ngwira, 2009). This limits the number of criminal charges that can be laid against an offender (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 67). According to the HSRC (2010, p. 63) the length of time it takes to finalise criminal cases also

reduced the willingness of human trafficking victims to testify. During this time, some witnesses may disappear either because they have returned to the trafficking situation or because they do not want their communities to know they were trafficked, especially when they worked in the sex industry (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 63). Cases against traffickers were also withdrawn because witnesses “disappear for fear of their lives” (Bermudez, 2008, p. 35). When a witness is unavailable, prosecutors can only prosecute the suspects on minor offences or else they have to withdraw the charges (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 63).

The consistency between statements and the related issue of the credibility of witnesses in a prosecution has a considerable impact on the outcome of prosecutions and the outcome of prosecutions (Lievore, 2004, p. 1). According to David (2008, p. 3) trafficked persons’ witness statements can be inconsistent and even contradictory in substantial ways, reducing to their credibility as witnesses. Trafficked persons are usually highly traumatised which impacts significantly on memory which can result in confusion over chronology or complete inability to recall key events (David, 2008, p. 1). Inconsistencies in witness statements can be used to attack the credibility of trafficked person in court and undermine their evidence (David, 2007, p. 3). The nature of the trauma can also make victim witnesses unpredictable while they may become disinterested in participating in the prosecution as a case sometimes takes more than a year to come to trial (Annison, 2013, p. 83). Other contributing factors to victims’ unwillingness to make a statement includes suspicion towards authority, intimidation, threats, and pressure from a trafficker not to make a statement, or may fear to be sent home in disgrace (Helfferich et al, 2011, p. 125). In Port Elizabeth, for example, one trafficked person withdrew the case against the trafficker after a flat belonging to one of her family members was petrol bombed (Ngwira, 2011, p. 89).

The United States Department of State (2014, p. 35) reported that a lack of coordination between departments negatively influence the ability of SAPS to detain suspected criminals. Shelters admit victims of trafficking only if they provide evidence of force, fraud, or coercion immediately after their rescue. However, police officers found that many traumatised victims are unable or unwilling to provide statements within the 48-hour period in which suspected traffickers can be detained without evidence. This results in the release of suspected traffickers (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 350). Furthermore, Annison (2013, p. 58) indicated that there is also a tension between the best interest of the victim of trafficking and the police's need to gather evidence which can result in pressurising traumatised victims to make sworn statements. This may result in the re-victimisation of the trafficked person and a later unwillingness to participate in the prosecution process.

Van der Watt (2014, pp. 2-3) indicated that the final factor contributing to the lack of success in prosecuting and conviction in human trafficking cases lies in the complexity of the crime of human trafficking. It is a difficult, time-consuming, and resource-intensive crime to investigate and prosecute. Farrell et al.(2014, p. 154) however found that there was relatively little specialisation in law enforcement and criminal justice in the United States of America to deal with the complexity of human trafficking investigations and prosecutions. Due to the complexity of human trafficking prosecutions, prosecutors were therefore reticent to accept human trafficking cases, which discourage police officers from investigating human trafficking cases (Farrell et al, 2014, p. 155).

Despite the challenges facing the prosecution and conviction of human trafficking offenders, a number of successful prosecutions took place in South African during 2014. In February 2014, a 31-year-old male was convicted for the rape, assault, and trafficking of a 14-year-old girl from the Eastern Cape province for the purpose of forced marriage (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 349). The accused was sentenced to 22 years

imprisonment. The victim was sold for R8 000 by her uncle without the consent of her mother (Thelwell & Van der Merwe, 2014). While living with the accused, the young woman was raped several times and beaten with a broomstick, a whip, and a belt (Otto, 2014). The case is currently under appeal on the grounds of living, cultural practices protected under the Constitution (Trewel & Van der Merwe, 2014).

In November 2014, a wealthy 62-year old man was sentenced to eight life terms for the trafficking and rape of five Mozambican girls aged between 10 and 16 years of age. The co-accused in the case, a 24-year old Mozambican citizen, received 20 years imprisonment, suspended for five years. The fact that the co-accused was also a victim of human trafficking was taken into account in the sentencing. She was trafficked by her sister from Mozambique and raped by the accused when she was 12 years old (Ferrari & Bloch, 2014).

Reasons why people are vulnerable to be trafficked are complex (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 84), interdependent, and interconnected (Lutya & Lanier, 2012, p. 555). Certain conditions can create a high-risk context that can increase the risk of trafficking (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 253). Persons may also have personal qualities that contribute to their vulnerability (Lutya, 2012, p. 11). However, it is also important to bear in mind that any specific case of human trafficking may share certain characteristics (Bales, 2005, p. 277) with other cases but it may also have its unique set of contributing factors and effects (Bales, 2007, p. 269). While there is very little reliable research on the factors that increase the risk of being trafficked (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 253), there is value in understanding the factors in that they may be early warning indicators (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 255). These personal and contextual factors are explored next.

Factors that Create a Context Conducive to Human Trafficking

Lutya (2012, p. 9) argued for the use of three theoretical attributes to conceptualise the presence of trafficking for sexual exploitation of young women and girls in South Africa. These attributes that include (a) victim vulnerability, (b) victim precipitation, and (c) the victim-trafficker relationship, are explored next.

Victim vulnerability.

Victim vulnerability refers to the presence of personal and contextual factors in a person's life that make them more vulnerable to being trafficked. These factors include the lifestyle and personal characteristics of the person. Personal characteristics that may increase vulnerability include the person's lack of maturity (Lutya, 2012, p. 16) and a desire for a better life and hope for a new start (Bales, 2005, p. 141). Bales (2005) explained that personal characteristics such as language or physical appearance contributes to the vulnerability of a person as traffickers target people who most closely match "the needs of their economic activity" (p. 142). Other personal characteristics include sexual promiscuity, crime, and substance abuse (Lutya, 2012, p. 10).

Contextual factors such as the deterioration of social and cultural values through exposure to mass media (Khedikar, 2013, p. 43), the socio-economic environment, unfavourable home and family conditions, the lack of parental supervision, and domestic violence increase the vulnerability to be trafficked (Bales, 2005, p. 141; Lutya, 2012, p. 16). According to Mertz (2013, p. 1) in the United States the majority of children trafficked into sexual exploitation willingly left their homes because of maltreatment or family dysfunction in an attempt to "fill a void in their life" (p. 2). Thereafter they were groomed or abducted to be prostituted by their traffickers. Wilson and Butler (2013, p. 2) reported that child abuse was a prominent vulnerability factor found among children trafficked for sexual exploitation

in the USA. Chronic child sexual abuse, therefore, may condition children to view themselves as sexual objects. They may display age-inappropriate sexualised behaviour and are more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour, further increasing their vulnerability to be exploited (Wilson & Butler, 2013, p. 2).

Everitt (2013) revealed that among child trafficking victims in South Africa the “relational vacuum” (p. 133) in their family of origin was one of the most significant contributors to the vulnerability of these girls to be trafficked. Everitt (2013) surmised that when these girls did not receive the love and belonging they desired from their family members, they looked for it elsewhere. This placed them in situations in which “predators” (p. 123) were able to take advantage of their relational needs.

Victim vulnerability also includes accepting a lifestyle that facilitates interaction with the trafficker (Lutya, 2010, p. 9). This includes rising aspirations linked to increasing exposure to mass media among youth (Huda, 2006, p. 375) and a growing culture of immediate gratification and materialism among young women and girls in South Africa (Lutya, 2012, p. 16). Many young South African women and girls therefore spend a significant amount of time in entertainment establishments where liquor is sold such as taverns, shebeens, nightclubs, and bars. In this context, vulnerable young women and girls may engage in the abuse of liquor and illegal substances, risky sexual behaviour, and even in criminal activities. Not all young women and girls in these establishments are trafficked, but when coupled with personal characteristics such as immaturity, drug addiction or abuse, or sexual promiscuity, recruitment by a trafficker is made easier (Lutya, 2012, p. 9).

The desire for material belongings such as cell phones and brand-label clothing may further motivate young women and girls to engage in transactional sex with older men to obtain money to buy the wares they desire (Lutya, 2010, pp. 102-103). The relationship could gradually become exploitative as the male persuades the young woman to generate

more money through prostitution. Eventually, the male companion may move the young woman to another location to exploit her commercially (Lutya, 2012, p. 17).

Victim precipitation.

Victim precipitation refers to a person's words and behaviour that precipitate their active or passive victimisation (Lutya, 2012, p. 9). For example, in the absence of economic opportunities, a person may ask for help from a trafficker, accept an offer to travel without the needed immigration documentation, or accept a non-existent offer of employment (Lutya, 2012, pp. 9, 12). The person may not be aware of the consequences of their actions as the trafficker usually conceals the negative conditions at the destination (Lutya, 2012, p. 10).

Victim-trafficker relationship.

Interaction with persons who might turn out to be traffickers increases the vulnerability of a person to be trafficked. As traffickers can range from complete strangers to close friends, family, and even legitimate employment agencies, there may be regular, legitimate interaction between a trafficker and a potential trafficked person. When interaction between the victim and trafficker are combined with the first two vulnerability factors, the likelihood that the person could be trafficked increases (Bales, 2005, p. 142; Lutya, 2012, p. 11). Traffickers also tend to manipulate the degree of deception from full to partial deception when recruiting a victim depending on the perceived vulnerability of the trafficked person (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p. 48).

Bales (2007, p. 269) was of the opinion that each case of human trafficking is the result of a unique set of causes and effects. Thus, there are no homogenous causes of human trafficking. Bales (2007, p. 269), however, asserted that there are commonalities in human trafficking such as economic, social, and cultural factors. These factors typically are described in terms of push and pull factors. The push and pull dynamic is comparable to the

supply and demand equation (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 32). Push factors refer to challenges facing populations that make them vulnerable to be trafficked. Pull factors are factors which drive the demand for the exploitative use of individuals (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12).

Delpont et al., (2007) considered push and pull factors to be in a complex “mutually reinforcing” (p. 32) relationship where some push factors also can be pull factors and vice versa. Similarly, the ILO (2006, p. 19) emphasised that push and pull factors should not be seen in isolation but rather human trafficking is facilitated by “the hidden interaction of demand and supply” (p. 19). Delpont et al., (2007) considered push and pull factors to be “two sides of the same coin” (p. 32) as these factors can be “mutually reinforcing ... some of the causes can also be the consequences of others” (p. 32).

A useful way to conceptualise push and pull factors is through the economic supply and demand paradigm in which human trafficking is encouraged by both supply and demand market forces (Bermudez, 2008, p. 17). Applying this approach, Wheaton et al. (2010, p. 114) conceptualised employers as the consumers and human beings as the product. Wheaton et al., (2010) considered traffickers to be the “intermediaries between vulnerable individuals and employers by supplying differentiated products to employers” (p. 114). Bales (2005) observed that there was a “seemingly endless” (p. 155) supply of people available for exploitation in origin countries, combined with a similar endless demand for the services of trafficked persons. Not only economic factors but also social and historical factors can serve as both push and pull factors (Bermudez, 2008, p. 17).

While push and pull factors have global similarities, they vary in salience and scale in each context of human trafficking (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 32). The most salient push factors relevant to the South African context are revealed in the following section to provide further understanding of the complex context that facilitates human trafficking in South Africa.

Push Factors

Socio-economic factors.

Certain authors (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12; Lutya, 2009, p. 68) consider economics and poverty as of the most important push factors in human trafficking. When impoverished, desperation for work, and the uncertainty of underpaid or temporary jobs (Lutya, 2009, p. 69) often forces individuals to “overlook the potential hazards of accepting an offer” (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12), especially in rural areas where there is a lack of sustainable employment opportunities (Bermudez, 2008, p. 46; Delpont et al., 2007, p. 32).

According to Everitt (2013, p. 134) families in low socio-economic levels focus on physical survival instead of meeting the emotional needs of the family members. The families thus do not meet the need for love and belonging of children in the family. In conditions of poverty and deprivation, parents may also neglect or abuse their children. These conditions increase the vulnerability of children to be trafficked. In situations of poverty, parents have also been known to look away when children engage in activities such as prostitution and transactional sex with ‘sugar daddies’ in exchange for money, which increases the vulnerability of these children (Lutya, 2009, p. 68). Intergenerational sex is also entrenched in South African society. It is tolerated as a way for unemployed women and adolescents to earn an income. This practice increases the vulnerability of females as traffickers enter into a sexual relationship with underage girls only to groom or force them into prostitution (Lutya, 2012, p. 17).

Traffickers, aware of the desperation created by poverty exploit the situation to lure vulnerable persons forcefully or voluntarily into human trafficking situations (Lutya, 2009, p. 68). It is important to note, however, that poverty is only one of the push factors, as the vast majority of people living in poverty are not trafficked (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 253). Poverty

and socio-economic considerations may not be a contributing factor to every type of trafficking either (Gould et al., 2010, p. 42).

Entrenched power relations.

The socially constructed inferior position of women and children in society contributes to a context in which human trafficking can take place (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). Trafficking is the result of purposive actions by people bolstered by entrenched power relations that operate at local, regional, and international levels. These power relationships include male authority over women and adult authority over children (Cluver et al., 2007, p. 253).

The Palermo Protocol (2000) explicitly mentions women and children as groups particularly vulnerable to being trafficked (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). South Africa is a patriarchal society where men have the power to shape the relationship between genders including the sexual relationship between men and women (Bermudez, 2008, p. 15). Nabo (2013, p. 25) further explained that the Eastern Cape has retained much of its traditional patriarchal social norms. Men are in authoritative positions and make decisions for women and girls, while the females in the family have to depend on the males without giving their own input into decisions. Patriarchy encourages “boys to be boys” (Nabo, 2013, p. 25) while girls have to be “passive and naïve” (Kovačević & Mirović, 2007, p. 25). The result of the reinforcement of these notions is that women are brought up to be loyal and obedient in a subordinate position to men, thereby enhancing the vulnerability of females in a patriarchal society (Kovačević & Mirović, 2007, p. 25). In addition, patriarchy with its rigid social constructions of women and children relegates them to positions of being ‘owned’ and therefore being disposable (Delpont et al, 2007, p. 37).

Women and children are generally trafficked into gender-specific areas of exploitation such as prostitution, sex tourism, domestic labour, or forced or commercial marriages where

they are at risk to suffer gender-specific harm such as rape (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). According to Delport et al. (2007, p. 37) these contexts of sexual exploitation are underpinned by a sexual entitlement, endemic in patriarchy, where women and children have to be grateful and appreciative for how they are treated by their so-called superiors. Gender-based violence such as sexual violence and abuse may be linked to vulnerability to be trafficked, especially into the sex industry (Bermudez, 2008, p. 15; Luty, 2009, p. 59).

Gender-based discrimination which limits the participation of women in areas such as education, credit, land, resources, and public participation further nurtures an environment that increases women and children's chances of being trafficked (Araujo, 2011, p. 5). Gould (2007) asserted that trafficking is strongly related to "those in a position of power" (p. 11) who take advantage of those without access to resources. Furthermore, Gould (2007) asserted:

As long as it is possible for women who do not have access to resources to move to seek a better future, we shall continue to see cases of trafficking, exploitation and abuse, as such women place their futures in the hands of those who can work the system (p. 11-12).

HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS can intensify the vulnerability factors that already exist in a person's life and increase the vulnerability of especially children to be trafficked or lured into sexual exploitation (Richter, 2004, p. 27). If parents or caregivers have HIV/AIDS, parental protection may be reduced, the poverty among affected families and communities may be increased (Cluver et al, 2007, p. 254), and the number of dependent children in a household may increase as orphaned children are fostered (Richter, 2004, p. 27). Maqoko and Dreyer (2008) highlighted the vulnerability of children orphaned by the HIV/AIDS pandemic:

Impoverished and without parents to educate and protect them, orphans and other affected children face every kind of abuse and risk, including becoming infected with HIV themselves. Thus, Maqoko and Dreyer (2008) explicated that many of these orphaned children and adolescents are forced into exploitative and dangerous work, including exchanging sex for money, food, protection or shelter (p. 719).

Many children orphaned or affected by HIV/AIDS drop out of school. As relatively uneducated adults, they are vulnerable to unemployment, menial working conditions, and poverty (Richter, 2004, p. 28). As discussed previously, these socio-economic factors place them at risk to being recruited into trafficking situations.

According to the ILO's (2006, p. 4) research on patterns of demand in five countries in Asia, a preference for virgin prostituted children and young women were found. For example, 55% Nepalese clients and 42% of clients in Bangladesh favoured paid sexual intercourse with virgins. This preference, while partly motivated by sexually transmitted disease including HIV, contributed to the shaping of demand for prostituted children and women in these countries. In South Africa, the socio-cultural myth that a man can cure his HIV/AIDS infection through sexual intercourse with a virgin has increased the demand for sex with young girls. According to the myth, sexual intercourse with a virgin is also thought to provide protection against the threat of future infection with the virus (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002, p. 92). As a result, HIV infected men are willing to pay for sex with girls or choose young women as sexual partners to reduce the probability of infection (Bermudez, 2008, p. 17).

Traditional cultural beliefs and practices.

Van der Watt and Ovens (2012, p. 11) noted that African culture may contribute to the vulnerability of especially females to become victims of crime when it takes place “under the

guise of a ‘traditional practice’” (p. 11). The most salient practices that have been linked to increasing the likelihood that human trafficking may take place are (a) ukuthwala and (b) child placement (Bermudez, 2008, p. 16; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. viii).

Ukuthwala is a traditional Xhosa custom that has also expanded into other ethnic tribes. The normative practice of ukuthwala is the fake abduction of a young woman who would pretend to resist even though she was actively involved in the planning of the abduction with her future husband (Thornberry, 2013: para, 3). The original form of ukuthwala was aimed at forcing the young woman’s family to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a customary marriage. The act of ukuthwala itself, therefore, is not the marriage itself (Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011, p. 6). In its original form, ukuthwala was not without impunity and a number of financial penalties could result from the act of ukuthwala, when, for example, the young woman had sexual intercourse after the abduction (Mwanbene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011, pp. 6-7).

Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen (2011, p. 7) emphasised that the current form of ukuthwala reportedly taking place in the Eastern Cape is a shift from the normative, traditional practice and incorporates human rights violations and forms of abuse. The current ukuthwala practice takes place without the consent of the young woman concerned (Thornberry, 2013: para.3) or in many cases, without initial consent of her parents or guardian. In its most abusive form, the girl is raped by her ‘husband’ or threatened with violence to keep her in the marriage relationship. This form can therefore be conceptualised as a forced marriage with human rights violations. The distorted form of ukuthwala violates certain aspects of South African law such as the Children’s Act (2005) and the Sexual Offences Act (2007) (Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011, pp. 9-16).

Van der Watt and Ovens (2012, p. 11) present a number of case studies which illustrate the distorted version of ukuthwala which took place in the Eastern Cape and which also

closely resemble Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen's (2011) distorted form of ukuthwala. One case study related the experiences of a 15-year-old girl who was abducted with the full knowledge of her father. However, the abduction did not lead to a customary marriage, even though her abductor had paid R10 000 lobola (bride's price) to her father. In a subsequent telephone call, her father informed her that the community would shun her if she attempted to return home. Thereafter, she lived with her 'husband' and had sexual intercourse with him when he demanded it. She did attempt to report her experience to the police who mistakenly identified her situation as legitimate ukuthwala. However, a social worker in the community recognised the elements of child trafficking in her account. Unfortunately, during the subsequent police investigation, it was discovered that she and her 'husband' appeared to have moved away and were no longer accessible.

Another case noted by Van der Watt and Ovens (2012, pp. 18-19) involved a 13 year old Eastern Cape girl, was also thwala'd but in an even more distorted form of the traditional practice. A direct translation of the word "ukuthwala" is "the process (uku) of being carried (thwala)". "Thwala'd" is the Anglicised form of the verb "thwala" used in isiXhosa vernacular in the Eastern Cape (Personal communication, D.N. Nkosi, 2015, January 20). After a Nigerian man negotiated with her mother, she was informed that she would now live with him and that he would take care of her. Despite communicating her unwillingness, she was physically restrained by both her mother and the Nigerian man, forced into his vehicle, and became his 'sex slave' for two years. He later left her for another woman and the victim turned to prostitution as a means to survive as she feared her family would shun her if she returned home. Nigerian drug dealers subsequently recruited her and she operated as a drug mule between major South African cities (Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, pp. 18-19). Van der Watt and Ovens (2012, p. 19) argued that her trafficker was aware of the vulnerability of her community as well as the traditional practices of her community. He was therefore able to

use this knowledge to enter into a vague contractual agreement with her mother, which resulted in the exploitation of the victim. Van der Watt and Ovens (2012) noted “that a definitive link is possible between ukuthwala and the later trafficking of these vulnerable victims” (p. 19). Another typical occurrence in distorted ukuthwala situations is that victims of the distorted form of ukuthwala are frequently reminded that they have been paid for and are therefore ‘owned’ by their new ‘husband’, which van der Watt and Ovens (2012, p. 20) regarded as a type of debt bondage.

Since 2009, the media has increasingly reported on Eastern Cape girls who were forced to drop out of school to follow the distorted custom of ukuthwala. After interventions by the NPA and other government representatives in 2010 in the Eastern Cape (United States Department of State, 2011b, p. 330), some community leaders subsequently rejected the distorted practice and condemned it as child abuse (Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen, 2011, p. 5), unlawful, and “just simple human trafficking” (Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 15). Other communities, however, still support the practice as customary, motivated by beliefs that parents have the right to decide who their children should marry (Ngwira, 2011, p. 114; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 16). Thornberry (2013: para. 4-5) emphasised that traditional leaders in the Eastern Cape condemned the current practice of ukuthwala because the consent of parents is not sought before the abduction and because the abduction of girls and young women breaches the “culturally appropriate lower boundary on the age of marriage” (para. 5). The lack of consent of the girl or young women was not considered relevant because of the authority of household heads over their dependents (Thornberry, 2013: para. 6). Karimakwenda (2014: para. 6) indicated that even as far back as the 1800s, particular features of Xhosa tradition allowed men to marry and subsequently rape the women they abducted according to the ukuthwala practice. These practices include tying down the abducted young women to facilitate their rape by their future husbands. As such

brutal practices have long been part of ukuthwala in their community, the violence endured by the abducted girl or young woman is sanctioned in those communities (Karimankewnda, 2014, p. 6).

According to Bermudez (2008, p. 16), child placement is a cultural practice through which families move their children from rural to urban areas to access employment or educational opportunities. Employment agencies have exploited this practice and individuals who promise placement that will provide better opportunities for the children. Compensation might even be paid to the parent. However, once the children leave home, they are placed in exploitative situations where they may, for example, be forced into child labour (Bermudez, 2008, p. 16) or sexual exploitation (Lutya, 2009, p. 72).

Lack of education.

Kovačević and Mirović (2007, p. 24) claim that more educated individuals are less vulnerable as they are better informed with a wider range of opportunities and choices. They are also more likely to make a better assessment of their own situation. Lack of education is often linked to poverty. For example, children may abandon education to pursue opportunities to earn money to support their families. These opportunities are often exploitative, rendering these children even more vulnerable to be trafficked (Kovačević & Mirović, 2007, p. 24).

Lack of knowledge and awareness about human trafficking.

Mahmoud and Trebesch (2009, p. 3) indicated that human trafficking campaigns can play an effective role in reducing trafficking risk as trafficking incidents were found to be considerably lower where awareness of human trafficking is high. Increased awareness of human trafficking increase the awareness among trafficking victims that they are in an exploitative situation. For example, Tørres and Du Toit (2010, p. 20) revealed that the IOM's

counter-trafficking helpline recorded a 48% increase in calls during the month of October after the annual human trafficking awareness week took place in the first week of October.

Although awareness research is scarce, available research (Bermudez, 2008; Dinah, 2012; Nabo, 2013) reveals that awareness of human trafficking issues can improve. For example, Bermudez (2008, p. 29) conducted a study to determine awareness levels among 208 participants which included street outreach workers, community leaders, academia, government employees, and law enforcement personnel from all nine provinces of South Africa. Nearly a third (29%) of participants had no awareness of the phenomenon in their communities. The HSRC (2010, p. xvi) also found “considerable ignorance” (p. xvi) about human trafficking among professionals and laypersons in South Africa.

Research on community awareness reveals a similar picture. A Markinor survey commissioned by the IOM in 2006 showed that 41 % of South Africans surveyed had heard of human trafficking, mostly through radio and television news, and newspapers (S. le Roux, personal communication, May 13, 2009). Nabo (2013, p. 92) found that NGO workers with first-hand experience of human trafficking revealed that Eastern Cape communities either had no knowledge about human trafficking or view it as something that only happens in other countries. Some communities even perceive the vanishing of children to be the result of witchcraft (Nabo, 2013, p. 92). Delpont et al., (2007, p. 38) asserted that the common belief that “it cannot happen to me” increases the vulnerability of people who will accept job offers at face value. Dinah (2012) found that school policies in Gauteng did not cover the topic of human trafficking and that in especially more affluent schools, no active awareness on child trafficking was being facilitated.

Migration, illegal immigration and human smuggling.

The terms illegal immigration, human smuggling, and human trafficking describe the illegal movement of people from one place to another (Turner & Kelly, 2009, p. 184) and more specifically, the illegal entry into a country (Väyrynen, 2002, p. 4). These “nested concepts” (Väyrynen, 2002, p. 4), share a number of elements (Araujo, 2011, p. 4). For example, often both trafficked and smuggled individuals are at risk of being exploited in their destination country (Aronowitz, 2001, p. 164). The overlap between illegal migration, smuggling, and trafficking occurs when in the course of irregular migration, an individual is trafficked when, for example, the individual agrees to be smuggled but the motivation of the smuggler is to exploit the person in the destination country (Araujo, 2011, p. 4).

The perceived well-being of the destination country is one of the main factors that drive migration and human trafficking to a destination country (Bales, 2007, p. 277; Horwood, 2009, p. 39). According to Horwood (2009) South Africa as “the America of Africa” (p. 38) has lured a large number of Africans to migrate to South Africa since the 1990s. Furthermore, according to Horwood (2009, p. 39), South Africa has had the reputation for having highly skilled forgers and well-connected intermediaries to help undocumented migrants acquire the correct documentation and visas for their ultimate destinations in Europe, North America, or Australia. This increases the appeal of South Africa as a transit stop (Horwood, 2009, p. 39). South Africa’s refugee and migration policy was also less restrictive than many countries in southern Africa. For example, asylum seekers in South Africa could work or study until their case is finalised. South Africa, therefore appeared “to have unending opportunities to those who are willing to grasp them” (Horwood, 2009, p. 39).

Martens et al., (2003, p. 23) indicated that foreign nationals found it difficult to integrate into the South African society. They face challenges such as xenophobia, difficulty to find employment, and an arduous bureaucratic process to obtain and retain permits such as asylum

seeker permits. Xenophobia in South Africa is based on unfounded beliefs that foreign nationals are responsible for a number of social ills such as widespread unemployment and crimes such as drug trafficking (Adeagbo, 2013, p. 2; Nyamnjoh, 2010, p. 67). These stereotypes about foreign nationals resulted in the widespread xenophobic attacks in May 2008 (Adeagbo, 2013, p. 17) and increasing prejudice from South African citizens, the police, the Department of Home Affairs, and the media (Nyamnjoh, 2010, p. 67). According to Nyamnjoh, 2010, p. 68), mass –circulating tabloids such as the Daily Sun, popular with people in lower socio-economic levels, regularly “caricature and misrepresent” (p. 68) foreign nationals in South Africa to reinforce stereotypes regarding foreign nationals.

As a result, Martens et al. (2003) explained that foreign nationals find that they have to struggle to survive instead of attaining “their dreams of prosperity” (p. 23) in South Africa. Foreign nationals therefore to turn to their own ethnic groups for protection, support, and access to opportunities. Through this “kinship network” (Martens et al., 2003, p. 23), foreign nationals get involved in “extra-legal survival strategies” (p. 23) such as the trafficking of women for commercial sexual exploitation. Martens et al., (2003, p. 24) reported that a prominent recruitment tactic was to deceive female relatives to move to South Africa, after which the women are forced into prostituting themselves to financially support their traffickers.

Societal attitudes towards prostitution.

The stigmatising nature of prostitution due to negative social and legal attitudes towards prostituted women possibly contributes to the lack of willingness of victims trafficked into the sex trade to disclose their victim status (Lutya, 2009, p. 66). Communities, religious institutions, and SAPS deride and scorn prostituted women (Scorgie et al., 2013, p. 2), while violence and discrimination against prostitutes are often publically condoned (Richter et al.,

2010, p. 4). This entrenched social stigma associated with working as a prostitute (Richter et al., 2010, p. 4; Scorgie et al., 2013, p. 2) could also serve to increase the isolation of victims trafficked into prostitution. They are also unlikely to report trafficking and other crimes to police due to the mistrust they have of police officers (Gould & Richter, 2010, p. 2).

Cho et al. (2012) revealed that societal attitudes towards prostitution as reflected in a country's legislation might also influence the prevalence of human trafficking. Their study employed a global sample of 116 countries and found that countries that legalised prostitution had larger reported inflows of human trafficking than similar countries where prostitution had been criminalised. Batsyukova (2007, p. 47) asserted that prostitution in itself does not fuel human trafficking for sexual exploitation, but that it is the exploitation of prostitution that creates opportunities for human trafficking.

Societal attitudes towards prostitution also affect the way in which it is policed in countries where it is criminalised like South Africa. In South Africa, it is illegal to run a brothel or to earn an income from prostitution. In practice, however, SAPS officers often do not arrest prostitutes but allow them to carry on with their activities after intimidating and interrogating them (Lutya, 2012, p. 15). Negative attitudes towards prostitutes among presiding officers, prosecutors, and police officers towards prostituted women and complainants who were involved in criminal acts or risky behaviour such as persons involved in prostitution resulted in a reluctance to prosecute crimes against them (Farrell et al., 2014, pp. 157-159). The following section explores the pull factors that may increase the demand for human trafficking victims.

Pull factors.

Governmental corruption.

Several human trafficking researchers (Akee, Bedi, Basu, Chau, 2010, p. 18, Bales, 2005, p. 139, 2007, p. 277; Cho et al., 2012, p. 8; Mahmoud & Trebesch, 2009, p. 17) identified the level of governmental corruption in a country as one of the most significant contextual factors that could predict the occurrence of human trafficking in source and destination countries. Wheaton et al., (2010, p. 117) indicated that corruption among politicians and law enforcement contributed to the lack of accurate information on human trafficking and added to the ease with which traffickers transport and exploit victims of trafficking.

According to Agbu (2003, p. 3) decades of rampant, endemic, and systemic corruption in Nigeria played a significant role in facilitating the international trade of Nigerian women and children to other African countries and Europe. Corruption in Nigeria also grew from corrupt political regimes such that of Sani Abacha in the 1990s (Akyeampong, 2005, p. 444). Akyeampong (2005) noted that a “corrupt government begets a corrupt society and vice versa.” (p. 444). In addition, the Nigerian society placed value on the acquisition of wealth irrespective of how the wealth was acquired. This motivated ordinary citizens to engage in criminal activities and corruption to acquire wealth (Akyeampong, 2005, p. 444).

Similar to international notions on the effect of corruption on human trafficking, Hübschle (2010: para 8) indicated that corruption also facilitated and sustained organised crime operations in South Africa “which includes powerful alliances between criminal networks, law enforcement officials, civil servants, politicians, politically connected people, and business corporations” (para. 8). In South Africa, SAPS and the DHA are considered to be significant contributors to corruption (Hoag, 2010, p. 6; Transparency International, 2013,

p. 17). For example, Molo Songololo (2005, p. 85) reported corruption in members of the SAPS who received money from gang leaders and engaged in sexual activity with offenders to have charges against traffickers dropped. Ngwira (2011) also revealed corruption in other sectors of the public service. SAPS officers in the Eastern Cape put it that they “get caught in the middle of a fight between accomplishing our role as law enforcement officers and the pressure not to expose people in authority, more especially politicians, who are in one way or the other connected to human trafficking” (p. 107). The United States Department of State (2014, p. 349-350) indicated that government and law enforcement complicity in trafficking crimes in South Africa was rife.

Crime.

Cho (2012) investigated potential pull factors reported in literature from 153 countries and found that the pervasiveness of crime and organised crime affected the prevalence of human trafficking in both the origin and destination countries. Cho (2012, p. 25) concluded that human trafficking was “caused by environments where criminal activities are prevailing” (p. 25). Organised crime does not operate within legal parameters and circumvents the law through corruption, deceit, threats, force, and other tactics (Aronowitz, 2001, p. 172).

Turner and Kelly (2009, p. 184) indicated that organised crime syndicates’ human trafficking activities are enhanced if a diaspora community exists in the destination country. International links between organised crime in the country of origin and diasporas exist due to legitimate commerce between home and host countries. Through these existing routes for commerce, organised crime syndicates are able to access vital information about local conditions. This includes an understanding of the supply and demand for human trafficking victims, infrastructure, information about routes, safe houses, and available transportation, access to document forgers and stolen identity papers, and strategies to avoid border controls

and police operations in host and transit countries (Turner & Kelly, 2009, pp. 188; 195). According to Williams and Godson (2002, pp. 330-331), the Nigerian diaspora facilitated the establishment of Nigerian criminal syndicates in countries such as Britain, South Africa, Russia, and the United States. Diasporas in South Africa may be motivated to assist crime networks through a lack of acceptance by local populations (Adeagbo, 2013, pp. 2-3). When foreign nationals from other African countries experienced xenophobia from local populations in their adopted countries, it gave rise to feelings of insecurity and fear. Marginalised migrants were then more likely to rely on fellow foreign nationals for economic opportunities, which often were illegitimate (Lutya, 2012, p. 5). The financial rewards offered for assisting in illegal activities also exceeds what many immigrants may have earn in the licit economy (Williams & Godson, 2001, p. 331).

High profits.

According to the United States Department of State (2014, p. 46) different trafficking operations have one key element in common, namely the aim to obtain an economic benefit from the exploitation of victims of trafficking. Similarly, Roelofse (2011, p. 3) noted that organised crime syndicates, like conventional business operations, are focussed on profits and power, but without being constrained by legal and moral considerations. Bales (2005, p. 138) argued that the greed of people involved in the trafficking process was one of the main drivers of human trafficking. Roelofse (2011) explicated that trafficking in persons was a “high profit and often low-risk venture” (p. 138) where an individual could be used repeatedly, unlike other commodities like drugs or weapons. People could also be bought for relatively little (Bales, 2005, p. 9). Thus, human trafficking does not require a large capital investment (Bales, 2005, p. 139). The high profits that trafficking in persons can generate were illustrated by a Canadian case in which a male offender forced his girlfriend into sexual

exploitation for eight months. Authorities estimated that he profited about US\$180 000 during this period. The trafficker in this case was sentenced to five years in prison (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 46). Belser (2005, p. iii) estimated that the annual profit from trafficking activities reaches US\$31.6 billion. The largest profit of US\$15 billion is from people trafficked to industrialised countries. According to Wheaton et al., (2010, p. 118), the benefits of trafficking humans so far outweigh the costs that “a willing cadre of traffickers is assured.” (p. 119).

Bales (2005) noted that because human trafficking is a profitable enterprise, it is also very competitive, requiring inventive strategies: “Criminals are inventive. They work in a context of intense competition, they must be flexible, and they must adapt quickly or (at times literally) die” (p. 89). For that reason, trafficking operations are opportunistic, dynamic, and adaptive as new areas of supply emerge and areas of demand shift, while they also have to negotiate risks to lives as well as the risk of being caught and punished by law enforcement (Wheaton et al., 2010, pp. 123-124).

Impunity.

Human trafficking is a “high-profit, low-risk trade”, conducted with “near impunity” globally (Phinney, 2002: para. 2). The United Nations (2005, p. 2) offered a legal definition of impunity:

the impossibility, ..., of bringing the perpetrators of violations to account—whether in criminal, civil, administrative or disciplinary proceedings—since they are not subject to any inquiry that might lead to their being accused, arrested, tried, and if found guilty, sentenced to appropriate penalties, and to making reparations to their victims (para. 2).

Lutya and Lanier (2012, p. 556) and Phinney (2002: para 2) argued that the lack of arrests, prosecution, and sentencing of human traffickers strengthened the trafficking process

and motivates human traffickers to consider the trafficking of humans to be a profitable endeavour. Other factors which allow traffickers to operate with impunity are the insufficiency of laws against trafficking, inadequate sentencing guidelines for trafficking convictions, corruption among civil servants, and the hidden nature of human trafficking (Phinney, 2002: para 2, 9).

According to Delpont et al. (2007, p. 26), traffickers are encouraged to continue their trafficking activities due to a low risk to be arrested, prosecuted, or to experience other negative consequences for their actions (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 26). Long (2012) reported that due to the lack of comprehensive counter-trafficking legislation, Nigerian human traffickers in South Africa revealed that they fear prosecution for drug trafficking, but “they don’t really give a damn if people know or not if they are dealing girls, as long as I don’t say they are dealing crack” (p.24). Therefore, as human traffickers realise that there are no tangible repercussions for human trafficking activities, they are likely to continue to commit their trafficking activities (Araujo, 2011, p. 5).

Demand .

The ILO (2006, p. 2) asserted that demand is a crucial aspect of the market for human trafficking victims as “Traffickers are not traffickers if there is no destination business that abuses or exploits someone who has been moved from some originating point.’ (p. 19). Similarly, Wolf-Branigin et al. (2010, p. 424) specified that the demand for sex is one of the main drivers of human trafficking into the sex industry. The ILO emphasised that understanding demand in human trafficking is complex as demand and supply factors are “closely intertwined” (p. 2). Vulnerability factors such as poverty and expectations fuel people to seek employment in unregulated and informal sectors. These desperate work-

seekers in turn create an abundant labour supply that fuels the demand for low-cost labour (ILO, 2006, p. 2).

Wolf-Branigin et al., (2010, p. 242) further explained that trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is shaped and influenced by a number of factors. One such factor refers to the preferences of demand. Males, as the primary customers of the sexual trafficking industry, influence the type of females trafficked, as well as the destinations for these trafficking victims. For example, the male demand for virgins to exploit sexually is one of the factors that drive the trafficking of children (Wolf-Branigin et al., 2010, p. 424). Richter et al. (2010, p. 3) highlighted the factors which shape the demand for prostitution and sex trafficking victims. These factors included the social construction of sexuality, the lack of availability of alternative employment opportunities for prostituted women, the influence of global consumerism, the expansion of the cultural conception of sex as a commodity, and the expansion of information and communication technology. Bermudez (2008, p. 17) was of the opinion that the growth of sex tourism in which individuals seek commercial sex as part of their travel experience added to the demand for sexual services while Delpont et al. (2007, p. 17) regarded the the more permissive sexual environment after apartheid as another contributing factor. Balos (2004, p. 169) emphasised the role of the objectification of sexuality in both prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation in which the customer views the prostituted woman “no more as the sex she sold” (p. 169). A supply of inexpensive sexual services also stimulates the use of paid sexual services, especially in areas of extreme poverty where prostitutes adapt their fees to the purchasing power of their customers (Araujo, 2011, pp. 5-6).

Those making use of the services of a trafficking victim are often unaware or unconcerned that they are an important dimension of the trafficking process, although they are in fact “an engine in the machinery of exploitation” (United Nations Educational,

Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005, p.8). Commercial enterprises that buy cheap products manufactured by trafficked labour also benefit from trafficking practices. Corporate and consumer support for these products therefore drives trafficking trends (Araujo, 2011, p. 7). The demand for cheap products is supplied mostly by exploitable labour in the developing markets. An abundant supply of exploitable labour, for example, is available in vulnerable migrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho. Many impoverished South Africans also are subject to exploitable labour practices as they may choose to be employed for low wages under harmful conditions as the only viable option for earning an income (Bermudez, 2008, p. 18). A study by the ILO exploring the demand-side of the human trafficking market in Asia revealed that the largest contributor to human trafficking in the region was the ability of employers to create exploitative working conditions for vulnerable people in informal sectors where the employers take advantage of legislative weaknesses (ILO, 2006, p. 3).

Drug addiction.

Small-scale studies and anecdotal evidence in South Africa have revealed that drug addiction is used to draw young women and girls into prostitution as a means to pay drug dealers for drug-induced debt. Traffickers also used drug addiction to ensure compliance of persons trafficked into the sex trade (Bermudez, 2008, pp. 33-34; Molo Songololo, 2005, p. 84). Those trafficked persons who had developed a drug dependency were also more vulnerable to return to the trafficking situation (Bermudez, 2008, p. 33).

Mega sporting events.

There are concerns that large sporting events like the Olympic Games and Soccer World Cup could contribute to an increase in trafficking of people for sexual exploitation during these events. Before the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, NGOs expected an increase in the

trafficking of both adults and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the event (Hennig et al., 2007, p. 12). Similarly, before the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, there was significant international discussion about the anticipated increase in the demand for sexual services during the sporting event, with estimates that up to 40 000 prostituted men and women could be trafficked into Germany during the tournament (Hennig et al, 2007, p. 7). Before the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa claims were made by NGOs that up to 100 000 people may be trafficked to supply demand during the sporting event (Emser & Francis, 2014, p. 173). Skinner (2010, p. 1) interviewed a number of traffickers before the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa where his investigative reporting revealed that child prostitution was a lucrative business for human trafficking syndicates among workers constructing the World Cup stadiums. He interviewed a trafficker in Port Elizabeth who expected the 2010 FIFA World Cup to be a period of even more brisk business: “‘I’m really looking forward to doing more business during the World Cup,’ said a trafficker” (p. 1).

Statistics, however, did not confirm that mega sporting events contributed to human trafficking. Data from Greece showed a 95% increase in the number of known human trafficking cases, perpetrators, and victims between 2003 and 2004, the year of the Athens Olympics (The Future Group, 2007, p. 14). However, these statistics should be interpreted with caution as Greece only started collecting human trafficking data in 2001. This fact may have contributed to fluctuations in the number of trafficking victims recorded during the following few years (GLE Consulting, 2011, p. 20). Similarly, research after the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany showed only five trafficked women were identified during the sporting event (Emser & Francis, 2014, p. 178). This suggested that the short duration of the World Cup was unlikely to yield the profit necessary to justify the significant logistics and investment by traffickers. Increased police focus, extensive immigration enforcement focus, and prevention campaigns may have contributed to the outcome (The Future Group, 2007, p.

12). Not a single case of human trafficking was reported over the course of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa (Emser & Francis, 2014, p. 176). GLE Consulting (2011, p. 20) indicated that it is hard to correlate sporting events with increased trafficking due to factors such as the general lack of the monitoring and evaluation of anti-trafficking initiatives.

There are challenges and pitfalls specific to human trafficking research resulting in some limitations and biases in research produced in this field (Tyldum, 2010). Despite the limitations, Tyldum (2010, p. 1) asserted that knowledge about human trafficking can still enhance available knowledge in the field, but only if these limitations and biases are explicitly acknowledged. The next section acknowledges some of the limitations of human trafficking research.

Limitations of Human Trafficking Research

The most prominent limitations in human trafficking research revolve around methodological issues of studying a hidden, elusive, and changeable phenomena such as human trafficking (Tyldum, 2010, p. 3). Other limitations acknowledged by Zhang (2009, p. 178) are that a large part of research on human trafficking has been influenced by “a manifest...moral crusading agenda” (p. 178) leading to ideologically driven research and the lack of research with theoretical underpinning in the human trafficking field (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 9).

Methodology.

The main criticism against current human trafficking research is based on the methodologies used (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 9). The complexity of human trafficking means that one methodology is not able to capture the complexity of human trafficking (Adepoju, 2012, p. 89; Lazos, 2007, p. 99). In their evaluation of human trafficking research, Goździak and Bump (2008) analysed 741 books, journals, and reports on human trafficking

and concluded that, “the development of innovative methodologies to study human trafficking is also in its infancy” (p. 9). Their analysis demonstrated that the predominant methodology used was qualitative, mainly using interviews with small, unrepresentative samples as the data collection technique (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 9). The Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children (Dutch Rapporteur) (2014, p. 3) argued that the research methodology used by Cho et al. (2012) which indicated that the legalisation of prostitution increased the incidence of human trafficking in a country, cannot be used to support the above conclusion. For example, the Dutch Rapporteur referred to the lack of analysis of the proportion of visible victims of human trafficking compared to the invisible population and the factors that can influence this proportion. The Dutch Rapporteur also criticised Cho et al., (2012) for basing their statistical analysis on two case studies, yet generalising their findings to apply globally.

This trend is also visible in South Africa as human trafficking research reports and studies (Bermudez, 2008; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010; Martens et al., 2003; Molo Songololo, 2000, 2005; Nabo, 2013; Ngwira, 2011) relied heavily on qualitative studies and anecdotes. De Sas Kropiwnicki (2012, p. 253) and Gould et al. (2010, p. 38) indicated that South African research often merely repeated anecdotes and estimates contained within other reports on human trafficking without a critical analysis of the information or a discussion of the limitations of making use of qualitative and anecdotal research. For example, Gould et al., (2010, p. 37) argued that the HSRC (2010) report is “beset with methodological problems” as it contains very little “original research” (p. 37) as the report presents information gathered in previous studies as evidence of the presence of trafficking in South Africa. Gould et al., (2010, p. 41) observed that the HSRC (2010) report also provides no data collection details such as the types of interview schedules or sampling information

such as sample sizes or discussions about the ethical issues related to research with vulnerable populations.

Leggett (2004, p. 3) also criticised the two pieces of primary research (Martens et al., 2003; Molo Songololo, 2000;) that were available at the time South Africa ratified the Palermo Protocol (2000) and the South African Law Reform Commission started the process of drawing up legislation. Leggett's (2004, p. 3) main criticism was that the narratives of the participants were accepted in an uncritical way. The generalisation of qualitative findings from qualitative studies has also been questioned. For example, Leggett (2004, p. 2) and Roelofse (2011, p. 9) questioned whether the small number of trafficked persons participating in these two studies (Martens et al, 2003; Molo Songololo, 2000;) justified the extent of the conclusions reached. For example, the Molo Songololo (2000) research involved interviews with ten foreign nationals working in prostitution in South Africa. Despite the small research sample, the report discussed human trafficking of women into South Africa from at least 24 other countries. The IOM (Martens et al., 2003) research report was similarly criticised for drawing conclusions from a limited base of first-hand experience (Leggett, 2004, p. 2). Adepoju (2005, p. 89) thus reasoned that the results cannot be generalised between countries. Gould (2006) asserted that research that is not methodologically sound brings the research area into question and may lead to reaching incorrect conclusions that could result in "inappropriate, and perhaps harmful, policies" (p.23). Existing human trafficking research has also been criticised for being biased in order to further political agendas (Gould, 2006, p. 23) and ideologies (Weitzer, 2005a, p. 934; Weitzer, 2007, p. 447).

Ideology.

"In no area of the social sciences has ideology contaminated knowledge more pervasively than in writings on the sex industry" (Weitzer, 2005a, p. 934). Weitzer (2007, p.

447) argued that the focus on trafficking for sexual exploitation can be attributed to a “crusade ideology” (p. 447) by anti-prostitution activists in the United States of America. To get the attention of policy makers and law enforcement, activists make claims about the gravity and incidence of human trafficking and do not distinguish, for example between the trafficking for forced prostitution and voluntary migration for sex work (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 9). Ideological and moral leaning has also focussed research on trafficking for sexual exploitation, while little is known about other types of trafficking such as labour trafficking (Gould et al., 2010, p. 43). Most research has involved the trafficking of women and children. There is thus little research on male victims of trafficking globally (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 7) and in South Africa (Allais, 2013, p., 40; Pharoah, 2006, p. 34).

Goździak and Bump (2008) highlighted that it is vital to be able to differentiate between “often sensational publications” intended to raise awareness about human trafficking and the “more serious literature which is based on systematic, methodologically rigorous, and peer-reviewed empirical research’ (p. 4). Due to the involvement of CSOs in producing research using questionable methodologies, the largest amount of research has been influenced by organisations with specific moral issues and agendas (Bales, 2005, p. 78; Jonsson, 2009, pp. 1-2). As a result, few academic and theoretically informed studies have been published (Jonsson, 2009, pp. 1-2)

Theoretical Framework.

Jonson (2009) asserted that research on human trafficking is “undertheorised” (p. 2) with few studies that are academic in nature and with a theoretical underpinning (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 9). Moreover, because human trafficking research globally and in South Africa is informed by the researcher’s own ideology and theoretical framework, resulting research tends to be fragmented and creates the impression that human trafficking is a single-

dimensional crime (Lutya & Lanier, 2012, p. 555). Some researchers (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 9; Lutya & Lanier, 2012, p. 556; Pharoah, 2006, p. 41) have argued for the use of a broad integrated theoretical framework to describe the interconnected and independent processes and factors involved in all forms of human trafficking. For example, Pharoah (2006, p. 41) highlighted the need for an integrated theoretical framework that could conceptualise the complex push and pull factors underlying the facilitating context for human trafficking that is unique to the South African context.

Qualitative research is valuable as it allows researchers to “grasp new or unknown sides of social reality” where there has not been much previous research (Lazos 2007, p. 96). The value of qualitative research conducted in South Africa has been useful for providing preliminary data on trends and patterns to highlight the possibility of widespread human trafficking. The primary use of studies with this methodology, however, is to identify future areas for research (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 19). Overall there are many gaping holes in what has been researched regarding human trafficking in South Africa (Pharoah, 2006, p. 18).

Gaps in South African research.

Konrad (2008) asserted that human trafficking “cannot be captured in a single ‘snapshot’; it is better characterised as a series of actions unfolding like a ‘movie’” (p. 178). Laczko (2005) criticised this “snapshot, short-term” (p. 14) understanding of human trafficking that has been evident in human trafficking research. This approach merely aimed to show that human trafficking exists in a country by mapping routes to show origin and destination countries (Laczo, 2005, p. 14). Researchers therefore (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 10; Pharoah, 2006, p. 62) called for more innovative, yet rigorous methodologies to be adopted in human trafficking research, suggesting that a combination between qualitative and quantitative methods was an appropriate research methodology. Lazos (2007, p. 99) asserted

that human trafficking cannot be studied “at the level of ‘street research’ through questionnaires” or any single method” (p. 99). This is due to the complexity of human trafficking that requires that the societal history and micro-history of the participants to the study: “no history, then no theory, no method, and then no facts” (p. 99). Lazos (2007, p. 99) and Laczko (2005, p. 14) therefore called for longer-term research using more comprehensive approaches.

Internationally it has been recognised that there is a need for more interdisciplinary research as well as research that examines human trafficking issues from a range of different perspectives (Laczko, 2005, p. 14). In South Africa, a number of researchers (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 10; Lutya & Lanier, 2012, p. 556) identified the need for research that would provide both macro- and micro level understanding of human trafficking. Lutya and Lanier (2012, p. 556) specified a need for research which allows one to gain insight about a multidimensional crime like human trafficking, suggesting the use of more than one theory to construct a comprehensive view of human trafficking.

Kruger and Oosthuizen (2011, p. 55) stressed that many aspects of human trafficking are still poorly understood, resulting in a lack of knowledge to eradicate the crime. For example, there is limited understanding of the characteristics of trafficked persons and the life experiences and trafficking trajectories of trafficked persons, and not enough knowledge to differentiate between the needs of different types of trafficked persons. A limited grasp of the modus operandi of traffickers, a lack of evaluation research on the effectiveness of governmental anti-trafficking policies and rehabilitation and restoration programs, and research on the trafficking of males also exists (Allais, 2013; Gallinetti, 2010, p. 12; Horwood, 2009, p. 5). Adepoju (2005, p. 89) highlighted the lack of research on the impact of traditional cultural practices such as child placement on the prevalence of human trafficking. The lack of quantitative information such as accurate statistics on the extent of

human trafficking (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xii) is also problematic as there is no baseline data about the extent or nature of human trafficking in South Africa. As a result, no accurate trends can be identified and measured (Gould et al., 2010, p. 38) which has resulted in confliction positions concerning the allocation of resources. The dilemma is, however, that accurate statistics have to be collected before resources can be allocated, but resources have to be allocated to implement processes, procedures, and mechanisms in order to determine numbers (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xii). Nevertheless, improvements in the effectiveness of all human trafficking programmes and policies largely depends on research informing policy-makers, donors, and other stakeholders on the 'why' to inform the 'how' or the 'what'. Without such a comprehensive understanding, a counter-trafficking approach is likely to lack effectiveness (Konrad, 2008, p. 179).

Conclusion

The component parts that constitute the complex human trafficking system were discussed in this chapter through an overview of international and South African literature. This chapter revealed that human trafficking is a multidimensional crime that takes many forms, victimises individuals of various ages from a number of contexts, and is perpetrated by criminal syndicates that range from very small, localised operations to immense international crime syndicates. Similarly, an array of individuals, organisations, and sectors contribute to the demand for the services of trafficked persons. The various methods employed by traffickers to lure or forced individuals into trafficking situations as well as the methods used to maintain the controlling, abusive trafficking relationship was also described in this chapter.

The counter human trafficking response to the crime of human trafficking consists of a number of entities including government, government agencies, and civil society organisation such as non-governmental organisations. The difficulties experienced by the counter-

trafficking system of the larger human trafficking system to deal with the complexity of the crime and its effects on the victims of trafficking were also discussed. It was shown that especially the criminal justice system has trouble to police and prosecute those involved in the crime due to its complexity. This difficulty is especially prominent in the South African context. The complexity of the crime is also evident from other factors such as the limitations of research methodologies to research human trafficking and estimate the magnitude of the crime as well as the wide range of factors that create an environment conducive to the growth of human trafficking. The next chapter describes the research methodology used to achieve the aim and objectives of the current study.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

We believe that methodological quagmires, mazes, and dead ends are not necessarily the products of researcher incapacity; rather, they stem from qualitative data themselves. Like the phenomena they mirror, these data are usually complex and ambiguous and sometimes downright contradictory. Doing qualitative analysis means living for as long as possible with that complexity and ambiguity, coming to terms with it, and passing on your conclusions to the reader in a form that clarifies and deepens understanding (Huberman & Miles, 2002, p. 394).

The current study is informed by a postmodern paradigm and employs a qualitative research approach aligned to the ‘new science’ of systems and complexity theory. A brief discussion of postmodernism outlines the broad research paradigm that informed the current study. This is followed by a discussion of the qualitative research methodology used in the current study after which specific research methods such as the participant sampling, data collection, data analysis, and ethical considerations are described.

From Positivism to Postmodernism

Positivism is dead. By now it has gone off and is beginning to smell. (Byrne, 1998, p. 37)

Positivism was the main traditional scientific research paradigm in use throughout the twentieth century (Snape & Spencer, 2003: p.6). The positivist approach consists of a collection of assumptions and characteristics associated with natural sciences research (Howitt, 2010, p. 2) and are a function of the modernist era with its origins in the Age of Enlightenment (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 128). The assumptions of positivism, as expressed in

quantitative research methodologies, includes the quantification of systematic observations, the verification of pre-determined hypotheses and ultimately the search for universal laws underpinning phenomena in order to predict and control phenomena (Howitt, 2010, p. 2; Ponterotto, 2005, p. 128). This produces research in which phenomena are quantified, causes and effects are isolated, and findings are generalised (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 9).

An awareness of the limitations of social research conducted according to the positivist approach surfaced among social researchers during the 1970s and 1980s and related to concerns about the legitimacy of positivist social research. Questions concerned with whether it was appropriate to eliminate contextual variables when studying human behaviour and doubts about whether overarching theories of the world were applicable to all individuals (Snape & Spencer, 2003, pp. 8-9) emerged during that period. Researchers with postmodern sensibilities realised that positivist research methods were merely one of many other ways of knowledge construction (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 10). This encouraged the development and use of qualitative research across a range of disciplines as a way to overcome the perceived limitations of the scientific method (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 9).

Denzin and Lincoln (2000, pp. 13-17) traced seven phases or “moments” (p. 12) in the history of qualitative research in the 20th century to elucidate how current notions about qualitative research developed. Denzin and Lincoln’s first phase, the “traditional period” (p. 12) stretched from 1900 to the Second World War. In this period, qualitative researchers aimed to produce objective ethnographical accounts of their field research guided with by the positivist scientific paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln named the second phase the “modernist phase” (p. 14). During this period, which extended through the post war period to the 1970s, qualitative researchers attempted to make qualitative research as methodologically rigorous as quantitative research. Denzin and Lincoln named the third phase “the moment of blurred genres” (p. 15). This phase resulted in the emergence of a large number of qualitative

perspectives and approaches such as naturalistic, post positivist, and constructionist paradigms. During the “crisis of representation” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 16), the fourth phase that emerged during the mid-1980s, notions about reflexivity, power, race, gender, and socioeconomic class became significant. Concerns regarding the legitimacy of concepts such as validity, reliability, and objectivity in qualitative research were raised. Interpretive rather than causal, linear theories grew popular in this period. Denzin and Lincoln described the fifth stage as a “triple crisis of representation, legitimisation, and praxis” (p. 17). In this phase, qualitative researchers, in the context of increasingly creative and interpretive qualitative research, were confronted with redefining assumptions about the ability of researchers to directly capture and represent the lived experiences of others. Qualitative researchers therefore reconsidered concepts such as validity, generalizability, and reliability. During this phase, qualitative researchers began to produce more context-specific research, instead of searching for grand narratives. During the sixth post experimental phase, Denzin and Lincoln noted that qualitative research boundaries expanded to include innovative ways of exploring the needs of modern society such as ethnographic poetry and fictional ethnographies. Denzin and Lincoln called the seventh moment the “future” (p. 17), thereby indicating that new researchers from a multitude of disciplines are actively seeking ways to further expand the way in which qualitative research can be conducted to “connect their writings” (p. 17) to the needs of society.

From these phases emerged paradigms and perspectives, such as postmodernism, feminist theory, constructionism, and social constructionism that shared the scepticism about the positivist approach to knowledge construction in social research. The epistemological and ontological views of these perspectives served to shape qualitative research methodology (Patton, 2002, p. 190; Preissle, 2006, p. 689; Willig, 2008, p. 7) into distinctive approaches (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 1).

According to Ponterotto (2005, p. 132) it is important that researchers employing qualitative research methodology clearly understand and explain their guiding paradigm, especially since there are many markedly different qualitative approaches which influence a study's purpose, goals, and methods. A researcher therefore needs a clearly stated "anchoring paradigm" (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 132). The current research is informed by the postmodern paradigm that bases some of its central arguments on social constructivism (Layder, 2007, p. 7; Pilgrim, 2000, p. 9). Both paradigms, however, come in "several shapes and sizes" (Pilgrim, 2000, p. 9). The epistemological and ontological stances of the traditional, positivist stance and the postmodern approach to knowledge creation were compared in detail in chapter two. Therefore, a brief summary of the main epistemological and ontological assumptions of these paradigms as they relate to the research methodology employed in the current study is provided below. This is followed by a description of the qualitative research approach of the current study informed by postmodern and social constructivist thought.

The Anchoring Research Paradigm of this Study

The traditional scientific method is based on the belief that there is a single, external reality or "truth" which exists independently of people's beliefs and understanding about this reality (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 140; Snape & Spencer, 2003, pp. 13-14). Therefore, researchers employing the positivist research approach claim to produce grand theories that can adequately explain "what underlie the world and existence" (Howitt, 2010, p. 21). The postmodern research philosophy, on the other hand, emerged from social constructivist philosophy (Pilgrim, 2000, p.9) which holds that people construct knowledge and elicit meaning from this knowledge through a subjective engagement with their world (Caeli et al., 2003, p. 3) and others in their world (Esterberg, 2002, p. 16).

The postmodern paradigm rejects the modernist notion of an objective, fixed reality (Alvesson, 2002, p. 43) in favour of the view that a multiplicity of personally and socially constructed perspectives and realities exists (Hicks, 2004, p. 6; Howitt, 2010, p. 21). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) argued that “Objective reality can never be captured” (p. 5) and a researcher could only capture a phenomenon through the manner it is represented by the research participant. For that reason, Ponterotto (2005, p. 130) asserted that a researcher should not attempt to extract a single truth from his or her research participants. Instead, he or she should acknowledge that there are multiple meanings about a phenomenon in the minds of the participants, as well as multiple interpretations of the data (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 130). According to Willig (2008), this means that there are “‘knowledges’ rather than ‘knowledge’” (p. 7) that can be accessed through research. Qualitative researchers regard rich descriptions of the phenomenon under study as valuable (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 10) as is deep reflection and interaction between the researcher and research participant during which both parties co-construct research findings (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 130).

Another significant difference between the modernist and postmodern research paradigms concerns the relationship between the researcher and the research participants. The positivist tradition regards the observed as independent, detached, and unaffected by the observer (Pontoretto, 2005, p. 131; Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 13). Consequently, it is assumed that the researcher is able to be objective and can produce value-free research results (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 13). A research study produced within the positivist, modernist paradigm is thus considered as flawed if the values and biases of the researcher influence the study in any way (Pontoretto, 2005, p. 131).

Postmodern research philosophy expresses similar notions as second-order cybernetics and acknowledges that there is mutual influence between the researcher and the researched in the research process (Dallos & Draper, 2010, p. 11; Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 13). The

paradigm considers the dynamic relationship between the researcher and participant as central to the knowledge construction process (Phelan, 2001, p. 127; Pontoretto, 2005, p. 131) during which knowledge is co-constructed (Yin, 2011, p. 283). Furthermore, according to this paradigm the researcher is not able to produce a value-free, objective account of the observed social system (Dallos & Draper, 2010, p. 11; Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 13). Instead, the researcher should acknowledge and describe his or her values (Pontoretto, 2005, p. 131), as well as his or her beliefs that underpin the research methodology adopted in a particular study (Shenton, 2004, p. 72).

According to Willig (2008, p. 7) a research methodology is a general approach employed to study a research topic and is directly informed by the researcher's epistemological and ontological stance. In accordance with Willig's (2008, p. 7) contention, the qualitative methodology informed by the social constructionists and postmodernist stances in the current study is explored next.

The Qualitative Methodology

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) described the history of qualitative research in the human disciplines as "distinguished, and sometimes anguished" (p. 1). It covers a broad range of approaches (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 22) but is generally characterised by a search for an in-depth and interpreted understanding (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 5; Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 3) of the meanings research participants attach to a phenomenon (Merriam, 2002, p. 6). Knowledge creation in the qualitative research process, therefore, is the result of the relational process whereby the research participants' "insider perspectives" (Suter, 2012, p. 344) are revealed through a "(re)construction of social reality in which the researcher interacts with the agents researched... [and] continually create images for themselves and others" (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 10).

Snape and Spencer (2003, p. 15) cautioned researchers not to regard qualitative and quantitative research as competing and contradictory, but as complementary strategies appropriate to different types of research questions. A qualitative research design is appropriate when a researcher wants to understand a phenomenon (Merriam, 2002, p. 11) and accommodate complexity and multiple realities, whereas the quantitative research method favours parsimony and seeks a single truth (Suter, 2012, p. 347).

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 10) considered qualitative research to be a strong strategy with which complexity can be revealed, especially when research is required to provide greater understanding of the nature of a phenomenon (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 5). This complexity can be the result of the nature of the researched subject and its contexts or from the intricacies related to the level of unpacking which is needed to understand the subject (Howitt, 2010, p. 32). Savona and Stefanizzi (2007, p.3) were of the opinion that the inherent nature of the quantitative method makes it very difficult to comprehend the full complexity of human trafficking. I thus considered the qualitative research approach as suitable to study a complex and multifaceted phenomenon such as human trafficking (Araujo, 2011, p. 3; Obakata, 2006, p. 38).

Another reason this approach was deemed suitable to co-construct a picture of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape is that the qualitative approach enables the researcher to explore and describe human trafficking from the perspective of diverse participants who have interacted with the human trafficking system. Through the participants' understanding and interpretations (Ritchie, 2003, p. 28) of human trafficking it was therefore possible to co-construct and co-map a full, multidimensional picture of human trafficking. This approach to knowledge construction resulted in rich data from which a complex picture of interrelationships between different systems, subsystems, and elements of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape was constructed.

According to Patton (2002, p. 82), qualitative research consists of many perspectives, each informed by its own theoretical tradition and orientation. One such perspective, the systems perspective, became more prominent when researchers chose to examine real-world complexities (Patton, 2002, pp. 119-120).

Some researchers use the systems perspective to understand how and why a complex system functions as it does (Patton, 2002, p. 119). This approach requires holistic and synthetic thinking to understand the roles and functions of the disaggregated parts in a whole system (Patton, 2002, pp. 120-123). Patton illustrated the principle of holistic thinking by using a classic tale of nine blind people and the elephant:

One touches the ear and proclaims that an elephant is like a fan. Another touches the trunk and says the elephant most surely resembles a snake. The third feels the elephant's massive side and insists that it is like a wall....And so it goes, each blindly touching only a part and generalizing inappropriately to the whole. The usual moral of the story is that only by putting all the parts together in right relation to each can one get a complete and whole picture of the elephant. Yet, from a systems perspective, such a picture yields little real understanding of the elephant. To understand the elephant, it must be seen and understood in its natural ecosystem...as one element in a complex system of flora and fauna (Patton, 2002, p. 123).

Patton (2002, p. 120) asserted that the combination of the systems perspective and qualitative methodology allows research to be sensitive to the context. In the current study, such a combination enabled the researcher to understand human trafficking in the context of its occurrence in the Eastern Cape Province. Friedman and Allen (2011, pp. 3, 10) also noted that the systems perspective offers conceptual clarity and a framework with which to analyse complex interactions at multiple levels of the social environment (Friedman & Allen, 2011, p. 3).

Research into non-linear complex systems has found that the concepts of systems and complexity are often closely related. Complexity theory has also been recognised by social scientists as a useful approach to research complexities in the social world (Patton, 2002, p. 123).

A fundamental epistemological challenge in all forms of research, including qualitative research, is to bring order to the knowledge that emerges from the research process. The complexity theory perspective offers a new set of metaphors to describe the knowledge that emerges from studying a nonlinear, complex system (Patton, 2002, pp. 123-124). One such metaphor by Gleick (as cited in Patton, 2002) likened research of a complex system to walking through a maze in “which walls rearrange themselves with every step you take” (p. 124). This implies that a complex system cannot be understood or accurately described through a single, static diagram or representation as it imposes false order by ignoring the rearranging walls of the evolving complex system. The complexity approach challenges the researcher to deal with the unpredictability inherent in studying complex systems and the methods used to study nonlinear dynamics. While there is much uncertainty in using this perspective, complexity theory could also “give us the comfort and courage to describe nonlinear dynamics...when we find it, without imposing false order to fulfil the presumed traditional purpose of analysis” (Patton, 2002, p. 124).

According to Yin (2011, p. 75) every research study has a research design based on the research question being asked in that study and the most appropriate research methods to answer that question (Willig, 2008, pp. 22-23). The current study’s research design and methods are therefore discussed in the following section.

Research Design and Methods

Unlike quantitative research design and methods, Yin (2011) pointed out that there is no “array of fixed designs” (p. 76) in qualitative research; each qualitative research study is unique (Fouché & Delport, 2002, p. 81) and customised to answer the research question (Yin, 2011: 7). Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (2000, pp. 21-22) regarded a research design as a flexible set of guidelines, anchored in the researcher’s research paradigm. Although flexible, the researcher has to ensure that the specific methodological practices clearly focus on gathering the data that will appropriately answer the research question (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp. 21-22).

As a qualitative research design is flexible, Fouché and Delport (2002, p. 81) argued that it evolves throughout the research process as the researcher and research participants interact. Similarly, Yin (2011) stated that qualitative research in some ways even encourages “midstream” (p. 76) adjustments throughout the research process. This flexibility is a key strength of the qualitative research design as it allows exploration of unanticipated issues as they emerge (Lewis, 2003, p. 47). The research methods I employed in the current study are described next.

Sampling and participants.

Sampling in qualitative research is aimed at identifying participants that are able to provide the most relevant, comprehensive, and rich information to answer the research question (Lewis, 2003, p. 49). Qualitative research often makes use of non-probability sampling for selecting participants (Ritchie et al., 2003, p. 78). As I wanted participants with knowledge of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, I made use of non-probability, purposive, and snowball sampling to identify participants with such experience and knowledge. These sampling techniques enabled me to identify participants with

particular features or characteristics that allowed me to conduct a detailed exploration and obtain a deep understanding of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape (Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam, 2003, p. 78). I considered persons with direct experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as suitable for participation in the study; direct experience include involvement in counter-trafficking initiatives or interaction with victims or perpetrators of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape.

Qualitative samples are usually smaller than quantitative samples because should provide information that is rich in detail (Ritchie et al., 2003, p. 83). Moreover, Morrow (2005, p. 255) asserted that in qualitative research, it is more important to have sampling procedures which results in satisfactory quality, length, depth of interview data, and range of evidence gathered than to reach a specific, predetermined sample size. Human trafficking was a relatively unknown crime in the Eastern Cape at the time of the current study and therefore only a limited number of people met the selection criteria in the province. Instead of reaching a predetermined sample size, therefore, I aimed to include individuals who met the selection criteria and who belonged to a wide range of organisations in a number of sectors to optimise the number and diversity of participants in the study. A summary of the characteristics of the participants and the sampling methods employed are shown in Table 1. The sequence in which participants are listed in the table corresponds with the sequence in which their perspectives of the human trafficking system are presented in chapter five of the current study.

Table 1

Summary of characteristics of participants and sampling method employed in the current study.

Name or alias	Abbreviation	Gender	Organisation	Sampling method
Investigative officer	IO	Male	South African Police Service	Purposive
Senior state advocate	SSA	Female	National Prosecuting Authority	Snowball
Dr. Karen Müller	KM	Female	Institute for Child Witness Research and Training	Snowball
Karen Hollely	KH	Female	Institute for Child Witness Research and Training	Snowball
Social worker	SW	Female	Department of Social Development	Purposive
John Preller	JP	Male	Civil society	Purposive
National non-governmental organisation coordinator	NNC	Female	Civil society organisation	Purposive
Mercy Cwayi	MC	Female	On Eagles Wings multi-purpose centre	Snowball
Manager at faith based organisation	MFBO	Female	Civil society organisation	Snowball
Folorunsho Jaiyeoluwa	FJ	Male	Port Elizabeth Nigerian Union	Snowball

As shown in Table 1, the final sample included ten participants of which four participants were selected through purposive sampling. As explained previously, counter human trafficking was in its infancy in the Eastern Cape during the course of the current study.

However, as a counselling psychologist I was involved in counter human trafficking activities before and during the course of the study. My involvement is described in more detail in the section where I provide a reflexive account of my background in relation to the current study. During the course of my involvement, I met a number of individuals who met the selection criteria for potential participation in the current study. Prior to beginning the data collection process, which is described in more detail in the next section, I approached four of these individuals for participation in the current study. These four individuals were an investigative officer (IO) in the South African Police Service (SAPS) who was investigated human trafficking activities and John Preller (JP), a community activist and counsellor with experience with counselling victims of trafficking. It also included a social worker (SW) employed by the Department of Social Development (DSD) who managed a shelter which assisted victims of trafficking and the national coordinator (NNC) of a human trafficking focussed non-governmental organisation (NGO) . All four participants were willing and able to participate voluntarily in the current study. Purposive sampling has the advantage that information relevant to the research question can be gathered from a diverse as possible population to increase the chance that a wide range of features or factors associated with the phenomenon can be gathered (Ritchie et al., 2003: 79, 83). The four participants sampled through purposive sampling worked in four different counter human trafficking areas that increased the diversity of the perspectives gathered from research participants.

I also made use of snowball sampling in the current study. This process involved asking participants I had already interviewed to nominate other potential participants that matched the selection criteria. Snowball sampling is a useful approach when the selection criteria exist in a dispersed or small population (Ritchie et al., 2003, p. 94) as with the counter human trafficking community in the Eastern Cape. The disadvantage of snowball sampling is that the diversity of the sample frame can be compromised (Ritchie et al., 2003, p. 94). In this

study, this disadvantage was minimised by requesting participants to nominate potential participants from a wide range of organisations, professional fields, and sectors. Six additional participants agreed to participate voluntarily in the study. A senior state advocate (SSA) with the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) was included because she was the designated public prosecutor for human trafficking cases in the Eastern Cape. Mercy Cwayi (MC), the director of a NGO focussed on providing services to victims of domestic and sexual violence, had direct experience with victims of the Xhosa ukuthwala practice whereby young women are abducted for the purpose of forced marriage. I approached two participants from the Institute of Child Witness Research and Training for participation. These participants were Dr. Karen Müller (KM) and Karen Hollely (KH). Although both were associated with the same organisation, they had distinct areas of expertise. KM's area of expertise was in the legal approach towards child and adolescent victims of sexual violence, including human trafficking. KH's expertise related to the psychological aspects of aforementioned crimes against children and adolescents.

During the first few data collection interviews, I noted that participants referred to factors that possibly contributed to the likelihood that foreign nationals residing in Port Elizabeth's inner-city areas may get involved in organised crime and human trafficking activities. While involved in counter human trafficking activities in Central, IO had interacted with community representatives in the neighbourhood. I therefore requested IO to nominate a person from the immigrant community in Central, an inner-city neighbourhood in Port Elizabeth. He nominated Folorunsho Jaiyeoluwa (FJ) who, as a Nigerian foreign national, was a community representative for the Nigerian community in Port Elizabeth. I approached FJ to take part in the current study and he agreed to participate voluntarily in the study in his capacity as the secretary of the Nigerian Union in Port Elizabeth. The research aim of the current study aimed to capture the complexity of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. I

believed that the inclusion of FJ's perspective in the current study, even though he did not meet the initial selection criteria, would contribute to a rich, multifaceted understanding of human trafficking in the province, which motivated me to approach him for participation.

Data collection.

When using the qualitative approach, a researcher attempts to capture the participants' perspectives in an open-ended, explorative descriptive manner. This allows for detailed, information rich, and extensive newly constructed knowledge about their reality to emerge and unfold (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 5). I made use of in-depth, face-to-face interviews with each of the individual participants to collect data for the current study. This data collection method allowed me to obtain an extensive and detailed understanding of the complex system of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape from the perspective of each of the diverse participants (Lewis, 2003, p. 58; Richie, 2003, pp. 36-37).

The interviews I conducted in this study were open-ended and unstructured. The advantage of using an open-ended, unstructured interview strategy is that is flexible. I could fully explore human trafficking in the Eastern Cape from each participant's perspective and be responsive to topics which were raised spontaneously by participants during the interview (Legard et al., 2003, p. 141). Each interview started with an open-ended question: "Tell me about human trafficking in the Eastern Cape". After the initial question, I used probing and follow-up questions to obtain a fuller and deeper understanding of the participants' perspectives and to obtain additional information regarding the interrelationships between systems, subsystems, and elements involved in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. I could therefore explore further the sometimes unexpected information participants shared with follow-up questions and probes to capture unique aspects of participants' perspectives. The unstructured interview format also allowed me to enquire gently into areas

that participants had not explored during the interview (Legard et al., 2003, p. 142). This interview approach was particularly useful to explore the relatively unknown complex system of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, as it allowed me to pursue relevant information that emerged spontaneously during interviews.

I recorded the interview with a digital voice recorder to provide an accurate, verbatim record of the interviews. I obtained informed consent from the participants to use the voice recorder before the start of each interview. I transferred the digital copy of the interview from the digital voice recorder to file on my password-protected computer after each interview. I also saved a digital copy of the interview in a similar manner on an external device that was stored in a secure location under lock and key.

Arthur and Nazroo (2003, p. 132) suggested that even when the interview is captured through an audio-recording, the researcher should make field notes to capture their thoughts about the dynamic of the encounter for possible use in the data analysis stage. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 66) suggested that a field notes could include reflections about the meaning of what a participant was “really” saying during the interview, doubts about the quality of the information, and cross-references to information in other interviews. After the interview I recorded my reflections on aspects of the interviews including surprising information conveyed by participants as well as my interpretations and insights on the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape that emerged during or after the interviews. Factual information and observations were kept separate in order to avoid confusion between these different types of data. The potential disadvantage of the unstructured interview approach is the possibility that substantially different responses from different perspectives may emerge, which may reduce the comparability of responses and complicates the organisation and analysis of data (Patton, 2002, p. 347). However, the value of complexity theory is that it

enabled a multiplicity of discourses to emerge that do not have to be crystallised into aggregate data as in the positivist paradigm (Manson, 2001, p. 441).

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 29) asserted that sampling and data collection in qualitative research often progresses in waves as the study progresses. Sampling and data collection in this study took place in two “waves”. The first wave took place after I obtained ethical clearance to conduct the current study on 29 July 2011. I conducted eight interviews during August 2011 and September 2011, after which I moved to Berlin, Germany for six months as part of a research scholarship to the Freie Universität in Berlin. The second wave, consisting of two interviews, was completed in 2012 after I returned to South Africa.

According to Polkinghorne (2005, p. 142) interviews as a data collection method is a “one-shot occurrence” (p. 142) in which the participant conveys his or her perspective. However, one interview may not be sufficient to produce data of sufficient depth and breadth. Polkinghorne (2005) suggested that more than interview with the same participant could therefore be appropriate as it also allows the participant to reflect on previous interviews to explore the experience in more depth in future interview (Polkinghorne, 2005, pp. 142-143). One of the participants, IO, indicated that he was willing to explore further the complexity of the human trafficking system through either further interviews or written communication via email. As IO lived outside of Port Elizabeth, my city of residence, we decided that written communication was most appropriate. I emailed the written account of IO’s first interview in which I represented his perspective according to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development, to IO in August 2014. In this written account, I posed specific follow-up questions to fill in or clarify his perspective. I also asked him to add newly remembered information and reflections on his account in a written format. IO returned his reflections and new information in October 2014. In November 2014, he indicated that he was willing to conduct a telephonic interview to clarify, correct, and expand some of the

factual data he provided in the first interview. For this interview, IO used his pocketbooks as reference to ensure that he provided the events he described in the first interview in the correct sequence. A pocketbook is a notebook in which police officers record their daily actions (IO, personal communication, November 3, 2014). As I could not use a voice recorder in this interview, I took detailed notes. I also added the new information to my written findings of his perspective of the human trafficking system immediately after the telephonic interview to ensure I represent the information correctly. I cited the data gathered through three discrete interactions with IO in three distinct ways in my representation of his perspective. Direct quotes from the transcript of the first interview were cited according to the paragraph number; the citation method utilised for all participants. As IO provided his reflections and new information in written format, I marked the paragraph he wrote with letters in alphabetic sequence. Direct quotes from this second data collection event are thus cited with a letter from the alphabet. The notes I took during the third telephonic interview were not recorded in specific paragraphs. For that reason, I indicate the information from the third interview was gathered via personal communication.

Data analysis.

According to Spencer et al. (2003, p. 213) the analytical process is not linear. Instead it is a continuous process in which the researcher continuously revisits the original data to, for example, check assumptions or unpack more of the detail (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 12). In fact, Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 11) argued that anticipatory data reduction takes place even before data collection when the researcher decides which conceptual framework, research questions, and data collection methods to choose.

Due to this fluid and emergent nature of qualitative research (Patton, 2002, p. 436), the data collection and analysis processes tend to take place concurrently. Possible themes take

shape and emerge during the data collection process, which again leads to analytical insights that spill over into the data collection process (Ely et al., 1997, p. 8). Ely et al. (1997, p. 166) likened this to a weaving process where each of these data analysis activities enriches the other by shedding new light on each of the activities; the main aim being to produce output which in some way will represent the perspective of the research participants (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 5).

As a researcher employing the qualitative approach to research, I found Denzin and Lincoln's (2000, p. 6) notion of the qualitative researcher being a bricoleur meaningful. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3) a qualitative researcher attempts to make sense of the researched phenomenon in terms of the meaning attached to it by the research participants. This process entails utilising a variety of interconnected interpretive practices and strategies. Therefore, bricoleur is a qualitative researcher who produces a "complex, quilt like bricolage... a set of fluid, interconnected images and representations." (p. 6) which integrates the different slices of reality found in different perspectives into a unified product. A bricoleur may also invent new ways in which to interpret or represent the perspectives of research participants, always keeping in mind that bricolages are ways to involve his or her audience: "They create spaces for give-and-take between reader and writer" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 5). Therefore, as each qualitative study is unique, each study's data analysis approach will be unique as well (Patton, 2002, p. 433).

I found the bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 6) concept beneficial during the data analysis process as I found that the participants' view of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape provided very dense and rich descriptions of the phenomenon. In addition, I intentionally gathered data from participants situated in a broad range of sectors and organisations. This resulted in diverse perspectives on the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape that varied considerably in focus. For example, the perspective of a public

prosecutor (SSA) focussed primarily on the aspects of the human trafficking system related to the prosecution of alleged traffickers. On the other hand, a community worker (MC) working in among impoverish communities found it more relevant to convey socio-economic factors and Xhosa cultural practices which she considered relevant in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. I had to be a bricoleur and devise a data analysis process to reduce the data into a manageable form yet give an accurate representation of the participants' rich, dense, and broad perspectives of the complexity of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape.

I made use of Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) data analysis software to facilitate the data analysis of transcribed data. The advantage of computerised data analysis is that it allows for longer, more meaningful phrases to be assigned to text compared to data analysis "by hand" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 58). In addition, Atlas.ti ((Scientific Software Development, 2014) allows the researcher to assign personal notes and observations to codes and quotations to assist in the data analysis process. I give a more specific description of my use of Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) in each of the data analysis activities later in the document when I describe the data analysis process I followed in the current study.

Patton (2002, p. 441) encouraged qualitative researchers to do their own transcription, as it offers a valuable opportunity to get immersed in the data and facilitate the generation of emergent insights starting off the data analysis process. For this reason, I chose to transcribe all the data collection interviews with Express Scribe (NCH Software, 2014). Transcription is a time consuming process as it took me up to one hour to transcribe five minutes of an interview. However, it protected the identity of those participants who wanted to remain anonymous as well as the confidentiality of the information that emerged in interviews such as names of alleged traffickers, victims of trafficking, and safe houses for victims of trafficking. Another reason for this decision was the potential impact the sensitive nature of

the information may have on a transcriber's emotional health (Dickson-Swift, James, & Liamputtong, 2008).

According to Patton (2002, p. 432) the qualitative data analysis process is a process in which data is transformed into findings. However, Patton asserted that there exists no formula or recipe for this transformation, but only guidance. Following Patton's reasoning, I utilised data analysis guidelines proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994, pp. 10-11) to transform my data into findings. This data analysis process consists of three concurrent streams or activities, namely (a) data reduction, (b) data display, and (c) conclusion drawing or verification. These three concurrent streams or activities interact throughout data analysis as shown in Figure 6.

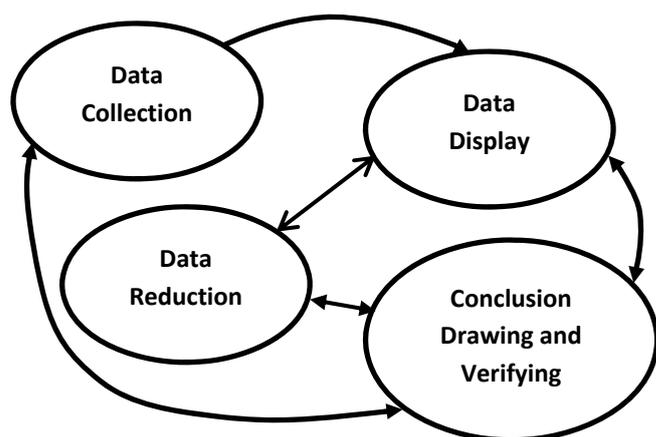


Figure 6. Components of the data analysis process. From “*Qualitative Data Analysis: An expanded Sourcebook*”, p. 12, by M.B. Miles and A.M. Huberman, 1994, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 1994 by Sage Publications.

In the next section, I elucidate the components of the data analysis process as proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). Thereafter, I describe my data analysis weaving process (Ely et al., 1997, p. 166) guided by Miles and Huberman's (1994) components of data analysis.

Data reduction.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 10), the data reduction component is the central task in qualitative analysis. It involves the selection, simplification, abstraction, and transformation of the data contained in transcription and written-up field notes. It “sharpens, sorts, focusses, discards, and organizes data in such a way that ‘final’ conclusions can be drawn and verified” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 11). Therefore, Miles and Huberman asserted that data reduction continues until the final written research report has been completed by means of “analytical choices” (p. 11) the researcher makes during activities such as writing summaries, coding, and the clustering of codes.

Miles and Huberman (1994) regard data coding as an essential part of the data reduction and analysis process by declaring, “Coding is analysis.” (p. 56). Through coding, labels or “units of meaning” (p. 56) are assigned to words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs of transcribed data. The process of coding enables the researcher to scrutinise and analyse these units of meaning while simultaneously keeping the relationships between these units intact within the context of the data that is analysed. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 57) distinguished between two classes of codes, namely descriptive codes and pattern codes. Descriptive codes require little interpretation but are useful they summarise segments of data. It also forms the basis for progressively more interpretive coding which eventually leads to pattern coding. Pattern coding is inferential and brings together the less abstract, descriptive codes into an “inferred theme or pattern.” (p. 57). Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 68) explained that descriptive codes typically are created first and then are increasingly clustered into more inferential, explanatory codes until the data has been reduced and transformed into pattern codes. This is, however, not a linear process as codes at “different levels of analysis ranging from descriptive to the inferential.” (p. 58) may emerge from the data during the course of the analysis process.

Data display.

Miles and Huberman (1994) defined a display as “a visual format that presents information systematically” (p.91) in a compact and accessible form to assist the researcher to draw “justified conclusions” (p. 11). Data displays enhances the data analysis process as it enables the researcher to see the full, yet condensed data set in one location, thereby increasing the likelihood that a researcher will be able to make careful comparisons, see trends, and note themes. Data displays evolve as the data analysis process continues, which in turn influences the data analysis process (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 98). Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 101) illustrated the interaction between data display and data analysis as shown in Figure 7.

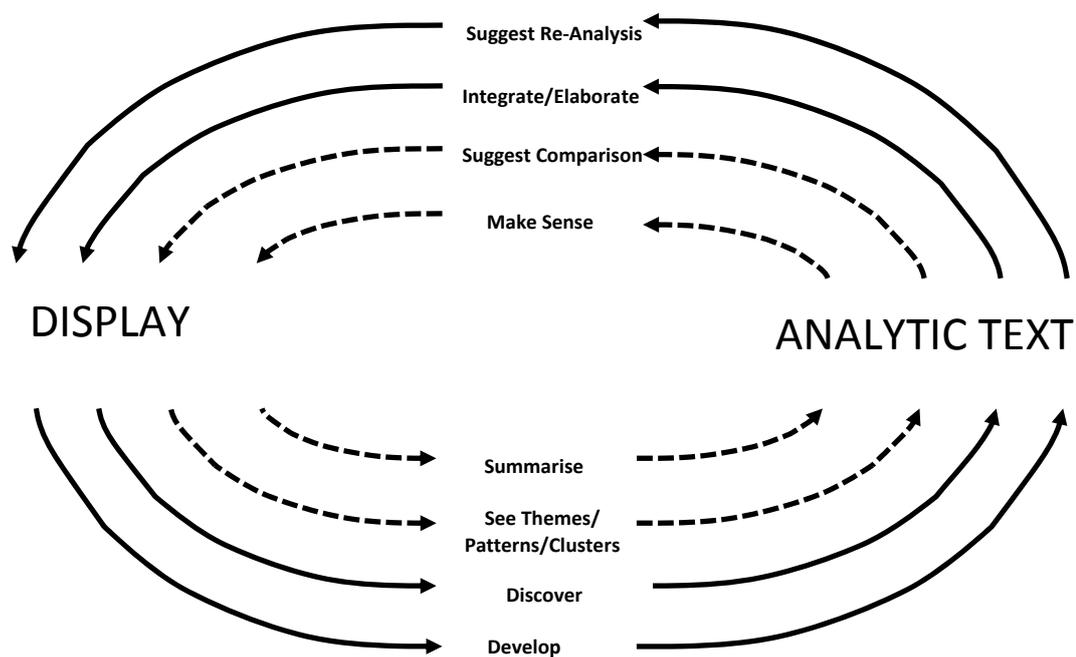


Figure 7. Interaction between display and analytic text during the data analysis process.

From “*Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*”, p. 101, by M.B. Miles and A.M. Huberman, 1994, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 1994 by Sage Publications.

Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguished between two families of data display formats, namely matrices and networks, but emphasised that the format and shape of the display will depend on the researcher's needs and aims. For example, a matrix is useful to understand the flow, location, and connection of events, which the authors referred to as "exploratory eyeballing." (p. 93). On the other hand, networks are helpful if a researcher wants to focus on many variables at one time. It also enables the researcher to identify patterns and themes in the interactions between the points (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 98).

Conclusion drawing and verification.

The third activity in the data analysis process is that of conclusion drawing and verification. From the start of data collection, the qualitative researcher will construct preliminary conclusions by noting patterns, regularities, and possible configurations. Preliminary conclusions become final conclusions through this component of the data analysis process (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 11). Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 11) asserted that verification is a vital aspect of the data analysis as meanings which emerged from data are tested for their "plausibility, their sturdiness, their 'confirmability'" (p. 11).

According to Huberman and Miles (2002), a qualitative researcher needs to be aware that "qualitative data analysis is a craft" (p.394) with "many ways to get analysis 'right'" (para. 394). Qualitative researchers are therefore encouraged to contend with "normal problems" (p. 394) without seeking for "an ideal design." (p. 394). Huberman and Miles (2002) described the typical qualitative data analysis process that accurately represented my experience of the data analysis process in the current study:

The core requisites for qualitative analysis seem to be a little creativity, systematic doggedness, some good conceptual sensibilities, and cognitive flexibility—the capacity to

rapidly undo your way of construing or transforming the data and to try another, more promising tack. (p. 394).

I describe the data analysis process utilised in the current study in the following section.

The data analysis process followed in the current study.

In the first chapter, I indicated that the objectives of the study included utilising the participants' perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape in two distinct ways to elucidate the complexity of the human trafficking system. The current study thus had two separate data analysis processes, each with its own data reduction, data display, and data verification activities.

Data analysis process followed: First objective.

The first objective of the current study was to describe the human trafficking system in the province from the study participants' perspectives utilising Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development to conceptualise the systems, subsystems, and system elements of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape province.

Before I could start data reduction activities, I imported the raw data into Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014), which consisted of the transcriptions of the interviews and my notes recorded in my research diary. The data reduction process started with a reading of each transcribed interview individually to familiarise myself with the perspective of the respective participant. When a long passage conveyed more than one central idea, I separated the passage into paragraphs that each contained only one central idea.

I treated each transcribed document as a separate analytical unit in Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014). I thus had ten separate analytical units through which I could describe each participant's view of the human trafficking system according to the various systems and their interrelationships separately.

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 56) asserted that the central task of data reduction is to code or label units of meaning. The coding process consisted of three distinct levels of codes starting from a purely descriptive code, then a descriptive but more explanatory code, and to a code that was inferential in reflecting the relationships between systems, subsystems, and elements in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. My use of codes thus resembled Miles and Huberman's (1994, p. 56) differentiation between descriptive and inferential codes.

After I had completed the first reading, I assigned descriptive codes to the text. Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) enables users to mark words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs and assign a descriptive word or phrase to the marked text to create a code (Friese, 2014, p. 18). The descriptive codes reflected the systems, subsystems, and elements that emerged from the participants' perspectives in accordance with Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development. Examples of these simple descriptive codes were "trafficker" or "TP" (trafficked person). The software program (Scientific Software Development, 2014) allows a researcher to assign more than one code to the same word, sentence, phrase, or paragraph if more than one code emerged from a very descriptive passage (Friese, 2014, p. 18). The descriptive codes "trafficker" and "TP" could therefore occur in the same sentence. In this way, I could mark a whole paragraph with one label such as "TP" while I could assign different codes to single words, phrases, and sentences in that same paragraph.

The second level of data reduction entailed adding a short explanatory word or phrase next to the previously coded systems, sub-systems, and elements. I termed these second level codes descriptive-explanatory codes in order to better order the process and better describe the data reduction process I followed. Examples of these descriptive-explanatory codes included "trafficker – violent" and "TP – abused woman". Due to the capabilities of Atlas.ti

(Scientific Software Development, 2014), I could mark a whole section consisting of several paragraphs with a descriptive code such as “TP - abused” to indicate that the whole section deals with the abuse of a trafficked person. I could also assign several other descriptive-explanatory codes, which allowed me to see the relationships between these codes within the context of the whole section.

With the third, most interpretive level of coding, I focussed on identifying interactions and interrelationships between systems, subsystems, and elements in the human trafficking system. To indicate the connectedness between system components, I added “i/a” to denote interaction. Through this process I developed codes such as “trafficker – violent i/a trafficked person – abused woman” which indicated the relationship between a trafficker’s use of violence to exert control over the abused trafficked person.

Figure 8 is an image taken through the PrntScr (print screen) function on my personal computer. This image displays a paragraph from JP’s interview data via Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) software. Figure 8 illustrates the use of all three coding levels in on paragraph as well as the density and richness of the data in the paragraph. The vertical coloured bars down the middle of the image shows how Atlas.ti indicates whether a particular code is linked to a word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph. This visual feature allowed me to see the relationships between different codes in the context of the whole paragraph. Atlas.ti (Scientific Software, 2014) displays the raw data in the left window, while the codes are indicated in the left window, as shown in Figure 8.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), it is often difficult to explain something to others until you “understand just what the something is.” (p. 91). Visual data displays are an effective method to understand a phenomenon, present information systematically, enable the researcher to draw valid conclusions, and to convey the meaning that emerges from data to the audience (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 91). I often made use of data displays such

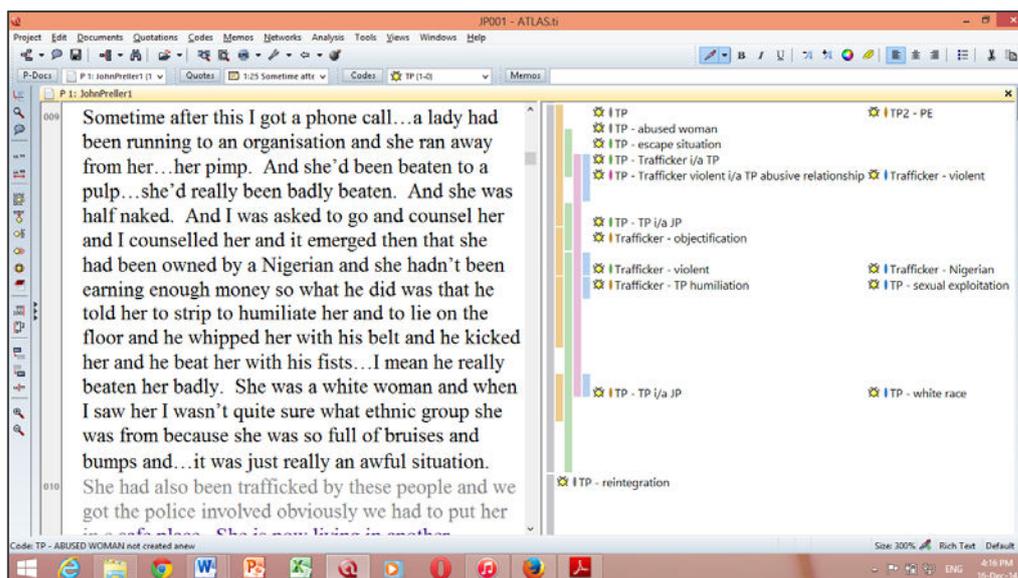


Figure 8. A visual illustration of coding as employed in the current study utilising Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) software.

as network displays during the data analysis process to add to my understanding of each participant's view of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

As previously noted, the participants' perspectives on the human trafficking system revealed a complex, rich picture of the systems, subsystems, and elements and the connectivity between these system components. As a bricoleur, I endeavoured to represent the richness, diversity, and uniqueness of each participant's perspective to capture the complexity of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as expressed in the aim and objectives of the current study. My first attempt at a data display took the form of a network display in which I denoted, with arrows, the interactions between all the system components expressed through IO's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. However, the density and richness of the data resulted in a network display, shown in Figure 9, which was overwhelmingly detailed, difficult to describe, and exceedingly complex. This visual representation of the magnitude of interactions between systems and their components assisted me in appreciating the complexity of the human trafficking system. I also realised

I made extensive use of analytical and visual display tools offered by Atlas.ti (Scientific Software, 2014) in the data analysis process. The codes co-occurrence table tool aided me in establishing associations between codes as this tool displays an interactive matrix of codes that overlap or share the same quotation. The matrixes indicated the strength of the association between codes as well as the quotations related to a specific association.

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 11) indicated that conclusion drawing and verification activities begins at data collection and continues throughout the data analysis process as preliminary conclusions eventually become final conclusions. Similarly, I found that my continuous interaction with the data throughout the data analysis process resulted in the constant comparison and revisiting of systems and their interrelationships. The data analysis process thus did not take place in three discrete steps but was an iterative and recursive process. Thus, I found that even when I was writing the findings of the current study, I would have insights regarding the inferential levels of coding of the text.

Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1994) bioecological theory of human development was extended in a number of studies (Campbell et al., 2012; Grauerholz, 2000) to accurately represent the research findings. For example, Campbell et al. (2012, p. 7) adapted Bronfenbrenner's (1977) theory by combining the mesosystem and exosystem levels to better represent their data about the impact of sexual assault on women's mental health. Similarly, I extended Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory to better represent the perspectives of the participants and enable visual representations of the complex human trafficking system as described by study participants. The adapted theory as it applies to the present study are briefly described.

Bronfenbrenner (1994, p. 39) conceptualised a microsystem as the pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations of the developing person in a face-to-face setting. In the current study, the human trafficking system was conceptualised as consisting of three

microsystems. These were the trafficker microsystem, the trafficked person microsystem, and the third microsystem that consisted of those individuals and organisations that create a demand for the services of trafficked persons. As described in chapter three, human trafficking as a crime cannot exist without these three microsystems, as it is a demand-driven criminal business system based on the principles of supply and demand (Polaris, 2014). The demand for the services of trafficked persons is the “engine in the machinery of exploitation” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005, p.8), the victims of human trafficking are the supply, and the human traffickers are motivated to victimise vulnerable individuals “in their desire to profit from the existing demand” (Polaris, 2014, para. 1).

Bronfenbrenner (1994) considered the mesosystem as “a system of microsystems” (p. 40) comprising the interrelationships, linkages, and processes that take place between major microsystems which contain the developing person. To portray the participants’ perspectives of the human trafficking system, I conceptualised the mesosystem in the current study to be the linkages and processes that takes place between the trafficker, trafficked person, and demand microsystems. The interrelationships, linkages, and processes that occur between these three microsystems thus portray the crime of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. I therefore conceptualised that this mesosystem functions as the core of the larger human trafficking system. I presented the mesosystem as a dark red area in the centre of the visual representation of each participant’s perspective on the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape to represent the prominence of this ecosystem.

Bronfenbrenner (1994, p. 40) conceived the exosystem as the linkages and processes which take place between two or more settings in which events occur that indirectly influence the immediate setting of the developing person. The developing persons, however, should not be part of at least one of these settings. In the current study, I conceptualised the

exosystem to comprise the links and processes between settings in which events or interactions occur which indirectly or directly affected at least one of the three microsystems that constitute the core human trafficking system. It included settings such as the organisations and sectors that the participants belonged to as well as other organisations and sectors with which the participants interacted. Participants indicated that other settings directly or indirectly influenced the core human trafficking system and their own organisations or sectors. For example, the communities from which persons were trafficked or specific communities, in which some human trafficking criminal syndicates operate, were also conceptualised as being part of the exosystem.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) regarded the macrosystem as an “overarching pattern” (p. 49) of all embedded system characteristics of a given culture or subculture. Aspects such as belief systems, bodies of knowledge, customs, and opportunity structures form part of the macrosystem and function as a “societal blueprint” (p. 40) that has the potential to influence processes and conditions in all the other systemic levels. Participants indicated that aspects such as belief systems, traditional customs, value systems, and socio-economic opportunities affected processes, opportunities, and interrelationships in the exo-, meso, and microsystemic levels of the larger human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

Bronfenbrenner (1994, p. 40) described the chronosystem as changes or consistencies over time in the characteristics of both the developing person and the environment in which the person lives. The chronosystem includes gradual changes as well as rapid changes. Research participants revealed aspects which changed over time such as changes in traditional customs and but also described historical events which led to rapid changes.

According to Merriam (2002, p. 5), qualitative researchers use both words and pictures to convey the findings of the research process. I also chose to convey the descriptive aspects of the human trafficking system as well as the interactions between the relevant systems through

a descriptive account of the each participant's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. I accomplished this by utilising relevant verbatim quotes from each participant's interview to demonstrate the research findings regarding the human trafficking system and its interactions. According to Spencer et al., (2003), using the participant's own words adds richness and "colour" (p. 214) to the descriptive account. In this manner, the human trafficking system is described in a rich, in-depth manner that allows readers to enter the perspectives of the participants and share in the participants' views of the complexity of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. Each participant's findings were presented separately and were accompanied by the aforementioned diagrammatic display.

The data collection interviews with IO, SSA, and SW were conducted in Afrikaans, the mother tongue of these participants. I translated the verbatim quotes taken from these three participants' interviews into English for inclusion in the current thesis.

The American Psychological Association (2009) instructed researchers to "follow the wording, spelling, and interior punctuation of the original sources, even if the source is incorrect." (p. 172). When incorrect spelling, punctuation, or grammar in the source material might confuse the reader, the American Psychological Association indicated that the word *sic*, italicised and in brackets, should be inserted immediately after the error in the quotation to avoid potential confusion. I did not correct grammatical errors made by participants during the data collection interviews and included these errors in the verbatim quotes used to report the findings and discussion of findings in chapters five and six. I inserted a bracketed and italicised *sic* where I was of the opinion that a grammatical error may confuse the reader.

Data analysis process followed: Second objective.

As mentioned in chapter one, the second objective of the current study was to provide a description of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as a complex system using

the pooled participants' perspectives. I followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) broad data analysis strategy, but I also employed Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines to accomplish a thematic data analysis. These two data analysis strategies are compatible as both strategies conceptualise the data analysis process as consisting of activities to reduce data through coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 87-89; Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). Both strategies also incorporate data display strategies (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 90; Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 11), and verify the conclusions (Braun and Clarke, 2006, pp. 92-93; Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10).

Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) indicated that a thematic analysis involves identifying and analysing repeated patterns of meaning, called themes, within a data set in order to report these patterns in rich detail in a research report. According to Braun and Clarke, a theme "captures something important in relation to the overall research question." (p. 82). Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasised that these phases are "guidelines...not rules" (p. 86) and recommended that a flexible approach, guided by the nature of the data and the research objective, should be followed during the data analysis process. Similar to Miles and Huberman (1994, p.58), Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 86) also indicated that the six proposed phases are not followed in a linear fashion but applied in a recursive manner throughout the data analysis process.

The six phases of thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 86) are listed below followed by a description of the thematic analysis process I followed to achieve the second objective of the current study.

Braun and Clarke's (2006, p. 86) first phase of the thematic data analysis requires that the researcher familiarise himself or herself with the research data. This may include transcribing data, reading and rereading the data, and noting down initial ideas. The raw data or data set I used to conduct the thematic analysis consisted of the pooled representations of

participants' perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape presented in chapter five. These perspectives were combined by creating a single analytical unit in Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014). This enabled me to identify themes across the whole data set. I coded each of the participant's perspectives as a separate document within the analytical unit but Atlas.ti (Scientific Software Development, 2014) collated the coded categories across the combined data set, which allowed me to search for repeated patterns of meaning across the whole data set.

The pooled participant perspective consisted of my representations of the ten participant's perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape that I presented in chapter five. I was thus already intimately familiar with the data set for the thematic analysis and had made notes on my observations and ideas about possible themes in my research diary before I started the thematic analysis. However, I still used an inductive approach which, according to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 83) means that I did not try to fit the data into my pre-existing analytical thoughts. Rather, I allowed the themes to emerge from the data.

In the second phase of the thematic analysis, the researcher generates initial codes across the entire data set in a systematic manner (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 86). The data set consisting of the representations of the ten participant's perspectives was already organised according to system components and the interrelationships between system components. Given the ordered nature of the data set, I approached the coding process by first identifying and coding the overarching description of a paragraph or section consisting of a number of paragraphs. For example, in my representation of SW's perspective of the human trafficking system, a section of paragraphs described factors that made young women more vulnerable to be trafficked as well as the ways in which traffickers exploited these vulnerabilities. I coded the main topic as "TP (trafficked persons) – vulnerability factors". Braun and Clarke (2006,

p. 89) suggested that as many potential themes and patterns should be coded in the initial phases of the coding process. For this reason, I also coded specific factors and elements related to vulnerability factors within the same section of paragraphs related to the vulnerabilities such as “TP – hope for a better life”, “TP – want to be loved”, and “TP – drugs”. Within the same section of paragraphs, I coded information regarding traffickers according to recruitment methods “TR (trafficker) – deceive” and “TR – loverboy method”. I coded all ten participants’ perspectives of the human trafficking system individually following this method.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 86), the third phase entails the researcher searching for themes by collating codes into potential themes and gathering quotes from the data set relevant to each potential theme. The use of data displays such as thematic maps or tables are common during this phase. I considered how I could cluster codes into broader themes by examining the relationships between codes across the whole data set to see how different codes could be combined to form overarching themes. In this way, I recognised interrelationships between codes and patterns. Thus, in relation to the example mentioned above, I realised that although the main theme of a section of paragraphs referred to vulnerability factors, the overarching theme of this section of paragraphs described interactions between traffickers and the victims of trafficking, which I then coded “TR-TP interaction”. The vulnerability factors and recruitment methods were thus subthemes in this overarching theme. I repeated the process of identifying overarching themes in paragraphs or groups of paragraphs by looking at the interconnections and interrelationships between the codes I had previously identified in paragraphs or sections of paragraphs.

I made use of Atlas.ti’s (Scientific Software, 2014) visual display tool, the codes co-occurrence table tool, to map the strength of associations between codes that helped me to cluster codes into themes. I used the co-occurrence table tool in conjunction with another

visual tool, the code manager. The code manager indicates the frequency with which I applied a label across the whole data set. Through this visual tool, I was able to determine which of the overarching themes I assigned to paragraphs or sections of paragraphs were used most frequently.

During the fourth and fifth stages of the thematic analysis, a review of themes takes place by checking if themes relate to the coded extracts and across the entire data set and defining and naming the themes by conducting an ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87). Two main themes emerged from the data analysis process that told the “story” about complexity in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape from the perspectives of the participants. I describe these themes in chapter six.

Braun and Clarke’s (2006) explained that the analysis process is a circular process which involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, coded data extracts, and the identified overarching themes. Similarly, I found that an insight about interactions between codes from which a potential overarching theme emerged in one participant’s data set reminded me of similar interactions in another participant’s rendition of the human trafficking system. The thematic data analysis process thus was a recursive process in which I moved between participants’ perspectives, my notes about data schemes, and data analysis tools offered by Atlas.ti.

The postmodern research approach rejects the quantitative research concepts of reliability and validity, as it does not assume an objective reality outside of the research product (Lietz et al., 2006, p. 443). This view is congruent with Lincoln and Guba’s (2000) assertion that “no method can deliver on the ultimate truth” (p. 178) as envisioned by the positivist research paradigm. In the 1980s, there was an emergence of “new language” (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p. 391) in qualitative literature to explore new ways of expressing positivist concepts such as validity and reliability (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p. 291). Among the first researchers to

introduce such new concepts suited to qualitative research were Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 301) who proposed trustworthiness as an appropriate set of criteria to judge the quality of qualitative data. I describe the various ways used to ensure the trustworthiness of the current study in the following section.

Trustworthiness.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the basic question regarding trustworthiness in qualitative research is “How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the findings in an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?” (p. 301). Lincoln and Guba (1985) conceptualised the criteria for trustworthiness as credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Morrow (2005) argued that these criteria run parallel to positivist and post-positivist methods of rigour. For example, credibility in qualitative research corresponds to internal validity in quantitative research, transferability to generalizability, dependability to reliability, and conformability to objectivity (Morrow, 2005, p. 251). Since qualitative research creates a different kind of knowledge than that of quantitative research, Morrow (2005, p. 251) was of the opinion that these parallel criteria do not aim to accomplish exactly the same goals in qualitative research as in quantitative research.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 296), credibility refers to an evaluation of the extent to which research findings represent a credible, conceptual interpretation of the participant’s original data. Tracy (2010, pp. 843-844) identified various means and practices through which to achieve credibility. I utilised three of these practices to increase the credibility of the current research. The first was to present the participants’ perspectives through content-rich and meaningful “thick” descriptions to provide detail of the context of the study. The second practice I utilised was member checks. This involved giving the

transcriptions back to the research participants to allow them to confirm that the information in the transcriptions were an accurate representation of the data collection interview. The third practice related to Poland's (2004, p. 1336) assertion that accurate, high quality verbatim transcripts of audio recorded interviews are integral in establishing credibility of qualitative research. I limited the possibility of transcription errors by using a high quality audio recording device to ensure a clear recording of the interview. I also transcribed the data collection interviews and reviewed the verbatim transcription by re-listening to the interview to verify the accuracy of the transcription.

I also made use of the member validation method to establish credibility. I furnished IO, a research participant, with the transcript of his data collection interview and my representation of the data as shown in chapter five. This enabled IO to confirm whether the representation was an accurate representation of the data collection interview and the transcription of the data collection interview (Tracy, 2010, pp. 843-844). Morrow (2005, p. 252) highlighted the importance of researcher reflexivity in establishing credibility in qualitative research. According to this notion, I had to acknowledge that I was not an objective observer during the current study, but that my meanings and interpretations influenced the whole research process (Yin, 2011, p. 272). To establish credibility, I recorded my reflections about my beliefs, values, and personal characteristics that may have influenced the data collection and data analysis process in my research diary. I provide a reflexive account my values and beliefs that may have influenced the current study later in the chapter.

Dependability refers to the extent to which the research process is consistent and reasonably stable over time and across different researchers and methods (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 278). According to Morrow (2005, p. 252) dependability of a qualitative study can be shown through an explicit description of the process through which findings were derived. This enables another researcher to repeat the study, although Shenton (2004, p.

71) noted that the results of the repeated study will not necessarily provide the same results. I wrote detailed notes in my research diary to describe the ways in which I conducted data analysis. Peer checking is another strategy to increase dependability and entails requesting a researcher familiar with qualitative research to re-analyse some of the data (Rolfe, 2006, p. 305). To ensure dependability in the current study, a staff member of the Department of Psychology of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University who was familiar with the systems perspective did peer checking by comparing the transcription of KM's interview with my representation of her perspective to ensure that my representation of KM's perspective was true and accurate.

According to Shenton (2004, p. 72), confirmability is a measure of how well the research study's findings are supported by the data collected from participants and not affected by researcher bias, motivation, interests, and preferences. It is therefore necessary for the researcher to acknowledge his or her beliefs that underpinned decisions made and methods adopted, including the weakness of the chosen methods and techniques. As previously described, I kept a self-reflective research journal during the duration of the current study. According to Williams (2011), audit trails are simple records kept by researchers of how qualitative studies are conducted. I kept a research diary throughout the current study in which I documented thoughts about research decisions and activities. The research diary included a log of data collection and data analysis procedures throughout the current study. The audit trail also included the audio recordings of data collection interviews and the verbatim transcriptions of data collection interviews in password protected files and an external storage device which was kept under lock and key.

Transferability is the degree to which research findings have applicability in other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 314), which loosely corresponds to the concept of generalizability in the positivist research tradition. As the findings in a qualitative study are

applicable only to a small number of individuals and contexts, Shenton (2004) considered it “impossible to demonstrate” (p. 69) that findings and conclusions in a qualitative study are applicable to other contexts and populations. It is therefore the responsibility of the qualitative researcher to ensure that enough contextual information about the participants and their contexts is provided to enable potential readers to decide whether and how far they can be confident in transferring the qualitative researcher’s results and conclusions to other contexts. This emphasises the importance of detailed descriptions of methodological aspects to enable readers to make such a decision (Shenton, 2004, pp. 69-70). To demonstrate transferability, I provided a detailed description of the data analysis strategies followed in the current study in chapter four. In chapter five, I introduce research participants by providing a brief description of their contexts to provide contextual information for readers to decide how confident they are in transferring the findings and conclusions of the current study. Strategies and methods I used to improve the trustworthiness in the current study are shown in Table 2.

It was noted previously that a way in which the trustworthiness criterion of credibility and conformability can be satisfied is for the researcher to take a reflexive approach to identify and monitor his or her values, beliefs, biases, and preferences that may have impacted on the study (Merriam, 2002, p. 5; Shenton, 2004, p. 72).

Reflexivity.

According to Lincoln and Denzin (2000), it is essential for a qualitative researcher to acknowledge that he or she does not operate as an “objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text” (p. 1049). Instead, Merriam (2002, p. 5) accentuated the intimate involvement of the researcher in the research process as he or she is the primary data collection and data analysis instrument. There is the danger, however, that a

Table 2.

Trustworthiness in the current research study

Strategy	Credibility	Dependability	Conformability	Transferability
Reflexive, reflective journaling	X		X	
Careful documentation	X	X		X
Audio recording and verbatim transcription	X			
Member checking	X			
Peer checking		X		
Thick, vivid description	X	X		X
Documentation of reflexivity	X		X	
Audit trail		X		X
Detailed methodological description		X		X

Note. Adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1985), Miles and Huberman (1994), Morrow (2005), and Shenton (2004).

researcher could attempt to impose certainty on the open knowledge construction that takes place during the research process (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 9). This happens when the researcher “fills this indeterminate openness with her/his interpretive baggage, imposes names, categories, constructions, conceptual schemes” in the mission to create order and to locate the known (Scheurich, 1997, p.74). Therefore, Yin (2011) asserted that it is essential for a researcher to acknowledge that all aspects of “your entire study are colored by your meanings and interpretations, whether you wish that to be the case or not” (p. 272). This requires researchers to transform covert assumptions and biases to overt reflexions both to

themselves and to their audiences (Morrow, 2005, p. 254). This can be accomplished through strategies such as keeping an ongoing record of the researcher's experiences, values, interests, reactions, and emerging awareness of beliefs, assumptions, biases, and preferences that emerge during the research process (Morrow, 2005, p. 254; Willig, 2008, p. 10).

During the current study, I made notes in my research journal about concrete observations during the data collection and data analysis processes. I included aspects such as the environment and atmosphere in which interview took place, what I experienced during and after the interviews, reflections on the relationship between the participant and I, doubts I experienced during the interview, and hunches and conjectures I had about the nature of the data. I considered these notes during the data analysis process to enhance the depth and richness of the data and to generate new insights regarding the study. In the following section, I present an account of relevant aspects of myself as the researcher in a narrative form to highlight values, beliefs, and personal characteristics that I believe contributed to my choice of the topic of human trafficking, influenced my interaction with the participants and their perspectives, and my knowledge and understanding of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

A reflexive account of my background in relation to the current study.

I was born in 1970, the eldest child of an Afrikaner father and Dutch mother. My mother gave up her career as a medical technologist when I was born. Up to the time that my brother was born, four-and-a-half years later I had her undivided attention. Between the ages of four and five, she taught me to read which kick-started an intense love of reading fiction and non-fiction. I loved learning new things. In school I would read my textbooks on the day I received them because I was so curious about what I would learn that year.

Certain books had a profound impact on my life and my future decisions. One such book I read as an undergraduate student at the University of Port Elizabeth changed my perceptions of the dominant societal discourses on race and justice in my context. In the book “My traitor’s heart: A South African exile returns to face his country, his tribe and his conscience”, Rian Malan (1990) explored the complicated social and moral underpinnings in the South African context that resulted from the apartheid policy. The author’s anger and the moral double binds he experienced as a member of the privileged white group resonated with previously uncrystallised questions and feelings I had. He exposed me to the experience of the so-called non-white side of South Africa; a perspective that I never confronted so personally before due to my embeddedness in conservative political and cultural contexts in apartheid South Africa. From a young age, my mother encouraged me to study law as she noted that I was a little activist that always wanted to argue for justice and fairness. This book re-awakened a desire for justice when I realised what the true effects of apartheid had been on marginalised and less privileged South Africans. It also triggered my curiosity to know more about what had been hidden from me.

As a 20-year old white, South African woman, my experiences of non-white South Africans were limited to interactions with domestic workers. In my context at the time, there was still very little interaction between races. I, however, wanted to engage with this unknown world and open my mind to see other perspectives, opinions, and cultures. I wanted to be challenged to change. After I completed my first B.A. degree in political science and public administration in 1992 at the University of Port Elizabeth (now the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University), I was employed in the public service as a training officer in hospitals for the provincial department of health in the Cape Province and later in the Eastern Cape. In that capacity, I was fortunate enough to engage with people from all racial groups. I also joined a new church in 1995 that had members from several ethnic groups in South

Africa and so I was able to develop close friendships with members of other ethnic groups. I moved to Johannesburg in 1998 where I shared a flat with three other women from different ethnic groups but who belonged to the same church as myself. From these friends I learned about their Indian, siSwathi, and Xhosa cultures, opinions, and ways of viewing life and society. I felt shame and regret when I realised what white privilege really was about and how ethnocentric I had been prior to this experience. Yet, I also felt indignant at many of my white compatriots that refused to reconsider their views about non-white people and retained their racial stereotypes and prejudices.

The need to understand hidden racial and cultural narratives in South Africa also emerged in my later education. I decided in 2001 to return to university to become a psychologist, because I wanted to play a more meaningful role in contributing to the South African society. As an undergraduate and honours student I selected modules which dealt with racial prejudice and discrimination and required that I do assignments on these phenomena. My training as a counselling psychologist furthered this journey of uncovering the mysteries of others' cultures and experiences. I was particularly fascinated with how to interact with people of other cultures in ways that would improve the therapeutic relationship. As an intern psychologist, I facilitated debriefing and therapy groups for home-based care community workers. All these courageous, caring women were Xhosa and I learned through interaction with them how to engage with people from a collectivist cultural background when discussing feelings and thoughts. My treatise for the M.A. Psychology degree was about subtle racism among university students, which exposed me to the idea that prejudice can be covert, yet as destructive as overt, direct discrimination; another hidden narrative in South Africa. My earlier awareness of privilege and its effects, triggered by Malan's (1990) book, gave rise to a career in the helping professions and a commitment to resist dominant narratives that support injustice.

From 2007 to 2009 I was a contract lecturer at NMMU and it was in that context that I decided to pursue a doctorate in a field related to social justice. A police officer I knew socially told me about a case of human trafficking that he was investigating; something he did not even know existed at the time. I thought this to be a valuable learning opportunity for students so I invited him to be a guest lecturer. During this lecture, in which he explained the social justice aspect of human trafficking, he emphasised that very little was known about human trafficking in the South African context, and that there was an urgent need for qualitative, information-rich research. It was as if something deep inside me resonated with this topic and I promptly decided to pursue doctoral studies in the field of human trafficking.

Meaningful progress on my human trafficking journey took place after I decided to conduct research on human trafficking. I was introduced to people involved in counter human trafficking activities in South Africa at a national conference on human trafficking by the South African Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (SAPSAC) in 2009. In the same year, I was also asked to join a forum in Port Elizabeth that focussed on formulating a referral protocol for human trafficking victims in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. At this forum, which operated for a few months, I met stakeholders in the counter human trafficking field from government departments, civil society, and law enforcement agencies in the Nelson Mandela Bay metropolitan area. In 2010, I also attended a course on human trafficking presented by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in Port Elizabeth.

Having interacted with several stakeholders in the small counter human trafficking field of Port Elizabeth had the advantage that I already knew potential participants when I was ready to start the data collection stage of the study. I reflected on the fact that I was not an unknown, objective observer “outside” the human trafficking system when I approached potential participants and that my role and previous experience would have an influence in the research process. In hindsight, I believe that it expedited the trust-building phase of the

interviews. Despite preparing myself that participants might be guarded and hesitant to share information on human trafficking, I found that most participants were, from the beginning of their interviews, eager to share their perspectives on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, that included their personal thoughts and feelings as well as other sensitive information.

Since I started this journey into understanding the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, I have often reflected on why the topic of human trafficking appealed to me. Many people have shared with me that they would not be able to research something that they perceive to be so cruel and upsetting. When I was a student psychologist in 2005, I realised that child sexual abuse does not upset me as much as some of my colleagues. For example, I conducted play therapy with a severely abused child in 2005 who suffered severe emotional trauma from birth. We explored intense, painful feelings through play, but instead of feeling emotionally drained by the child's pain, I found that playing a role in her healing journey from victim to survivor motivated me to continue the therapeutic process. It made me feel that I was making a small contribution towards achieving justice for her and her adoptive family.

My background, values, personal characteristics, and career choices contributed to the current study on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. One of my most salient values includes a strong desire for fairness and justice for those in need. I also consider myself a "knowledge carnivore" who feeds on an inner need to know about and understand the world and others. I gradually became more active in the human trafficking system, from which I gained a better appreciation for the complexity of this system of injustice. I currently chair a counter human trafficking civil society coalition in the Nelson Mandela Bay metropole. I also have presented training on the identification of human trafficking victims at various state health care institutions in the area and was invited to do a presentation on human trafficking

and counter human trafficking strategies in the Eastern Cape province at a psychiatric seminar for a private health care group in the Nelson Mandela Bay.

According to Orb, Eishenhauer, and Wynaden (2000, p. 93), ethical issues are present in any kind of research. The goal of ethics is prevent harm to the participants that requires the application of appropriate ethical principles.

Ethical considerations.

In the current study, issues such as informed consent, confidentiality, privacy, protection of participants, and anonymity were strictly observed. A primary concern was the issue of obtaining voluntary consent from the participants.

Informed consent and confidentiality.

According to Lewis (2003, p. 66), it is essential in any research study that the informed consent of all participants is obtained before the data collection process starts. In the current study, I obtained ethical clearance from the NMMU Research Ethics Committee (Human) (REC-H). My first contact with potential participants after ethical approval was granted, was telephonic, in which I asked whether they were willing to consider participating voluntarily in a study on human trafficking. Thereafter I sent them a letter (See Appendix A) that informed them of the nature of the study, the opportunity to provide their informed consent, details of the ethical clearance received the NMMU Research Ethics Committee (Human) (REC-H) for the current study, and information that the findings of the study might be presented at conferences or in an academic journal. The letter also indicated that participation in the study is voluntary and that the confidentiality of the participant will be protected in the current study. After the participant received the letter and they voluntarily agreed to participate, I again contacted them telephonically to determine a suitable date and venue for the interview to take place.

I obtained written voluntary informed consent from each of the research participants to allow potential participants to make a thoroughly reasoned, decision regarding their participation. A copy of the written consent form is attached as Appendix B. The content of the written consent form was discussed with each participant to inform them of the procedures that were to be followed during and after the interview and the voluntary nature of their participation.

I also addressed the issue of confidentiality as part of obtaining written voluntary informed consent. All participants were given the opportunity to decide on the level of anonymity and confidentiality they required regarding information on the current study being disseminated in an academic journal and at conferences. Five participants chose to be identified by their name and organisation in the current study (see Table 1). These were Dr. Karen Müller and Karen Hollely from the Institute for Child Witness Research and Training, Folorunsho Jaiyeoluwa representing the Nigerian Union in Port Elizabeth, John Preller who served on the management boards of a number of civil society organisations in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, and Mercy Cwayi who was the director of a NGO, On Eagles Wings. The other six participants requested to be known by their designation only. A further three participants indicated their willingness for their organisations only to be identified in the current study. These organisations were the South African Police Service (IO), the National Prosecuting Authority (SSA), and the Department of Social Development (SW).

The informed consent form also indicated that each participant would have an opportunity to check the transcription of his or her interview for accuracy and confirmation of content. After transcription, I therefore provided each participant with a copy of the respective transcribed interview for member checking purposes via email. In this email, I again confirmed the boundaries of confidentially previously agreed upon by each participant. I saved this email in a specific folder in my password protected email account. I also

confirmed the boundaries of confidentiality with IO before the second and third data collection interviews.

During certain interviews participants indicated that they required the names of specific organisations or persons to remain confidential which I respected. In other interviews, where the names of alleged traffickers and victims of human trafficking were used, I chose to conceal such names. In the current study, I therefore made use of generic descriptions such as “a shelter” to describe organisations or used an alias to conceal the person’s identity, indicated by an * after the name. As part of obtaining voluntary informed consent, I also indicated to participants that I would be using a digital voice recorder and gave them an opportunity to consent or object to its use. None of the participants objected to its use.

Protection of participants.

An ethical obligation rests with researchers to protect participants in a research study from emotional, physical, and legal harm as a result of their participation (Strydom, 2002, p. 62). This ethical obligation requires that the researcher to identify participants who could potentially be vulnerable during the study. After I explained in detail the nature of the current research study during the process of obtaining informed consent, I informed participants of the potential emotional impact of participating in the study. It is difficult for both researcher and participant to predict and determine possible emotional harm (Strydom, 2002, p. 64). To anticipate possible negative emotional effects and to limit their occurrence as a result of participation in the proposed study, I provided my contact details (see Appendix B, Section C). Participants were encouraged to inform me if they experienced any emotional discomfort during and after the study as a result of their participation in the current study. If required I undertook to refer such participants to an appropriate free professional service provider.

Debriefing is another way in which the researcher can give participants the opportunity to work through their experience and its aftermath, thereby minimising any possible harm (Strydom, 2002, p.73). Therefore, after each participant interview, I provided each participant with an opportunity to discuss his or her feelings about the interview. None of the participants required referral or further debriefing.

Conclusion

This chapter described the postmodern paradigm and qualitative research methodology and their suitability to achieve the aim and objectives of the current study. Both approaches, for example, regards knowledge creation in research as a process in which researcher and research participants co-constructs reality and meaning regarding a phenomenon. In the current study, I was thus able to co-construct an in-depth picture of the complexity of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape from the diverse perspectives of participants who had interacted with the human trafficking system. These perspectives are represented in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Findings

This chapter intends to achieve the first objective of the current study. In chapter one, it was indicated that the first objective was to describe the Eastern Cape human trafficking system from the perspectives of the participants in the current study. This description was conceptualised through Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development to describe the system components as well as the interrelationship, linkages, and processes between components of the human trafficking system.

Each of the ten participants' perspectives is presented individually. Each participant's perspective starts with a brief summary of his or her experience with the human trafficking system. Thereafter a diagram that illustrates the components of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape that emerged from the participant's view is presented. This diagram is conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development. After the diagram, a description of the participant is given to introduce the reader to the participant and his or her context. This is followed by a description of the participant's perspective according to the interconnections and interactions between systems, subsystems, and elements in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape province.

Each participant's organisation or sector in which they are situated is shown Table 1. The sequence in which participants' perspectives are presented in this chapter is ordered to reflect their specific contexts from formal organisations concerned with criminal justice, research, and social services to individuals or organisations that represented civil society.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: An Investigating Officer's (IO) Perspective

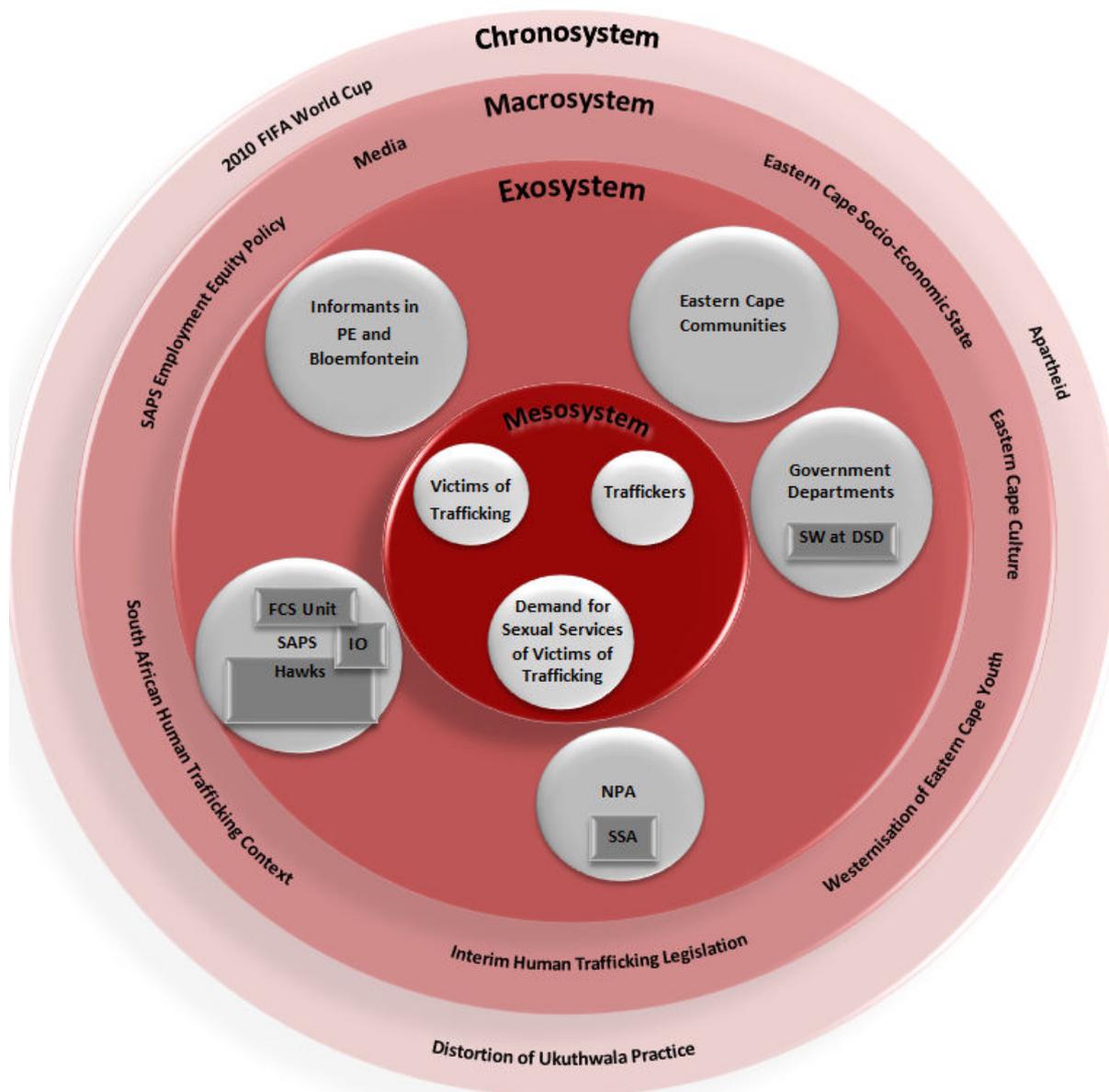
"It's a maze because there are so many levels and exits and entrances" (IO, para. 7)

IO's unique 'lens' through which he viewed human trafficking in the Eastern Cape Province was the law enforcement perspective of an investigating officer in the South African Police Service (SAPS): "remember...law enforcement is my perspective" (para. 206). His perspective on the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape was formed through his investigations into human trafficking activities, his interactions with victims of human trafficking and perpetrators of the crime, as well as other individuals in organisations such as the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) and the Department of Social Development (DSD).

IO mainly referred to human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, he also referred to the trafficking of children for religious practices and labour trafficking. IO's law enforcement perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape revealed systems, subsystems, and elements within the human trafficking system is conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of development and illustrated in Figure 10.

Introducing IO.

IO is a soft-spoken male in his early 30s. He was a member of the SAPS in Port Elizabeth from 2002 until 2011. His interaction with the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape began when he was tasked with finding a teenager who went missing in December 2007. During this investigation, IO found clues that pointed to the possibility that she was a victim of human trafficking. At the time, human trafficking was a largely



PE	Port Elizabeth	NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
SW	Social Worker	SSA	Senior State Advocate
DSD	Department of Social Development	FCS	Family Violence, Child Protection, and Sexual Offences Unit
SAPS	South African Police Service	Hawks	Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation
IO	Investigation Officer		

Figure 10. An ecosystemic representation of IO’s knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

unrecognised crime in the Eastern Cape. Although inexperienced in human trafficking investigations, IO succeeded in gathering information on human trafficking situations in a number of South African cities that eventually led to a number of police operations that resulted in the arrest of alleged traffickers and the removal of trafficked persons from their

trafficking contexts. IO obtained three Police Science degrees through the University of South Africa (UNISA)while employed in the SAPS. He left the employment of the SAPS in January 2011 and relocated to Gauteng to work at a university as a lecturer in Police Science. He is currently pursuing a doctorate degree on the topic of human trafficking. IO's view of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape is described next.

IO's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

As mentioned above, IO's awareness of the existence of human trafficking began when he investigated a case of a teenager who went missing during December 2007 in Port Elizabeth. As a member of the Family Violence Child Protection Sexual Offences (FCS) Unit at SAPS in Port Elizabeth, IO was tasked with the investigation of this case in January 2008. IO initially received information that she was last seen in Central, Port Elizabeth. This is an inner-city neighbourhood in Port Elizabeth that was notorious for criminal activities such as drug trafficking which takes place in the neighbourhood. By March 2008, he had gathered more information that pointed to the possibility that the teenager may be in Bloemfontein in the Free State Province. He also increasingly received information that girls were bought, sold, and moved between major South African cities from his informants in Port Elizabeth. As a detective in the FCS Unit, IO was not familiar with these types of organised crime activities, but after he did research on the buying and selling of human beings, he learnt that he possibly had uncovered human trafficking activities. Moreover, he realised that the missing teenager may have been the victim of human trafficking. As he uncovered more and more information on human trafficked activities between January 2008 and March 2008, IO found that he increasingly had to masquerade as a john to enable him to gain access to prostituted women. He, for example, would masquerade as a businessman or a taxi driver who is attempting to set up future appointment with a group of prostituted women. IO found

that when he presented himself as a businessman with a high travel and subsistence allowance, people were eager to divulge information to him on prostitution activities and pimps operating in Port Elizabeth. IO submitted a written motivation to his commanding officer to enable him to continue the investigation into the missing person's case in Bloemfontein. He also included information on human trafficking activities in his written motivation (IO, personal communication, November 3, 2014). IO, however, encountered a lack of support for the investigation into human trafficking activities, mainly due to his commanding officer's denial of the existence of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape: "there existed this notion 'Ag, but human trafficking doesn't exist. It's stuff you see in movies'" (para. 161). He was given permission, however, to continue the investigation into the missing teenager's case in Bloemfontein for four days in April 2008 (IO, personal communication, November 3, 2014).

In Bloemfontein, IO again masqueraded as a businessman who wanted to make use of the services of prostituted women and in this manner was able to have conversations with 33 prostituted women in Bloemfontein, many who were under the age of 18. While he was able to uncover information on the missing teenager from only four of these conversations, most of the information shared by the prostituted women pointed to human trafficking activities occurring in and between all the major cities and all nine provinces in South Africa. IO also gathered information that identified one particular establishment in Bloemfontein, the Maitland Hotel, as a hub of human trafficking activities in South Africa. This information included, for example, that there was a weekly auction of trafficked girls in this establishment attended by men from other sub-Saharan countries. The additional information he uncovered elicited more supportive interactions from his commanding officer: "only after I went to do all these things...I presented it to my commanding officer: 'See, these are the things happening...Listen, we really need to do something about this thing'" (para. 161). The

information IO gathered sparked a national investigation that culminated in a raid on the Maitland Hotel in August 2008 that involved more than 300 members of SAPS. Twelve victims of human trafficking were found during this operation, including a child that was abducted from a small town in the North West Province and trafficked into sexual exploitation in Bloemfontein. Thirteen people were also arrested for immigration infringements and drug trafficking. This raid was significant for IO as the information he gathered through his unconventional investigative methods were confirmed by the concrete intelligence that emerged from the Bloemfontein raid. For example, some of the names of suspected traffickers IO had repeatedly heard from informants were confirmed (IO, personal communication, November 3, 2014).

Even after IO was transferred to the SAPS Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations, known as the Hawks, in Port Elizabeth in December 2008 he continued to investigate the disappearance of the teenager. However, he increasingly uncovered concrete information from his informants in Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein. From this intelligence, he was able to make telephonic contact with one of the alleged traffickers, Jonathan*, by again masquerading as a businessman who wished to make use of the services of underage girls and prostituted women. IO was able to continue this telephonic relationship with Jonathan* for four months after which IO gathered enough intelligence to arrest Jonathan* in Bloemfontein in December 2009 (IO, personal communication, November 3 2014).

IO emphasised that the arrest of Jonathan* illustrated his experience for the need for on-the-spur decisions to cope with unexpected turn of events typical of unconventional investigative methods. In December 2009, IO made another visit to Bloemfontein to gather information from his informants. During this visit he again had a telephonic conversation with Jonathan* who said he was in Johannesburg. Later in the day, IO by chance mentioned to an informant that he knows Jonathan* in Johannesburg. His informant, however, informed

him that she saw Jonathan* that morning. She also took IO to Jonathan's* residence in Bloemfontein where she knew he was at the time. Faced with this new concrete intelligence, IO immediately made the decision that he had enough intelligence to arrest Jonathan*. He requested the assistance of a SAPS tactical response team in Bloemfontein to raid the identified residence that same day with the hope of finding Jonathan* there. A raid commences when a member of a tactical response team breaks down the front door of the residence with specially designed equipment. As IO and the heavily armed tactical response team stood on the residence's porch, ready to conduct the raid, IO decided to phone Jonathan* to confirm that he is indeed inside the residence. When the team heard the phone ring from inside the residence, they commenced the raid and arrested Jonathan* who was then transported to Port Elizabeth (IO, personal communication, November 12, 2014).

From information gathered by IO since January 2008, enough concrete intelligence was found to arrest two other traffickers in Bloemfontein and conduct raids in Port Elizabeth on premises where suspected trafficking activities took place during 2009 and early 2010. A raid conducted in February 2010 resulted in the rescue of victims of trafficking and the arrest of a number of traffickers. To date, unfortunately, the missing teenager has not been found (IO, personal communication, November 3, 2014).

IO indicated that he had no experience and knowledge of best practices in human trafficking investigations when he initially started to investigate human trafficking. As human trafficking was not considered to exist in Port Elizabeth, there was no specific human trafficking investigative protocol in use at the SAPS: "there wasn't a system we really followed. We did what we thought was best in those circumstances. We didn't know better" (para. 61). As a member of the FCS Unit, for example, IO had no experience in working with organised crime and the technicalities involved in gathering evidence to prove racketeering. Without guidance and feedback on his innovative investigation methods from his

commanding officers at the FCS Unit and later at the Hawks, IO found that he consistently had to make quick decisions while in the field. For example, he had to decide whether to continue his innovative investigative method or whether he should follow SAPS procedure and apply for authorisation from the relevant law enforcement agencies to conduct undercover operations. This decision would be guided by the fact that intelligence gathered from authorised operations can be used in prosecutions should the information lead to an arrest, while information from unauthorised undercover work can only be used in bail applications of alleged traffickers. However, formal authorisation can take up to two months during which opportunities to gather information would be lost (IO, personal communication, November 3, 2014).

The initial denial of the existence of human trafficking, the lack of guidance from his commanding officers in the SAPS, and the lack of an investigation protocol specifically for human trafficking cases in combination with IO's lack of experience in and knowledge of human trafficking investigations impacted negatively on the quality of evidence gathered from trafficking victims. Prosecutors guide investigating officers from the NPA in the collection of crime evidence to ensure the law of evidence is followed during this process. However, without SAPS' managerial support, IO could not involve the senior state advocate (SSA) from the NPA who handled human trafficking cases in the Province when he uncovered the existence of human trafficking activities in Port Elizabeth: "I also think SSA was not involved right from the beginning [of the investigation] precisely because there was this notion...human trafficking does not exist" (para 161).

During his time at the Hawks, IO interacted with traffickers in a number of ways. First, he continued with unconventional investigative methods by pretending to be a businessman who was interested in procuring the services of the prostituted women forced into sexual exploitation by alleged traffickers. Six Nigerian traffickers arrested during raids in

Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth was charged with various offences and their bail application hearings took place in Port Elizabeth in 2010. IO was part of the investigative and prosecution team responsible for building the case against the alleged traffickers for the bail application hearing. The evidence gathering process for the prosecution of the alleged traffickers involved taking statements from witnesses including the victims of the crime. He also interacted with other parties, including Section 204 witnesses. These are witnesses who, in terms of Section 204 of the Criminal Procedure Act (51 of 1977) could be granted full indemnity on a charge if they testified for the State and this testimony was deemed to be “honest and frank” (Du Bois-Pedain, 2007, p.145). A number of alleged traffickers arrested in the Bloemfontein and subsequent Port Elizabeth raids became Section 204 witnesses. SSA guided IO in the evidence gathering process regarding these witnesses. IO also interacted with a social worker [SW] who managed the shelter that housed these trafficking victims from whom IO obtained statements regarding their experiences while in the trafficking situation. During the bail applications hearing, IO testified in court for a number of days: “I testified a long time. A long, long time” (para. 177).

As part of his investigative function, IO mainly interacted with the Nigerian traffickers. However, he also interacted with and investigated other foreign nationals in South Africa and South Africans involved in human trafficking activities while he was conducting investigations masquerading as a businessman: “Yes...I worked with all these guys...Zimbabweans, guys from Mozambique...You have white Afrikaans guys who are involved” (para. 63). He referred to the United States of America Department of State’s Trafficking in Persons Report (2011) that acknowledged unequivocally “the Nigerian syndicates dominate the sexual exploitation, the commercial sex market in South Africa” (para. 63). IO confirmed that in his experience, the Nigerian traffickers were “the guys...that are calling the shots” (para. 63) while the other foreign nationals and South Africans involved

in human trafficking activities “work for the Nigerians” (para. 63). These Nigerian traffickers operated as a loose criminal network in South Africa with links to Nigeria: “they worked in PE [Port Elizabeth] and in Bloemfontein but they had their contacts in Nigeria and all the money would go to Nigeria. There they would buy land, perhaps, and it [their operations] snowballs wider and wider” (para. 9). According to IO, he was told by a Nigerian foreign national living in Port Elizabeth who is from the Yoruba tribal group that the Igbo group in Nigeria is reportedly more likely to be involved in criminal activities: “Peter* is the one guy that told me the Igbo group is the trouble makers. He says it’s the Igbo that are the criminals. If there are drugs, it’s the Igbo guys” (para. 65).

IO was of the opinion that people are motivated to get involved in human trafficking activities because of the large amounts of money that can be earned: “it is about money. Look, human trafficking is all about money. It isn’t really about sex, maybe for the client. But for the guy that has the girls it is all about the money” (para. 27). IO learned that traffickers earn large amounts of money through the exploitation of their victims. Although IO was aware of daily amounts ranging from R1000 to R1500 that each trafficked person had to bring to her pimp, he also heard from a previously trafficked person that she was able to bring in much more: “I know of one girl, Annie*. If she had a smoking client, it was R85 000 in three days” (para. 183). A “smoking client” is a South African term for a person who would pay for the services of a prostitute but would require the prostitute to use drugs with him in addition to providing sexual services. According to IO, many of these smoking clients are businessmen who use their travel and subsistence allowances to procure the services of a prostitute for a few days: “I will pick you up eight o’ clock [Friday night] and you are mine until Monday morning eight’ o clock and I supply the drugs and it’s...sex and drugs” (para. 185).

IO hypothesised that one reason Nigerian foreign nationals were able to achieve their position of strength in the area of sexual exploitation of trafficked persons in South Africa is because visa legislation and regulations are not applied effectively: “we have laws, but it is not being applied. There are no ... auditing systems in place” (para. 69). He wished the government would implement a policy to have better visa control: “Listen here, from now on all Nigerians have to be accountable. They have to be able to prove this and this and this before they enter the country or work here, but it is not being done” (para. 71). As he had never heard or seen an acknowledgement from the South African government that there was a criminal element within the Nigerian foreign national communities involved in human trafficking, he also speculated that South Africa’s Apartheid history had contributed to the lack of public acknowledgement by the government: “in the Apartheid years, many of our guys got asylum there [Nigeria] so it’s sort of this we owe you type of thing with the result is that it creates all sorts of other problems in our land (para. 75).

According to IO, Nigerian crime syndicates are infamous for being violent: “it is scary the way these people are. It’s difficult to express but they are very rough” (para. 41). He had first-hand experiences of the violent tendencies of these Nigerian traffickers during undercover investigations: “here you sit between the Nigerians...there were times that I was really scared, really, really scared... things happen here in front of you” (para. 194).

In addition to witnessing threats and violence towards others, IO also was on the receiving end of the Nigerian crime syndicates’ willingness to intimidate. In 2009, while investigating human trafficking activities in Port Elizabeth, he received information from his informants that organised crime members wanted to harm him. Subsequently, his wife was threatened via a phone call and he had to move his family overnight to a safe home. He also received threats from the alleged Nigerian traffickers during their bail application hearing in an attempt to intimidate him while he was testifying: “Even while I gave testimony were

there many threats when these girls came to me” (para. 133). He even was threatened after he left the SAPS and moved to Gauteng: “I’m now a little concerned sometimes about those guys. I really think, they told me, they threatened me often...I won’t make a big issue about it, but I think there is definitely a possibility that they would look for me, really. I believe it” (para. 129).

From IO’s perspective, traffickers’ tendency to use violence enables them to exert psychological control over their trafficking victims that facilitates their exploitation. For example, traffickers force trafficking victims to prostitute themselves. The trafficked women regularly see acts of violence against other people “as a punitive measure” (para. 137). They therefore believe they are in danger when threatened by a trafficker: “why wouldn’t they believe it” (para. 137). This increased the psychological control traffickers exert over victims. From IO’s investigations, it also emerged that trafficked persons had to earn a specified daily income for their traffickers. In IO’s experience, these amounts ranged “from...between R1500 and R5000 every day” (para. 181) per trafficking victim. Failing to earn the stipulated amount, or other transgressions, would earn harsh punishment such as punitive rape or physical abuse: “Every day they would be punished with a belt if one complained or if they banged on doors while Johnson* raped someone” (para. 204).

Trafficked persons also observed the ruthlessness with which their traffickers extorted money from clients. IO narrated an example of extortion committed by some of the alleged Nigerian traffickers in Port Elizabeth involving a so-called “smoking client” (para. 183).

According to IO:

this is what my Nigerians did...[While] Annie* had sex with the guy, they kicked the door down...they would video him as he performs oral sex on one of them, a male, and then they would use it to blackmail him. They would hold a gun against his head, outside the screen is the gun [not visible on the video] and then they force him to do it.

“Right...month-end we want R30 000”...He goes home and the money is EFT’d [Electronic Fund Transfer] or the clip gets loaded onto YouTube. So these guys, yes, they are hectic (para. 185).

IO asserted that the female victims of trafficking he encountered were vulnerable to be trafficked because “a vacuum created by the need for love, acceptance, affirmation” (para. G) existed in their lives as well as a lack of social support in the form of “peer involvement and mentorship” (para. G). Without having had such experiences in their lives, IO was of the opinion that they then attempted to “fill this vacuum with various stuff i.e., sex, drugs, a false sense of belonging and purpose” (para. G) which provided opportunities for traffickers to recruit the victims as well as to exert control over them and force them to remain in the trafficking situation.

IO described the relationship between trafficker and trafficked person as characterised by “the Stockholm Syndrome” (para. 200) in which the victims “had a sense of security in that relationship” (para. 200), despite being exploited and abused. The trafficker would also from time to time praise the victim and give her gifts: ““Wow, you did a great job. Heavens, you brought back R10 000! Here, you can have R1000. Jis, you’re amazing. You are sexy; here are beautiful clothes for you”” (para. 200). This sense of “tainted security” (para. 200) was not “something they receive at home” (para. 200) which IO believed also contributed to the fact that trafficked persons repeatedly return to the traffickers, even after having left the trafficking situation.

As was previously mentioned by IO, Nigerian traffickers hold a dominant position in the area of sexual exploitation of trafficked persons in South Africa. The Nigerian trafficking networks are also involved in drug trafficking: “You can’t separate the two, especially where you work with Nigerians. It is intertwined, they run together” (para. 59). These Nigerian

human trafficking networks also used the victims to conduct drug trafficking activities: “At the end of the day the girls are used as drugging (*sic*) mules” (para. 59).

A salient factor which contributed to the dominance of Nigerian crime networks in the sexual exploitation and drug trafficking domains, from IO’s perspective, was “the way in which they manipulate the system” (para. 41), suggesting that traffickers are able to influence government departments and agencies to their advantage. One way in which the Nigerian traffickers manipulated the system is through bribery of government officials: “The Nigerians are the guys with the contacts that are influential in terms of corrupting people and the system” (para. 63). IO deduced that traffickers had access to large financial resources. For example, the six alleged traffickers could afford expensive legal representation during their bail application: “At one time they had three of the best lawyers in Port Elizabeth which shows they have money” (para. 43). While the financial strength of traffickers enabled them to bribe government officials, Nigerian crime networks also used threat to intimidate officials: “There are guys that fall for it. Yes, many times. Yes, and also intimidation” (para. 43).

IO mentioned a few examples of how the ability to corrupt or intimidate government employees influenced the prosecution of Nigerian traffickers in the Eastern Cape. First, he suspected officials in the Department of Home Affairs were bribed to delay visa and residency reports requested by the NPA for the prosecution of alleged Nigerian traffickers: “we waited two years for Home Affairs’ report. So, they had contacts at Home Affairs” (para. 41). In a similar manner, the six alleged traffickers who were refused bail and were in St. Albans prison in Port Elizabeth awaiting trial, were able to bribe employees of the Department of Correctional Services which was “how they were able to have cell phones while in prison” (para. 41). With access to cellular phones, the alleged traffickers were able to contact and threaten the witnesses in the case against them to deter them from testifying in

the prosecution: “they kept on calling our victims. They kept on calling the [Section] 204-witnesses” (para. 41).

IO suspected that his investigations into human trafficking often were influenced by the bribing of police officials: “Money is what talks at the end of the day” (par. 57). However, some members of the SAPS were also bribed by being given drugs: “I personally know they found drugs on two police officials, but it is mainly money” (par. 57). IO experienced numerous incidents where the corruption of SAPS members negatively affected on human trafficking investigations and even on the arrests of alleged traffickers:

I had all these fears about policemen that knew what was going on and leaking information...I was involved in a raid, the information was leaked. We planned to find about 15 girls and we got three at the end of the day. Found no drugs, no Nigerians...so that gives you an idea that there really are moles that are running around (para. 56).

Another factor that contributed to the failure to prosecute the six alleged traffickers was the unreliability of trafficked persons as witnesses. It was previously mentioned that IO took statements from persons who would be State witnesses during their bail application and later for the actual prosecution. Some of the trafficked women who were found in the Bloemfontein raid also gave a number of statements to IO. More than a year after the bail hearing, in preparation for the court case, it emerged that these trafficked women were competing for IO’s attention because he is male. In the process, this contributed to “inaccurate things being said” (para. 177) in the victims’ statements. The resulting inaccurate and contradictory statements ultimately culminated in the collapse of the State’s case against the alleged traffickers. IO reflected that both SW and SSA advised him that the previously trafficked women were manipulating him, but “I didn’t take it seriously” (para. 177).

IO indicated that the involvement of a female detective during his interactions with previously trafficked women would have prevented the interference of his gender in his

interaction with the trafficked persons and the reliability of their statements because “a woman will pick up certain things I won’t pick up” (para. 177). While feeling “somewhat guilty” (para. 177) about not recognising that the witnesses were taking him “for a big ride” (para. 177), IO also believed that limited resources curbed his effectiveness: “I did what I could, considering limited resources. You don’t always have a car to work with. If you can, then you go do the work...basically it complicates the thing” (para. 177).

In addition to his gender, IO considered his race to be one of the main challenges in his effectiveness as a human trafficking detective in the SAPS: “one of my main challenges was my race because I was a junior and I was a white junior” (para. 11). Due to the implementation of a new employment equity policy in the SAPS after he joined the organisation, IO did not receive the regular rank promotions he expected when he began his Police Science studies:

I started to study because at the time...for each year you complete, you only stay two years in a rank. Strictly speaking I should have been a captain after nine or ten years after I completed my studies, but I was only a sergeant. (para. 17).

IO could not attend meetings, conferences, and workshops where human trafficking issues were discussed, due to the SAPS’ organisational culture, where it is inappropriate “for a junior member to sit in or contribute to certain discussions” (para. B). Instead “they have to get a senior guy to do x-y-z” (para. 11) on these occasions. As he was not able to attend these meetings, IO always had to rely on a more senior officer to relay “what they think I mean or experience as a problem or a challenge” (para. A). Therefore IO found that “decisions were often made at these meetings without enquiring whether this decision was relevant and fit and addressed the situation, need, context” (para. A).

Had he been promoted, IO would have been able to attend meetings where “even being present...meant that your opinion counted and are recorded or minuted” (para. B). Therefore

a senior officer could “have used his position of influence to push through decisions or to facilitate a specific response” (para. B). IO was of the opinion that if he attended these meetings, he could have contributed “to a more informed discussion about the context” (para. A), especially about the practical needs he experienced while investigating human trafficking activities. For example, he would have been able to communicate the dire need for more resources such as a vehicle to be available at all times: “I maybe could have justified why certain resources were essential for me to have i.e. (24/7/365) vehicle, a bigger cell phone budget, more people to support me, maybe even a team” (para. A).

As IO was not able to directly influence decisions made by senior police officers at the SAPS’ provincial meetings in the Eastern Cape’s capital Bhisho, he reported that he “sometimes felt very despondent after my commanding officer returned from a Bhisho meeting when he informed me of the decision were made there” (para. C). The main reason for feeling that way was that IO had to act according to decisions made by senior officials. However, they did not understand the complexity of the investigations and the type of responses necessary to accurately respond to the methods utilised by the perpetrators: “I think: ‘Gosh, the circumstances now will stay the same for the next month until the next meeting while your suspects refine their methods more and more” (para. C). The slow response of the SAPS meant that “you fall behind or stagnate in your response” (para. C) while “the value of your stagnating methods are reduced continually” (para. C). Reflecting on his experiences, IO recalled how the lack of responsiveness of the SAPS system affected him and his investigative efforts: “This obviously had a reverberating effect on all areas of the work that had to be done...these questions bring back memories of frustration” (para. C). He reported that he often felt as if “I’m crawling” (para. C) in investigating the crime, while “the criminals are using sports cars” (para. C) in changing their methods and activities.

It was mentioned earlier that a contributing factor to the failure of the prosecution of six alleged traffickers was the fact that some witnesses changed their testimonies and that the statements of the trafficked persons were not credible. While IO saw the consequences of some of the trafficked women's unreliability as State witnesses, he found aspects of trafficked persons' statements were reliable:

When I took her statement, she said to me the pipe, that's the hosepipe, is behind the fridge. The boiling water pot that he threw at me looks like this and this and it usually stands under the bed. Four months, three months after I, when I went to arrest him, this is three months after I took her statement, the pipe is there (para. 204).

IO believed that the presence of trauma and drugs were other contributing factors to the unreliability of trafficked persons as witnesses: "drugs, that is the one thing that complicates a case incredibly. Complicates it incredibly!" (para. 155); "And also that recurring trauma, every day" (para. 155). He described aspects of the trauma that women in a trafficking situation experienced: "These girls...got raped every day" (para. 155). Their trauma also included seeing how other people were abused and traumatised: "most of these girls have seen someone commit suicide or someone being beaten until they are half-dead or being raped" (para. 137), "Just about every one of them had seen how a girl jumped from a building" (para. 155), and "maybe it is not even a trafficked girl. Maybe it is a Nigerian that pulls out a gun and shoots the guy next to him" (para. 157).

However, "dynamics can differ from one case to another where your one type of victim will produce a whole different product from another victim at the end of the day" (para. 159). However, IO believed that some trafficking victims were credible witnesses. These cases, which he referred to as "simple trafficking cases" (para. 155) involved the trafficking of foreign nationals into South Africa for sexual exploitation: "a Thai or a Russian girl that comes over and she's deceived...partial deceit. Yes, she works in a brothel but now she has

to sleep with twenty guys. Drugs are not necessarily involved” (para. 155). Contrasting this type of victim with the trafficking victims encountered by IO, he asserted that “the trauma experienced by the Thai girl and these [South African] girls is way different” (para. 155). IO acknowledged that “there is a continuum of abuse” (para. 155), but maintained that the relatively lower level of abuse experienced and the probable absence of drugs in these simpler trafficking cases was likely to lead to a trafficked person that is “a witness that most likely is able to give you a very accurate version of what happened to her” (para. 155). Therefore, IO asserted that the only trafficking cases successfully prosecuted at the time of the interview involved the simpler cases: “There have not been many trafficking cases that have been successful in court; I think only two or three. Actually simple cases. Go have a look at the merits of the case, how it [trafficking] happened, then you will see it is very different” (para. 157).

IO expressed his belief that law enforcement of human trafficking would change significantly once comprehensive human trafficking legislation was in place: “I think policing of it will definitely change” (para. 85). At the time of the interview only human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, addressed by interim legislation, was a crime and was investigated by a few units in the SAPS: “remember, sexual offences are only done by the Family Violence Child Protection Sexual Offence units or by Organised Crime” (para. 85). IO mainly investigated cases of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation where he could utilise the interim legislation to investigate the “the main charges” (para. F) in human trafficking cases. He realised later that the lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation influenced the “eventuating end product of his work and efforts” (para. F). For example, comprehensive legislation would have ensured that he could “charge the suspects with more charges that was not included in Act 32/2007 [Criminal Law {Sexual Offences and Related Matters} Amendment Act]” (para. F). IO also would have been able to

pursue people who “featured in the bigger picture” (para. F), like individuals who made use of the services of trafficked persons and owners of properties where human trafficking activities took place: “this mean that more evidence would have been available and also maybe that more parties could turn state witnesses because they were facing prosecution” (para. F).

The lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation was the result of delays in the formulation of such legislation by government: “The guys delayed very much, obviously since 2004 when they had to start putting these things in place. Delay, delay, delay, delay and I think we are just much too slow up to now with the comprehensive bill” (para. 79). IO believed that the process of drafting of the comprehensive legislation was delayed when it was discovered that aspects of human trafficking as found in the South African context were not covered by the draft legislation:

and before the World Cup and after the World Cup they found a lot of loopholes and that is the reason why it is not here yet...loopholes in the draft legislation were picked up that was not up to standard or that didn't incorporate all sorts of contextually South African, contextual things and that is what they are working on at the moment, to cover all those loopholes (para. 79).

A specific historical element IO identified in the human trafficking chronosystem that affected the investigation of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape was the 2010 FIFA World Cup (World Cup), as there were expectations that the incidence of human trafficking would increase sharply during that sporting event. It emerged that even the traffickers themselves believed that the World Cup would be a huge income generating opportunity:

I testified in court about Johnson*...that by April 2010 he planned to have a flat in each main metropole and after the World Cup...his plan was to buy himself a Hummer with a TV inside, a DVD-player and a sound system...all the specs. That is what he would have

bought with his funds. It gives you an idea of the type of money he would have generated (para. 129).

The expectation that human trafficking activities would increase placed increased pressure on the SAPS and IO to raid premises where suspected human trafficking activities were taking place: “there was incredible pressure placed on me at the end of the day. ‘The World Cup is coming...they have to be inside for the World Cup’” (para. 153). In retrospect, IO realised that the arrests of alleged traffickers following the traditional, conventional investigative system in use by the SAPS at the time was premature and impacted negatively on the prosecution of these alleged traffickers in Port Elizabeth. By employing the traditional investigative method, the case against these alleged traffickers relied mainly on the unreliable and contradictory statements of the trafficked persons. Looking back at the methods used at the time, IO asserted that a premature raid “is not a holistic, strategic solution to the problem....Personally I would not have wanted to get them even during the World Cup, maybe even later” (para. 153). In IO’s view, therefore, the failure of the prosecution against the six alleged traffickers resulted from the interaction between elements on many systemic levels. One consequence of the failed prosecution was that the alleged traffickers were better equipped to evade prosecution in the future: “they obviously saw what the loopholes are in the case...they will obviously carry on with their operations but they will just be cleverer next time, you understand? They will be cleverer” (para. 167).

Despite challenges he faced during the investigation of human trafficking cases, IO was motivated to continue in his counter-trafficking activities due to his interactions with trafficking victims where he was able to observe their trauma:

if you see things happening right in front of you...you see here’s a girl and she is from PE and she is busy dying, she is convulsing from xyz...it does something to a person. I had

the privilege to experience these things first hand because it motivated me to tackle the thing [human trafficking] (para. 194).

IO also referred to his Christian convictions as a motivating factor:

obviously as a Christian I think one's view of this job is different, especially with the responsibility that you are charged with, having that knowledge and what the Bible says about women and children....That is what motivated me, nothing else" (para. 194).

During his interactions with alleged traffickers, IO surmised that traffickers exploited people who they recognised as being vulnerable: "the origins are [that] the Eastern Cape is poor and these people are easy to get into a situation where they can eventually generate money" (para. 25) for traffickers. IO was of the opinion that a number of factors contributed to the extent to which Eastern Cape Province communities were vulnerable to be trafficked. The most prominent of these was "poverty, I think poverty plays a very, very big part" (para. 89). The Eastern Cape, according to IO, is known "as a poverty-stricken area where you easily are able to pick up ...victims" (para. 143). There were, for example, allegations that a group of "elite, white" (para 141) Satanists employed Nigerian foreign nationals to acquire street children for their religious rituals: "this group in Krugersdorp gets Nigerian guys to bring children and they buy the children and the children get sacrificed" (para. 143).

Another factor that increased the vulnerability of young females in the Eastern Cape was their exposure to non-traditional ideas that placed them in settings where traffickers operated. In urban or peri-urban areas of the Eastern Cape, a young woman is likely to have access to media: "now you've got a girl, she's got a Blackberry, or she has a phone. She watches MTV, maybe they have DStv, maybe they have MNet, maybe they have TV" (para. 112). Through the media, she is exposed to more liberal ideas about "what is depicted as being cool and what is accepted and what is good" (para. 104):

Late at night, they watch all these nice dance stuff and the women are beautiful and they wear short dresses so now they have these aspirations: “Wow, I also want to do this. I also want to know how it feels not to have fun in only a shebeen. I want to go with nice guys who drive nice cars who will buy me liquor and look after me” (para. 112).

If the opportunity exists, a girl can go to a club where “all she needs ... is that a guy comes to her and says: ‘Listen here, I can give you that. What do you want? Come with me and I..’ and that is where the drink gets spiked” (para. 116).

IO highlighted how the Xhosa cultural tradition of ukuthwala, discussed in Chapter 2, was another factor that increased the vulnerability of Xhosa children in the Eastern Cape to be trafficked, especially when traffickers abused this tradition. He mentioned the example of Annie*: “In 2000 she was ‘thwala’d and that is how she ended up in prostitution and then she was trafficked eventually” (para. 89). IO regarded the case of Annie* as an example of how “children become...victims of vague contractual agreements between the trafficker and the woman” (para. 89). This was a case of a “new, distorted form [of ukuthwala]” (para. 93) when a Nigerian man told Annie’s* mother “I’ll look after her, let her come stay with me. I will bring her up. We will get married” (para. 92). IO surmised “the Nigerian guy...knew about these practices and of the cultural things that makes this situation more susceptible to eventually get her under his control” (para. 92). IO acknowledged that one “can’t say ukuthwala is wrong as in its original form is not wrong” (para. 99). However, he was of the opinion that the practice got “polluted” (para. 99) due to many reasons including “greed among many other things...and power” (para. 101) when “people [become] sort of perverse and see what they can get from a deal” (para. 101). The communities where the abduction of girls was condoned through ukuthwala were targeted for awareness and education campaigns by the NPA in 2010:

the NPA did their roadshows and told them: “Well, this is the definition of rape. This is the definition of abduction. Can you see how ukuthwala fits in with that definition?”

Then they said “...Yes. But withdraw the [criminal] case and then we will stop with our stuff” (para. 103).

IO also regarded the westernisation of Eastern Cape youth as a factor that could reduce their vulnerability to being trafficked. He noted that through technology and media, they “grow up...with these new ideas...that are totally counter-tradition. They...challenge actually their own culture, their own tradition” (para. 105). Especially around ukuthwala, IO learned that the some youth had begun to resist the distorted practice of ukuthwala: “I get raped and here this gets done to me and I don’t like this culture and I don’t want to marry a madala [old man]” (para. 109). As there are “good and bad things about westernisation, modernisation” (para. 109), IO emphasised the importance of raising awareness of human trafficking among vulnerable populations to ensure that “people know what their rights are” (para. 23) and to enable law enforcement to “identify it because it is not being identified for what it is at the moment” (para. 23).

IO’s reflection on investigating the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

As mentioned previously, IO’s perception of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape was shaped by his law enforcement perspective and investigative activities while in the SAPS. IO also reflected about human trafficking human investigations; how it differed from other crimes, and how these investigations required a specialised investigation and case management approach. Human trafficking investigations, according to IO, are exactly like a maze “because it is so many levels and so many exits and entrances” (para. 7). To elucidate the levels involved in human trafficking, IO used the example of an investigation he conducted into the unsolved kidnapping of six girls in South Africa in the late 1980s in which

“everyone thought Gert van Rooyen and Joey Haarhoff is ...the main people who ran this thing” (para. 9). The investigation, however, found that these two persons were “the pawns, actually lower than snake poo on [the bottom of] the Pacific Ocean” (para. 9), used by others with more power: “there were businesses that used them and above these businesses...were government officials whose names were mentioned and even bigger than them, international [names]” (para. 9). The operations of this crime network were nested in the historical context of the time: “remember those times with the oil, weapons...and the years of apartheid when there were sanctions. That is what those children were used for: for oil and weapons and those types of things” (para. 9).

IO recognised that one of the main weaknesses in the law enforcement system’s response to human trafficking in the Eastern Cape was the “lack of understanding of what the problem is” (para. K) and a “fragmented” (para. L) response. He was of the opinion that the major deficiency was a “big picture understanding” (para. K) that included an understanding of human trafficking’s “complexities...and how its complexity causes complexity in investigations, prosecutions, and victim assistance” (para. K). IO therefore reasoned if there was an understanding of the “interrelated structure of reality” (para. K), the Eastern Cape Province’s response to the complexities of human trafficking would have been more effective.

Reflecting on what he hoped the current study would accomplish, IO emphasised his desire that awareness or acknowledgement of “how complicated this really is to both investigate and manage a case like this” (para. 206) would result from the findings of the study. In retrospect, he strongly asserted that investigations into human trafficking should be regarded as unique: “there’s no case that should be investigated like human trafficking” (para. 3) as these investigations are “complex...complicated...multifaceted. You know there’s a problem around every corner that you can’t predict” (para. 3). As an investigating officer,

he found investigations into human trafficking “challenges everything we think we know” (para. 3) when it comes to investigative methods. As a result, investigations into the crime are not only difficult but also require sustained hard work: “it requires...a lot of effort. It’s going to cause you to do more than you are supposed to do” (para. 188). Unfortunately, if the complexity of human trafficking is not recognised by other police officers, “They’re not going to see the problem for what it is because, because it is not obvious what is happening” (para. 23).

As human trafficking investigations and prosecutions are so difficult, it requires “extraordinary commitment. (para. 186) from those involved, which IO found to be lacking at times: “even the people of the court, and I’m not pointing fingers...it’s easy to take the gap and [say]: ‘You know what, it’s not going to work...because the problem is so large’” (para. 186). IO recalled feeling angry at the lack of commitment at seeking solutions to the problem of litigating human trafficking cases: “what are we doing to address that problem? What are we doing to get an alternative?” (para. 186). He, for example, suggested getting an expert witness to explain to the court about the complex relationship dynamic between a trafficker and the trafficked person that needs to be considered by the court when evaluating the trustworthiness of victim testimony:

Can’t we attempt to explain this thing....Can’t we, even if we lose the case...at least we tried, at least we have something on paper....Next time if there is a bail application and the victim, there is contradiction, we can say...: ‘This is what was said about the dynamics that has to be considered’(para. 186).

In retrospect, IO emphasised the importance of teamwork and information sharing in the investigation of human trafficking cases: “Other things I could have benefitted from including the sharing of experiences with other role players, networking, and information sharing” (para. B). Individuals or organisations which would have improved his ability as

investigation officer to respond to the complexities of human trafficking investigation included an “informed investigative mentor in the SAPS” (para. P) as well as an “investigative team” (para. P) where “shared decision making and brainstorming” (para. P) takes place. However, IO reflected that he received “very little content or case specific interactions” (para. O) from the SAPS. Most of the support, advice, and encouragement he received “during the prosecution process” (para. O) was from SSA.

During undercover investigations, IO interacted with traffickers from who he gathered information that made him realise that human trafficking activities are more rife than the picture painted by statistics on human trafficking in South Africa: “When I was sort-of undercover, when I hung out with the guys [traffickers] and heard how they did their business, what they do...their accounts of friends that have other girls who work for them” (para. 25). From these anecdotal accounts by traffickers, IO believed human trafficking “is much bigger than we think it is” (para. 27). Unfortunately, without “verifiable statistics based on sound methodologies...as evidence” (para. D) it is difficult to convey the scope of human trafficking activities in South Africa: “you need...statistics to back that up and we don’t have that” (para. 27). With reliable statistics, IO reasoned that better informed budgeting decisions could be made for counter human trafficking interventions: “it may contribute to a ‘reasonable grounds’ argument as to why a specific intervention is needed in a specific area” (para. D). Reliable statistics were therefore an important aspect of “strategy development” (para. E) for all counter human trafficking stakeholders such as “Investigators and prosecutors...Everyone involved in education and awareness raising, researchers, decision makers, policy makers” (para. E). He supported his opinion by noting that the lack of accurate statistics was “part of the reason why the [comprehensive human trafficking] legislation was delayed” (para. D).

One of the contributing factors to the lack of accurate statistics, according to IO, was that police officers due to the traditional, conventional investigative methods employed by SAPS to investigate human trafficking did not investigate human trafficking activities effectively: “Research is not being generated. And that relates to the investigative method” (para. 31). These “traditional police methods” (para. 43) are “reactive” (para. 45) as a detective would wait until a crime has been committed before the investigation can start: “you wait, you go and follow-up, you make enquiries” (para. 46). According to IO, these traditional, conventional crime investigative methods are not suited to human trafficking investigations: “the point is, proving again and again, you just can’t do it with the usual detective work” (para. 47). Similarly, conventional investigative methods do not generate accurate statistics: “if you really want to generate the statistics, it’s hard work and you will really, you can’t use traditional police methods” (para. 43).

On the other hand, IO believed that a “proactive, unconventional investigation” (para. 35) would “make great strides to get close to it, to give at least a good reflection, a reflection of a portion of what is going on” (para. 29). An unconventional investigation is proactive and employs covert investigative methods to gather evidence. The victim’s statement “should only sort of be the match you light” (para. 161) after which the police detective builds a case through gathering intelligence about the alleged perpetrators through surveillance: “these are the targets...through video footage, through calls, through interceptions of communications. Do your surveillance (para. 35). Intelligence gathering, in IO’s opinion, therefore is the “bushfire...you corroborate basically the victim with all these things” (para. 161). Following this proactive investigative method, IO strongly asserted, was “the only way” (para. 47) in which human trafficking could be curbed: “State v Abrahams says that criminals make use of deceitful methods to commit their crimes. Those who enforce the law must use similar methods in order to deter and to curb those crimes” (para. 47). Therefore, making arrests

before the necessary intelligence has been gathered, as happened before the 2010 FIFA World Cup, had the result of “immediately slitting its throat and what can you now intercept and get footage and surveillance of?” (para. 161). The traditional, conventional investigative methods, in IO’s opinion therefore “predispose your case to failure” (para. H): “by not doing the comprehensive intelligence-led approach you infect your case with a deadly disease that eats away at any prospect of a successful conviction” (para. H).

IO also revealed that human trafficking cases require an atypical case management approach that is unlike conventional case management practices. He stressed that he hoped the current study would also lead to the acknowledgement that the SAPS “need experts from various sectors to be involved in consultation, in guidance” (para. 206). For example, IO thought the SAPS could be more receptive in making use of the multidisciplinary approach to consider the readiness of a trafficked person to testify:

we as the police can’t say: “Well, we are in control of this, nobody is going to tell us what we should do”. If the psychologist or the social worker say: “well, we can’t do it, she is not yet ready to testify”, listen to it!

Case management, according to IO, should also be more holistic to enable “the understanding of the bigger picture” (para. 210). Thus, for example, the SAPS can involve relevant NGOs in awareness campaigns based on intelligence gathered or existing cases: “I also think about NGOs, who is doing the awareness? We realised girls are recruited at that nightclub. What can we do there? Who can get involved?” (para. 214).

Summary of IO’s perspective.

IO accentuated how the complexities of the crime of human trafficking exposed the inadequacies of traditional, conventional investigative methods used by the SAPS. After IO adopted unconventional investigation methods, he was able to expose some human

trafficking activities in South Africa. He emphasised that the organisation culture of the SAPS was not responsive enough to respond to the requirements of the investigation into human trafficking activities. IO highlighted another layer of complexity in the crime of human trafficking namely the characteristics of the perpetrators and their victims as well as the complexity of their relationship. According to IO, law enforcement agencies were not prepared to manage the complexities of the crime of human trafficking. He surmised that this pointed to the need for responding agencies, such as the SAPS, to adapt their investigative practices fundamentally to capture the complexity of the crime in such a way that it would be accepted by the courts to result in successful prosecutions. He suggested that a multidisciplinary case management approach would be one of the strategies that would allow stakeholders to respond to the complexities inherent in the crime of human trafficking.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Senior State Advocate's (SSA) Perspective

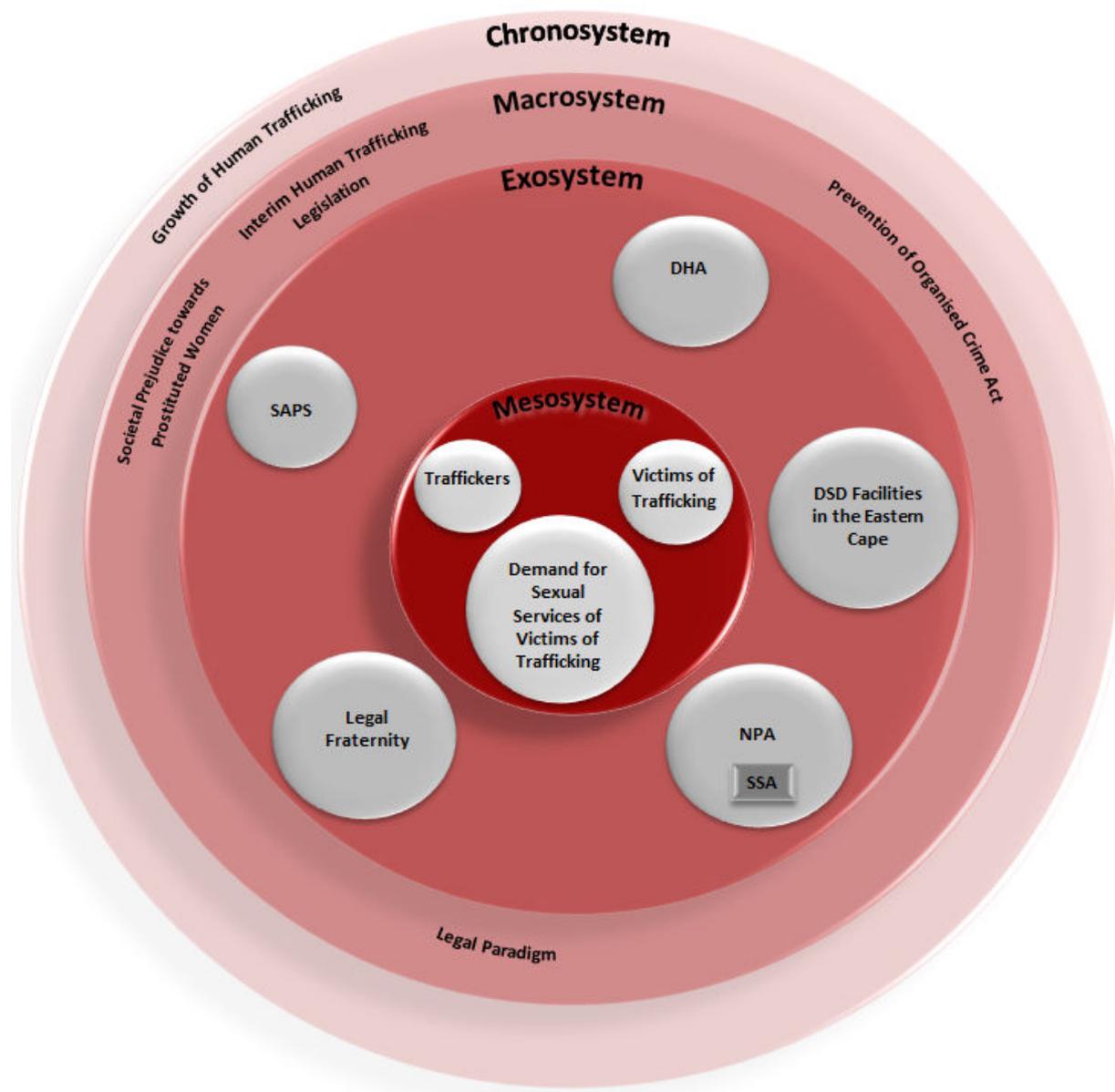
“human trafficking is such a complex thing: First to understand and second, to convince a court of that” (SSA, para. 7).

SSA is a senior state advocate appointed as a senior public prosecutor for the Organised Crime Component in the office of the Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions at the NPA in Port Elizabeth. She was assigned to prosecute human trafficking cases in the Eastern Cape. Her unique perspective on the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape was shaped through her experiences with four different human trafficking prosecutions in the Eastern Cape Province. She interacted with victims of human trafficking and gained knowledge about human trafficking through a number of human trafficking courses she attended.

SSA has only interacted with trafficked persons who were trafficked for sexual exploitation. SSA's criminal justice perspective revealed many systems, subsystems, and elements in the province's human trafficking system related to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases. Her perspective, illustrated by using Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development is shown in Figure 11.

Introducing SSA.

As mentioned previously, SSA was appointed to deal with human trafficking prosecutions for the whole Eastern Cape Province, mainly because of her experience in prosecuting sexual offences, especially sexual offences against children: “my background with sexual offences...I specialised in this for years, especially towards children” (para. 4). She also completed all the course work towards a master's degree focussed on sexual offences and the child witness but did not complete the treatise that forms part of the degree.



DHA	Department of Home Affairs	DSD	Department of Social Development
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority	SSA	Senior State Advocate
SAPS	South African Police Service		

Figure 11. An ecosystemic conceptualisation of SSA's knowledge and experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape utilising Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

SSA therefore describes her knowledge of human trafficking as a combination of "book knowledge...I attended various courses on human trafficking" (para. 4) and practical experience "because there has been a number of cases reported" (para. 4) in which she was the appointed public prosecutor.

SSA described herself as having “a passion for human trafficking” (para. 4) and a strong desire for letting justice prevail when “people exploit others....These people should be held responsible” (para. 75). She so felt compassion for those who have been exploited: “My passion for these people. My passion for children. I feel sorry for them” (para. 75). More specific information on SSA’s perspective of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape is described next.

SSA’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

It was previously mentioned that SSA was involved in the investigation of four human trafficking cases in the Eastern Cape Province. She indicated that a myriad of issues influenced the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases. Some cases never actually proceeded to the prosecution stage, while in other cases, charges were withdrawn due to the influence and interaction of several factors. Based on her experience, she concluded “human trafficking is such a complex thing” (para. 7). It is “difficult to understand” (para. 7) for those involved in the investigation and prosecution, but then it is also a difficult task to “to convince a court” (para. 7) that a particular set of facts presented to it is a case of human trafficking.

One such challenge that has faced the prosecution of human trafficking cases has been the collection of the necessary evidence to prove that all the elements of human trafficking were present. SSA referred to one of her cases where it was alleged that some people were trafficked from the Eastern Cape to the KwaZulu-Natal Province. In this case, “there was a problem to prove all the elements of trafficking, specifically the exploitation part of it” (para. 13). As the crimes were allegedly committed in KwaZulu-Natal, the case was referred to the NPA in that province “for further investigation” (para. 13), with the hope that more evidence could be uncovered to prove that exploitation took place.

The lack of evidence can also affect the outcome of an investigation in another way. SSA recalled another case where “girls, minor girls...were brought from Soweto [in] Gauteng to East London” (para. 14). These girls were “told that it would be for a party and that they would return again after the weekend” (para. 14). Once in East London, however they were forced into the sex trade by two Nigerian men: “the one...booked one of the victims into a hotel and made her available for payment: prostitution” (para. 14). However, SSA found that “when the case was originally reported, there was just nothing in the docket” (para. 16), meaning that there was not enough evidence against the accused at the time to deny them bail. As a result, both accused received bail.

The fact that both of the accused were foreign nationals also had repercussions on the prosecution of the case. It emerged that the second suspect was “an illegal immigrant. We only knew him by his nick name” (para. 16). This was a “big crisis” (para.16) as it was then necessary “to determine his whole, correct identity” (para. 16). Although the second suspect was an illegal immigrant, due to a general legal rule, he received bail because the first accused was successful in his bail application: “because you established bail for the first accused then it sort of the general rule that you also grant bail for the second accused” (para. 16). Thereafter summonses were issued for both accused to appear in the regional court. However, both accused reportedly went back to Nigeria because “They don’t want to stay in South Africa to be prosecuted” (para. 16). As the accused went missing and could not be arrested, the prosecution could not take place, even though SSA judged this to be “a case that had merits...and with which we could have progressed to a prosecution” (para. 16).

In her experience, SSA has found the quality of witnesses has played a significant role in determining whether a human trafficking prosecution could be successful: “Unfortunately, as with any sexual offences case ... your case is only as good as your witnesses and testimonies. You base your case on your witnesses” (para. 7). SSA found that there were a number of

unique characteristics related to the testimony of former trafficked persons' testimonies:

“Unfortunately...also with human trafficking we have now accepted...that disclosure is not an immediate thing. It is a process of disclosure....to disclose what happened with him or her” (para. 7). The process of disclosure by the victims of the crime can take a long time because “in many cases they first need to go through therapy and treatment in order to fully disclose” (para. 7).

For the legal process to continue it was necessary for SSA to establish whether all the elements of human trafficking were present; information she could only gather from victim statements. Unfortunately, due to the gradual disclosure process, the investigation could take a long time. SSA found in the third human trafficking case that she was involved in, that over a two year period the police had to take multiple statements from each of the victims as they became more prepared to disclose additional information: “The end result is that you have one complainant but three...sworn statements or four sworn statements” (para. 8). However, in that case, SSA found that even after a number of sworn statements were taken from first complainant, it still did not provide enough information to prove all the elements of trafficking. As a result, SSA was not able to follow through with a prosecution:

You have to assume that when you have walked through the whole therapeutic process and that you are now two years after the original reporting [of the crime], that they have fully disclosed everything. And if...you still don't have proof of any exploitation...then you don't have a case (para. 8).

Although this particular case, which involved the trafficking of two women from Breidbach in the Eastern Cape to Durban, was investigated for a number of years, it eventually was withdrawn and no prosecution took place: “After years of investigation, unfortunately I had to come to the decision to withdraw the case. In other words, we never ended up in court. No arrests were made” (para. 7). SSA and the police worked closely

together when a case was investigated and she therefore had to explain why she decided to withdraw the case: “We all work together....I had a very long consultation meeting, afterwards with them...where I gave the reasons why I can’t continue with the prosecution” (para. 12). Although SSA asked her senior to confirm that her decision was the correct one, the police requested for the office of the National Director of Public Prosecutions to confirm that SSA’s decision was the correct one:

The police is of course very unhappy...and they are considering the possibility that my decision can maybe be wrong even though my decision was checked by my senior....So, this will still be presented to one of the prosecutors from the national office that works with human trafficking (para. 12).

While that particular case’s prosecution could not continue as it could not be proved that the first complainant was trafficked, inconsistencies between the different statements of the second complainant’s sworn statements reduced the likelihood of a successful prosecution. According to SSA, the likelihood of a successful prosecution is the test used by the NPA to decide whether to continue with prosecution:

We are bound by this....We have to see if there is a reasonable prospect of a successful prosecution before we can go to court with a case and if there is not such a reasonable prospect of successful prosecution, then we have to withdraw the case (para. 9).

The difficulty SSA experienced with the second complainant was that “unfortunately her different versions made in the different statements were just so contrasting...so many inconsistencies. There were so many contradictions. There were so many improbabilities” (para. 9). The problem with having multiple but contradictory sworn statements is that “you are unfortunately bound by these statements” (para. 8) in court even if there are contradictions. In addition, if this complainant had to testify in court, she would be cross examined on these inconsistencies which in South Africa’s adversarial legal system SSA

believed “will do more damage to the victims, to put them through the process of giving testimony and through the trauma of cross examination” (para. 9).

According to SSA, these “usual contradictions” (para. 15) are “unfortunately one dynamic of a human trafficking case” (para. 15). She attributed the poor credibility of human trafficking victims as witnesses to two factors. The first is that the trafficker is careful to “choose his victim very wisely” (para. 15). This means that the trafficking victims SSA encountered were “the most vulnerable of vulnerable” (para. 15). This vulnerability factor, according to SSA, included being “from a very bad background. Poor, not a good...scholastic education...and an absolutely poor self-image...these pitiful figures that get chosen” (para. 15).

The second factor relates to substance abuse: “it [human trafficking] always goes together with alcohol and drugs and all the cases I was involved with, alcohol and drugs were always involved” (para. 15). SSA revealed that traffickers “get them addicted, most of the time, to drugs” (para. 15). In the last case SSA prosecuted, “all four victims were addicted to drugs” (para. 32).

Being under the influence of substances has an effect on “their memories...what they can remember” (para. 15). The use of substances therefore has an impact on the quality of evidence SSA was able to obtain from the trafficked women as the “long term use of drugs and alcohol has an impact on their consciousness and awareness and what they experience” (para. 58). Because they are under the influence of substances when offences like rape are committed against them, it “has an impact on their memory and that which they can remember...and recall in a statement” (para. 58). These flawed statements limited SSA’s ability to present a good case in court because “your case is only as good as your witness’ testimony, then you always have problems to get a constant and correct example from your witness that you can present to the court” (para. 15). In the fourth case SSA prosecuted, she

also had difficulty with the accuracy of victim statements. As an example, she described the type of incidents a victim would relay in a sworn statement:

She will say that the accused [number] one, for the sake of argument, raped me seven times while accused number two raped me four times. Accused number three raped me three times, I'm now using random numbers...she can specifically say he raped me seven times or raped me four times, raped three times or many times or just raped once. (para. 59).

However, when SSA attempted to get more specific information, the impact of substance abuse on the accuracy of statements emerged:

Then you will ask her: "But now I must have more detail about when it happened." OK, she has no perception of time so let's leave the when question. Where did it happen? Did it [happen] outside or inside a house, inside a room, inside a building, inside a hotel, inside a flat? No idea. How did it happen? Did he approach you? How did he break you down in order to rape you? Why do you say it is rape? For what reasons do you say you did not consent? And then it always is gathered into an all-inclusive: "They would always give me drugs, drugs and alcohol before the time. Therefore I was not fully conscious when they did it and therefore I can't remember and therefore I can't give detail" (para. 59).

The difficulty with this type of evidence is that SSA, as the state prosecutor would have to go to court with allegations that would be difficult for the court to accept:

is this enough proof to say to the court: "You have to accept that she was...not only raped once, she was raped seven times by this accused, by that one only four times and that one three times" Which court would believe you? (para. 59).

In one case, SSA was able to overcome such challenges through the testimony of a Section 204 witness who provided supporting evidence that the victims were exploited: "it

was the woman who was involved in...getting them. So it was good confirmation. She would have confirmed their version that they were in East London, the fact that they ended up on the street” (para. 16). This was the case, however, where the alleged traffickers avoided arrest by not keeping to their bail conditions and SSA was not able to use this Section 204 witness’ evidence even though she was convinced that “that we would have enough” (para. 16) to ensure a conviction.

As mentioned before, SSA was also responsible for the prosecution of a fourth case that involved six alleged Nigerian traffickers and four victims. SSA described this case as “very complex and an incredibly complex set of facts” (para. 17). The complexity of this case resulted in preparation for a bail application process “of more than a year” (para. 17) and denial of bail for the alleged traffickers. At the time of the interview, they were “still in custody” (para. 17) while the investigation was in its final stages.

However, as in the third case, SSA found that multiple and contradictory victim statements again played a major role in the likelihood that prosecution would be unsuccessful in the fourth case she was involved in: “unfortunately...I sit in the same position I was in with all my previous human trafficking cases. I sit with contradictions. Incredible contradictions” (para. 27). For example, SSA found that “A version given by one victim where it is said ‘This happened and victim two was present while it happened’ and victim two would make a statement saying ‘I was never with, I was not there’” (para. 27).

SSA believed these unreliable and contradictory statements also resulted from the impact of substance abuse on the memory of victims. She emphasised also that other factors played a significant role in the fact that multiple statements were taken from the various victims in this case: “there are so many things that play a role in the conclusion of an investigation” (para. 17). The first factor that played a role was the lack of support the investigating officer from the SAPS received from his superiors. This detective, according to

SSA, was “a very dedicated, very, very dedicated detective...not your ...average ‘policeman” (para. 18). He had two very important attributes SSA considered very important when investigating human trafficking cases. These were “a passion for human trafficking” (para. 18) as well as “the necessary theoretical knowledge” (para. 18). However, he did not have many “years of police experience” (para. 18) and therefore lacked “all the background and experience in ..., police investigation” (para. 18). Although SSA repeatedly requested support from the SAPS, it “never was realised” (para. 18):

I did, on various occasions [speak] with the commanding officer from our local office...we should bring him across to our Organised Crime Unit....I spoke on various occasions with the commanding officer and said we need a whole team of investigators. Give me more people!” (para. 18).

As he was the only police officer involved in the investigation of the fourth case SSA prosecuted, he had to conduct the investigation by himself: “he was left on his own. He was the only one that had to investigate this huge, enormous case” (para. 18). Lack of guidance and support, combined with his lack of relevant experience, placed him at a disadvantage as “He was at the end of the day, the whole time the one who had to do the work on his own” (para. 18). Due to the extensive nature of the case, it meant that he “did much of the investigation after hours...on the streets” (para. 18) and working by himself, he “identified the concerned suspects and arrested them” (para. 18).

As the above investigation officer did not have the support and input of his superiors at the SAPS, SSA found he was reliant on her for guidance on how to progress with the investigation: “He would, for example, be in Johannesburg and arrest a person and a particular set of facts would emerge and he would contact me and ask... ‘What would be the next step?’” (para. 18). SSA was of the opinion that, even though “he did the work to the best of his ability and he did a good job” (para. 18), he would have been able to produce

evidence of a better quality if he had the support and guidance of a police officer with a higher rank with experience in investigating human trafficking cases, as he “was only a constable” (para. 18).

Due to the investigation officer’s lack of experience, SSA found that it was necessary for him to take additional statements from the victims because she had “several questions to be able to prove the elements [of human trafficking]. Various things that did not make sense. Things that were not that clear in the statements” (para. 19). As previously mentioned SSA considered gradual disclosure and the need for multiple statements by human trafficking victims to be a characteristic of human trafficking prosecutions. In a similar manner as with the third human trafficking case SSA described, additional statements were also necessary because of the gradual disclosure by at least one victim in this fourth case:

her disclosure simply took very, very long....she would on every next occasion say: “I forgot to actually talk about this and this and this suspect when I made the previous statement but actually this suspects also raped me and I also worked for them and this also happened and that also happened” So, this was the one big reason for the additional statements (para. 19).

The other reason for acquiring additional statements were the need to get more information from the victims as the bail application investigation and bail hearing progressed and during which the accused offered their own versions of events: “due to the long bail application and what we were confronted with through cross examination from the testimony of the accused” (para. 20).

Another factor that contributed to the complexity of human trafficking investigation that emerged in the fourth human trafficking case, according to SSA, was the fact that there was no comprehensive human trafficking law in existence at the time. Faced with the complexity of the crime of human trafficking, SSA believed that once a comprehensive law was

operational, “I think we will be able to eliminate many of these problems” (para. 45).

However, without a comprehensive law that covers a range of offences related to human trafficking, SSA had to combine offences covered by a number of laws: “For me to compile a charge sheet in that case where I charged the six accused, literally took weeks because you sit with four or five different pieces of legislation. There isn’t just one law” (para. 49).

SSA briefly described the different offences she incorporated into the charge sheet. First, to demonstrate the presence of the elements of trafficking, she described how two of the complainants were trafficked and exploited:

From Port Elizabeth Central they were brought under the misperception by two of the accused that they now have to go to Bloemfontein because life is very good in Bloemfontein. In Bloemfontein there is a lot of money to be made. It would not be necessary for them to work on the streets....They have a brother with a business in Bloemfontein, a cell phone shop. They will be able to work in the cell phone shop (para. 21).

When these two witnesses arrived in Bloemfontein, however, they were taken to a hotel that was the hub of prostitution activity in Bloemfontein and forced into sexual exploitation. These two victims were deceived about the purpose of going to Bloemfontein. They were transported to “the Maitland Hotel. This is a place of prostitution” (para. 21), and were exploited by being forced to prostitute themselves. Therefore, the three elements of human trafficking, namely the act, the means, and exploitation were present for SSA to prove human trafficking took place: “So they were then truly trafficked. All the elements were there” (para. 21).

However, SSA found that the victims in the above case were trafficked before there was even interim legislation prohibiting human trafficking in place:

The problem was, in spite of the fact that this was a textbook case of human trafficking and all the elements could be proved; it took place before there was any legislation in effect.... There just wasn't an offence like...trafficking....At the time of the trafficking neither the new Sexual Offences [Amendment] Act, neither the Children's Act was operational. (para. 21).

As a result, SSA was not able to charge the two accused implicated by these two victims with human trafficking, but only with less serious offences: "I can charge them but it isn't abduction...because it was with their permission that they went to Bloemfontein....The fact that they were raped; I can charge them with that...and prostitution and living off the earnings of prostitution...less serious charges. (para. 21). Although one of the victims did not know how old she was, she stated that she was 12 or 13 years old when she was trafficked. This placed the offences SSA could charge the accused with in a more serious light: "she placed herself therefore in the category of under 16 which has its own implications regarding the law" (para. 21).

One other victim in the above case was trafficked "also to Bloemfontein, also to Maitland [hotel] by two of the accused...She was drugged; forced to drink alcohol...she was raped and sexually exploited: textbook case" (para. 22). This took place "after the law became operational so this is a textbook case: trafficking" (para. 22) and SSA was therefore able to charge two of the accused with human trafficking. The fourth victim was forced into sexual exploitation by another one of the accused, but SSA could only charge him with the less serious offence of "living off the earnings of prostitution" (para. 6).

Due to inadequate legislation at the time of the offences, SSA was therefore not able to prove that all six of the accused were guilty of the trafficking of all four the victims. SSA, believed, however that she could prevent separate hearings for the less serious charges that would require that the victims to give testimony at many prosecutions. This she aimed to do

by attempting to prove that the six accused were part of an organized crime operation: “Instead of having many, small prosecutions and, for example, put the one victim through ten different prosecutions, letting her give testimony ten times, I should try say this is a syndicate” (para. 24).

To prosecute organised crime, SSA used another piece of legislation, namely the Prevention of Organised Crime Act, 1998 (POCA). This Act defines patterns of racketeering, syndicates, and criminal enterprises, according to which all six accused men were charged with racketeering: “This is an enterprise as defined in the POCA legislation and my plan was therefore to charge them with racketeering” (para. 24). In South African law one is able to charge a group of people together only if it can be proved that they were involved in the same crime: “You can’t charge people together if they are involved with separate offences that are not related with regards to place or time” (para. 24). SSA’s reasoning in the above case was that according to the evidence presented by the four victims, these alleged traffickers were all involved in drug trafficking and prostituting women in the same geographical areas:

Now, these six men came from Nigeria [to] Port Elizabeth Central and there it was alleged that they all started in the same house in Port Elizabeth Central and that everyone got involved in the drug trade and everyone got involved in the sex trade and everyone here have prostitutes that know one another...and all the accused know each other and they all take prostitutes from here to Bloemfontein. They used a specific hotel in Port Elizabeth and there is a specific hotel in Bloemfontein they used (para. 24).

Therefore, SSA believed that, based on the evidence presented by the Section 204 witnesses and victims she could prove to the court an enterprise existed between the six accused: “This is a syndicate that operated together” (para. 24). She therefore planned to charge the six accused “with racketeering and then the different substantive charges” (para. 24). This was a difficult case to prove and not all of SSA’s senior colleagues agreed that she

would be able to prove racketeering: “This I discussed with various senior members of our organisation....Several convergent opinions were of course offered” (para. 25). However, SSA was convinced that “if one can investigate this adequately, we should be able to prove it. I really, really believed it” (para. 25).

After the accused were refused bail, SSA and the police had to continue to build the case for the actual court case. Unfortunately, a number of factors hampered this investigation. The first was that the original investigating officer “got offered a better job and he left the police” (para. 25) after the bail application hearings but before the investigation for the court case was finalised. Once again, SSA experienced little support from the SAPS and had to “beg and plead to get new investigators to take over the case” (para. 25). Eventually “after a long time” (para. 25), two capable detectives continued the investigation. Unfortunately, SSA found that while they were experienced detectives, they were not experienced in human trafficking investigations and the dynamics of such a complex investigation:

The problem is of course that they don't have the background information of this. No knowledge of human trafficking. Totally nothing. No training in this field. No knowledge of this case itself. No knowledge of the witnesses or the victims. (para. 25).

These new investigators continued the investigation with SSA's guidance, especially on the questions to ask the victims in order to obtain the necessary information in the additional statements: “Because they don't have the necessary background, I of course have to try to give them guidance on the...specific detail I am looking for” (para. 26). SSA, however, found that after the investigators took additional statements from the victims and Section 204 witnesses that she was confronted with more “contradictions and substantive contradictions” (para. 27). For example, “we obtained statements from the... [section] 204 witnesses....These statements are now being denied to a large extent; either by the specific witness or then by other witnesses” (para. 28).

Even though SSA thought, “There can be so many explanations” (para. 37), she speculated about why so many contradicting facts emerged in the additional statements. She thought a very likely reason could be that the alleged traffickers intimidated the witnesses to change their statements, even “after these six men were arrested...They had, and also family members, received phone calls from St. Albans prison to say: ‘You mustn’t speak to the police. Don’t tell the police you know me’” (para. 37). She suspected that the Section 204 witnesses, “Nigerians who became [Section] 204 witnesses” (para. 37) also were the targets of “subtle intimidation” (para. 37), which could have motivated them to change their statements:

The nature of the 204 witness is that he is a risky witness to work with. Now if he gets intimidated by his own sort that says: “It is because of you and your identification that I sit in jail” It’s so easy then get influenced and to just not stick with their original version. (para. 37).

She also thought another possible explanation could be that the witnesses were not able to give statements in their mother tongues that could have resulted in “miscommunication...it wasn’t mother tongue statements that were taken. There maybe could have been misperception by the original person who took the statements” (para. 37). Another factor that could have played a role is that the witnesses “just decided they don’t feel like this court procedure and this court story anymore and they just won’t say what they originally said” (para. 37).

After considering the new additional statements, SSA found that she was not able to use the POCA to charge the six accused of racketeering: “because of the new additional statements my original...goal...to charge them all together with racketeering according to Section two of POCA to say they are an enterprise...doesn’t exist anymore. I just can’t do it with the new additional statements” (para. 38). As a result, “one prosecution was in any case

already made void” (para. 39) and she had to decide whether she would have adequate evidence to continue with a case in which she would “have a reasonable prospect of a successful prosecution, because that is the test” (para. 39).

Her case was further weakened when SSA found that she would not be able to charge some of the accused for offences under the Children’s Act as it was determined that the victim whose age was unknown was older than 16 when the offences took place: “As a result, a large part of my charge sheet...I have to draw a line through it because it just doesn’t exist anymore because she is not as young as she said” (para. 31). Another detrimental development for the prosecution was that one of the victims, “the adult woman that is a textbook case who was trafficked and trafficked after the law was operational” (para. 32) went missing: “We can’t find her” (para. 32). The absence of this witness is “the most important element, unfortunately” (para. 32) as she had to testify in court.

SSA reckoned that the lack of facilities to support victims during their time of reintegration back into their communities contributed to the fact that one victim had gone missing. Only one facility in the Eastern Cape is accredited by the Department of Social Development to offer a secure place where the trafficking victims could receive “the necessary treatment, therapy” (para. 32). Three of the four victims were housed in this secure shelter. Unfortunately, this facility is not able to house these victims permanently after they have completed the rehabilitation process as it is a “state funded, state financed facility” (para. 32). Therefore, although “this facility in question helped us tremendously...after they went through this process, they have to be discharged” (para. 32).

The victims, who were “adults; you can’t keep them against their will” (para. 32), could choose where they wanted to go after being discharged, which included “their family members and places where they are safe” (para. 32). Unfortunately, once outside the shelter, SSA felt she could not “expect the investigative team to keep tabs on the victims the whole

time” (para. 34) as “they have so many other investigations to do. This is only one of the cases they are tasked with, so you can’t expect it of them” (para. 34). On many instances, SSA received anxious calls from victims after which she “sent the police in the night to ensure the people’s safety” (para. 32). However, despite all SSA and the SAPS’s efforts “one of our victims is now missing” (para. 32).

SSA therefore found that her case as presented at the bail application hearing, was not as strong for the actual court case due to the many contradictions and changed statements that emerged after the bail application hearing: “now the story does not go as well as it did originally” (para. 28). Before the new investigating officers took over from the original investigating officer, SSA did not consult with the victims to obtain the additional statements as it could be alleged that she interfered with the witnesses. This could have resulted in her withdrawal from the case as the prosecutor: “If I consult with the victims at any stage, there could be allegations that I prompted them or that I can become a witness in my own case and take myself from the prosecution” (para. 26). However, SSA found that the contradictions in the additional statements were so substantive to the success of the prosecution, that she “laid her cards on the table with the court...told the court I would have to consult with the witnesses to come to a correct decision in this case” (para. 38). Her main consideration was to make a decision “on whether there is a way to explain these contradictions” (para. 30). Again she had to determine whether she would “be able to convince the court with the evidence at hand or not” (para. 30).

She also considered that without being able to prove that the six accused were guilty of racketeering, she would have to have many separate prosecutions for the different charges she had to prove. This would have exposed her victims to multiple cross-examinations: “how many times will I expose my victim to having to give testimony and to be cross-examined because it would then be small prosecutions, separate prosecutions” (para. 39).

SSA concluded that the main difficulty in human trafficking prosecutions, from her perspective, was that trafficking victims tend to be unconvincing witnesses: “the quality of your testimony is of such a nature that you need to know that it is very difficult to convince the courts” (para. 53). Their testimony quality, according to SSA, was affected by “how these people have been degraded because of the process they have been through” (para. 53). The background of one of the victims in SSA’s fourth human trafficking case illustrates this degradation process that compromises the credibility of trafficked witnesses:

Her mother was a prostitute and she was...missing. No idea where the mother is. She grew up with her grandmother who died in the meantime. Stayed with her aunt. She moved in with a white man who supplied the aunt with groceries...and from there she moved in with Nigerians and she literally went from one Nigerian pimp to the next (para. 21).

Another witness in this case was prostituted by one of the accused and physically abused by him: “Very cruelly assaulted. Raped on various occasions....at one stage he tried to run her over with a car” (para. 23). Despite “adamantly believing that human trafficking exists” (para. 53), SSA despaired about whether a successful prosecution was possible: “I begin to wonder: Where will we ever get good enough testimony?...The problem is to get the quality of the testimony to be good enough to success with a prosecution” (para. 53).

SSA argued that the prosecution of “normal” sexual offences are difficult as it is, due to the presence of two cautionary rules in evidentiary law. The first refers to a cautionary approach that needs to be applied to the evidence of a single witness in a sexual offences case. However, in such cases, SSA has found that “you still have a single witness in 99.9% of the cases” (para. 57). In addition, when it is a child witness, a cautionary rule about the evidence of children must also be applied: “and when you have children, you also have a child witness with its own cautionary rule” (para. 57). With these cautionary rules in mind,

SSA considered it essential to have other witnesses to provide corroborating evidence. In the absence of corroborating evidence, “it simply is her word against the word of the accused” (para. 57). In the light of the cautionary rules, many of these sexual offence cases “don’t go to court” (para. 57) as the likelihood of a successful prosecution is low: “The reality is that those cases fall through the cracks” (para. 57).

SSA found that human trafficking prosecutions were even more complex than the usual sexual offence cases she had prosecuted in the past, the reason being that human trafficking cases involved trafficking victims who worked as prostitutes because they were forced into sexual exploitation. She, for example, found that law enforcement members had the attitude that a prostitute’s claim to be raped could not be trusted: “it has always been a question in any law enforcement...can a prostitute ever be raped? Or is it just a case that they did not agree about the payment” (para. 74). SSA added that gender prejudice also influenced the way a prostitute who claimed to be raped was judged by law enforcement: “the type of chauvinistic mockery you would in any case expect and receive about this” (para. 74).

Therefore, human trafficking prosecutions in which prostituted trafficking victims were the complainants and witnesses, presented an extra level of challenge for a public prosecutor: “And now, now we want to take it further and we want to say: ‘This is not only a prostitute that got raped’ We want to say she became a prostitute because of x, y, and z” (para. 74).

To prove that human trafficking took place by applying the Sexual Offences Amendment Act therefore placed an additional burden on SSA: “We take it even a little further as just your usual sexual offences in order to prove human trafficking” (para. 74). This is partly because the above-mentioned Amendment Act is still a relatively new piece of legislation that has not been tested much in court: “We sit with a brand new Sexual Offences [Amendment] Act that has not been tested enough” (para. 74). Many of the prohibited offences in this Amendment Act have been formulated to be broad, which increases South

African citizens' protection against sexual misconduct. However, SSA also believed that these broad definitions had not been tested enough to determine whether evidence to prove an offence would be enough to convince a court that sexual offences had been committed. She explained her reasoning by using the concept of informed consent that is applicable to prove one of the elements of human trafficking:

consent is being circumscribed so widely in the Sexual Offences Act...you would have to sit and think about it to name a practical example of each of those instances where you can say there was no informed consent...and to say this will be enough for me to convince the court of this and the court will find beyond reasonable doubt that it was indeed the case that this complainant did not consent (para. 74).

Many offences in the Sexual Offences Act were therefore vague and still had "to be defined by case law" (para. 74), which SSA had to consider in deciding whether to take a human trafficking case to court as "human trafficking is even more vague and more strange" (para. 74) than the usual sexual offences cases. As described next, SSA also considered ways in which the investigative and prosecution process of human trafficking cases could be more effective.

SSA's reflection about ways to improve the prosecution process of human trafficking cases.

SSA asserted that the counter human trafficking sector should be a "multidisciplinary field" (para. 46) to "better police and prosecute and address human trafficking...a field of expertise" (para. 46): "Not just anybody should work with it [human trafficking]" (para. 46). These experts should have "the necessary background and experience in ...sexual offences" (para. 46). She regarded it as essential, however, that these should also be "people that have the necessary passion for it and the interest in it, as somebody who wants to learn you can

teach but someone who doesn't want to learn...you can't teach an old dog tricks" (para. 46). The reason she thought passion was necessary was because human trafficking investigations are "so complex; this is not just a normal case. It is more difficult than the normal thing" (para. 49). SSA found that without passion, for example, investigative officers were not willing to go through the extra effort required to investigate the more complex crime of human trafficking: "this is definitely not the type of case the average investigative officer would put up his hand for and say: 'I want to do this' " (para. 25).

When such people with passion have been identified, SSA strongly felt that they should be supported and rewarded for their counter-trafficking work. However, she noticed that the opposite took place with the first investigative officer who eventually decided to leave the police service: "Instead of giving him the necessary support...the necessary motivation...rewards and acknowledgement, we have lost him!" (para. 68). According to SSA, "The same is unfortunately happening with prosecutors. The same is happening with presiding officers" (para. 68). The result of not retaining passionate and dedicated personnel in the SAPS and the NPA is that "it works against the combatting of human trafficking and instead human trafficking is promoted because at the end of the day the criminal laughs more and more" (para. 69). SSA insisted that when those involved in human trafficking activities "see how the cases are withdrawn one by one and don't progress to trial" (para. 69), the counter-trafficking sector would be sending a message to those involved in this criminal activity: "Go more! It is a profitable business. Get involved...the police can't police this. The prosecuting authority can't prosecute" (para. 69).

Another quality people in the counter-trafficking sector should possess, according to SSA, is "an absolute paradigm shift...on life to believe in human trafficking" (para. 48) and that "it is a true reality" (para. 48). According to SSA, there is resistance among law enforcement and state prosecutors to accept that the crime of human trafficking really exists.

SSA attributed this resistance to the fact that people are “uninformed most of the time” (para. 71). Human trafficking is a crime that “takes place under the table and does not show in public” (para. 69). As human trafficking activities are not obvious to the uninformed, SSA believed that “a person can be seen and treated as a commodity” (para. 71) as this is outside the average person’s “normal frame of reference” (para. 71). Acknowledging that human trafficking exists, therefore, requires that a person consider that a crime takes place that “Goes against your humanity a little...against all normal, general expectations and paradigms...to be able to see that people can be as cruel as treating others as commodities. Really the slavery of old” (para. 71).

It was also among senior colleagues and senior police officers, especially the “older generation” (para. 48), that SSA experienced strong resistance against accepting that human trafficking is a crime. Instead, according to SSA, they “simply believe that human trafficking is social problem...that should be addressed at a social [services] level” (para. 48):

It should not be classified as an offence. It should not be criminalised because it doesn’t exist...I am speaking about the reasoning of senior prosecutors...senior members of the police that simply say: “No, it isn’t worth the effort. These things are pie in the sky; it’s not really true (para. 48).

Reluctance to acknowledge the reality of human trafficking is related to the fact that many people in law enforcement do not want to get involved in the investigation of sexual offences, especially sexual offences against children: “There is an absolute feeling, most of the time, between people in law enforcement that: ‘I don’t want to work with sexual offences and especially not when it was committed against children” (para. 72). The unwillingness to deal with human trafficking is aggravated when “police, prosecutors, presiding officers” (para. 73), firstly, find it difficult to acknowledge that people are treated cruelly and secondly, are reluctant to interact with human trafficking witnesses that are difficult to work with: “you

most of the time are working with prostitutes, not quite the cream of society...and this is your witnesses” (para. 73).

SSA realised that a lack of teamwork between all the stakeholders had been problematic in the investigative process and she saw that there was “A problem with the cooperation as a group and as a system” (para. 66). She used the example of multiple statements as previously discussed to illustrate the effect of inadequate coordination between stakeholders. SSA asserted that when a statement was “taken too early from a child” (para. 66) in a child sexual abuse case, it was “against your case....Don’t do it” (para. 66). She was of the opinion that the same applied to human trafficking cases. However, she found that one “had no other option” (para. 66) in the human trafficking cases she was involved with. In these cases the police were “forced to take a statement from a victim prematurely” (para. 66) because the Department of Social Development requires a sworn statement from a victim of trafficking before “the wheels can start turning” (para. 66) and the person can be admitted to an accredited shelter. As a result, “at the end of the day, I sit with three or four different versions” (para. 66). SSA reasoned that when the organisational arrangements of an organisation clashes with the aim of another organisation in the human trafficking field, then “we are working against one another” (para. 66). She believed that the victim that suffered the most from uncoordinated efforts: “Then the system doesn’t work for the victim but against the victim” (para. 66).

It was SSA’s experience that cooperation between the NPA and the Department of Home Affairs was vital as she found that “in two of my big cases, it was Nigerians who were illegal immigrants in most of the cases” (para. 49). Unfortunately, she found that it was “a huge problem to get the cooperation from immigration and Home Affairs to do the necessary investigations and give statements...to see whether they are in the country legally” (para. 49).

SSA strongly believed therefore that “if we don’t get those people involved and part of the team, then we will get nowhere” (para. 49).

Another area that would improve the investigation and prosecution process of human traffickers in the Eastern Cape would be if there were more resources to support victims’ rehabilitation and reintegration process. According to SSA, the lack of organisations that cater for the specialised needs of a trafficking victim is a “big problem” (para. 65) which she became aware of because the police officers alerted her to it: “the only reason I know this is because I am the prosecutor and the police speaks to me about it” (para. 65). Existing facilities in the Eastern Cape are not willing to admit trafficking victims because of “their background” (para. 65) where they worked as prostitutes: “it speaks for itself that people will be reasonably negative about that” (para. 65). Trafficking victims are also often addicted to substances, requiring specialised medical services that are not offered by existing facilities. The four victims in the fourth case prosecuted by SSA were “incredible with things like withdrawal symptoms....They had to be admitted to the necessary facilities, hospitals, on various occasions to go through these withdrawal symptoms” (para. 32). The intensity of the needs of the trafficking victims therefore limits the willingness of organisations willing to shelter them: “I expect these institutions to admit drug addicts. People with a problem with sex, because that is where they are. So they are very unwilling” (para. 65).

Even though SSA found that many organisations undertook to admitting trafficking victims during meetings between stakeholders, she also found that “when the reality hits and the policeman sits with the victim...that there are not any of these other institutions that are willing to take them” (para. 65). As mentioned, only one Department of Social Development accredited institution exists in the Eastern Cape, in the Nelson Mandela Bay area: “Only one institution and it sits in a small little town that falls under the Uitenhage jurisdiction” (para. 65). In a “large and wide province” (para. 84) such as the Eastern Cape, if a trafficked person

is found in the eastern part of the province, she has to be transported all the way to the shelter in Nelson Mandela Bay, in the western part of the province : “our victims from East London and from Bhisho and from Breidbach should be taken there” (para. 65).

The lack of resources for trafficking victims also extends to a lack of facilities for these victims in their communities to assist them with their reintegration into their communities. For example, after being discharged Department of Social Development allocates each victim a social worker where she can receive weekly counselling, but “they are not obliged to keep those appointments” (para. 34) and SSA was informed that “they simply just don’t pitch up for those appointments” (para. 34). One of the reasons is that they do not have access to these state resources close to where they live was: “it’s just too far. They don’t have transport and they have to walk that far” (para. 34). The result, however, is that “if they don’t pitch for these appointments, then there no support for them at all” (para. 34). In addition, if they don’t “have any training to do any work, then they don’t have it [work]” (para. 32). As a result SSA believed it is then “easy to fall back in their own ways” (para. 34). Especially if victims have already been traumatised by their experiences, SSA thought it is easier for them to go back to exploitative situations:

You sit with so many broken people. They are absolutely broken...and their quality of life is actually so limited that it is easier to fall back into the old ways and to revert back to the ways of dependence that to stand upright and follow the new, narrower path to the end (para. 32).

She highlighted that once victims have been discharged from the DSD facility, they have to fend for themselves: “where in the past they were provided with a plate of food and a safe place and a roof over their heads, yes with rules, but they received all these things. Now they have to look after themselves” (para. 34). It is this lack of facilities that SSA believed contributed to the fact that one of the victims in her fourth case went missing and returned to

the trafficking situation: “The information we received originally is that she is back on the street, that she is again involved with the Nigerians, thus has fallen back in her old patterns” (para. 32).

Another area in which SSA believed that the Eastern Cape falls short compared to some other provinces, revolves around the lack of a regular provincial meeting of counter-trafficking stakeholders. SSA asserted that the reason for successful prosecutions in other provinces was that they have a “working committee. A provincial committee that has meetings” (para. 82) to discuss “the way forward...where everyone is on board and literally work together” (para. 82). Although SSA had over a long period often asked for such a provincial working group, it had to be initiated by the provincial office of the NPA. She therefore did not “have enough clout...to enforce it on the provincial office” (para. 82). She believed that the lack of such a working committee in the Eastern Cape is “a great deficiency” (para. 82) and although there have been attempts from time to time to assemble such a committee by the provincial office of the NPA, SSA reckoned that the people attending these meetings “are not necessarily the right people” (para. 83). Instead of the higher ranking officers, “the big brass and the big pips and the important people” (para. 83) sitting on the provincial working committee, it should be “the people that work on root level with it...the people that can truly identify the problem and address it and can say: ‘But this is the reality. This is the problem. How can we address it in our province?’” (para. 83). Instead, provincial meetings are usually attended by the provincial commissioner or someone just one rank lower who SSA believed “will never interact with a human trafficking victim...never interview such a person or try to take a statement...never be involved in the investigation of this case...never see the docket” (para. 94).

According to SSA, a better solution would be to get a police detective who actually works with human trafficking cases to attend these provincial working group meetings, not

necessarily “as a member of the forum” (para. 95), but as someone who gets to share his or her “personal experience” (para. 95) with the attendees of the provincial working group meetings. SSA thought that this approach would then allow the higher-ranking officers to make decisions to resolve the problems and issues brought to their attention from those who are involved in the investigation of human trafficking: “we shouldn’t do this thing from the top down to the bottom. We should actually do this thing from the bottom up” (para. 95).

Another issue SSA highlighted which could improve the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking legislation was if comprehensive human trafficking legislation was operational. According to her, this was a “piece of legislation that is just taking much too long to finalise” (para. 45). Without a comprehensive law, SSA had to use interim legislation, as previously mentioned, to prosecute. The interim legislation has the limitation that it addresses only sexual exploitation: “at this stage of the game, the only thing we can charge them with is in terms of Section 70, 71, 72 and then it has to be for sexual exploitation” (para. 45). Without legislation, that criminalises other forms of human trafficking, law enforcement and prosecution of these forms of exploitation cannot take place: “It is not being investigated. It definitely is not being policed” (para. 45). As other types of human trafficking are not included in legislation, SSA concluded that even if victims of other types of human trafficking were found, “nothing exists with which we can do anything with them because there is no one legislation with which we can regulate it” (para. 45).

SSA postulated that even with the interim legislation, the crime of human trafficking was not being identified for what it is. According to SSA, trafficking victims usually do not self-identify as a victims of trafficking: “They don’t even know that it [human trafficking] exists....They don’t really want to be there but they don’t know that they have been trafficked” (para. 101). As a result, “it doesn’t happen that a victim goes to a police station and lays a charge of human trafficking” (para. 5). The victim is therefore more likely to

report another charge such as rape or kidnapping. It is therefore important that someone in the police is able to identify the possibility that human trafficking occurred, even if another crime has been reported: Therefore, “if your investigative officer is clever and attentive enough and he identifies it as a human trafficking case, then it gets investigated as a human trafficking case” (para. 5). Unfortunately, SSA believed the reality was that “there are many more trafficking cases out there that are simply not coming to our attention” (para. 98).

Whereas training of police members should be one of the ways to improve the identification rate of human trafficking, SSA also felt strongly that in the Eastern Cape, there was a tendency for decisions not to result in practical changes: “It is very good and wonderful to hear that a lot of training is being done. The question is of course: Where are the cases? The proof is in the pudding and in the tasting of the pudding, I would say, hey?” (para. 85). She therefore concluded: “I believe strongly that human trafficking is a reality, that it is a huge reality. That it is not addressed as it should be addressed” (para. 45).

Summary of SSA’s perspective.

SSA revealed the complexities involved in the prosecution of the perpetrators of human trafficking criminal activities. According to SSA, a number of challenges contributed to the lack of successful prosecutions in the Eastern Cape Province at the time of the interview. A prominent difficulty that emerged was that the victims of trafficking proved to be unreliable witnesses, which SSA attributed to a combination of factors such as their experiences while in the trafficking situation and the impact of intimidation by the alleged traffickers. She described how police investigators’ lack of experience and knowledge human trafficking investigations contributed to contradictory statements made by human trafficking victims. Her task as a prosecutor was made more complex due to the limitations of the available human trafficking legislation according which she could charge suspects. According to SSA,

the complexity of the crime of human trafficking required a multi-disciplinary team of motivated experts to investigate and prosecute human trafficking cases to prevent traffickers to act with impunity and increase their human trafficking activities.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze in the Eastern Cape: Dr Karen Müller's (KM) Perspective

“Those are the crucial issues of the legal system not being able to deal with it [human trafficking]” (KM, para. 91)

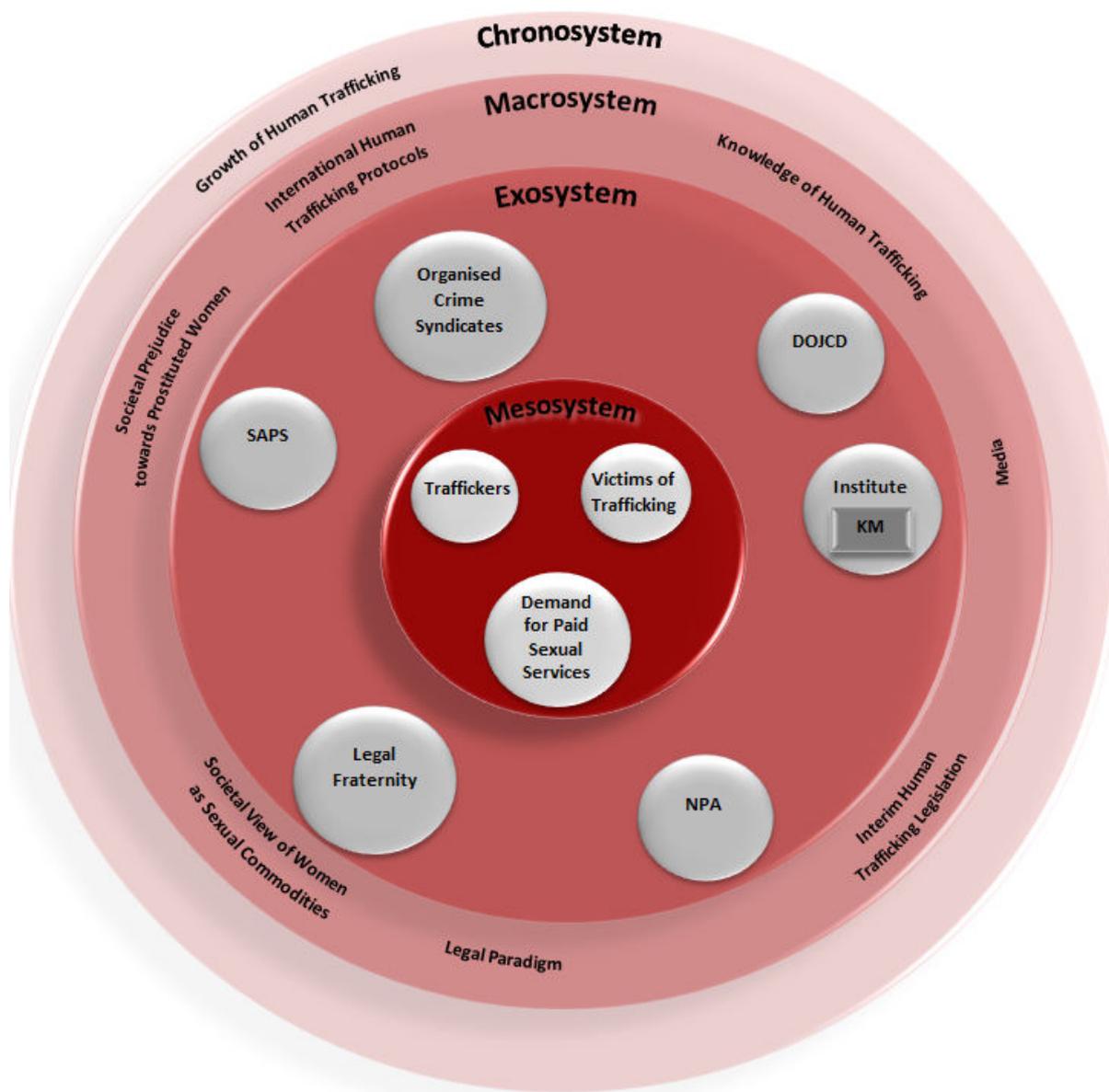
Karen's Müller (KM) PhD, *The child witness in the accusatorial system* (Müller, 1997), aimed to develop an approach to be used in the legal system through which accurate information can be obtained from child witnesses. She subsequently specialised in research, policies, and procedures pertaining to child witnesses and victims of sexual abuse issues within the South African criminal justice system.

KM's unique 'lens' through which she viewed human trafficking in the Eastern Cape province was shaped through her interaction with a child victim of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape to compile a victim impact statement, her knowledge of South African law, and her experience of the legal system regarding the investigation and prosecution of sexual offences against child victims.

KM's knowledge about the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape related mainly to trafficking for sexual exploitation. She noted that she had read about ukuthwala, the Xhosa practice of abducting young women for marriage and briefly referred to the other forms of trafficking such as labour trafficking and trafficking for organs. KM's unique view of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape from a criminal justice and child sexual offences perspective is conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development and represented in Figure 12 below.

Introducing KM.

KM is the director of the Institute for Child Witness Research and Training (Institute) in



DOJCD	Department of Justice and Constitutional Development	KM	Dr Karen Müller
Institute	Institute for Child Witness Research and Training	NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
SAPS	South African Police Service		

Figure 12. KM’s knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory of human development (1994).

Port Elizabeth. The Institute was established to conduct research and training regarding child witnesses to professionals in the forensic field. KM also provides advice and support to magistrates, prosecutors, police officers, psychologists, and social workers

on issues such as the accurate evaluation of child witness testimony. KM has also provided expert testimony in court in cases involving child sexual abuse.

KM was approached by the SAPS to compile a victim impact statement for an adolescent who was trafficked into sexual exploitation in 2008. This entailed interviewing the trafficked person on her experiences while in a trafficking situation to gather information on the harm and loss she suffered because of the crime for the court to use during the sentencing process. KM also acquired knowledge on human trafficking after having been trained and accredited by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) as a trainer regarding human trafficking that she provides to police officers and officers of the court.

KM's expertise with child witnesses in a forensic environment has been recognised internationally. For example, the United Kingdom's Home Office approached her to comment on the draft Bill on Vulnerable Witnesses. She was also active in advising the South African government on the Sexual Offences Act, 2007 and was instrumental in the setting up of child-friendly services to support, counsel, and treat victims of sexual violence and abuse.

KM authored and co-authored more than 40 publications on issues surrounding child witnesses and role-players involved in working with child witnesses and presented several papers at national and international conferences. These include conference presentations on the impact of trafficking on children (Müller & Holleley, 2009), research on the use of victim impact statements in court (Müller & van der Merwe, 2006), and the development of a standardised preparation programme for child witnesses (Müller, 2004). A discussion on KM's perspective on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape is next.

KM's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

According to KM, crimes with complex relationship dynamics and traumatised victims are not suited to the legal paradigm because with the “law you’re supposed to deal with only the facts that are in the courtroom” (para. 67) which means that the courts “are dependent on your witnesses and looking at it from their side” (para. 74). The responsibility of presiding officers is therefore to make a decision on the guilt and sentencing of a person who has been found guilty of an offence based only on the facts presented in court: “I [they] have to make a decision that’s gonna put somebody in jail forever” (para. 74).

A judicial practice which assists the court to assess evidence is cautionary rules which are rules “which say that you have to be careful of certain people’s evidence...people like accomplices ... because obviously I [they] have something to gain” (para. 66). One of these cautionary rules that could play a role during human trafficking prosecutions involving underage victims is that “you cannot trust children’s evidence because their memories aren’t that good; they tend to fantasise” (para. 67). To apply this cautionary rule, the presiding officer has to handle the witness’ evidence with caution as it is regarded as potentially unreliable.

Another cautionary rule which KM believed still plays a role in the judicial process in human trafficking, domestic violence, and child abuse cases is the rule which expects presiding officers to apply extreme caution when a female complainant claims to have been raped:

can a woman [falsely] cry rape....It’s a fact that the law believes that it is and they even refer to the Bible going back to Potiphar where she pretend that she was raped...and then they use Freud as proof of that. “even though it’s been discounted. (para. 66).

This cautionary rule was abolished “because it was unconstitutional because it discriminates” (para. 66) against women. However, KM believed that this abolished

cautionary rule still influences presiding officers who were trained to apply it when listening to the testimony of trafficked women and abused women and children: “unfortunately it’s very easy to say that it’s been abolished but if in my head I’ve gone through a whole process for 50 years that women lie about rape, when I listen to the women in court, it affects my judgement” (para. 66).

The legal paradigm, which shapes the actions of the legal fraternity and law enforcement, was developed to deal best with clear-cut facts established in court. It therefore has difficulty to incorporate ambiguous relationship dynamics into the paradigm: “the legal paradigm does not accommodate social issues that it has to deal with” (para. 90). The legal paradigm, therefore, is effective when it deals with crimes that are clear-cut and straightforward: “if I kill you it is very clear....There’s a crime committed” (para. 63). It is therefore crimes without “any extraneous relationships or things that are happening” (para. 68) that “work perfectly in court” (para. 68). Examples of such crimes are rape cases where “I’m walking on the streets. Someone grabs me off the street. I don’t know him. I’m innocently walking down the street....that fits perfectly in [the legal paradigm]. So with those ones we don’t have a problem with” (para. 68). Some human trafficking cases also do not have complex relationship dynamics to be taken into consideration during prosecution: “like the Durban case where you have Chinese women brought in and locked up in a house and all their passports are gone” (para. 61).

The complex relationship between perpetrator and victim shared by victims of child abuse, human trafficking, and domestic violence was one of the social issues highlighted by KM which complicates prosecution. Such complex dynamics are one of the main issues covered by the training provided by the Institute because the legal fraternity has difficulty to evaluate testimony where such dynamics operate: “when it comes with the relationship ones and your big areas, for us, are domestic violence because they just don’t get it. Child abuse

they don't get. And they don't get trafficking" (para. 68). Even after 15 years of training the legal fraternity, KM recognised that the Institute only made "a little impact of understanding this grooming process. It's now starting to filter through" (para. 60). The process of grooming is patterned behaviour by the sex offender targeting the victim and other individuals in the victim's life to "increase opportunities for sexual assault, minimize victim resistance or withdrawal, and reduce disclosure or belief" (Tanner & Brake, 2013, p. 1). However, understanding the complexities of the relationship between a trafficker and trafficking victim is not yet widespread among the legal fraternity: "With the trafficking we're 15 years behind still so you don't get the sympathy" (para. 60).

One of the reasons the legal paradigm seems to struggle to judge the credibility of victims of human trafficking, sexual abuse, and domestic violence is because these victims often seem to be "behaving exactly the way a liar would behave" (para. 64) and contrary to what is expected from victims of crime. In crimes like murder, robbery, and hi-jacking, the victim of the crime discloses the crime, makes a statement, and follows-up with the police on whether the perpetrator has been apprehended:

the first thing you're gonna do is you're gonna get hold of the police because you want them to come and help you....you can try and think and give them as many descriptions as you can. You can keep on following up...You're gonna go to court...you're gonna try and get that guy into jail" (para. 63).

In crimes where this complex relationship dynamic between the perpetrator and victim exists, however, disclosure is gradual and piecemeal while the victim is often hesitant to accuse the perpetrator:

she doesn't tell anybody. When...it is found out, she sometimes only tell you half the story. Later on she will tell this one the other part that she was too scared to tell that

one....She'll forget some of the details. She'll try to protect the guy that is raping her.

(para. 64).

The legal fraternity specifically has difficulty in understanding why victims of these crimes act contrary to what is expected of victims of crime: “the child is raped. She goes back.... If somebody beats you up, why would you go back and beat you up again? How can you say you love them if they're hitting you?” (para. 64). The same dynamic between trafficking victim and trafficker exists which also confuses those involved in law enforcement and prosecution of traffickers: “They don't understand the dynamic. They don't understand they're protecting the trafficker” (para. 61). KM postulated that one of the contributing factors to the victims' reluctance to testify against the persons that trafficked them is that “this little trafficking family becomes a family for them...they regard the other girls and even the trafficker as part of their circle” (para. 16). From a background where “there obviously was no family or a family that was dysfunctional” (para. 16) and maybe “being alone on the streets” (para. 16), this vulnerable person finds in the trafficker someone “who will actually take care of” (para. 16) her. KM surmised that the complex relationship with the trafficker “goes back to deeper issues” (para. 16) and the trafficked person develops loyalty and trust towards the trafficker within this close “makeshift family” (para. 17). KM again used Elsie* as an example to illustrate the type of relationship that she developed with her trafficker at the time. Although Elsie* had been “raped a load of times and she was quite blasé about most of them” (para. 16), she would be sad when she recalled being raped by her trafficker: “the ones that made her break down...and that made her cry was when the trafficker had sex with her...there were about three of them that she had been sold to along the line and when they had sex with her, that was a problem for her” (para. 16). KM believed that Elsie* experienced “betrayal because that was the person who had to take care of her. That was her new family and he was actually raping her” (para. 16).

KM was of the opinion that role-players in law enforcement and the prosecution of human trafficking have not received enough training to understand some of the complex dynamics they are confronted with: “I don’t think they’re equipped properly to get a more fair look at it because they don’t have the knowledge or the training” (para. 74). However, KM acknowledged that it is hard for the court to accurately judge the truthfulness of the victims of trafficking “even when there’s knowledge and training” (para. 74) because “you’re dealing with such a destroyed human being that it is very difficult to find the truth” (para. 74). KM thought that the trauma experienced by trafficked persons interfered largely with their ability to be credible witnesses. This made it even more difficult for the court to establish the truth: “I think that some of these girls have been so badly traumatised and abused that they live lives of fantasy so they don’t even know what is real and what is not real. And then you have difficulty, huge difficulty” (para. 74).

Even though KM was familiar with the trauma experienced by sexually abused children, she was shocked at the severe level of trauma she observed in the trafficking victim she interviewed for a victim impact statement: “when I interviewed Elsie*, she probably had experienced more trauma than anybody I previously had worked with before” (para. 59). KM used the example of Elsie* to illustrate how multiple traumatic experiences affected her credibility as a witness as she had given contradictory statements to the police:

the trauma had such an impact that she’s had psychosis. She’s been in institutions. She can’t remember three-quarters of the thing, she was on drugs some of the time, she’s confusing rapes. Her stories aren’t exactly the same as the other girls’ stories who were there because of course their memories are not exactly the same....she was raped by hundreds of people. She’s had sex with thousands of people. Her memory isn’t clear (para. 59).

Not only does the legal fraternity find it difficult to comprehend how trauma can affect witness testimony to the extent that it does: “and the trauma has affected the memory which they don’t understand” (para. 61), the witnesses also “try and manipulate the prosecutors. They...elaborate their stories for effect because of whatever they are at that point and there’s no credibility at all” (para. 61).

Another factor that affects the witness credibility of trafficking victims in court emphasised by KM was the fact that many of them are trafficked into sexual exploitation and forced to work as prostituted women. KM described how the manner in which Elsie presented herself affected the way her evidence was received by the court: “She’s very sexualised. She’s very common. She’s very street prostitute. It’s gonna be very difficult to get her evidence in” (para. 59).

KM believed negative societal attitudes towards “prostitution is the big issue here” (para. 97). “social issues become involved because you know prostitutes are...like the lowest of the low” (para. 43). This prejudice towards prostitutes affects the way society views the victimisation of this group of people: “You get a lot more sympathy if you have photographs of 10 year olds working on a farm because that’s child labour: ‘No, disgusting, gross’ Then we’re gonna get all the...attention and sympathy. But we got a prostitute standing on the street corner; there’s very little sympathy” (para. 97).

Prejudice towards prostituted woman also decreases the probability that the court will have sympathy towards trafficked women like Elsie*: “the people who are standing in your court are older prostitutes with sexy little slip dresses” (para. 61). The presiding officer therefore does not see the “10-year old who were sold by her aunt for groceries”, but an adult prostitute: “she’s 25 and she goes to court and she looks like a real prostitute as she is a prostitute” (para. 61). KM realised that these trafficked women eventually internalise the identity of being a prostitute: “by this stage these girls are drug addicts and they are

prostitutes and that is their make-up. They act like prostitutes” (para. 37). Elsie*, for example, even though she was still under 18 years of age when KM interviewed her, had adopted the mannerisms and attitudes of a street prostitute: “she’s a child but she’s a textbook whore. She talks like one. She behaves like one....when she’s talking to you she lifts up her dress and she shows you her panties and says: ‘This is what they want’ She’s a street prostitute” (para. 37).

The testimony of a trafficked woman is therefore likely to be distrusted by the courts due to a combination of existing prejudiced beliefs about the credibility of women who claim to be raped, societal prejudice against prostituted woman, and the manner in which a trafficked person’s testimony seems to be dishonest: “Yes, she says he raped her, but...can we trust her because she’s actually a prostitute. And she has lied on so many occasions already” (para. 70).

Prejudice against prostitutes also has an influence on the relationship between the police and prostitutes. Members of the police service are not trained to identify trafficked women among prostitutes and therefore do not “have an understanding” (para. 37) of the reasons why these girls are prostituting themselves: “the majority of the police just think these are prostitutes. What is the big deal, really? Why waste my time and effort in protecting these girls who want to be here?” (para. 37). On the other hand, prostituted women “lie...because they know they’re gonna be caught and they’re committing a crime anyway, so they lie to the police” (para. 37), which further erodes sympathy for the fact that they are victims of the crime of human trafficking.

The factors influencing the witness credibility of trafficking victims and the court’s receptiveness to the victims’ testimony impact on the effectiveness of the persecution of traffickers: “So in effect we can prosecute but our prosecutions have not been very successful. They’re not happening because of our victims” (para. 59). The lack of

understanding of the contributing factors that lessen victim credibility provoked a sense of despair with KM regarding the future success of prosecutions: “You don’t get the understanding of what is happening...I don’t know how we’re going to prosecute these cases” (para. 60).

KM described the dilemma faced by the public prosecutor of a human trafficking case in Port Elizabeth who “doesn’t know what she is gonna do...she may have to withdraw [the case]” (para. 76) because of contradictory statements by the victims: “they’ve got so many different stories” (para. 76). Although this prosecutor had been trained in human trafficking and was motivated to prosecute the case she had “huge difficulty because she knows the people who are going to be presiding and the different versions that she is getting are very problematic for her” (para. 76).

Limitations in the legal paradigm to prosecute human trafficking offences effectively are one of the elements that allow human trafficking to grow: “It makes it flourish!” (para. 78). In fact, KM speculated that in light of the impunity with which traffickers operate, more people could realise human trafficking “is a good way to make money” (para. 78). This could motivate more people to engage in human trafficking: “if more people knew about trafficking, we’d have more trafficking....if there were also South Africans out here who realise how much money you can make and how easy it is to operate” (para. 78), the only real restriction being “if you don’t have too strict morals” (para. 80). KM also reckoned that trafficking is “very profitable” (para. 84), with the potential to bring in higher earnings than drug trafficking because the product of human trafficking can be re-sold: “it makes more money than drugs because once I’ve sold you the drugs, that’s it. It’s finished. But I get that R1500 from you every single day, so it’s a lot more profitable than drugs” (para. 84). The interim human trafficking legislation was relatively new at the time of the interview with KM, “we haven’t had many prosecutions” (para. 86). As a result, human traffickers could act

with more impunity due to the lack of prosecutions: “it’s a lot safer because they’ll arrest me for drugs but what are they gonna arrest me for? And even if they do, what’s gonna happen?” (para. 84). KM therefore regarded interim human trafficking legislation that criminalised certain forms of human trafficking like sexual exploitation and forced child labour as relatively ineffective because it had not resulted in many human trafficking prosecutions: “it’s created a crime where there wasn’t one before...in effect we can prosecute but our prosecutions have not been very successful” (para. 59). She illustrated this with the prosecution against the six alleged traffickers previously mentioned in Chapter 3 and by IO and how it bolstered the impunity with which human traffickers could conduct their activities: “these Nigerian guys with Elsie*. They’re probably gonna withdraw this case. And then what? That just reinforces that” (para. 84).

KM indicated that the government had been in the process of creating comprehensive human trafficking legislation before the FIFA 2010 World Cup: “they tried to get the Bill through before the soccer thing, through parliament, but it’s on hold” (para. 51). According to KM, a number of complexities contributed to this delay: “It’s complex because it relates to so many other issues” (para. 51). The first factor was a skills shortage in the relevant government department: “Lack of expertise in [Department of] Justice....That’s the real big problem” (para. 57). Another factor that contributed to the complexity related to the practical and financial implications of the comprehensive legislation such as providing services to the victims of human trafficking: “It’s the services...there’s no funding” (para. 51). The third factor that contributed to the “complexity related to prostitution” (para. 51), that is, “you need to be clear as to whether prostitution is illegal or not...because it’s going to have a huge impact on the trafficking legislation” (para. 51) KM believed that “if you can legalise prostitution, you can control it” (para. 91), which would make the policing of human trafficking for sexual exploitation easier. She acknowledged, however, “You don’t know

whether it works or doesn't work" (para. 51) as other countries where prostitution is legalised, still have difficulties policing human trafficking: "Countries like Holland found that it's not working even though they've had it legalised" (para. 51). The fourth factor that complicates the formulation of legislation is the necessity to harmonise the comprehensive law with international protocols ratified by South Africa "otherwise you have loopholes between different countries" (para. 51).

KM's knowledge about the organised crime networks involved in human trafficking in the Eastern Cape was that "in Port Elizabeth specifically...the Nigerian one is big" (para. 10). These Nigerian crime networks consist of "either guys who have contacts with groups of guys in other towns" (para. 4) who "swop girls...one of the patterns has been to take girls from PE to Bloemfontein and then from Bloemfontein to Jo'burg" (para. 4). Therefore, unlike the common notion about organised crime being "a huge syndicate operating from the top with guys working for them" (para. 4), KM realised that the syndicates involved in human trafficking in the Eastern Cape are "little groups that know of each other and work together...they're independent" (para. 4). However, KM believed that the crime groups operate according to nationalities in certain geographical areas: "Durban again, there's a lot with the Chinese one...so it's obviously different areas where different groups...are operating" (para. 10).

KM found that South Africans are also part of the crime networks and often operate as recruiters. Furthermore, KM realised that previously trafficked women would also recruit people into trafficking: "People respond to South Africans...and even having spoken to those trafficked girls. It was other girls who got them involved" (para. 10). Therefore a recruiter, in KM's experience was often a person "who is being trafficked and is part of the scenario or somebody that is paid to do it" (para. 10). A strategy used by recruiters was to offer potential victims false jobs: "My boyfriend will help you get more money if you come and work in

Central with us' and that is how they get involved in the trafficking" (para. 10). KM also found in "case studies I've collected" (para. 109) that "a lot of these traffickers have used boyfriend-girlfriend thing" (para. 109) to lure girls into an exploitative situation: "They will start a relationship with the girls and then take her away to Jo'burg and then dump her in a place and the poor girl actually thinks this guy's having a relationship with her" (para. 109).

Often Nigerian traffickers use drugs to first attract girls into a trafficking situation: "That's the first step, to get them addicted to drugs and then they really need the Nigerian" (para. 14). Girls also get drawn into an exploitative situation if they are already addicted to drugs while "just being cool and partying and getting involved and then getting hooked on the drugs" (para. 17). An existing addiction and drug debt can be exploited by the trafficker: "when you're on drugs and you need the money and you get involved with the Nigerians and then you start owing them and then it becomes a bit of a cycle" (para. 17).

Traffickers use drug addiction as a way to force addicted girls and women into prostitution but they also use drugs as a way to exert psychological control over their victims: "Drugs are used as a lure because if you're using women for prostitution, you got to have some control because otherwise they can run away...they're on the street. You have no control over them" (para. 19). Therefore, a trafficker uses drugs as a lure to ensure the women under his control returned every day. KM recalled that she saw an interview of a woman who left a trafficking situation in which drug addiction as a control measure was described: "they said every morning they were given their fix for nothing and then you had to go earn money and then if you earned your money and you came back, you get your next one. So the first one is a free one, well, 'free'. So that's your control" (para. 19). Each of these women also had to earn a certain amount of money daily or face consequences such as physical abuse. KM found that Elsie* had to earn R1500 every day "otherwise they would

get beaten” (para. 21). Addiction was therefore also the “impetus for making money...so you can...get your next fix” (para. 19).

Although the trafficker exerted psychological and physical control through drugs and physical violence, they also would “buy them clothes. They give them cell phones. They give them a place to stay. They’re taking care of them. They don’t let people hurt them” (para. 80) which contributes to their control over these trafficked persons who would return repeatedly to the exploitative situation: “Even Elsie*, she ran away and she went back there because that’s the only life she knows” (para. 105). KM believed that Elsie* kept on returning to her trafficker, not because she was addicted to drugs, but because “she never had a home so...that was her addiction” (para. 21). Repeatedly returning to the exploitative situation is often hard for society to understand if they are not aware of the psychological control exerted over the trafficked person: “that’s very difficult for people to understand because ‘Look, we gave her a chance. We saved her. We took her away. And she went back” (para. 105). KM believed that people who do not understand the control traffickers have over those they exploit, will revert to prejudicial attitudes towards prostitutes to make sense of this behaviour: “She wants it...the men are vicious about it. It’s like: ‘My God, this is what she wants....she’s a whore. You’re not gonna help her? You mad?’” (para. 105).

KM indicated that traffickers justify their exploitation of the trafficked persons by rationalising that “this is a valid business with demand” (para. 80). She was shocked to learn that there was a demand for sex with children that traffickers supplied: “I think that scared me as a professional in the child abuse area is that trafficking is a business. It’s market driven” (para. 39). This demand, she believed, originated in the commodification of sex and “gender issues of men being entitled to sex” (para. 39). Therefore, demand is driven by the belief that “women are there to accommodate men’s sexual needs. You pay for it and...you drop it off afterwards” (para. 39). While there is outrage at traffickers forcing girls into

sexual exploitation, KM regarded the huge demand for these girls to be equally worrying: “everyone focusses on the Nigerian trafficker...but my big problem is he’s only satisfying the market and the market is our people: our husbands, our fathers, our brothers who are going there” (para. 39). KM estimated the number of men served by women in sexual exploitation in Central, a suburb in the central business district of Port Elizabeth: “if you are a Nigerian who have ten girls and they have to earn R1500...she’s basically got to do between eight and ten guys a day....it’s a hundred guys a day...they’ve identified 25 different set-ups in Central doing this kind of thing” (para. 39) and deduced that it could be “thousands of men a day. Our men...during the day between appointments or lunches...that’s their market. They’re feeding a market that has a demand for this service” (para. 39).

This market for paid sexual services, according to KM, is “hidden and they don’t want people to know” (para. 47) because of a number of factors such as “religious baggage...people are just not allowed to use prostitutes...so we have to accommodate the social disapproval of what we’re doing...so it goes underground” (para. 43). The secrecy of buying sexual service also contributes to the “.abuse of the trafficked girls” (para. 45), denial that the crime is taking place “because it’s so secret and it’s ‘not happening’” (para. 45), and lack of counter-trafficking activity “because if it’s not happening, you can’t protect them anyway. So, ja, it just fosters that whole cycle” (para. 45).

KM believed that corruption amongst police who either “don’t proceed against obvious underage prostitutes on the street...because they get paid or because they have free services to the girls” (para. 25) also contributes to the impunity with which human traffickers can operate. As a result, the victims of trafficking “don’t trust the police...so they would never run to the police because it’s part of the whole system” (para. 27). She recalled another example of police corruption she heard from an investigating officer in the SAPS about a woman who escaped from her trafficking situation to hide with her family. After a few

months, “one day the police arrived and said that they had a case against her because the Nigerian guy had laid a case that she had stolen stuff from him” (para. 25). The woman had no choice but to go with the police officer who “put her in the back of the police van and drove off and a short distance away, picked up the Nigerian and handed her to him and then left” (para. 25). Corruption within the SAPS made it difficult for police investigators who found that police officers would “look the other way” (para. 25) instead of investigating human trafficking. However, identifying corrupt police officers is difficult as it often involves “not doing anything” (para. 31): “if I drive past a child prostitute on the street; are you going to know I drove past or I didn’t do anything?...It’s a silence. Nothing’s happening.” (para. 31)

In her experience as director of the Institute, KM found that human trafficking is “still extremely underground” (para. 2) and “hidden behind other things like prostitution and drugs” (para. 2). Therefore, human trafficking “is not very visible unless you’re actually looking for it...and as a result, people are not really aware of it,” (para. 2). It was only when KM gained theoretical and experiential knowledge on human trafficking, that she noticed how common human trafficking is: “When you actually start working in the area and you see how much there is, then it’s quite shocking....Then it’s almost becoming aware of a whole new world that’s right there that you don’t’ actually see” (para. 2).

KM regarded awareness of the nature of this hidden crime as key to combatting human trafficking. Particularly important is enabling communities to understand that prostitutes are often victims of human trafficking: “you’re not gonna get a lot of buy-in from the community if they see them as prostitutes” (para. 93). It is therefore important to educate the communities “to see the pattern...rather than the end product...this whole social dynamic of sex and prostitution” (para. 93). KM believed that communities are too quick to judge prostituted women as making an informed choice to sell sex and insisted that “people don’t

understand ... that there isn't a choice if you were trained to do it from little. Then you no longer have a choice" (para. 96). KM also thought that it is important that those people who make use of the services of prostitutes need to be educated about human trafficking as they probably think something along the lines of "I'm actually helping her and I'm giving her some money" (para. 90). KM was sure that "99% of the johns who use these girls on the street are not aware of trafficking" (para. 90) and don't "recognise it as trafficking" (para. 90).

KM also thought that better policing of prostitution, which is illegal in South Africa, "could make it more difficult for these johns to access these girls" (para. 90). This would force them to make use of establishments that could be easier to police than street prostitution and therefore identify human trafficking victims: "then they're going to go to your Jane's* Escorts...where we can control it" (para. 90). Another solution, according to KM, is the legalisation of prostitution, as "if you can legalise prostitution, you can control it [human trafficking]" (para. 91) when "brothels are checked for ages and stuff like that" (para. 91).

Furthermore, KM felt strongly that "we need to work with the kids" (para. 90) to make them "aware of trafficking" (para. 91) before they are lured into exploitation. She reflected that human trafficking cannot be curbed if vulnerable children are not made aware of the dangers of the crime: "it's obviously not gonna cut it down because if your family is dysfunctional and you're on the street" (para. 91). Therefore, awareness training should be about "kids understanding trafficking and how you get trapped in it...you can hopefully prevent them from being involved in it" (para. 109). In addition to working directly with children, KM also saw the need to involve the media in human trafficking awareness campaigns to hamper the growth of human trafficking: "for me it is about media and working with the kids and trying prevention as much as you possibly can" (para. 91).

KM's reflection on how the legal system could approach human trafficking investigations and prosecutions in the Eastern Cape.

KM emphasised that from her “knowledge point of view” (para. 76) and experience with the criminal justice system, she believed that if the courts had a different way of approaching human trafficking victims’ testimonies, they would be able to find useful evidence. For example, Elsie* “said she was sold for groceries to the German guy”(para. 76). The public prosecutor found the “German guy...he says that ja, he did take them...groceries, but that was just because he felt sorry for them” (para. 76). So even though “he’s agreeing with the things that are OK but then removing the things that are bad for him” (para. 76), KM found “a lot of corroboration” (para. 76) in Elsie’s statement: “If she was lying so much; she got the 10 years. She got the German guy. She got the groceries. She’s getting a lot of stuff” (para. 76) which was corroborated by another witness. The legal paradigm, however, will not regard Elsie’s testimony as credible and trustworthy as “to them [the courts] every little point has got to be there” (para. 76). KM suggested that instead of expecting every fact to be corroborated, the courts should “look for certain crucial issues” (para. 76) in statements of human trafficking victims.

KM also reflected on the existing limitations in the legal paradigm to make sense of the effect of trauma and the trafficker–victim relationship dynamic on the evidence presented to the court. According to KM “it requires a lot of specialisation to really understand this dynamic and make sense of it and that’s what lacking” (para. 60). For this reason, she surmised that “You need a completely different legal system” (para. 82) which is “running parallel” (para. 82) to the existing legal system. Only, this parallel legal system would specialise in “social cases dealt with by very specialised groups of people” (para. 90) such as “a psychologist, a forensic psychologist” (para. 90) possibly assisting the presiding officer. KM concluded that such a court “would be your ideal system” (para. 90) because with the

existing legal paradigm “I don’t think you’re going to get very much joy from [prosecuting] trafficking” (para. 90).

KM also recommended another approach to bolster evidence in human trafficking cases considering that “we know our witnesses are not gonna be regarded as good witnesses” (para. 75). She believed that South African police investigating human trafficking can learn from the United States of America police force’s perspective when investigating a child abuse case: “they go from the point of view...that your child is your worst piece of evidence” (para. 75). This means that a child’s testimony could be discredited more easily than physical or adult evidence during prosecution. This perspective is useful in that it then asks: “where can we get other evidence from to build the case?” (para. 70). They then look for evidence that would support the child’s evidence like DNA or other crime scene evidence: “they spend a lot more time investigating for other evidence” (para. 75). KM, on the other hand, had found that “Our police are not that well-resourced or trained” (para. 75) in human trafficking investigations: “if they’ve got a witness, they open a docket and that’s your case and that’s the end of that, which leaves you with very little scope” (para. 75) whereas “you’re gonna need a lot of other evidence and a lot of knowledge” (para. 75) to support weak human trafficking victim testimony.

Summary of KM’s perspective.

KM highlighted the difficulty of the legal paradigm to effectively judge the witness credibility of a victim of human trafficking, which adds to the impunity with which traffickers operates. According to KM, this encourages their human trafficking activities. KM is of the opinion that a major contributor to the lack of witness credibility is the manner in which the trafficking situation affects the victim of trafficking. The legal paradigm, which only deals with facts before the court, is not able to comprehend the complex, ambiguous

psychological dynamics between the perpetrator and the trafficking victim or the effects of trauma and substance abuse on the evidence presented by the victims of human trafficking.

A factor that KM believed impacted on the hidden nature of human trafficking is societal prejudice towards prostituted women. For example, she was of the opinion that witness credibility of trafficked women is reduced because of the legal system's prejudices towards prostitutes. Demand for the sexual services is another factor which KM believed drives the demand for prostitution and therefore also the trafficking of women into sexual exploitation. KM surmised the most effective ways in which the complexities of human trafficking could be addressed is through the adoption of a multidisciplinary approach by the legal system, the regulation of prostitution, and teaching children about human trafficking to protect them against traffickers' recruitment practices.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: Karen Hollely's (KH) Perspective

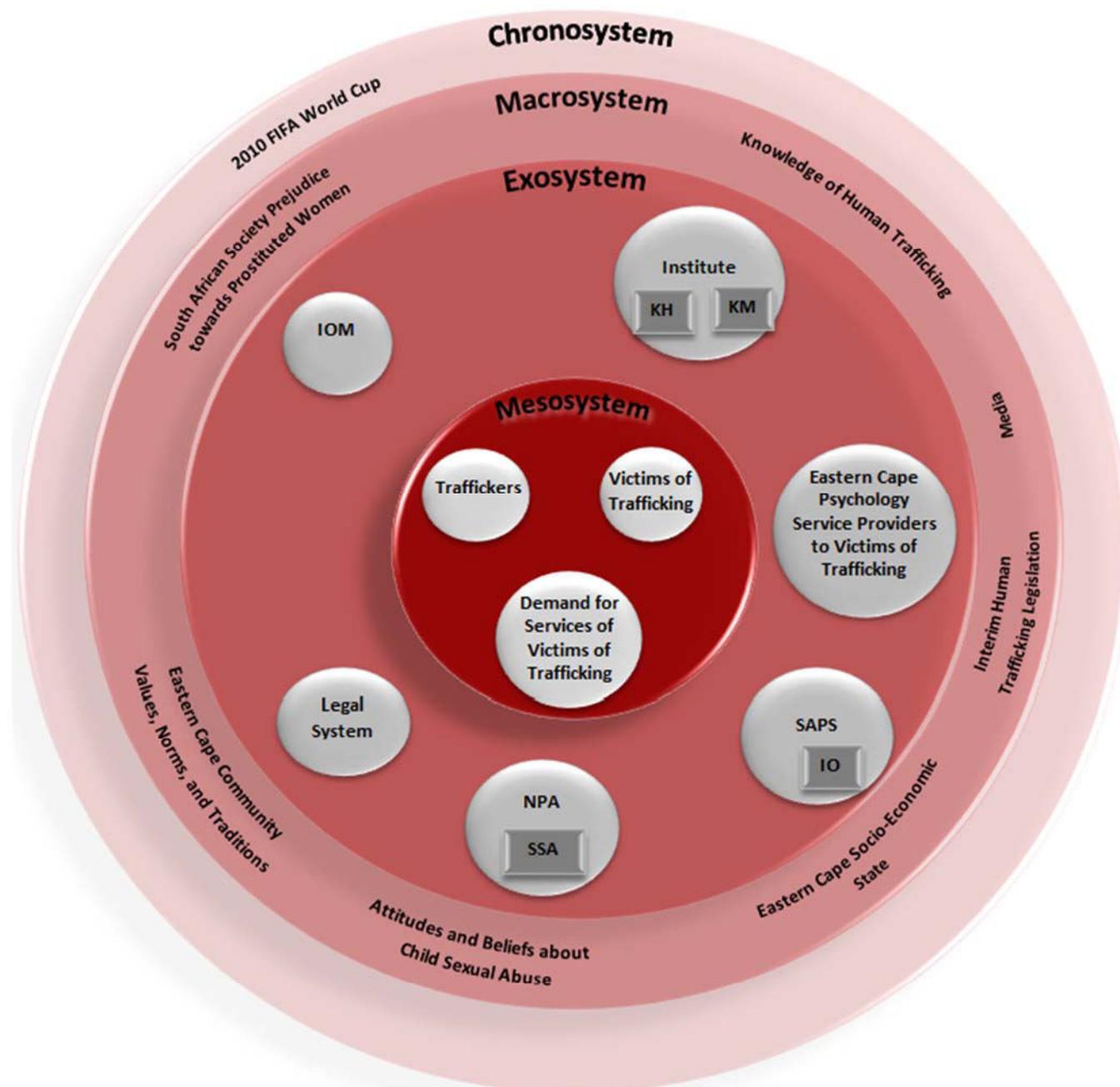
“when you're working with these types of crimes, because they are so multi-levelled and multi-disciplinary in just the crime itself, it impacts psychologically, physically, on the legal position of the victim, on all the different facets. Your approach then has to be very holistic” (KH, para. 87).

KH's has an honours degree in psychology and specialised in the field of trauma experienced by child victims of sexual abuse and sexual violence. KH's perspective on human trafficking was the product of her interaction with Elsie*, a child victim of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, for whom she had to compile a victim impact statement. In addition, she gained theoretical knowledge about human trafficking gained by being trained by the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) and had specialised knowledge on the dynamics of child victims of sexual abuse and sexual violence.

KH's perspective largely dealt with trafficking for sexual exploitation although she did briefly mention that she had heard about the trafficking of people for body parts. KH's view of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape from a criminal justice system and sexual offences against children perspective revealed that various interactions between systems, subsystems, and elements could be discerned. This perspective, conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development, is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 13.

Introducing KH.

KH is the General Manager of the Institute for Child Witness Research and Training (Institute) in Port Elizabeth where she is responsible for the implementation of research and training projects. The Institute was established in 1998 specifically to conduct research and



Institute	Institute for Child Witness Research and Training	KH	Karen Hollely
KM	Dr Karen Müller	SAPS	South African Police Service
IO	Investigating Officer	NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
SSA	Senior State Advocate	IOM	International Organisation for Migration

Figure 13. An ecosystemic representation of KH's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

training in the field of child witnesses in child sexual abuse and sexual violence cases:

“that's one of our areas of expertise. We work with sexual violence” (para. 8). KH has

published in academic journals (Hollely, 2002) and presented papers at international and national conferences (Hollely, 2003; Müller & Hollely, 2009) on child witnesses and the legal system as well as the impact of trauma on a child victim of human trafficking. She also contributed to a book on human trafficking (Bohler-Muller, Hollely, Minnie, & Müller, 2010).

KH's direct exposure to human trafficking in the Eastern Cape began when IO requested the Institute to compile a victim impact statement of the effect of human trafficking on Elsie*:

The experience that I've had related to a specific case that we've worked with. We were approached actually by IO...it was a victim impact study of her experience as a victim of trafficking. So that was the purpose of our involvement in the case. (para. 2).

KH and KM interviewed the victim together: "We met her and KM and I both did the interview together" (para. 2). Victim impact statements "are used as part of the trial process usually at the sentencing stage" (para. 10) to indicate the "impact of the crime on his or her life" (para. 10). The victim impact statements are "used by prosecutors at the point of arguing for aggravation of circumstances that would lead to a higher sentence" (para. 10) for the perpetrator.

KH considered her involvement in human trafficking to be "a natural move if you're working in sexual violence to start investigating these issues" (para. 22). Before KH interviewed Elsie*, KM, and KH were trained by the IOM, and the Institute included a section on human trafficking in the training that was presented in South Africa and other African countries: "Trafficking forms part of some of our other training courses" (para. 28). KH stated that although "trafficking is something that we've been aware of for a very long time" (para. 22), her involvement in human trafficking had been "more on the research side than...on the actual practical side" (para. 22) due to "very few cases that have been identified

as trafficking cases” (para. 22) at the time of the interview. While conducting training in other African countries like Kenya, KH “come across some trafficking cases there” (para. 22), which motivated the Institute to “develop a book and a training course specifically on training” (para. 22). KH’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape Province is discussed next.

KH’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

At the time KH was approached to do the victim impact statement, the Institute was “actually doing a research project on victim impact statements to determine what they should contain” (para. 8) which enabled them to map “to a certain extent a number of different trauma symptoms of victims” (para. 8). Elsie* was one of the “68 kids who were victims of some form of sexual violence” (para. 8) interviewed for this research project.

Elsie* was a teenager who “we were told was a 13-year old victim....A young girl” (para. 2). She was asked to “tell us what her experience had been as a victim of trafficking” (para. 2). KH described Elsie’s* stories as “absolutely frightening” (para. 2) because of the multitude of traumatic incidents that Elsie had experienced. She “spoke largely” (para. 2) about her experiences when she had “been told to go out and obviously earn money” (para. 2) as a prostitute. She “had been quite severely brutalised in these circumstances by these johns that she picked up” (para. 2). One john “took her out to a secluded area in Port Elizabeth and he started to violently rape her” (para. 20). Elsie* tried to escape, only to find another prostitute in the back seat:

she jumped into the back seat of the car and there was another girl in the back seat of the car who was full of stab wounds busy dying, saying to her: “Get out” and she managed to get out of the ca. (para. 20).

Elsie* was also raped by a number of her customers:

she was raped by another guy and then dumped in a field and she had to make her way back to town and she was picked up in a truck...there were a couple of guys in the truck and they all gang-raped her (para. 20).

Besides the traumatic incidents “relating to the violence, the sexual violence, or the sexual abuse that she had gone through” (para. 3), Elsie* also experienced other traumatic incidents such as “the death of someone that she’d grown close to” (para. 3). This related to her account of “being kept in rooms with other girls” (para. 3) and resulting “experiences of the other girls” (para. 3):

She told us one story of...a girl that she’d been living with who was also, I’m assuming, a victim of trafficking...that particular child...was pregnant and went into labour and had a horrible labour and she ended up dying and that was all in front of this young girl. (para. 3).

The reason this victim found this experience so traumatic was because “they make a family within the unit of the trafficked girls” (para. 3) in which “they become each other’s support system” (para. 3).

When comparing her field of knowledge, namely the effect of sexual abuse and sexual violence on children, to the results of human trafficking on this victim, KH saw “some similarities...similar traumatic symptoms” (para. 14). The difference was that “in this particular case I found that her trauma symptoms were more extreme than the ones that come from your other types of sexual violence where it is a person who’s known to you. Where it’s usually one perpetrator” (para. 14). One component of this human trafficking victim’s trauma was the result of violence towards her from the many johns, which KH described as a “type of brutality that she went through” (para. 14) with “the people who used her” (para. 14). The fact that she did not have a prior relationship with these men is “a significant

difference in the dynamic of the crime [of human trafficking]” as “there is no relationship between them and your johns, the users” (para. 14).

Another component of the victim’s trauma due to her relationship with her traffickers was similar to trauma found in a typical child abuse case: “There’s a similar type of trauma as a result of the feelings towards the traffickers” (para. 14) originating in “her relationship with her traffickers” (para. 14). When there is “some kind of a relationship” (para. 14), such as being “a father or a family friend” (para. 14) between the victim and perpetrator of sexual abuse or sexual violence prior to the commission of the crime, the child, although abused, in KH’s opinion receives “some kind of reward whether it’s an emotional reward or a material reward” (para. 16). In Elsie’s* case, KH noted that it was “a combination of both” (para. 16).

KH was not convinced that Elsie* recognised the abuse by her traffickers as criminal: “I’m not sure how much she recognised that in terms of the traffickers” (para. 20). Moreover, KH was of the opinion that the victim felt “a certain level of loyalty towards the traffickers” (para. 3). From KH’s perspective, she believed that this “relationship dynamic” (para. 14) functioned as a coping mechanism through which Elsie* was “trying to turn the situation that is horrific into one...that you can live in, that you can function in” (para. 3). Through this coping mechanism, trafficking victims might regard traffickers “as part of your family...system” (para. 3).

KH also identified that Elsie* had “issues of ambivalence” (para. 14) towards her traffickers. On the one hand, there “was a certain payoff to be in this process” (para. 18) which related to the material benefits she received in this relationship: “I liked him...I like the gifts he gave me’, because she got a lot of gifts...like a cell phone and clothes which she told us about” (para. 14). On the other hand, she “didn’t like that he made me do these things” (para. 14). She also felt “guilt and...certain levels of responsibility” (para. 18) for “being part of this process” (para. 18) of accepting gifts while also prostituting herself. KM

surmised that Elsie* must have felt “a certain level of betrayal” (para. 3) when she realised that “these people have just basically used you” (para. 3).

KH was of the opinion that Elsie’s* background was an important contributing factor to the relationship dynamic between her and her traffickers as well as her vulnerability to being trafficked. She “came from a very deprived background” (para. 18), characterised by poverty. As a result, children like Elsie* are easily lured into a relationship where they would receive some benefit: “especially the ones that come from low socio-economic backgrounds: They’re very cheap. They will do almost anything if you give them something small” (para. 18). For example, when “food is very necessary” (para. 52), a trafficker or paedophile can use that to lure the child into an abusive situation: “somebody...offers food in exchange for some form of sexual contact” (para. 52).

In addition to poverty, KH identified a number of other factors that made individuals from the Eastern Cape more vulnerable to being trafficked: “there are so many factors.... Poverty is one. Access to opportunity is one” (para. 73). As “Young adults are desperate for work...and desperate to provide for families” (para. 75), traffickers are able to “offer things that people need or else they wouldn’t have the access to kids and other vulnerable groups” (para. 73), thereby luring vulnerable people into trafficking situations.

Another “core issue, a core factor in any form of exploitation, whether it’s of a child or of a woman or of a man” (para. 71), KH had noticed “from the work that we’ve been doing” (para. 71) is the lack of cohesive family systems: “if your family system is strong enough, then the chances of becoming a victim are less” (para. 71). A strong family system also increased “the chances of you recovering, if you have been victimised” (para. 71).

KH emphasised that previous abuse is another vulnerability factor: “research is very clear that your victims of children abuse...may be vulnerable to be victimised in whatever form that may take” (para. 99). Therefore, “if you can help that child to overcome that

trauma, you lessen the probability that the child will be trafficked” (para. 98). This principle also applies to adults who were victims of sexual violence: “as an adult they stand a chance of being a victim of some form of violence” (para. 99). This is due to the “dysfunctional coping mechanism” (para. 99) which developed “as a result of being a victim, which worked while I’m a victim but don’t work when I’ve been removed from that situation” (para. 99). KH considered these dysfunctional coping mechanisms and “learning what I did as a victim” (para. 99) to be “ingrained in their being” (para. 99). To prevent their re-victimisation, it is therefore essential that victims are supported to “undo a lot of learning” (para. 99).

KH considered materialism and peer pressure to be a combination that could increase the vulnerability of any child: “Our children are much more materialistic nowadays and the pressure to fit in materialistically with their friends and peers puts a pressure on the child to find ways of accessing that particular product or products” (para. 73). She was of the opinion that media increased the desire for materialistic items to fit in with their peers: “access to media is fantastic in terms of giving kids the information about what is out there and what they should have and who they should look like...that’s a massive factor” (para. 73). Therefore, “if somebody approaches the child and says: ‘You know, you’ll earn a R1000 if I can take photographs of you’” (para. 73), this child may be trafficked. Traffickers who are “very cool” (para. 73), also “come to schools and hand out their pamphlets” (para. 73) to offer desirable opportunities to schoolchildren: “Would you like to have an opportunity to do a, b, and c?” (para. 73). KH recalled an incident where she was “caught out by a Nigerian 419-scam” (para. 73). She concluded that if she as “a fairly streetwise, worldly wise human being...can be caught out” (para. 73), then “anybody who has less information than me, more vulnerable than me, needs something to be fulfilled: That temptation is much greater for them to follow” (para. 73).

KH was of the opinion that the lack of information about human trafficking is another vulnerability factor for “a very wealthy housewife in the middle of Mill Park or a mom in the most informal of informal settlements in the outlying areas of Port Elizabeth” (para. 71). She believed that “families’ lack of knowledge makes their children vulnerable” (para. 71) because if “you don’t have information about what is happening to kids, then how on earth are you going to protect them from it?” (para. 71).

KH noticed a number of clear differences between “child sexual abuse and child sexual violence” (para. 54) and human trafficking “for the purposes of sexual...exploitation” (para. 54). The commoditisation of human beings is salient in the crime of human trafficking: “a person is used for profit and is sold as a commodity and is an object” (para. 54). In KH’s opinion, the attitude of traffickers towards their victims also differs from typical child sexual abuse cases: “They don’t see the human. They don’t see the person” (para. 52). Instead, a trafficker focusses on the profit to be made: “They see the profit” (para. 52) while they “don’t give a damn about a child and a child’s needs or a woman and a woman’s needs. Or a family” (para. 52). KH found it concerning “that there are people who can do this” (para. 52); who can see their victims only “in terms of profit and value to himself...or herself” (para. 52). KH illustrated this “inhumane” (para. 52) attitude of traffickers towards their victims who they regard as “a commodity” (para. 52) by using an example from “...one case in Johannesburg that we have video footage of” (para. 52).

the woman was trafficked and...to keep her working, they didn’t use drugs. They...didn’t threaten her with physical damage. They kept her...three year old son locked up in a room for two years so that she would go out and get them the money (para. 52).

She contrasted this “brutal...inhuman” (para. 52) crime to child sexual abuse where “your sex offender or your paedophile” (para. 52), who often is “an aunt, an uncle or...a grandfather” (para. 54), ensures that the victim “get something from this” even though they

do not truly care about that person” (para. 52). KH emphasised that she does not regard child sexual abuse as acceptable: “I’m by no means saying that this is fine, let them do it” (para. 52). However, in “your very basic cases” (para. 52), she found that there is “some benefit” (para. 52) depending on the child’s areas of vulnerability. Therefore, KH believed that while the typical child sexual abuse case has an “impact...on the individual” (para. 52) that she did not want to “underplay” (para. 52), she regarded human trafficking to be “more brutal” (para. 52).

Listening to Elsie’s* story had a significant impact on KH: “The thing that frightens me about human trafficking more than anything else is that there are people capable of doing that.” (para. 52). The dynamics of human trafficking made KH feel “very hopeless about humanity” (para. 52). Although she had been exposed to the disturbing dynamics of child sexual abuse for a long time: “I’ve been doing this since 1996” (para. 52), she found that “this particular crime is the one that makes me need to go and talk to somebody and get a bit of debriefing” (para. 52).

Being trafficked also had severe effects on Elsie*. After being moved to a place of safety, she “was experiencing quite severe psychotic episodes, so she had to go for psychiatric treatment” (para. 4). KH considered the psychosis to be the result of a “number of different factors” (para.6): “this psychosis was a combination of drugs, the trauma that she experienced, her way of coping, like a type of disassociation” (para. 6) to cope “with the extent of brutality that she experienced” (para. 6). KH remembered that Elsie grieved for her lost childhood: “she just wishes she could play like a child” (para. 85). She also “tried to kill herself on a number of occasions...she had said to us, sometimes she just wishes she could be dead” (para. 85). Although Elsie* expressed that “she wants to be a social worker when she grows up...that’s what she would like to do” (para. 85), there was also just “such a sense of hopelessness attached to the amount of damage done to this little person” (para. 85) that KH

also wondered whether “we’re gonna be able to do anything about it” (para. 85). Due to the psychological damage to this victim, KH speculated that the Elsie* could exhibit behaviours that would have “a ripple effect” (para. 85) on other people: “we’re not just talking about damage to her....She’s gonna go along and she’s gonna fiddle with a younger child or she’s gonna beat somebody up because she’s really pissed off or she’s gonna continue to take drugs” (para. 85).

The impact of trauma is one of the factors that make dealing with human trafficking victims “very difficult” (para. 44) as they “are very aggressive...from the trauma symptoms” (para. 44). According to KH, “By the time they get to you, they’re very damaged” (para. 46), which means “working with victims is a very long process” (para. 46). For example, if they are addicted to drugs, “you’ve got to get them over the addictions first...or else you’re not gonna get anywhere” (para. 46).

Human trafficking victims are also not “very nice to work with” (para. 44). KH described Elsie* as “not the nicest human being” (para. 85) with the “mouth like a proper hooker [prostitute]. Her language was foul! It was like a blue cloud above her head” (para. 44). KH noted that people like Elsie* with “the background of the impact of sexual violence and trauma” (para. 2) may also be manipulative when giving statements or telling their story: “you have to be careful of the manipulation” (para. 2). KH, for example, found that “some of those stories were different when she spoke to other people” (para. 2). She maintained, however, “it’s understandable that she will remember certain incidences for some people and for not for others and she may add information that might not necessarily be true” (para. 2).

KH perceived “a certain fear amongst professionals to work with these cases” (para. 46) because they fear retaliation from the traffickers: “traffickers are very powerful” (para. 46). KH mentioned that IO “had to move” (para. 46) after being threatened by traffickers. The complexity of the “dynamics of the crime” (para. 44) as well as “biases and myths within the

professions” (para. 44) interacting with victims of human trafficking play a role in the willingness of people to get involved in counter human trafficking activities. One such bias relates to prejudice towards prostitutes: “if a policeman comes across a woman who is drunk or drugged, who is offering herself for sex....It is difficult for them to see that as a victim” (para. 44). These myths and biases affects “the way people see the victims and whether or not they see what has happened is actually the crime of trafficking” (para. 44).

The presence of prostitution therefore obscured possible human trafficking activity: “The police...so many people still see this as a crime of prostitution” (para. 36). As a result, a victim of trafficking could be regarded as a perpetrator of crime, instead of being recognised as the victim of a crime: “they’re putting the crime at the victim’s foot as opposed to the perpetrator’s foot” (para. 36). According to KH, the recognition of human trafficking is easier when “you’re dealing with child labour because there you’ve got a little small person who is being used for obviously abusive purposes” (para. 36). When “dealing with your sexual violence, you have a more difficult issue. Particularly when your victims are older...your teenage years going into early adulthood” (para. 36). When stakeholders and the community “see the victims as somebody who has gone and prostituted themselves” (para. 36), “Then the sympathy from the community and the society is...directed...away from the victim” (para. 36). They are then more likely to see human trafficking as something that “isn’t an issue” (para. 36) “in our communities” (para. 42) as it “doesn’t happen to our type of people...it happens to street kids and it happens to poor people” (para. 42).

Another aspect of the complexity of human trafficking which conceals the possibility that a person could be a victim of the crime is that they act in ways contrary to myths and beliefs around victimhood: “you have a person who has almost willingly participated in some or almost all of the processes around them becoming or what we would see as a victim of trafficking” (para. 44). The foul language used by the victim interviewed by KH and KM is

another example of such behaviour that runs contrary to beliefs about victims: “that’s the language of her world and we understand that from our very comfortable research world” (para. 44). It is, however, difficult for stakeholders such as “your police” (para. 44) who don’t have the “exposure to training, specialisation” (para. 44) or a high case load to see beyond the prostitute façade to identify a victim of human trafficking: “they don’t also have the time to look at each victim and try and empathise with them” (para. 44).

According to KH, insufficient training opportunities on human trafficking among police officers that “are your first point of contact” (para. 44) play a significant role in the lack of identification of human trafficking victims because “the police are having difficulty identifying these crimes as human trafficking crimes” (para. 36). This “then feeds its way up into the system” (para. 44) because law enforcement’s “perspective of the situation is going to feed how the prosecution will see it” (para. 44). Even when police are able to identify a case of human trafficking, KH has encountered situations where the police have difficulty “persuading their prosecutors that this is a crime of human trafficking as opposed to charging a prostitute for her behaviour” (para. 36).

Training of counter human trafficking stakeholders is therefore an important part of the response to the crime. At the time of the interview, KH believed that “there is information that is getting out there” (para. 46) through people who have encountered human trafficking: “IO was doing quite a lot of lecturing. “ SW and her people...do quite a lot of training for fieldworkers and for people who are on the ground” (para. 46). It was previously mentioned that the Institute conducted training on issues surrounding child victims of sexual abuse and sexual violence in an forensic environment with “primarily legal people, so your presiding officers, your prosecutors, forensic social workers, your police, those kinds of people” (para. 26). The Institute also included a section on human trafficking in its training “modelled along the lines of most of our training” (para. 24) which “looks at the multidisciplinary

approach to understanding crimes like this one. Particularly like trafficking” (para. 24). Also in their training program they “look at the dynamics of trafficking, what it is all about” (para. 24). The Institute incorporated the child witness into their human trafficking training by looking at “the child within the trafficking framework. How they operate, what kind of impact it has on them, them as witness when they have to be involved in this on a criminal level” (para. 24).

At the time of the interview, the Institute had not conducted “a complete training course solely on...human trafficking” (para. 46) because “We haven’t received a request for it” (para. 30) and due to “a lack of time” (para. 30). Another reason is the lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation: “it’s not, at the moment, considered to be essential because in the legal field the legislation is not out” (para. 30). They do, however, include training on interim human trafficking legislation as part of training programs: “we’ve got our Sexual Offences Amendment Act of which trafficking forms a part, so if we’re gonna be doing training on sexual offences, then we do sexual offences with trafficking as one part of that” (para. 30).

There is, however, “a huge interest in it” (para. 32): “When we do training, we say to people we can do a segment on human trafficking. It’s always: ‘Oh, yes, please. Absolutely” (para. 30). She experienced during these training sessions “that people come up to us and said: ‘I’m dealing with a case we think is a human trafficking case” (para. 32). KH surmised that “there’s a huge need for information and assistance on how to go about on these types of cases” (para. 32) in “other countries in Africa as well as South Africa” (para. 32). KH has also realised that training on human trafficking is easier when people who have encountered human trafficking cases are involved: “we are working specifically with people who know that the problems exists” (para. 32).

Despite conducting international and national training on human trafficking, KH noted that “we haven’t done so much training in the Eastern Cape....Despite the fact that we’re based in the Eastern Cape” (para. 46). She was of the opinion that “It’s actually quite bad” (para. 46) that “the Eastern Cape is a very lost province. It always seems to be the last province to get any attention” (para. 46). Even when conducting training for national government, “we get a very small handful of representation from the Eastern Cape” (para. 46). It was KH’s opinion that the lack of representation from the Eastern Cape in national training on human trafficking influenced the way human trafficking cases were investigated in the province: “it is by no means enough for there to be a significant impact on the way these cases are then followed” (para. 46).

KH asserted that human trafficking “is a very specialised area” (para. 44) which requires specialised knowledge. For this reason, “if there’s a lack of knowledge about the process and if there are myths and biases...it’s going to then affect the way people see the victims and whether or not they see what has happened is actually the crime of trafficking” (para. 44). These myths and a lack of specialised knowledge around child sexual abuse and sexual violence that has “been around for centuries” (para. 44) is also present in the legal system’s response to child victims of sexual crimes, including victims of human trafficking. According to KH, “There always has been...a clash” (para. 87) between the focus of the legal fraternity and that of stakeholders concerned with the psychological health of the victims of these crimes: “it is very difficult to close. We’ve spent our careers trying to do that” (para. 87).

According to KH, the discord between the aims of these two systems stemmed from the fact that “the law often fails to see the people....They forget the human factor. They look in terms of sections [of the law]” (para. 89). From KH’s perspective, the vulnerable victims in child sexual abuse and sexual violence as well as human trafficking victims “are seen as a

pawn in the State's case" (para. 89). The result of this "lack of integration of not just psychology and law but psychology, sociology, law...all the different disciplines that are relevant when you're talking about a human being" (para. 89), is the "secondary traumatisation" (para. 89) of the victim: "Our victims are as much abused by the [legal] system as they are by the abuser" (para. 89) because, "to a certain extent, as much as they belong to a trafficker, now they belong to the criminal justice process" (para. 89) where "the victim has no voice" (para. 89). KH emphasised that because of this dehumanising approach by the legal system, the victims, "if you unpack it...have fewer rights than...the accused people" (para 89).

KH deduced the criminal justice system's approach towards victims in human trafficking and child sexual abuse cases results in "less reporting and if you don't have reporting, you can't stop the crime" (para. 91). KH recognised that the reluctance to report a crime is present "across the board in many criminal instances, specifically those of sexual violence" (para. 91). KH considered the "adversarial" (para. 93) approach used by the South African criminal justice system as well as its "antiquated etiquette" (para. 93) which is "very insensitive" (para. 93) to contributed to the reluctance of victims of these crime to report cases: "you're talking about expecting people to talk...to a perfect bunch of strangers, who, most of the time behave as if they couldn't give a damn. So, that insensitivity" (para. 93). KH considered the legal system's attitude to victims so insensitive and intimidating that she asserted strongly "I wouldn't report a crime. I wouldn't go through that process. I would NOT go and tell somebody about this in the criminal justice process because it's just too horrible to go through" (para. 91). To cope when she has "to testify as an expert in court" (para. 91), KH has "to take Calmettes before I do that" (para. 91): "I hate going to court. I think it's the worst place in the world" (para. 91).

The legal fraternity's "lack of knowledge" (para. 93) about the abilities of child victims of sexual crimes "has a huge impact" (para. 93) on the way the victim experiences the criminal justice system. According to KH, the criminal justice system "is so developmentally inappropriate for, not just children, but most adults too" (para. 93). KH thought that there was a huge need for the legal fraternity "to understand children" (para. 89):

I often ask people who are involved in working with kids: 'Do you have your own children?' And if they answer: "Yes", then I always want to say to them and I have sometimes said to them: "Why do you think this 11 year old is different from yours? Why suddenly should they have the legal knowledge you do? The language capacity of an adult? The cognitive capacity of an adult? Why are you expecting that from them?" (para. 89).

Concerning the way adult victims are treated, KH asserted that "the legal fraternity is very arrogant in assuming that we've all be there with them" (para. 93) in terms of education in legal terminology and procedure: "we haven't done a LLB. We haven't done a law degree so we don't understand what the hell you are doing" (para. 93). The legal fraternity often incorrectly assumes that "we understand it and therefore we are quite willing to participate in it" (para. 93). The Institute's focus has been to educate the people in the forensic and legal environment on the conflicts between the legal and psychological approaches: "We're slowly working on it" (para. 93). She stressed, however, that the process of changing the legal fraternity's attitudes is challenging and "very difficult. It's very difficult" (para. 93).

KH identified a number of challenges for counter-trafficking stakeholders globally: "World-wide really there aren't enough resources" (para. 61) in addition to a "lack of capacity, lack of specialisation" (para. 61). These challenges contribute to "the inability to deal with these cases in the Eastern Cape, but [also] on a...global level" (para. 61). KH considered that the Eastern Cape's unsatisfactory approach to the provision of services to

human trafficking victims “comes back to the resources” (para. 65). In the province, she identified a “lack of infrastructure in terms of places of safety” (para. 65). Existing shelters and places of safety were found to be unsuitable for previously trafficked persons: “What do I do with the street child who’s been trafficked? What is the alternative? Yes, I can put them in a place of safety but that’s actually not safe for any other child” (para. 61). Concerns regarding the safety of trafficking victims and shelter staff were also a concern that placed pressure on existing infrastructure:

at the moment our places of safety where they’re removing these victims to are...just completely overwhelmed by just the infrastructure that they have to put in place to ensure the safety of these victims. The safety of their own staff (para. 61).

KH also considered the lack resources to reintegrate previously trafficked persons in the Eastern Cape to be dire: “What do I offer that victim as an alternative if she can’t go back home? If there’s no home to go back [to]” (para. 61).

KH believed that the Eastern Cape also has a lack of capacity in the criminal justice response: “I mean, if you have one prosecutor for the whole of the Eastern Cape who’s focussing on trafficking cases, you are running in a no-where direction very fast” (para. 65). KH emphasised that the Eastern Cape also needs more people who “are specialists in this area, whether they are specialists legally, psychologically, sociologically, medically, whatever, because you need all of those” (para. 65).

In her opinion, the lack of resources in responding agencies is fuelling human trafficking, as “you must remember that your traffickers earn big money” (para. 61). As a result, “They are far more resourceful than any government, than any individual” (para. 61) and therefore have much more power to “protect themselves and their little trafficking empire” (para. 61), than the ability of the responding agencies to “to infiltrate it, stop it, and respond to it. We

just don't have that capacity. We don't have that money. We don't have any other types of resources" (para. 61).

KH was of the opinion that there are better resources "for victims in your more established cities" (para. 65) in South Africa than the Eastern Cape in terms of "secure places, specialist response, access to people who know enough of this crime to deal with it effectively, so your prosecution, your police, your psychologists, your social workers, your medical doctors" (para. 67). She was aware of a range of resources in Johannesburg: "I think there is access to that kind of resources more in Johannesburg than there is in Port Elizabeth" (para. 67). Specialised resources in Johannesburg include "the Teddy Bear Clinic which are one example of a specialised centre that responds to...sexual violence against children" (para. 69). Cities like "your Cape Town areas, your Durban areas" (para. 65) also have more specialised resources. She attributed a larger range of resources in these cities to the fact that they "are your hubs, your financial, economic hubs of South Africa" (para. 65). Being a larger city, according to KH, has "it's pros and cons" (para. 69) as "You'd find that there are more victims of trafficking there, but...there are also more service delivery options" (para. 69). In the Eastern Cape, KH considered that "it's much better to be a victim in Port Elizabeth than it's to be a victim in Mthatha or in Aliwal-North" (para. 65), but even the few organisations in Port Elizabeth who provide services to victims of sexual violence "are so overworked as it is with normal cases of child abuse" (para. 69), that KH asked the question: "Do they have the capacity to respond to these matters correctly and efficiently?" (para. 69).

KH's reflection on responses needed in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

KH was of the opinion that the fact that the "multi-levelled" (para. 89) nature of human trafficking requires a "multi-disciplinary...very holistic" (para. 89) response to the crime.

KH emphasised that responses towards the victims of human trafficking need to be holistic, as the crime affects many levels: “it impacts psychologically, physically, on the legal...position of the victim; on all the different facets” (para. 89). This requires that the “legal fraternity’s approach” (para. 89) should also adapt to enable them to “start looking at trafficking” (para. 89) from a “multi-disciplinary perspective” (para. 89).

The main aim of changing the approach of the legal fraternity is to enable victims of trafficking “to be more empowered when they participate in the criminal justice process” (para. 89) consistent with the “victim centred approach in the criminal justice process” (para. 89) adopted in South Africa. By applying this approach, she also asserted that victims of trafficking will “stop being a pawn for another system” (para. 89) in order “for victims to have their...due time in court” (para. 89). Whereas KH was of the opinion that “It is always the case” (para. 48) that the legal system aims to get the victim to be a credible witness in court, KH considered that “it’s more important for us to deal with how we are going to help these victims therapeutically because that to me is our greater responsibility” (para. 93).

While KH acknowledged that she was “by no means underplaying the importance of punishing traffickers” (para. 93), she asserted that “the criminal justice process should not be seen as the most important element of responding to this crime” (para. 95). Instead, it “should happen parallel to the more important side of trying to help these victims” (para. 93): “It should be seen as...the most important element being assisting, service delivered to the victims and anybody else affected by this” (para. 95). In her field of sexual offences against children where the victim centred approach has been adopted to some extent, her perception was still that “therapy is the last thing on the government’s mind when it comes to these cases” (para. 95). Even though KH has “been jumping up and down for a very long time trying to get them to see that it’s an essential service required by these victims” (para. 95), the

lack of response from government has been attributed to a lack of financial resources to provide these services: “we’ve been told it’s too expensive” (para. 95).

At the time of the interview, KH found that “because this is a new field” (para. 46), she found that “we’re working with the here and now of the victim” (para. 46) instead of having a long-term approach:

How she’s behaving now. What addiction she has now. We haven’t looked too much in terms of OK, so if you’ve been trafficked and if you’ve been a victim of trafficking for three years, now how do we unpack that and deal with what you’ve experienced for...that period of time. (para. 46).

KH therefore argued that, “because you’re a psychologist” (para. 83), the current study could indicate that a need exists for the development of “a new area of therapy, therapeutic intervention” (para. 83). As she was not aware of “anything out there...if we know how we should approach this” (para. 83), KH considered it essential “that the kind of therapeutic response to these victims becomes a specialised area and start to be developed” (para. 83) to answer questions such as:

what kinds of frameworks, psychological frameworks we should be using when we work with these victims. Will using the methods that are used with other victims apply in this situation? Would a group session work? Kids, how do we work with families? (para. 83).

At the time of the interview, KH was of the opinion that there was a severe lack of information on the psychological treatment of human trafficking victims: “from a human sciences perspective there’s nothing. In terms of therapy for victims of human trafficking...there’s nothing. There’s absolutely nothing” (para. 36). She claimed that victims of trafficking do not receive the specialised therapeutic services they should get: “I think these victims are treated very similar to your...average sexual violence victim” (para.

36). As there was “very little knowledge from a psychological perspective” (para. 36), human trafficking victim services was “kind of just sticking them into the boxes of a rape victim or an incest victim or a multiple gang-rape victim” (para. 36). KH surmised, “I don’t know if it fits that clearly into those boxes” (para. 36).

KH also reasoned that other responding systems to human trafficking also could be equipped with more knowledge about human trafficking: “there just seems to be a huge hunger for information” (para. 32), such as “A basic knowledge of what trafficking is. What it is made up of. What it looks like. How it operates. Who does it? Where it’s done? To who?” (para. 36). KH considered “the biggest issue” (para. 36) in capacity building in the responding systems to include knowledge on “how to prosecute it” (para. 36). To prosecute a human trafficking case in Port Elizabeth that took place at the time of the interview, “KM had to assist her [SSA] to draw up a charge sheet...they didn’t even know what charges they can...charge the perpetrators with at this stage because it’s all so new” (para. 36).

KH considered the reintegration of human trafficking victims into society as another crucial issue: “we need to look at in terms of reintegrating these victims back into society” (para. 83). A complicating factor in this process was the issue of “the stigma attached to be a victim of human trafficking” (para. 83). This stigma occurs “very much on a systemic level” (para. 83) at “a family level, on a community level, on a society level” (para. 83) because “there may be some consent from her part in being involved in this so...with that consent comes a certain blame which is placed on her by family, by the community, by society” (para. 83).

KH stressed that the process of addressing stigma towards a human trafficking victim should start with ensuring that he or she is “...recognised as a victim...” (para. 85). This process should transfer information to relevant communities such as “what is trafficking?...How does it differ from any of the other forms of abuse? How do you change

your attitude, your biases, your myths that you may have towards these victim?” (para. 85). Without this knowledge, a paradigm shift away from blaming the victim in communities is not likely to take place. KH asserted that it was when “there’s a lack of knowledge” (para. 42) among communities that “you’re leaving people to their own devices to come up with an understanding of the situation and they’re going to always refer back to what they know” (para. 42). Without relevant knowledge about human trafficking, community members therefore won’t ask the correct questions when they see a street prostitute: “they see the prostitute. They don’t see how she got there. Why she’s there. What behind her being there...is she a victim?” (para. 42).

The roles of “a number of different biases or myths among these communities, the societies” (para. 42) also “fuel their information on what human trafficking is all about” (para. 42). KH found it “very interesting” (para. 42) how these biases and myths fuelled community responses during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. She remembered that “around the soccer World Cup...there was a huge media exposition” (para. 42) about human trafficking. This resulted in myths and biases about how human trafficking takes place: “I kept hearing these stories from people: ‘we were at a fair at the school and some woman lost her child and everybody was frantic because they thought the child had been taken’” (para. 42). Therefore, even though these communities “know that human trafficking exists” (para. 42), their perception of human trafficking resulted in “either...that chaos response where everybody runs around: ‘Oh, the child’s been trafficked’ or it’s ignored” (para. 42).

At the time of the interview, KH was of the opinion that “We’ll never stop it!” (para. 50), but because human trafficking was such a “new issue” (para. 50), she considered it important to “get our heads around to what...human trafficking is before we can look at ...how ... we respond to it” (para. 50). According to KH, “We are still at that stage where we need to teach people what it is and how to identify it” (para. 50). Therefore, she stated, “I do believe

that...the next stage is going to be programs, awareness raising programs” (para. 50) as a prevention measure. While she “was not too aware of too many of them” (para. 50), KH has noticed “there is some media attention being given which will raise awareness” (para. 50). She hoped it will “make it so that people may think twice before they let their daughter answer an advertisement for a modelling contract in New York or a domestic worker may think twice before she applies for a particular job” (para. 50).

KH considered “awareness raising” (para. 77) to be a “very important outcome” (para. 77) of the current study: “I think it is almost your moral duty to make sure that the people in the area know what you have found out” (para. 77). She specified that the knowledge generated by this study should be disseminated at “community level...you go to churches and you give information” (para. 77) in order that “as many people as possible who live in the area where you’ve done the research have access to the information that you have found out” (para. 77). Furthermore, as human trafficking is “a new, rich field and we’re still very much finding out what it’s all about” (para. 77), KH asserted that “absolutely anybody who’s involved in this field would benefit from whatever you found out...anyone who works with this kind of crime...needs to have this information so that they...can work with it and work from it” (para. 77).

KH specified the dissemination methods she considered to be effective for knowledge created by the current study. The method she considered least successful was writing reports to government: As “people don’t read things, so writing...something and sending it to...the provincial government is going to be about as useful as running up...there and showing them or trying to get hold of them” (para. 79). KH suggested that “to make people get the information and see the information” (para. 79), it is “going to be a case of presenting this information in as concrete manner as possible” (para. 79). KH expected that “using media” (para. 79) for “information giving” (para. 77) would be effective and suggested I “get hold of

a journalist and offer to write a column, or let's put it in the...local newspaper" (para. 79).

To reach the youth, KH suggested that "going to schools and doing a talk" (para. 79) is "very important, specifically for young kids" (para. 79). To reach service providers for human trafficking victims, she proposed "Going to organisations that work with these victims and doing presentations to them" (para. 79). KH therefore highlighted that information dissemination should aim to be "on many levels so you can make a difference" (para. 79).

KH considered raising awareness for generating research as essential, especially in academic institutions:

You can go to students, because your recommendations are going to find that there are major gaps in research...and saying to them: "Listen, this is a field if you're interested...this is what I've done and this is still needs to be done. So please, grab this as an opportunity" (para. 79).

KH was of the opinion that one of the challenges in research in the field of human trafficking is that "there are so many different dynamics involved in human trafficking" (para. 56). For example, "there's a helluva lot of fear, there's an ownership issues...not a fear, fear is too small a word" (para. 56) because "your victim knows full well that if they say anything about this, that they stand to lose their lives, their families will be affected also possibly through loss of life" (para. 56). These dynamics make it "very difficult to collect accurate data and information from your victims that would clearly say: 'Yes, I can tick the human trafficking box'" (para. 56).

Due to the hidden nature of human trafficking, KH asserted that "it's such a specialised area" (para. 56) and "unless you become part of this world...you're not going to be able to clearly see there is a victim of human trafficking" (para. 57), resulting in erroneous human trafficking data. KH questioned the accuracy of research conducted in Cape Town that found very few victims of human trafficking: "I don't believe that" (para. 56). She reasoned that

the accuracy of this research was affected by the fact that researchers in this study did not identify some human trafficking victims because they were only partially deceived into a situation:

if you look at the number of kids that are on the street in Cape Town....I have no money. My mother is a tik [methamphetamine] addict. My father is an alcoholic. He comes home and beats my mother up...if Joe comes to me and says: "You can earn some money. Sure, you might have to have some sex, but I'll make it worth your while. Here's a cell phone. Here's some new clothing" But, knowing that I'm kept in a room and that my every bit of freedom is monitored and/or non-existent....How do we find out about that? Because all we see is the girl who has gone with Joe and is on the streets (para.57).

KH reasoned that human trafficking dynamics, like with child sexual abuse, is "so complicated and complex" (para. 57) that to produce accurate research, one also "got to peel back all the layers" (para. 57). Thus, it requires that researchers "work with these victims very carefully and for a long period of time...you've got to look at all the different dynamics...looking at the crime so holistically...that you will really accurately be able to identify the crime itself" (para. 57). A researcher should therefore understand the complex dynamics among human trafficking victims that could obscure the fact that they have been trafficked.

One such dynamic is that some people who left their trafficking situations repeatedly return to the trafficking situation: "internationally it's know that there are victims of trafficking that have married their traffickers...who have been offered the opportunity of freedom and have chosen to go back into that lifestyle" (para. 57). Without a holistic understanding of the complexity of human trafficking, a researcher might conclude that the person is not a victim of trafficking. KH, however, asserted that "you've got to look at all the different dynamics" (para. 57), which could lead to the understanding that a victim who

returned to a trafficking situation did so because he or she has no other alternatives: “if the alternative is to go back to my tik [methamphetamine] mother and my alcoholic father, maybe that family network that is created by traffickers is better. Maybe it is better for me to be a trafficked victim than to go home” (para. 57). In conclusion, KH asserted that researchers need to “do an individual process with every single case that you come across” (para. 56) when doing research as “every single case is different. Every single person is different” (para. 57).

Summary of KH’s perspective.

KH’s perspective highlighted how the complex, multi-level dynamics of human trafficking impacts on victims of human trafficking while in the trafficking situation and also thereafter. According to KH, the complexity of the crime of human trafficking should be matched by holistic, multidisciplinary responses by the counter human trafficking system. However, she emphasised that these responses are hampered by inadequate resources among service providers, especially in the Eastern Cape, to the detriment of human trafficking victims. One key systemic failure that negatively affects the human trafficking victim is discord between the aims of the legal system and the psychology service providers for the victims of trafficking during the criminal justice process. KH considered awareness raising among South African communities from which victims are sourced and training among counter human trafficking response systems regarding the complexities of human trafficking to be essential to combat the crime. For these reasons, she was of the opinion that research which takes the complexity of human trafficking into consideration to generate new knowledge on human trafficking to be a vital tool with which to curb this crime.

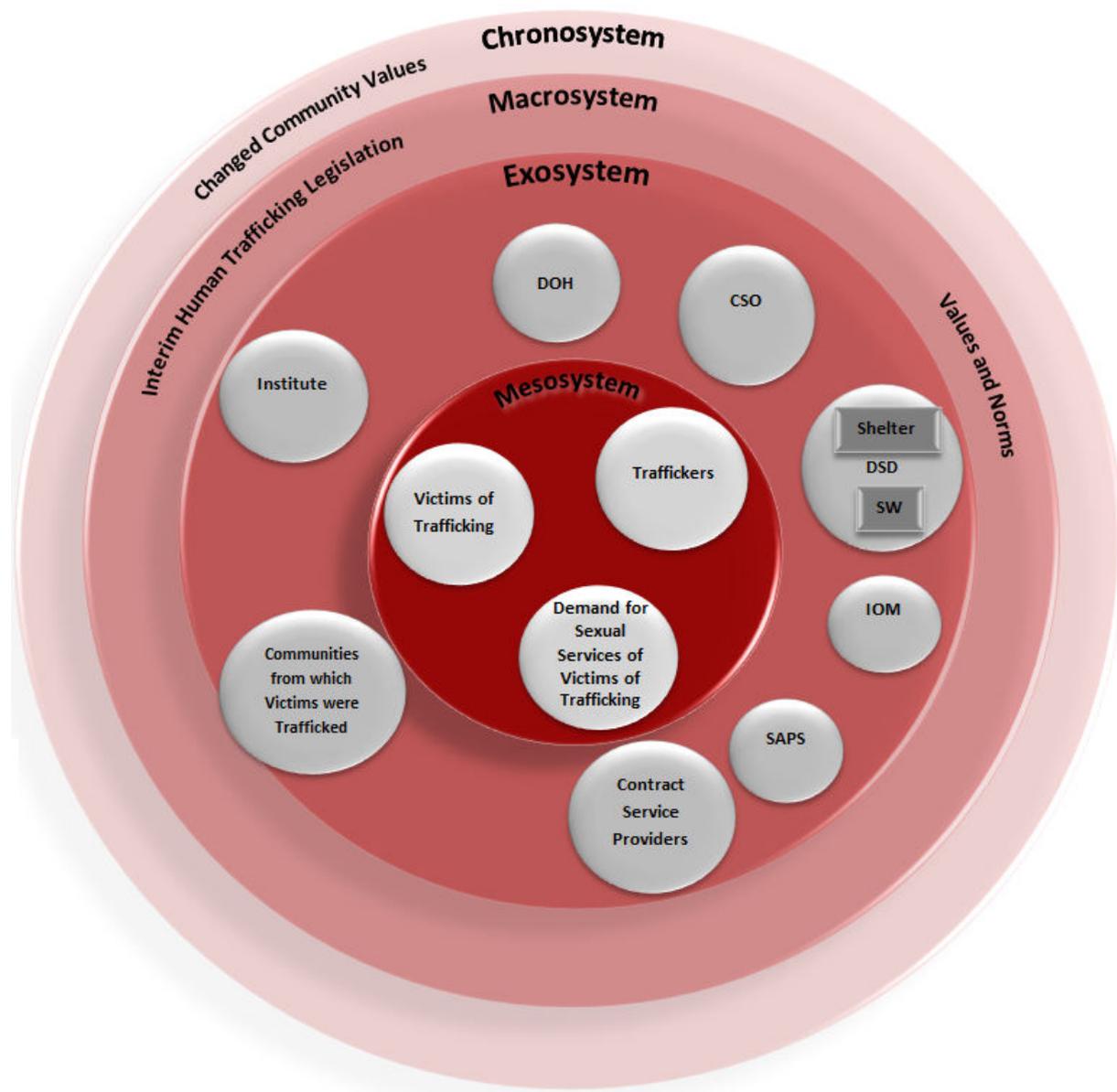
Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Social Worker's (SW) Perspective

I think for me the most important thing is the fact that we need specialised service rendering for human trafficking victims and it has to be done holistically to...address the different needs (SW, para. 153).

SW is the manager of a Department of Social Development (DSD) funded shelter that houses victims of trafficking after they left a trafficking situation. Her unique perspective on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape has been shaped by her theoretical and practical knowledge about human trafficking and her interaction with trafficked persons while they were in the shelter. Her experience of government systems as an employee of the DSD and her interactions with other stakeholders involved in counter human trafficking activities such as the SAPS and the Department of Health (DOH) added to her perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. SW referred only to trafficked persons who were trafficked into a sexually exploitative situation. Her social welfare and victim care perspective of the systems, subsystems, and elements in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, represented according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development, is represented in Figure 14.

Introducing SW.

SW has been a social worker for more than two decades. She is the manager of a DSD institution that has as its main focus the provision of specialised services for victims of domestic violence and sexual offenses such as rape and child sexual abuse. These specialised services include short- to medium-term housing and counselling to the victims of these crimes. Social workers at the shelter also do forensic assessments for the investigation



DOH	Department of Health	CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DSD	Department of Social Development	SW	Social Worker
IOM	International Organisation for Migration	SAPS	South African Police Services
Institute	Institute for Child Witness Research and Training		

Figure 14. SW's knowledge and experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development (1994).

and prosecution of domestic violence, sexual offences, and human trafficking. This shelter is the only institution in the Eastern Cape that has been accredited by the DSD to provide housing and services for trafficking victims. These services are provided as an additional

service as the shelter's main focus is services victims of domestic violence and sexual violence. SW's perspective of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape revealed complex interactions between several different systems, subsystems, and system elements that are discussed next.

SW's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

SW was of the opinion that one of the reasons that not many trafficking victims had been identified in the Eastern Cape is that only aspects of the crime are reported and therefore not recognised as being part of the crime of human trafficking. In addition, SW learnt that victims of human trafficking do not know or report that they are in a trafficking situation: "With the identification, you know what makes it difficult is that people don't go to the police station and say 'I am a victim of human trafficking'" (para. 7). Victims are more likely to report other crimes committed against them such as rape and physical abuse: "They go to the police station. They say: 'I have a rape case I want to report. I have 'n domestic violence [case] I want to report'" (para. 7). Unfortunately, it is at the reporting stage that "people overlook it. They don't look for a deeper explanation and wonder: 'But let us look. Don't we have possible signs of human trafficking here?'" (para. 7). These people, like police at "the charge office and with ordinary social workers or ordinary people in the professions" (para. 7) are more likely to "look at what is obvious" (para. 7) instead of investigating further to see if the elements of human trafficking are present.

To illustrate the failure of first-line service providers to consider the presence of human trafficking, SW referred to a human trafficking victim they identified at the shelter. This child was referred to the shelter for assessment and therapy: "She came to us as a foster child who was showing problem behaviour" (para. 7). The social worker whose duty it is to supervise children in foster care attempted to resolve the child's reported problem behaviour

with counselling. When that was unsuccessful, she was referred to the shelter for “assessment and therapy so we can make a recommendation to them” (para. 13). However, when the staff at the shelter did an assessment, they realised “there were deeper issues at play than what is here in front of us” (para. 13). A careful assessment revealed that what was dismissed as her merely being “a naughty child” (para. 7) in fact was a case of human trafficking:

nobody look at that there is a house with a woman who use her for sexual activities for her own profit and that they make her work in Central and she doesn't get payment. She only gets her drugs. She is moved around. She has been outside of Port Elizabeth to do this in another place (para. 7).

SW believed a number of factors contributed to this cursory assessment of possible human trafficking cases. She noted that one of the social workers at the shelter would say “because people don't know how to ask questions” (para. 15). SW explained that this points to the fact that “people don't do proper assessments” (para. 15). Instead, “They all just look at what I see in front of me and they don't go deeper” (para. 15). For example, when a murder is reported, it is treated as more serious than “when a missing person is reported at the police [when] it is like ‘Oh wait so many hours’. If that person that went missing is trafficked, it isn't seen in that light, it can't be that important” (para. 15).

Another reason for superficial assessments is that social workers working in the communities “have too much work or too little time” (para. 15). Whereas social workers “overseas” (para. 39) have the responsibility to manage “maybe 10 cases at a time but they work in depth with these so you can make a difference” (para. 39), South African social workers, “fieldworkers as we call them” (para. 39), have are responsible for “60 to 250 cases” (para. 39) at any one time. They also continually do “new intakes and investigations” (para.

39) which continually adds to their caseload and as a result “those people don’t have the time” (para. 39) to make thorough assessments of new cases.

According to SW, inadequate victim identification is not a case of the lack of knowledge about human trafficking as “the people got training” (para. 15). SW and other shelter staff “often offer [human trafficking] training sessions when people are interested” (para. 115). After SW was trained by the national office of the DSD on victim identification, for example, she developed a program to train social workers and probation officers in the Nelson Mandela Bay metropolitan area: “I developed a day-and-a-half training program and I applied for CPD [continuous professional development] and we got it so...they can get CPD points for it” (para. 115). She also “trains many of the volunteers at the victim support centres and part of their training is a section on human trafficking” (para. 115) and was planning to train people from the provincial office of the DSD: “I am waiting for a date and then I will...provide training for province then” (para. 115).

She indicated that another contributing factor to the lack of victim identification is “interest, beliefs” (para. 117) regarding the existence of human trafficking: “I don’t think we are all as prepared or ready to handle human trafficking cases....I think we don’t believe it yet. It is as if it is there, but not really there” (para. 15). A lack of concern regarding human trafficking in people’s own communities, according to SW, results from a persistent belief that human trafficking only involves foreign nationals trafficked to South Africa. This reduces the urgency of community members to address the issue in their communities: “people think that many of the trafficking victims are people from overseas so who cares” (para. 17). From knowledge gathered from cases in the Eastern Cape, however, SW realised that “it can happen right next to me...here inside my house” (para. 17). One of these cases illustrated how “traffickers get into places you trust” (para. 17) involved a situation in which a child was informed that she had received an overseas scholarship: “a child got letters

through her school that she got the scholarship overseas” (para. 17). Believing the validity of this scholarship, “The school, the parents, everyone was informed and everyone had signed the forms and stuff and everything was ready for her to go” (para. 17). Fortunately, “they stopped her at the airport before she could leave the country” (para. 17). SW concluded that in a case like this “it makes you think often that there is a family connection or somebody that is a friend that can tell them [traffickers] ‘This one is vulnerable, you can take her’” (para. 17), especially since the scholarship letter was sent to this girl’s school, naming her specifically as the recipient: “somewhere someone has to give [them] this name” (para. 17).

SW had observed that both human trafficking victims as well children who were victims of abuse or rape shared a need for loving relationships and validation: “I look at many of the children that reach us at the shelter and even with your human trafficking victims. One of things they crave the most: Somebody to love me, somebody to accept me” (para. 91). She noticed that many human trafficking victims reported an unsupportive or abusive family dynamic: “You find that many of them have problems at home. Maybe parents are deceased or domestic violence that occurs in the house or there are broken families where that love, acceptance, and close family relationships are absent” (para. 79). Due to the desire for loving relationships, the trafficked persons SW encountered were vulnerable to be exploited:

“According to what they told us, it was the victims that told us, it was about drugs and the money and the promises. Promises of a better life. Promises that they will marry them. So there’s this fantasising around the amazingness of this love, support systems that they don’t have in the communities” (para. 79).

SW illustrated how traffickers lured or force victims into trafficking situations by manipulating their desire for a better life. Some human trafficking victims admitted to the shelter were deceived into believing they were being given opportunities to be models:

“promises were made that they will go to a modelling school in New York....some of them

got scholarships for it” (para. 81). Other human trafficking victims were deceived by people who recruited them in face-to-face encounters: “People told them there’s work; they are looking for so many people. Are you interested?” (para. 83). Others “said that they for example read in the newspaper about a job and then applied for it, went for interviews, and then found that it [the job] is something totally different” (para. 83).

In SW’s experience, she found that people they knew often sold victims of human trafficking to traffickers. For example, some victims were deceived and sold by people who they considered to be friends: “there were those who were told by friends: ‘Come, let’s go somewhere, we are going to party’ and then were sold” (para. 81). A number of victims ended up in a trafficking situation after their families forced them to marry someone they didn’t want to in order to receive the bride’s price: “and then they run away and say: ‘Well, I’m not going to marry that guy’” (para. 81). Another method used by traffickers was to meet vulnerable girls and women in social situations and then lure them to other towns where they are then exploited: “Some of them were told they are going to a party in another town by someone that they for example met in a tavern and then they neatly pack their stuff and went” (para. 81).

Some women were given lifts by strangers after which they were forced into sexual exploitation: “with girls that sometimes walk in the street and are picked up....they are told: ‘Listen, we are quickly going there or I will take you home’ and then they just drive off [with them in the car]” (para. 83). A group of people that were vulnerable to be trafficked were women who were already prostitutes and then were recruited by a person who deceived them into a trafficking situation: “There were some of them who were in prostitution and recruited from there” (para. 81).

SW found that the trafficked persons in the shelter will disclose information to the police on the trafficking operations they were part of. Information, such as the size of trafficking

operations is disclosed. Some “reported that there are reasonably big groups of girls that are involved....The one group we worked with, there were for example a whole [hotel] storey with girls they referred to” (para. 77). Another group referred to a smaller group of trafficked persons where “only five or ten girls were” (para. 77). SW was of the opinion that as the traffickers adapt their strategy as soon as they realise their victims are disclosing information to the police. As a result, the traffickers “get cleverer every time and they also learn not to expose the girls to all the information” (para. 77). One strategy SW observed is that girls “that are not intellectually as clever as another child” (para. 77) are targeted by traffickers. As a result, these cognitively challenged girls are not able to give information on the trafficking operation to police or SW: “to them, this information is irrelevant. They would just tell you: ‘But I don’t know’, which of course makes them more vulnerable because they don’t notice such things” (para. 77).

SW found that many of the victims who arrived at the shelter did not try to leave trafficking situation until the police offered them the option, mostly because they did not realise that they are the victim of a crime:

many of them have not even realised it until they got here but felt, because the police told them: “But this is not good where you are. You need to get out of here.” Then they decided: “OK, let us then see if we are going into a better option” (para. 85).

Some victims left trafficking situations when they were forced to engage in drug abuse or sexual exploitation:

when drugs have to be given to them and they decide this is not on for them or when they see but here is now these sexual deeds that has to be done and...they don’t want to do it and they realise they are being forced...they...will try to get away and flee so they don’t have to do it. (para. 85).

SW realised that, once in a trafficking situation, the relationship dynamic between the trafficker and the victim tended to keep them in the trafficking situation. Even after leaving the situation “they still felt very loyal towards the traffickers” (para. 85) because they “unconditionally believed that these people really want to give them the best” (para. 85). This relationship dynamic is part of an abusive cycle: “the whole process of their abuse” (para. 87) is driven by the victims’ “hope that they will get love and acceptance” (para. 87). At the same time, the traffickers tell them “they are doing it [abuse] for their best interest” (para. 87). There is however an “underlying fear” (para. 87) of the traffickers because “there is a sort of stranglehold on me” (para. 87). This underlying fear can be attributed in part to the victims’ engagement in crimes to avoid displeasing the traffickers:

a group that was long in trafficking...told us they were given a daily target [amount of money]. Now if they didn't meet that target, then they have to...do anything to get that money and they would then rob people and sometimes it happened that they maybe had to knife someone as well. (para. 87)

Their criminal actions were used to maintain psychological control over the victims: “the traffickers told them then that they know about it and if they try to do anything then they will tell [the police] about it” (para. 87). The traffickers also used the threat of violence as a way to psychologically coerce the victims into staying in the trafficking situation by making the victims believe that they or their family members will be hurt by the traffickers, “so I have to be loyal to them because there's a come-back in this story” (para. 87).

Another way in which traffickers psychologically manipulate trafficked victims is by creating in them distrust of services which could potentially aid them to leave the trafficking system. For example, a group of previously trafficked women told SW that:

the traffickers would show them: “Look, do you see this police officer? This is my buddy here” Then they will make a deal with the police officer in front of them

[trafficked persons] so they knew that if they try to escape, it will be exactly those police [officers] that would come fetch them. (para. 87).

SW also detected a distrust of the service providers at the shelter: “I sit also with the issue of they don’t trust me too because I’m a professional that is part of the ‘system’” (para. 101). As a result, counselling of trafficked persons is made more difficult as “they test you literarily day after day” (para. 101). The combination of these factors makes the victims more dependent on their traffickers and less likely to leave the trafficking situation: “This result in ‘Where do I go?’, so now I stay” (para. 87). Some victims also distrust the communities they were trafficked from: “how do you know that if they got money for you, they won’t phone the people and will say: ‘Hallo, she’s back. Come get her again’” (para. 19). Distrust towards their communities and the lack of close relationships in their families of origin further contributed to the tendency of victims to remain in the trafficking situation: “We don’t really have another place to go back to” (para. 87).

When a trafficked person in the Eastern Cape Province wants to leave the trafficking situation, he or she first has to be classified as a victim of human trafficking by the SAPS’ Organised Crime Unit. It is only after SAPS had confirmed that the person was trafficked, that the person can receive services allocated to human trafficking victims by DSD: “We have an arrangement that in the Eastern Cape; we classify you as a human trafficking victim if Organised Crime confirmed it” (para. 43). The classification process requires that the Organised Crime Unit assesses whether all the elements of human trafficking were present in the victim’s story: “they basically look at the same type of things like we do. If all the elements are there” (para. 61). After the shelter received verbal confirmation from the Organised Crime Unit that the person is a victim of trafficking, they start their own treatment process: “They can just tell us that this is a human trafficking victim, we are investigating the case. Then we continue our work’ (para. 47).

The shelter makes use of a standardised nine-week treatment plan adopted by the DSD. This treatment plan was developed by a South African institution with the help of international funding: “The national DSD developed a programme...that was developed by the National Institute Community Development and Management (NICDAM)...and we were told we have to offer the programme” (para. 66). SW was of the opinion that this standardised programme is not suitable for every human trafficking victim but should be adapted each specific victim’s needs and abilities: “we won’t tell you you’re a human trafficking victim and we have to complete this program within nine weeks” (para. 71). As every human trafficking victim’s needs differ, SW emphasised the need for an accurate assessment of the victim’s needs and abilities before the nine week program is adapted: “We see how ready you are for the program and then we also look at...the person’s intellectual capacity to handle this program” (para. 71). SW found that an accurate assessment often revealed additional needs that are not addressed by the standardised program: “the client also needs for those things to be addressed that are not covered for example, to get sessions for those to address it” (para. 71).

Staff at the shelter address many of the needs of the victims. However, to address some needs, the shelter has to bring relevant service providers to the shelter. For example, “our psychologists are on a contract basis, so it’s psychologists that come here and come work with them here” (para. 22). The shelter also makes use of service providers that offer more alternative services such as “The Body Talk practitioner” (para. 22) who “also is somebody from the outside and she also comes in to offer services here” (para. 22). The BodyTalk system is an alternative healthcare method that addresses physical and emotional difficulties in a holistic manner (Veltheim, 2011, p. 281).

SW found that the trafficking victims’ needs often start with addressing addictions. The most obvious addiction is drug addiction, but “another thing we picked up with them was a

sex addiction problem...besides the drug addiction there was also sex addiction” (para. 103). This addiction resulted in victims exhibiting behaviours such as “regular knocking on our door; saying ‘I feel like it. I am looking for something. Help’” (para. 105).

The manifestations of drug addiction, however, required treatment to manage drug withdrawal and rehabilitation. The level of treatment needed in this area, however, “differed...from victim to victim” (para. 71), because “It depends how long they were in the [trafficking] system” (para. 71). She found that those who were longer in the trafficking situation “had a bigger addiction problem and is also addicted to a larger variety of stuff” (para. 71). As a result, those who had been in trafficking situations for a long period can exhibit “reasonably psychotic behaviour when they arrive at the shelter and get totally out of control” (para. 73). SW’s experience with one human trafficking victim also illustrated the demands drug addiction and withdrawal places on the shelter and the psychiatric clinic which assisted them:

The medication they...will administer when they have a psychotic episode, for example, they will get an injection and then they sleep for the weekend. They will sleep for at least two days. They injected her. She didn’t respond on the injection. They had to give her a second injection before she responded and then she fell asleep. She’s out for about five minutes, she’s fine again, she went on again which shows you the amount of drugs she was used to if our usually dosages doesn’t work. (para. 73)

Another salient point highlighted by SW in this regard was that the shelter is not equipped to cater to all the needs of trafficking victims, especially in the area of medical needs: “The medical services, we unfortunately have to transport them” (para. 22) to where the victims can receive the necessary medical services. For example, “one specific client...when she became totally psychotic, we had to take her to the psychiatrist’s clinic”

(para. 73). The shelter staff would also take the victims “to the day hospital and we also take them to hospital for the services required there” (para. 22).

SW found that the ability to build relationships with other government departments assisted the shelter in the provision of services to the trafficking victims: “We try sometimes...when we go to hospital to contact the hospital’s social workers” (para. 22). The main reason for establishing such relationships in public health facilities was to ensure the safety of the victims: “We...ask them: ‘Please, can we not wait among the other people and wait the whole day because of the safety of our clients. Can we please organise it that you can accommodate us in such a way?’” (para. 22). The consequences of not establishing such relationships are that the safety of victims is compromised:

this doesn’t happen like this at the day hospital. Then you have to sit and wait until it is your turn, which complicates it sometimes. This is what...makes it difficult for us...because they went to the day hospital one day and then somebody saw them there and recognised them and informed the family and immediately the information of where they are spread” (para. 22)

When victims are recognised by community members when attempting to access services, SW can only “hope on faith that the...traffickers don’t find out to enable you to still keep your people safe” (para. 22). Although no one at the shelter has received “direct threats” (para. 24) from anyone or that traffickers have been able to “enter the premises and then we couldn’t get them to leave” (para. 24), they have been “followed and people will sit outside the building and watch” (para. 24). However, SW found that “we always have to take our safety into consideration” (para. 24) by “always trying to ensure we are over conscious of our safety when we have trafficking victims” (para. 24). One strategy they employ is to “when we drive, we always have to take different routes” (para. 24).

In some instances, SW noticed that other counter-trafficking stakeholders did not realise that some of their investigative procedures compromise the safety of both trafficking victims and shelter staff. During the investigation phase, victims are expected to do participate in activities such as “the identification for the court case. They still have to go for their interviews with the prosecutor, point out places...make statements” (para. 26). At one such incident, described as “a reasonably traumatic experience” (para. 24) by the social workers involved, the victims, escorted by these social workers, had to “identify houses and stuff” (para. 24). The victims and social workers were accompanied by “police with guns everywhere around them” (para. 24). The social workers told SW that “they basically felt threatened and they felt they had to devise an escape route because if the people start shooting here, where could they go?” (para. 24). It is only after alleged traffickers were arrested that “the victims are then, sort of, safer and then they can think about placing them somewhere else” (para. 26).

SW connected threats by traffickers to a case where “we rather thought we will get it [prosecution] to go through” (para. 29). It was found, however, that “victims changed their statements” (para. 29) and it was “suspected that the perpetrators reached people and that because of intimidation, we did not get this case through [prosecution] successfully” (para. 29).

The “other reason given to us for why the case was not successfully pulled through” (para. 29) resulted from a lack of evidence to convict the alleged traffickers of racketeering: “at the end of the day it emerged that each guy only work for himself so now it was individual businesses instead of one business that we only move [around]” (para. 29). SW also mentioned that the case failed because there was no interim legislation to cover trafficking at the time some of the victims were trafficked: “and of course because there was no legislation for trafficking” (para. 29). She noted that determining the ages of the victims

“also had a reasonable impact” (para. 29) on the failure to prosecute these traffickers. Initially some of the victims “were estimated to be of a younger age than they really were” (para. 29) based on the “ages they gave us” (para. 31). SW was of the opinion that the victims lied about their age “probably about trust” (para. 33) as they thought “that people would be more lenient if they are younger than they really are” (para. 33). SW’s experience with trafficking victims was that they would lie about their ages even if there is no clear reason to do so: “we had for example one that had her 21st birthday party for the past four years and then we found out: ‘But by now you have turned 21 for four years. That’s impossible’” (para. 33). SW, however, thought that pretending to be younger than they really are is unusual for trafficking victims:

You find that they at least want to be an adult. They want to be 18 at least...because under 18, they know, it is illegal for them to be on the streets. But if they are above 18 it is sort of more legal. (para. 33)

All the trafficked persons SW had housed at the shelter were sexually exploited in a trafficking situation and displayed behaviours related to sex and substance addiction. As the shelter’s main purpose is to shelter women and children who are victims of domestic and sexual violence, SW had to consider that not all of the victims could be integrated with the rest of the shelter’s population. “In the beginning [we] were very positive and we believed we would be able to mix them” (para. 109). Experience, however, taught SW that it was not always best practice to mix these two groups: “we learnt that it is better to keep them separated” (para. 109). She emphasised the role of an accurate assessment in determining whether trafficking victims should be kept separate: “it is then also important once again that you do a correct assessment because we cannot generalise” (para. 109). They would assess, for example, the impact of the mental age of the victims as well as the length of time they were in a trafficking situation on their behaviour:

for example, the last two victims we admitted function on the level of 11, 12 year old children and was in the trafficking process for two weeks. So they don't have the extent of the impact as the others. The behavioural patterns have not been established...they will not understand why they can't be between the children of 14, 15...sometimes they feel even happier with the nine, eight year olds. (para. 109).

SW considered it essential for the shelter staff to attend training on dealing with human trafficking victims. SW and the shelter staff "attempt to attend as many courses as possible to ensure that our information is up to date" (para. 111). They received training on human trafficking from the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) while SW received training on "victim identification" (para. 111) from the national office of the DSD. Around 2005, the shelter staff received training from a Canadian trainer "about our things regarding the shelters in general...about domestic violence and sexual offences" (para. 111). SW also gets "lots of help" (para. 111) from the Institute of Child Witnesses Research and Training in the form of "support and the questions, giving advice, help here, help there" (para. 111). She also found that at the shelter they learned about human trafficking through their work with the victims of trafficking: "then we also had to learn with the process" (para. 111).

Due to their theoretical and practical knowledge of human trafficking, SW found that other people phone them with questions: "They quite like to phone us" (para. 40) to get input on dealing with suspected human trafficking victims: "to tell us they now have this case. What now? We suspect it is a human trafficking case" (para. 43). SW then would provide guidance about "what their next steps would be" (para. 43). This involved referring them to the SAPS' Organised Crime Unit: "we will give them the contact number for Organised Crime and tell them: 'There is your contact person. There's your number. Phone that person and organise with them to manage the case'" (para. 51). SW found that as the shelter staff took responsibility for educating themselves about human trafficking issues, "it is almost a

challenge” (para. 113) because as the shelter staff “grow and develop” (para. 113), other DSD employees “stay behind and...feel threatened by the fact that we sit with specialised people” (para. 113).

According to SW, when it comes to training, “we always have tried to give back to people that which we received” (para. 115). She explained that the training she did on human trafficking is “additional to my daily work” (para 119). The training is funded from the shelter’s budget and she does not receive compensation for training others: “This is nearly like a voluntary service that we try to work” (para. 119). Earlier, SW had described how she has provided victim identification training to various groups of people. She provided training exclusively in the Nelson Mandela Bay metropolitan area, which was a concern to her: “we probably accomplish much in the metro, but what about the rest of the province?” (para. 117).

SW and her shelter staff train only people who will actually be involved in counter-trafficking activities. Nobody from the shelter does community awareness solely on human trafficking, but will include it as a subsection of the training “for the simple reason that we don’t really want people to know that the shelter is actually the human trafficking facility” (para. 121) due to concerns for the safety of shelter staff: “I tell people when I tell them about it that I am actually endangering my own life because I don’t know who they are linked with” (para. 121).

The shelter staff does not conduct human trafficking awareness campaigns among the communities of the Nelson Mandela Bay metropolitan area. This is the responsibility of the “fieldworkers, the social workers out there” (para. 123). The Eastern Cape provincial office of the DSD has a number of annual objectives. Community awareness is one of these objectives that “says human trafficking campaigns have to run” (para. 123) through events such as “awareness days” (para. 123). Such objectives are part of the DSD’s “provincial

strategic plan, operation plan, and annual performance plan” (para. 129) which links with the national DSD’s strategic plans.

The shelter staff too had targets they have to reach. DSD made use of something “we call performance agreements” (para. 141) to motivate staff to reach their performance targets. SW explained how she determines performance agreements with her staff: “let me give you an example. Let’s say in our office we have a goal of seeing 100 clients. This I divide between my three social workers...35, that one 30, 35” (para. 141). If they reach their set targets, “then they score a three; in other words...their services were satisfactory” (para. 141). When they see more clients than their goal, “then they can get a four or five score for which they can get a performance bonus” (para. 141).

SW also mentioned that they “also report every month to national [DSD]” (para. 137). These “monthly reports have to be handed in on what we did and where we are now with reaching our target” (para. 131). SW sets a target for the centre to educate 600 people about human trafficking in 2012, for example, and at the time of the interview in November 2012 “had reached about 1400 people” (para. 147). SW also had to provide the national DSD with human trafficking information on the type of victims of trafficking that were admitted to the shelter: “They want to know how many victims of trafficking were South African and how many foreign...how many adults in the shelter who were admitted...released, female” (para. 147). SW also has to provide more detailed information such as “number of victims to indicate the purpose for being trafficked...what was the method or means used and total number next to method used to transport victims. What did they use to transport them and then was it air, land, or sea?” (para. 147). A section of the information SW reported on relates to the treatment programme adopted by DSD: “Number of victims re-education program...Victims who participated in the rehabilitation program. Who provided the services aimed at reception, care, and development? How many were reintegrated?” (para. 147).

Reporting on human trafficking victims in the shelter is only a part of the vast monthly reporting SW has to do as shelter manager: “There are so many monitoring tools you have to complete every month; your head can spin” (para. 137). Despite furnishing the national department with all these monitoring tools, SW reported that at the time of the interview there has never been any feedback from the national office of the DSD on for example, human trafficking statistics gathered from other DSD accredited shelters who houses human trafficking victims: “Yes, we have to explain upwards; nobody explains downwards” (para. 138).

SW spoke about her frustration with the lack of the “system’s” response to her repeated requests for certain services and amenities: “I want to go as far as saying it is a systemic problem because you find it with a wide variety of things. It isn’t just with this one specific problem. You pick it up in many other places” (para. 165). Despite repeated requests, she had been faced with a lack of action from the DSD. She communicated her frustration about the existing situation: “I probably am just being very negative in the respect that it feels sometimes we scream our lungs out and we run up against walls; nobody listens to us” (para.161). Despite making repeated requests and “also fighting it up to the highest levels [of the DSD]” (para. 165), SW’s experience was that those they communicate their requests to might “have short-term memory problems...It just is as if...people hear when you speak but the moment you leave, they forget everything” (para. 163).

She identified a need for on-site medical personnel that the shelter is entitled to, but have not been allocated funding for: “Medical personnel; one example. My organogram for example make provision for six staff members” (para. 163). She questioned the lack of the necessary skilled personnel to provide services to the shelter residents: “Why do we have a residential care facility but we don’t have the personnel for it?” (para. 163). Despite making requests for additional personnel for a number of years, she still found herself in the situation

that DSD has not been willing to change the shelter's organogram "for the past eight years" (para. 165). Due to the lack of staff, the shelter has to make use of unqualified community members: "Why do I constantly have to get people, regular people from the community that come volunteer here?" (para. 163).

Another ignored request relates to the shelter's premises: "We sit in a building that's rental contract has expired in 2009. We have given how many motivations for another building" (para. 165). The motivation for new premises would enable the shelter to operate as a one-stop centre, as was originally intended: "A larger building where we can have different wings. Where we can house other departments to we can be a proper one-stop centre" (para. 165). The original long-term lease for the shelter had also lapsed and at the time of the interview, the building was on "a month-to-month lease agreement" (para. 165), resulting in an irate property owner who "refuses to paint the building" (para. 165). According to SW, due to the lack of response from the relevant government departments, the situation is likely to deteriorate: "So the building now just have to deteriorate more and more. Until we end up where?" (para. 165).

SW surmised that the problems the centre experienced due to systemic failures can be due to "lack of skills or lack of organising and planning, probably...it is skills because we don't have proper planning, prioritising" (para. 167). She explained that coordination problems relate to "much fragmentation...in this system we have different departments that handle different things" (para. 169). Whereas DSD might have a request for something, "the next department again now have another priority that he worries about more than he worries about this department. Or he had already promised that department something" (para. 169). An example of the lack of coordination and planning relates to the shelter's request for unmarked vehicles to increase their ability to transport the shelter's residents more safely. However, the need for anonymity was ignored and a huge board was placed outside the

shelter, displaying its name. Another example relates to the lack of coordination between DSD staff, which SW found very frustrating: “like we get called to ten meetings on one day by the same office by different people...we don’t coordinate what must be done” (para. 169).

Despite difficulties with receiving support from other government departments and the provincial and national DSD offices, SW also recognised that she has a very supportive district manager: “despite all the challenges, you also get your individual super-support that many people would wish for” (para. 171). She specifically referred to her district manager from whom they have received “amazing support” (para. 171). This district manager would, for example, “in a situation...where we might say somebody is watching us and I let him know there’s a problem, he immediately will send people out to handle it” (para. 171). This manager attempted to provide in the needs of the shelter: “he is one of the people that put up an incredible fight for the shelter, for the building, for the personnel” (para. 171). The district manager also tried to sensitise legislators about the realities of human trafficking: “he is also one that will tell the legislators: ‘You have to come listen. This woman has to tell you what is going on with human trafficking’” (para. 171). These systemic difficulties were severe enough for SW to emphasise that she hoped the current study would be able to highlight and communicate these needs to the relevant persons: “What is your conclusions at the end of the day and that one can pass it on to the people and say: ‘This is what we picked up is another need which we need to look at’” (para. 161).

In SW’s experience, she realised that funding for human trafficking services is an area where both DSD and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have trouble. According to her, the NGOs “experience great difficulty” (para. 179) concerning the sourcing of funding to continue their services to their target communities. Some of these NGOs, like the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) have collaborated with the shelter to provide services to trafficking victims according to informal “agreements

that were made in the past” (para. 179). SANCA, that provides drug rehabilitation services to the shelter, continually faced financial pressures. At the time of the interview, the Nelson Mandela Bay branch was facing closure due to lack of funding. As the only organisation that could provide drug rehabilitation services to the shelter, SW despaired at the possibility of SANCA’s closure: “if SANCA goes, who will do the rehabilitation if they are the only people in the network?” (para. 179).

SW was of the opinion that the delay on the formulation of a comprehensive human trafficking law contributes to the difficulties with funding and coordination between services for trafficking victims: “We are just not getting as far as finally getting the act through” (para. 99). One consequence of the delay is the “we don’t really have proper coordination of services around human trafficking” (para. 185). For example, there is no “protocol document that says it should be taken from step A to step B to step C” (para. 185). Without an operational human trafficking act, the relevant government departments, including the provincial DSD, do not have the “necessary delegations and mandates and whatevers” (para. 187) to coordinate human trafficking services.

SW speculated that due to the lack of coordination in the province, not all trafficked persons who are identified in the province are admitted to SW’s shelter, even though it is the only shelter accredited by the DSD admit human trafficking victims: “they never arrive here” (para. 183). SW also reasoned that other non-accredited shelters may “feel they want to handle it themselves” (para. 185) because it acts as a “motivation to get funding” (para. 185): “If they themselves can work with human trafficking, there is maybe the possibility that they can apply for funding” (para. 185).

The absence of comprehensive human trafficking legislation also affected the coordination of subprogram funding in the DSD: “there is no subprogram for human trafficking, so human trafficking is sort of adopted by victim empowerment [subprogram]”

(para. 189). However, “there is no funding for human trafficking because it isn’t a subprogram” (para. 189). The victim empowerment subprogram therefore had to fund the human trafficking subprogram, although the subprogram for children provided for by the Children’s Act also has a section dedicated to human trafficking: “Therefore they [children subprogram] should actually also share their [victim empowerment subprogram] funding with human trafficking, but because there is no legislation, everything hangs” (para. 189). She hoped that “with the act it will all be resolved” (para. 189).

SW’s reflection on systemic changes needed among service providers for human trafficking victims and communities.

SW previously referred to the difficulty they experienced in ascertaining the real chronological age of one of the victims. This made her realise that it is necessary to have some way of tracking victims’ backgrounds: “It shows you how necessary it is to go and find these people’s backgrounds” (para. 33). She was of the opinion that there should be some coordinating mechanism between organisations that deal with children: “You need to discover where they were known. What happened? Where did they come in contact with the systems? To go and pull [out information] –what were the processes that took place throughout their lives?” (para. 33). These organisations could be “for example the NGOs and the department [DSD]...children’s homes and places of safety” (para. 35) that have “for example case registers...where you can determine if those children maybe at one stage went through them” (para. 35). SW was sure that if one can find information such as “why is this child through your books, how long was this child in your facility, when was it?” (para. 35), one would be able to “do a sort of mapping on where they were at what times” (para. 35).

To do this type of mapping, however, would be time consuming. For this reason, SW asserted that “it is my professional opinion that we need specialised people to work

trafficking” (para. 37) because “a specialised team would spend more quality time than if they work on quantity [of cases]” (para. 39). All intake workers were trained in the identification of human trafficking victims and according to legislation are forced to report “that there is a suspicion that this child or person is a human trafficking victim” (para. 37). However, SW reasoned that if human trafficking cases are managed by general workers “it will fail” (para. 37) because of their high caseload. She was of the opinion that after a possible human trafficking victim was reported by a field worker, “in that case then...it should be further investigated and managed by the experts” (para. 37). Such a “specialised team that works with those things and focus only on that” (para. 37) would then have “established networks with places to find out how was this child through your system, when was it” (para. 37).

SW also believed human trafficking investigations and case management would be more effective “if we maybe had more persons with [SAPS] Organised Crime” (para. 59) and even more “wonderful” (para. 59) if the shelter had a “local [SAPS] person that could sit here with us ..., instead of being so far away” (para. 59). SW, however, realised that due to the relative low number of human trafficking cases reported when compared to other crimes, it would unrealistic:

One also realises that with the number of cases referred it does not justify specialised individuals across the country, or across the Eastern Cape because it doesn’t help if we appoint 20 or 30 and we don’t have cases for them to investigate. That won’t work (para. 59).

In addition to having a specialised team of people investigate and manage human trafficking cases, SW also thought that “the most important thing” (para. 153) is that “for human trafficking victims we need specialised service rendering” (para. 153) which is “done holistically to address...the different needs” (para. 153). However, holistic service rendering

is made very difficult if you do not have the correct resources and you, for example, have to put them through the substance detoxification program but you don't have the medical personnel and you don't have the medication for it. (para. 153).

In addition to the importance that "these services should be there" (para. 153), SW strongly believed that "we have to move away from the concept that volunteers have to work with these things...with victims" (para. 153, 155).

SW observed that a factor she was of the opinion aids the growth of human trafficking is the lack of "consistency in terms of our priorities in the country" (para. 89). She noted that she detected a "tendency for sometimes to...catch fire and then everybody runs around like crazy people and then the next moment it is quiet. Not another word is said" (para. 89). Her opinion was that the lack of consistency on issues such as human trafficking stemmed from a focus on personal gain in driving social issues instead of "really looking at it as: 'We want to make a difference in our communities'" (para. 89). As a result, she believed that "our systems also would have to start to focus on more programs for the re-establishment of our values in communities" (para. 97). SW was of the opinion that it is important to address community values because "unfortunately we went through a phase of where we are focussed more materialism than deeper things" (para. 91). SW considered it essential that interventions were necessary to re-establish values on relationships within families: "a very basic one, we all say we live in our Batho Pele principles and we say that we are faithful to one another and all these wonderful things, but it is not what we do" (para. 91). SW asserted that:

our children should learn about faithfulness within a relationship. That we return to where marriages and children in marriage and love for our children and love for one another....Is this now so difficult that we can't give it to our children? And that we cannot give it to one another in the community? (para. 91).

According to SW: “one of the things that always seem prominent with trafficking...I always see in our presentations...what amazes me is that people say it is about poverty” (para. 97). While she acknowledged that “I don’t say it doesn’t go about poverty” (para. 97), she believed that there is also an “emotional poverty” (para. 93) that motivates parents to accept money for their children: “It is...totally unacceptable...that I can now sell my child to get money into the home” (para. 97). SW therefore reasoned that there is “a major problem with our values and norms and that we don’t attach much value to somebody’s life” (para. 97).

SW questioned whether communities acknowledge that those people who make use of the services offered by human trafficking victims are one of the factors that grow human trafficking: “become aware of our actual problem” (para. 97). In her opinion, “as long as there is a demand, there will be a supply” (para. 97). When she gave talks about the effect human trafficking has on individuals: “I don’t care whether it is the department’s people and if it is the legislator or if it is the community” (para. 97), SW tried to make them aware that demand for human trafficking services originated in their communities: “My concern is that the demand....I tell them...it is my brother, my husband, my dad who goes out to do these things” (para. 97). Therefore, according to SW, it is the responsibility of communities to curb the demand for the services of trafficked victims: “This is where our problem should stop. If there’s no demand, we won’t have the supply” (para. 97).

SW also strongly believed that communities should take responsibility for factors which drive human trafficking in their own communities, instead of placing pressure on the children to avoid being trafficked: “Why do we have this major thing about trafficking and we go into the community and we always tell the girls...the process of trafficking” (para. 97). This focus on individual responsibility reminded her of the “whole thing of a child that has to take responsibility so that an adult doesn’t sexually molest him” (para. 97) while children are simultaneously being taught to obey adults: “What child of three, four, five [years] is going

to tell an uncle: ‘Uncle, uncle you are not going to molest me’, while they are being brought up...if an adult speaks then you listen” (para. 97). She indicated that this responsibility too should be laid on the community instead of the vulnerable child: “we want to say: ‘Community take responsibility for protecting yourself’” (para. 97). By giving a child or the individual the responsibility to “take responsibility for your life. You have to ensure that you are protected” (para. 101) against exploitation or sexual abuse, SW reckoned that “we indirectly say to that child that it is your fault that that uncle molested you” (para. 101). SW regularly found in the shelter that the message of individual responsibility served as an indirect message of blame: “So in a way we again place the blame on them” (para. 101). SW has observed that blaming the victim has implications for the therapeutic process offered at the shelter: “and how then do I get them out of the victim-mode?” (para. 101).

Summary of SW’s perspective.

SW emphasised the complexities surrounding the provision of services to the victims of human trafficking and difficulties response agencies and service providers experienced to effectively deal with these complexities. SW highlighted weaknesses that mainly related to the DSD’s unresponsiveness to requests for services by SW for the shelter she manages, while the lack of coordination between the DSD and other government departments also played a role. Services to the victims of trafficking were made more difficult because of the complex needs of these individuals. SW was of the opinion that such services required a holistic and multidisciplinary team of specialised professionals to provide for these needs. Another contributory factor to these complex needs, according to SW, was the victims’ backgrounds, families of origin, and communities they come from which made them more vulnerable to being trafficked. SW also described the intricate relationship between victims of trafficking and the traffickers that contributed to the multifaceted needs of victims of

trafficking after they had left the trafficking situation. According to SW, interventions to reduce human trafficking should be focussed on communities as a whole, instead of targeting only the vulnerable individuals.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: John Preller's (JP) Perspective

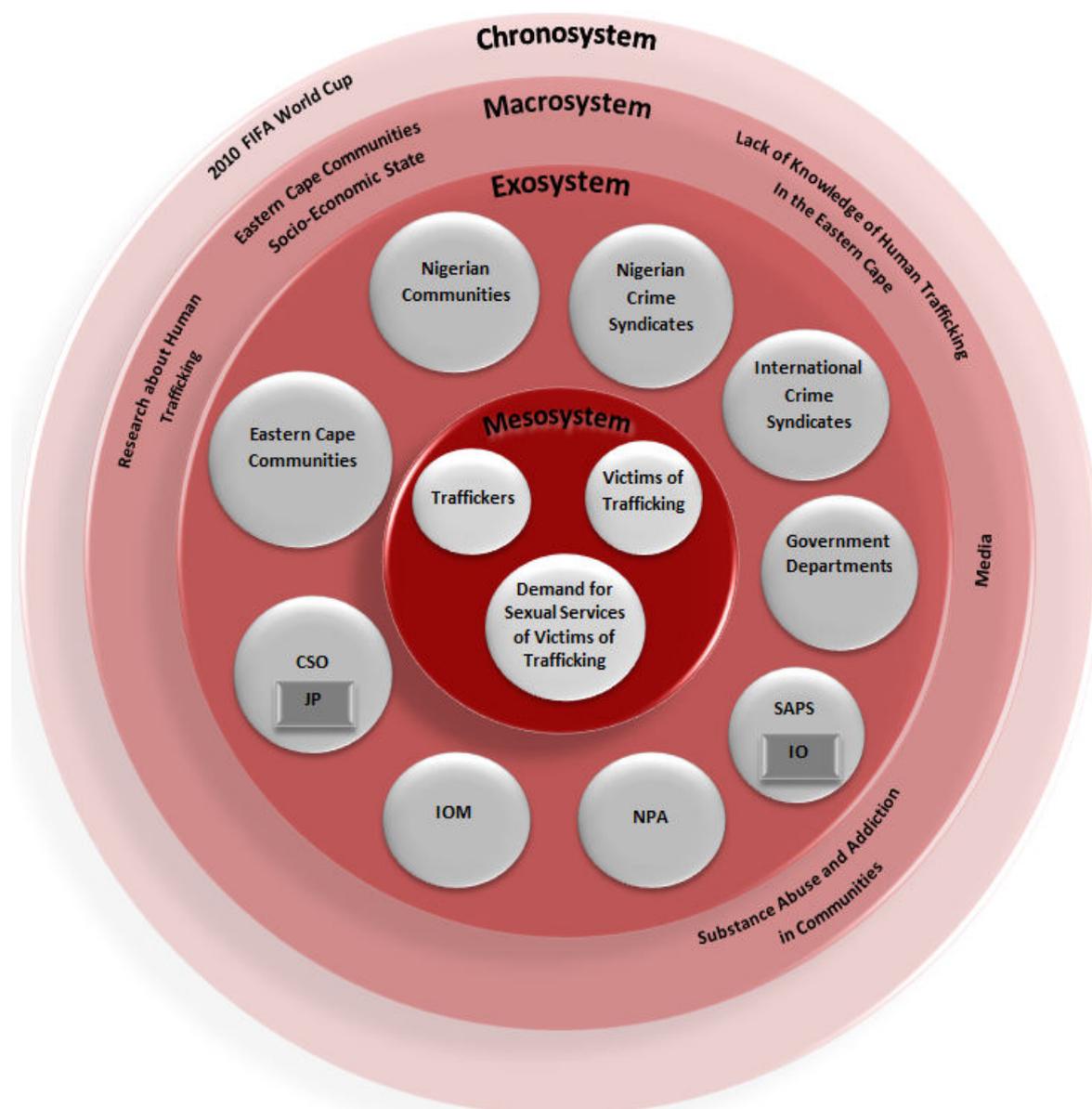
“that’s basically a case of different elements...the element of fear because they do get beaten up...the element of threat...the element of punishment...the element of wanting to please the person....that’s the kind of relationship in that it’s an abusive relationship...there’s (sic) all this different elements that comes in...that keeps her attachment [to the trafficker]...they are caught in a trap” (JP, para. 43 - 45).

JP’s unique ‘lens’ through which he viewed human trafficking in the Eastern Cape is the perspective of a community activist and counsellor for more than 15 years in the area of substance abuse and human trafficking. In this role, JP interacted with four victims of human trafficking. He also gained knowledge about human trafficking from his attendance of a lengthy bail application by six alleged traffickers in Port Elizabeth in his role as the Chairman of the Humewood Community Police Forum in Port Elizabeth.

JP’s experience of the human trafficking system included only trafficking of the purpose of sexual exploitation. JP’s perspective as a counsellor and community activist, revealed the presence of many systems, subsystems, and elements within the human trafficking system in Eastern Cape Province. His perspective is diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 15 below.

Introducing JP.

JP is a “registered counsellor” (para. 2) and has been registered with the “Council of Counsellors in South Africa” (para. 2) since 1998. His journey into the helping profession was initiated when he was encouraged by the support he received from LifeLine counsellors after his wife passed away in 1986. He then completed the necessary courses to become a LifeLine counsellor. Between 1998 and 2003, JP completed two more counselling



SAPS	South African Police Service	IO	Investigating Officer
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority	IOM	International Organisation for Migration
CSO	Civil Society Organisations		

Figure 15. An ecosystemic conceptualisation of JP's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape utilising Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

programmes through the University of South Africa (UNISA) and a counselling diploma through the Counselling Institute of South Africa.

JP took early retirement from his position as a branch and regional manager for a steel company in 2001. This enabled him to commit to his community activism and counselling activities in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan area on a full-time basis. Since 2001, he has served on the management boards of a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the Nelson Mandela Bay metropolitan area. JP also provides counselling and life skills training workshops to the disadvantaged communities in the Northern areas of Port Elizabeth, consisting of historically disadvantaged citizens, with the aim of combating drug abuse and gangsterism in these areas. He also provided mentoring programmes in the St. Albans Prison in Port Elizabeth (J. Preller, personal communication, September 7, 2014).

JP launched a support group for people addicted to substances in June 2001 “because in my counselling practice, I came across a lot of [substance] abuse” (para. 11). JP realised that “people with alcohol problems are well catered for because AA (Alcoholics Anonymous) have got...six or seven meetings a week” (para. 11). He realised it was the “guys and women that were using drugs” (para. 11) that needed support as “there was no support group operating in Port Elizabeth (P.E) at the time” (para. 11). JP went in search of relevant information and found literature on substance abuse on the internet and from the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) as “I didn’t really know much about drugs” (para. 11). The support group programme “called 2SHARE...SHARE is an acronym. Stands for Substance abusers Help link for Addicts Recovery and Empowerment” (para. 11) has “two meetings a week on a Monday and a Thursday” (para. 12) to assist former addicts as “part of the link of healing for these people to give them another opportunity, another resource available in their search and walk towards recovery” (para. 11). JP completed his Master’s degree through UNISA on the success of addiction support groups where a spiritual approach was used (J.Preller, personal communication, August 31, 2014). Ecosystemic interactions and influences as they occurred

in the human trafficking system from JP's perspective as counsellor and community activist are discussed next.

JP's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

JP's first interaction with a victim of human trafficking was in 2003. Even though human trafficking "was something I wasn't even really aware of up until that point" (para. 7), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) approached him to "assist them in re-establishing her back in the community" (para. 2). He was surprised to be contacted by the IOM as "I have no idea how they even knew about who I was" (para. 2). This trafficking victim was "a Xhosa lady, I think she's 28 years old" (para. 2) who was arrested in Europe: "I think they picked her up in Belgium for prostitution" (para. 2). Only when she was questioned by the police in Belgium was she identified as a victim of human trafficking: "during the interview they established that she was in fact a victim of human trafficking" (para. 2) after which the "IOM were called in to get involved" (para. 2).

The IOM also requested that JP counsel the trafficking victim and help her to find safe accommodation: "They asked me if I could establish a safe place for her... Whether I would counsel her... I said yes, I could do that" (para. 2). As JP was the director of "a mission for the homeless and the destitute" (para. 3) in Port Elizabeth, he was able to request the mission to house her: "I discussed the question of whether they would be able to accommodate her for a no-charge basis. They said yes, they would do that" (para. 3). At this mission, "she had her own room. We were able to give her clothing. She had three meals a day" (para. 4). JP also provided counselling: "I would go in and see her every second day and I would counsel her" (para. 4). As JP "also was past... chairman of LifeLine... I arranged to pick her up once a week and take her to LifeLine where they were running a rape support group" (para. 4). According to JP, it took "quite a while for her to learn to trust me" (para. 4) because of her

experiences as a trafficking victim: “(a), I was white and she had been abused by white people in Europe, and I was male” (para. 4). After a period of about six months, “we eventually were able to establish an area of trust” (para. 4).

This victim of human trafficking was not well educated: “she only had about...a grade seven, so she wasn’t well educated” (para. 6). However, she “wanted to move on with her life....She was more interested in reception/PA [personal assistant] type of work” (para. 6). This woman was eager to improve her education: “I said to her: ‘Would you like to do a course to give yourself better opportunities for employment?’ And she said she would” (para. 6). JP therefore assisted her in this regard: “what I did was I went to one of the colleges here in Central and I saw they had a course there for...life skills with a view to become a secretary. So they would give a...basic course for computer literacy, human relationships, telephone operations, and things like that” (para. 6). The course “cost quite a few thousand rand” (para. 6). JP therefore facilitated funding for her education from overseas donors: “I got back to the IOM and I asked if they could give me the assistance....They were able to get donors from Europe” (para. 6). The funding was enough to also pay for her accommodation for the full period of the “two year course” (para. 6). JP managed the donated funds: “What I did with the money is that I took part of it and gave it to the mission to carry the cost of her accommodation and her food and the balance I then paid in paid for her training at the college in full” (para. 6). With the counselling, support, and education she received, this woman not only “did the whole thing, she passed it. She did extremely well” (para. 6) in the course. She also “was able to establish relationships again, make friends, go back to church...then she moved off to Jo’burg to get herself a job” (para. 6) after which JP “lost touch with her” (para. 6).

JP’s second encounter with a trafficking victim was when he was asked to counsel another woman who had approached an organisation because “she ran away from her pimp”

(para. 9). This woman “had been owned by a Nigerian” (para. 9) who had assaulted her: “she’d been beaten to a pulp. She’d really been badly beaten and she was half naked” (para. 9). After JP established that “She had also been trafficked by these people” (para. 10), the police got involved and “obviously we had to put her in a safe place’ (para. 10). JP was aware that this victim returned to her community: “She is now living in another province with her parents so she’d been removed completely out of that” (para. 10).

JP’s third interaction with a trafficking victim was the result of his involvement in running a substance abuse support group: “I got a phone call from a lady who owned the Go-Go Lounge, the strip club. She said: ‘I’ve heard about this support group you’ve got’” (para. 13). The owner of the strip club wanted her staff to go to JP’s substance abuse support group because “I’m afraid that my staff are abusing drugs and alcohol” (para. 13). The owner of the Go-Go Lounge was so enthusiastic about her staff attending the support group that “she told all her customers that they would only open like eight, nine o’ clock after her ladies had been to the 2SHARE meeting” (para. 13). In the process of counselling the “six or seven dancers and prostitutes” (para. 13) at the 2SHARE group, it emerged that one woman “was a victim of human trafficking” (para. 14). She was “trafficked from...Pretoria” (para. 17) to Macau and then “to PE” (para. 19).

JP’s interaction with a fourth human trafficking victim occurred when a trafficker and his victim were arrested in Port Elizabeth, after which “she became a witness against him” (para. 28). JP organised a safe venue where police could interview this victim of trafficking: “I got involved because I’m involved with the Community Police Forum...and I was asked to arrange an interview with her and the top police officers so they could get her statement...as a witness” (para. 28). This victim turned state witness and JP did not have direct contact with her again. He followed her progress through this case, which is related later in this section.

Another aspect of JP's experience with human trafficking has been "second hand in the sense that through IO I started attending the court case...the six Nigerians that he arrested" (para. 21). JP attended "every court appearance they [had] for bail application" (para. 21).

Interaction with the first victim of trafficking made JP aware of the elements of human trafficking: "I became very much aware of it having heard her story and having seen what she's gone through. How she have been deceived, transported" (para. 7). The element of deceit was prominent in the story of two of the human trafficking victims JP interacted with. The first victim he interacted with was deceived by a man she had a relationship with:

She had this Nigerian boyfriend and he said to her: "You know what? My sister is running a restaurant in Belgium. Why don't you go there, work for her, earn Euros, save for two years. You come back with enough cash to buy your own business" (para. 35).

To encourage her to take up his offer, her boyfriend offered to pay for her journey: "Don't worry. I love you mos. I'll pay for it....when you come back with all those Euros you can pay me back and you won't pay interest" (para. 35). After she arrived in Belgium, however, "to her horror, she discovers she's been sold" (para. 35).

The third victim he met through his 2SHARE group was deceived into a trafficking situation by "an international talent scout" (para. 15) who offered her "work in Hong Kong as a dancer?" (para. 15). He further convinced her by making promises about the type of life she would live in Hong Kong and offered to pay her travel costs: "You get paid in dollars. You will travel the world. I will pay all the costs and you'll become famous and you'll make a lot of money and you'll do what you love doing" (para. 15). This victim, however, "didn't go to Hong Kong. She went to Macau, which I think is a 130km west of Hong Kong" (para. 15). In Macau, she was forced to "prostitute herself and sell drugs and use drugs to keep her on the go" (para. 15). She was also "beaten badly" (para. 15). JP emphasised how this victim was dehumanised in the trafficking situation:

what really, really got to me was, they spoke mandarin there and they used to call her Shinting...some lovely sounding name. And she said she discovered to her horror that that wasn't a name. It was a number. She was number 2356" (para. 15)

JP described his reaction too as "horrified" (para. 15) as the "the number 2346 or something" (para. 15) hinted that "two...thousand, three hundred and forty five people before her" (para. 15) may have been trafficked. After a period of counselling through the 2SHARE group, this victim moved to another strip club that was operating in Port Elizabeth at the time and JP lost touch with her. He later heard that she moved to Cape Town (J. Preller, personal communication, October 6, 2014).

JP was of the opinion that a number of factors interact to make citizens of Eastern Cape communities vulnerable to being trafficked: "there are so many elements involved....The one is greed and the other is poverty. And the other is absolute helplessness and need. There is deception as well" (para. 24). While the greed relates to "the guys doing it....There's the money side of it" (para. 24), he regarded "the desperation of people sometimes that they may just allow things to happen" (para. 34) while the traffickers "lie to people" (para. 33) to exploit the "naivety and poverty of the people" (para. 33). JP illustrated how a trafficker might deceive naïve and desperate community members:

They would approach maybe an elderly person in a fairly large rural area and say: "I represent an academy....We're looking for young children and we're gonna put them through an educational process....We will pay you R200 if you could then bring us candidates that we accept and then they will go to this academy and they will come back with a matric...I've got this wonderful, wonderful opportunity to send your children or your child to school and it's really not gonna cost you anything because it's a Oprah Winfrey type of thing...He gives me R200 and I never see this child again. (para. 33).

JP learned that trafficking victims were also “abused emotionally and physically, sexually and financially” (para. 7) when they were in the trafficking situation. When JP counselled the second victim who was assaulted by her Nigerian trafficker “it emerged then that...she hadn’t been earning enough money” (para. 9). In order to punish her, “he told her to strip to humiliate her and to lie on the floor and he whipped her with his belt and he kicked her and he beat her with his fists. I mean, he really beaten her badly” (para. 9). JP was shocked at the level of violence towards this woman: “She was a white woman and when I saw her, I wasn’t quite sure what ethnic group she was from because she was so full of bruises and bumps...it was just really an awful situation” (para. 9).

JP also became aware that human traffickers were willing to use force against others. When the fourth victim turned state witness against her Nigerian trafficker, her family was made the target of violence to intimidate her to withdraw her statement during the bail application:

this woman had a young son...he was brain damaged and so...her mother had to look after the child when she went out to do her work. What this guy did was, he petrol bombed the flat where she stayed to intimidate her to withdraw as a witness...the statement came back to her: “Next firebomb goes off in the flat and nobody gets out. They’ll burn alive, so you pull back your statement” (para. 28).

As a result of the violence against her mother, this victim withdrew her statement with the result that there was “no case, he walks free” (para. 28). JP concluded that this violent act and the deferral of justice “really made me fairly angry towards these people.” (para. 28).

According to JP, the relationship between trafficking victim and trafficker is “an abusive relationship” (para. 45) where “different elements” (para. 43) define this relationship. On the one hand, the trafficker controls the victim through physical abuse and threats:

There's the element of fear because they do get beaten up. There is the element of threat: "If you don't do what I tell you to do, I will sort your family out or kill your child or whatever the case may be" (para. 43).

There is also "the element of punishment" (para. 43) to manipulate a victim: "No, I'm not giving you your crack cocaine today until you do what I want you to do" (para. 43).

JP related some of the violent acts of an alleged Nigerian trafficker that formed part of the charges heard during his bail application:

this one guy. I mean, he's like 6 ft. 3, 6 ft. 5. He's a huge oke![man] It's just muscles....He raped a ten year old girl....One of the other charges against him; he not only beat her [victim of trafficking] with a hose pipe...can you imagine how painful that is? He poured boiling water over her. Then he threw her out the house and rode over her with his motor car. Fortunately he didn't kill her. (para. 47).

On the other hand, JP discerned that even when victims are the target of physical and emotional abuse, they also exhibit signs "of wanting to please the person" (para. 43). JP highlighted the similarity between the relationship dynamics in a domestic violence situation and the dynamic in a trafficking situation: "the guy beats you to a pulp and you stay with him because of financial constraints or whatever the case may be...to hold you onto him and then tomorrow or later on sometime he comes and cries all over you. Tells you how sorry is because he really does love you" (para. 43). In the case of a victim of trafficking, "she believes this wonderful people that have given her a double-dose of crack cocaine because he loves her and he's sorry" (para. 45). The victim stays in the relationship because she thinks, "well, he could change" (para. 45) and she remembers that her trafficker showed kindness as well in the past: "That's the person I remember" (para. 45). According to JP, the combination of these elements, "keeps her attachment" (para. 45) to the trafficker.

A victim can also be complicit in trafficking schemes because of this attachment with her trafficker. JP narrated how the fourth victim and her trafficker, “he is a Nigerian and this white woman” (para. 26), duped other traffickers:

He took her to Cape Town. He sold her to this guy and then he hung around and the following day when this guy put her on the streets, she saw his car and by prior arrangement jumped into the car, had a good laugh and off they went. (para. 28).

The pair repeated this pattern: “They went off to, I think, Bloemfontein if I remember correctly. Same thing: he sold her to another guy. The guy put her out on the street. She jumped in her car. They came back to PE” (para. 28). As previously mentioned, this victim turned state witness against her trafficker after they were arrested, but JP later heard that “She married the Nigerian pimp, probably to protect herself or probably because he needs to keep her there or he wanted South African citizenship, whatever it was” (para. 31). JP concluded that “the main part” (para. 45) of why victims stay in the trafficking relationship is because “they are caught in a trap. They can’t see another way out” (para. 45).

JP was of the opinion that the trafficker views his or victims as “a product or a means to an end” (para. 55) only. For example, “I want to become a South African citizen so I will marry you and then I’ll probably never see you again or I’ll sell you or I’ll do something with you, whatever the case may be” (para. 55). Any display of affection towards a victim, in JP’s opinion was, “all a role-play” (para. 47) to him because of the abuse a trafficker inflicts on his victim: “I really don’t believe that they have a soul in terms of compassion and humanity. I really don’t, honestly don’t. It’s that lack of respect....There’s that lack of compassion, empathy. It’s just not there” (para. 47).

JP identified a number of factors that he believed entices people to get involved in human trafficking activities. The first factor he singled out as the “driving force” (para. 47) and “definitely a pull factor” (para. 61) was greed: “It’s a greed for money and power and status

and that is an overriding influence in their lives” (para. 47). JP acknowledged that “I don’t really know many numbers except in one case” (para. 77) and was not sure whether this figure he was told “is an accurate figure or what” (para. 79). However, he recalled being told by one victim that “maybe she was sold for \$2000 and the woman that now owned her said: “You got to pay me back \$30 000 you owe me” (para. 77). This confirms that “the high profits they make” (para. 69) could be a significant motivating factor to get involved in human trafficking as “This is a lot of money” (para. 69).

Another factor which encouraged human trafficking involvement was impunity and the fact that human trafficking as a crime “is almost undetected” (para. 61). As part of the Community Policing Forum and his “interactions with the SAPS” (para. 8), JP used to join raids where the focus was on “criminal elements such as drugs, crime, prostitution” (para. 8). In retrospect, JP realised that “Human trafficking at that stage was not very much on our agenda” (para. 8). As the SAPS was “probably not looking for it” (para. 8), JP could not recall identifying any human trafficking cases before 2003 when he encountered the first victim. He attributed the lack of attention on human trafficking by law enforcement to be due to the hidden nature of the crime: “I believe it is also a very well-kept secret that is not that very well exposed” (para. 8). As a result, human trafficking is “almost a fairly safe way to get into business because how often do you read about prosecutions” (para. 61). Even when prosecutions are initiated, JP was of the opinion that: “your dealers in human trafficking got a helluva lot of money so they can invest in the best lawyers and advocates available” (para. 23).

The lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation was another factor JP attributed to the fact that human trafficking was “undetected” (para. 63): “I mean, how often do you read about people being arrested and found guilty and imprisoned for ...any length of time for human trafficking? Very few times” (para. 63). JP had knowledge of prosecution against

alleged human traffickers in Cape Town and Durban, but he was “not aware of any prosecutions” (para. 65) in Port Elizabeth beyond the “potential prosecution for six guys and I know that they are going to go for life sentences in their cases...but that is yet to happen” (para. 65).

At the time of the interview, JP asserted that “the South African laws are so flawed at the moment that it’s extremely difficult for the police to do an arrest on a human trafficking case” (para. 65) because they “have to use numerous laws to effect the arrest” (para. 65). The prosecution too has difficulty to prosecute human trafficking because of the lack of comprehensive human trafficking legislation: “It becomes an absolute nightmare for the prosecution to take this to court and to prosecute and to argue human trafficking because there is not a specific law” (para. 65). In the bail application for the six alleged Nigerian traffickers, for example, JP explained “they’ve got half a dozen different laws that they are busy using in this particular case” (para. 65). As these accused “got very good lawyers” (para. 65), the use of many laws makes it “easy for them to start looking for technicalities to water down your case” (para. 65).

JP regarded the lack of comprehensive legislation to be a “very strong issue” (para. 65) in that “the government is not protecting its society...the people that it’s supposed to protect” (para. 65). JP even “tackled six cabinet ministers” (para. 61) on the fact that the comprehensive legislation is taking such a long time to promulgate and “was told it’s in parliament. It’s ready to be promulgated” (para. 61). That, however, “was two years ago” (para. 61) and at the time of the interview JP reflected “we’re still waiting” (para. 61).

He regarded the delay in the promulgation of comprehensive human trafficking legislation as “total incompetence from the government’s point of view...they just don’t care” (para. 61), probably because “to them it’s just another thing on the map if you take a look here how undetected it is” (para. 63). Therefore, JP was of the opinion that “I don’t

think they understand the full extent of the crime” (para. 62) and therefore “It doesn’t seem to be a priority” (para. 67) in the midst of many other priorities: “Their priority is, and correctly so, housing, job creation, corruption” (para. 67). Nevertheless, it was his opinion that the lack of adequate legislation due to government’s delay is “criminal neglect” (para. 61) because “they need to protect our future” (para. 67) from organised crime networks’ drug and human trafficking activities: “remember, with human trafficking, it’s closely knitted to substance abuse” (para. 67). When “those cartels start selling drugs to everybody left, right and centre and if what you take what’s happening with the young children today” (para. 67) JP feared that “We’ve got a lost generation. We’re going to have a big gap in South Africa’s history where we don’t have...adequate leaders because those leaders had been lead into substance abuse and are no longer able to fulfil their potential” (para. 67).

JP was of the opinion that many of the people involved in trafficking “are very educated...intelligent people” (para. 49) who got involved in a crime as a way to earn a living in South Africa realised that crime could be lucrative:

They come into this country, probably believing that the pavements are filled with gold. Found out that it’s not. Tried to make an honest day’s living and then were corrupted along the way into...criminal activities and then of course, the hook is the money they’re making out of it...they probably start off with drugs and stuff like that (para. 49).

From starting in “this smaller type of crimes...these aren’t the organised crime” (para. 51), JP hypothesised that relationships with other Nigerian foreign nationals could pull them into organised crime:

if you’re Nigerian and you’re living here, you will eventually make contact with others and you have friends and you’ll family and you’ll have contacts and you will have a network and you’ll have a place for your food at home, the food and the culture and the

music and the chit-chat and all the rest of it and so you will then be hooked into a criminal element. (para. 51).

Once in touch with the bigger criminal network, JP was of the opinion that the person will get involved in more serious crime “like human trafficking” (para. 51). According to JP, “There’s no two ways about it in my opinion” (para. 51) that the human trafficking activities of Nigerians in Port Elizabeth are conducted by “organised crime...they’ve got like a loose criminal family” (para. 51). Each of these criminal families “is operating separately, but together, they have meetings. They actually have board meetings like you or I would go to a meeting at seven or something and they discuss what’s happening” (para. 51).

When introducing JP, it was mentioned that in addition to counselling community members, he is also involved in activism. One example of his activism involves demonstrating against the release of an alleged trafficker in Port Elizabeth when he “got all my contacts from WAWA, Women against Women Abuse in Uitenhage” (para. 28): “I phoned them up and said: ‘Look, can we have a demonstration at the court against this guy’s bail application. We’re opposing it vigorously. Can you come and support me?’” (para. 28). The demonstration got a lot of attention and according to JP “was in the paper. It was on the TV” (para. 28).

As part of his activist role, JP also conducted awareness programs on human trafficking to organisations such as an “organisation that trains care givers” (para. 86), “different schools” (para. 95), and “with the NMMU (Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan University)” (para. 86) where he had “many talks...I think six or seven” (para. 89) with “International students” (para. 86). As part of his awareness presentations, he would give information to “prevent the total deception of the victim” (para. 35): “I would say to them: ‘If it sounds too good to be true, it is too good to be true. If somebody comes to you with this offer, check it out’” (para. 35). JP also engaged with media and used the internet to create awareness of

human trafficking: “I also write columns on...the website mype (www.mype.com).....I also write every now and again in the papers to just create awareness of human trafficking things” (para. 97).

JP found that he did not “picked up resistance in any way” (para. 106) among those who attended his human trafficking awareness presentations. Instead, he either “picked up support from some people or neutral responses” (para. 106) such as “It’s not really my passion so...let’s talk about airplanes or motor cars” (para. 106), a phenomenon he calls “selective deafness” (para. 108). However, he did not encounter the latter response often.

As JP was “involved with, I think 18 or 19 different organisations” (para. 21), most of which he chaired, IO requested him to become involved in an effort to coordinate services to human trafficking victims before the 2010 FIFA World Cup (World Cup). Both JP and IO sent out invitations for the first meeting that “IO chaired at [SAPS’s] Organised Crime [offices]” (para. 21). A number of organisations from different fields were represented at the meeting: “we had psychologists there...we had police there with him, Organised Crime, we had SANCA, FAMSA (Families South Africa), [Department of] Social Development, myself, and a lot of different other organisations” (para. 21).

In order to “put up a structure to care for and look after and prepare for victims of human trafficking that encompasses counselling” (para. 21), JP “drew up an algorithm from identification as a victim to this to this to this to this” (para. 21) and

together we tried to format a program so that when the first victims were identified, we would be able to put them into the system of not only safety, security, not only counselling, but to put them through a whole process. (para. 21).

This program included aspects such as the “NPA (National Prosecuting Authority) making them court ready” (para. 23) which is necessary because

Your victim is usually a woman that has been beaten. She's been put onto drugs. So she doesn't have court credibility because she doesn't know how to conduct herself in court. Plus the fact that she's probably afraid...and she's probably suffering from post-traumatic stress and trauma (para. 23).

JP's algorithm also included "what happens after the court case" (para. 23) and measures to facilitate the victim's reintegration back into society:

She then got a choice. Keep her in the program. Put her into a place of safety. Give her training: Life skills training, education...whatever she needs to prepare her to get back into her community, earn her own living and then reconcile with her family, reconcile with the community. (para. 23).

After the initial meetings JP recalled thinking, "the SAPS heads have taken it to another level by getting their own psychologists, social workers...social development" (para. 23) to take over the program and JP "fell out of that program" (para. 23). However, he felt "happy enough that I've was at least a part of it" (para. 23).

JP found that in the "pre-World Cup" (para. 114), there "was this big fear" (para. 99) and "a lot of paranoia out there" (para. 114). During this time, rumours were spread via email and social media as people "[worked] themselves up into a frenzy of paranoia" (para. 99). One example was when JP

had a sms (short message service) and an email about a woman who claimed that two children had been found in a container at the harbour, ready to be shipped out....It was claimed that the children were abducted from a children's home in Port Elizabeth (para. 99).

JP contacted IO to inform him of the email and "IO went to the harbour...he checked everything he could possibly check. Couldn't find anything" (para. 99). After that, IO "went back to the children's home" (para. 99) where "They did a roll-call that night to make sure

that every child was accounted for and it came back that every child was there” (para. 99). JP was indignant about the “terrible repercussion of that event” (para. 99) as the children questioned why a roll call took place “and it came out this is why and so the children were fearful. The next day they had to go to church. Some of them were scared they will be kidnapped” (para. 99). Afterwards JP “put an article in the press and I put an article on my webpage condemning people that pass on untrue...stories as being facts and creating paranoia and panic” (para. 100). The person who sent the email was located and JP “sent her a very strong email” (para. 100). According to JP, this incident also highlighted the commitment of IO in this case as “This was on a Saturday and I think the Springboks were playing somebody. Huge...rugby match. He was busy watching his favourite, rugby” (para. 99), when he went to the harbour to investigate the truth of the rumour: “just show the man is committed...he is a wonderful person. I have such admiration for him” (para. 99).

JP encountered a similar situation when “another woman who sits on one of my committees” (para. 100) emailed a rumour and “three, four, five hundred people got emails” (para. 100). JP “tackled her” (para. 100) because she did “not check the veracity” (para. 100) of the information she emailed. According to JP, her reasoning was “rather safe than sorry” (para. 100), but JP was unconvinced of that.

Despite the pre-World Cup paranoia when “There were these things going around: ‘I notice somebody taking pictures of my child at the shopping mall’” (para. 114), JP found that “there weren’t any reported cases of child abduction or human trafficking in the area” (para. 114) during the duration of the World Cup. JP attributed this to a large police presence during that time which had a positive effect on overall crime statistics:

they brought police in here from all over the place. You just saw police left, right, and centre...there was hardly crime. Because I get stats, I look at as a member of the Community Policing Forum executive, so I’m aware of the stats most people don’t see

that crime dropped dramatically because there was such high visibility from the police.

(para. 114).

JP also discussed the elements that he believed maintained his motivation for his activist activities: “I think I just a compassion for people...I think a passion for people...it doesn’t matter whether you’re English, Afrikaans, black, white, green, yellow, I don’t care” (para. 102). The need for justice for “the downtrodden” (para. 102) strongly motivates JP: “I feel passion for what’s right...I think all my life...even as a small, little schoolboy. If I felt somebody was being bullied, then I would tackle this outjie who’d beat him to a pulp” (para. 102). JP also received negative responses when “you fight for the downtrodden” (para. 102). He remembered “in the old days of the previous regime, I was called a k-boetie” (para. 102).

JP’s reflection on knowledge of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

Generally, JP hoped that the results of the current study would “lead to positive actions in terms of government considerations, government awareness” (para. 109) as well as bringing awareness which will result in “other organisations looking at it [human trafficking] more carefully” (para. 109). He also regarded it as important that more academic research be conducted by other researchers at the university. More academic research, in his opinion “will empower and improve the whole system” (para. 118). In order to build “capacity into the law enforcements fields of the NPA, police, Hawks, Organised Crime [Unit]” (para. 120), JP considered it important to present “a balanced view” of human trafficking as “it keeps the paranoia and the panic out” (para. 109). JP was of the opinion that information about human trafficking devoid of sensationalism would enable people to “see it in perspective” (para. 114), which he hoped would “encourage the government to get the laws in place...that they could do something through the courts. Make it easier...for the prosecutors to take [cases] to court” (para. 114).

Summary of JP's perspective.

JP's view of the human trafficking system conveyed the complex relationship between the trafficker and the victim of trafficking that is characterised by intricate and complex psychological dynamics. The traffickers exert psychological control over the trafficked persons through threats and physical violence that the victims of trafficking experience as traumatic. Yet through acts of kindness, the traffickers are also able to illicit loyalty from the trafficking victims as well. JP also highlighted intricate interactions and conditions that drive the growth of human trafficking. One such interaction is the traffickers' greed for money that motivates deceitful strategies with which to lure vulnerable people into trafficking situations, often through international organised criminal syndicates. Impunity from prosecution, the result of a number of systemic interactions, is another factor which JP considered to be a salient factor which creates conditions in which human trafficking thrives. JP was of the opinion that the complexities of human trafficking require a number of systemic responses and interactions. In his opinion, for example, academic research on human trafficking could feed appropriate knowledge of this largely hidden and unknown crime of human trafficking to the law enforcement system to build capacity and enable more effective responses to human trafficking.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Non-Governmental Organisation National Coordinator's (NNC) Perspective

“at the end of the day, if you don't consider the big picture and consider it actually all, starts with saying that it really is happening and we need to investigate and we need to rescue, the rest of the system's gonna fall apart, awareness is going to die and the perpetrators are still just going to get away with more and more and more trafficking”

(NNC, para. 89)

NNC is a woman in her late 20s who established and coordinated a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that operates nationally in South Africa. This NGO focusses on the development of a national strategy for civil society involved in counter human trafficking activities. NNC's unique view of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape was formed through her interactions with counter human trafficking stakeholders in government departments, the South African Police Service (SAPS), National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), civil society, and impoverished and rural communities, including the Eastern Cape's rural communities. She also interacted with previously trafficked persons and individuals who were previously involved in human trafficking activities.

NNC's perspective included references to human trafficking for sexual exploitation, forced labour, and domestic servitude. Her perspective also included references to the ukuthwala practice. NNC's strategic, non-governmental organisation perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development revealed a variety of systems, subsystems, and elements. Her perspective is shown in Figure 16.

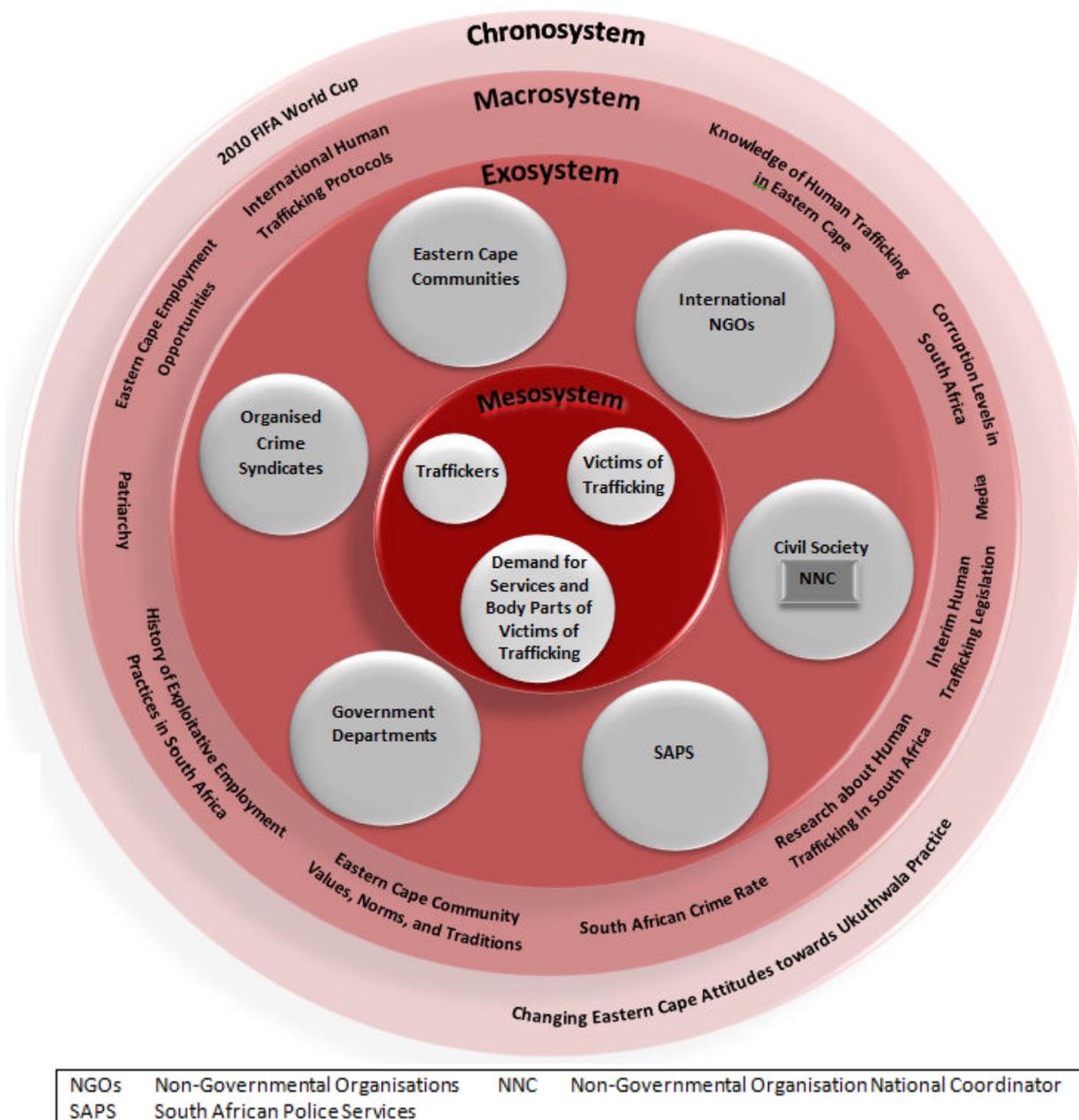


Figure 16. NNC’s knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape according to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

Introducing NNC.

NNC began her career as a strategy consultant for a multi-national tobacco company. She entered the development field by joining an international NGO that focusses on the support of vulnerable children and women. In this NGO, she was responsible for the development of

distribution strategies of information that included material on the prevention of human trafficking for vulnerable children and women in South Africa. NNC came to realise that the responses to human trafficking in the country were fragmented and that there was a need for a better connection between all the counter human trafficking stakeholders. For this reason, she initiated the establishment of an NGO in South Africa that focusses on developing a strategy for involving all the counter human trafficking stakeholders from civil society. In this process, she also developed advocacy objectives that guided the NGO to build partnerships among other civil society organisations as well as with individuals in government departments and SAPS concerned with counter human trafficking activities. She called this the collective action approach. As national coordinator, NNC interacted with civil society organisations in South Africa, vulnerable populations in the Eastern Cape, men who were involved in the criminal organisations which trafficked people, and previously trafficked persons. NNC's perspective of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape revealed several complex interactions between several different systems involved in human trafficking in the Eastern Cape province as conceptualised by Bronfenbrenner (1994) bioecological model.

NNC's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

According to NNC, "the key trafficking issue in the Eastern Cape would be...[it's] the source for human trafficking victims...the Eastern Cape rural areas" (para. 2). She also found that the Eastern Cape city centres "would be a destination place where trafficking victims will be used to be exploited" (para. 2). NNC was of the opinion that there were a number of ways in which traffickers exploited the vulnerability of people in the Eastern Cape. In the Eastern Cape, NNC has observed a "level of desperation to be able to get out of the village to make a living" (para. 17). She often found that the "very high rate of teenagers having children" (para. 18) in the Eastern Cape further drives the urgency to find work as

“these kids need to be looked after, the grandma’s need to be looked after” (para. 18).

Therefore, “the older teenagers, the younger 20s get sent out to go and make money somewhere for the entire family” (para. 18).

The Eastern Cape also had a low matric pass rate “if I listened correctly this year, they were sitting at 53%” (para. 17) which means “those children that are coming of age...[are] not making it through their schooling. So they’re getting close, but they are not quite passing” (para. 17). Without matric, “they don’t have any entry level into any normal, formalised job” (para. 17). The only option for these young people is to “go then for the labour market jobs...the non-skills entry level jobs” (para. 16) where they have to compete with people with “university pass rates that are vying for those jobs” (para. 16). There was also a lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape, which forces young people to find work through “the informal economy” (para. 3), further increasing their vulnerability to being trafficked: “we do know that the young girls and the young boys in the Eastern Cape rural areas are particularly susceptible because of the ...lack of employment in the area” (para. 3).

As the “pressure is incredibly strong on them to produce those funds” (para. 18), NNC realised that “if a recruiter does come and offer jobs...and say: ‘Well, I’ve got a good reputation for getting people out of here, come with me’” (para. 18), combined with the “pressure from the families for that person to get out and start providing for the family” (para. 18), these vulnerable youth will “often go and find their way” (para. 18). It could therefore be relatively simple for traffickers to recruit these vulnerable young people: “very often if a recruiter or a somebody comes round and says to them: ‘There is a couple of jobs going in this and this town, for this and this’ they will go with these recruiters” (para. 3).

NNC found that generally, the families are also not aware of the recruitment methods of traffickers, further increasing their vulnerability: “the family will say: ‘Go!’ They won’t

check to see where they are going. They won't know what's on the other side" (para. 3). There is therefore very little protection from their family's side: "They don't have people to say: 'No, I don't feel good about this....Who is this person?'" (para. 18). As a result "they're incredibly vulnerable...for traffickers [to] come through and literally just pick them up" (para. 3). Often the families "don't have money to send them" (para. 3) to other towns and cities to find jobs. The traffickers, however, will exploit the desperate need for money in these families by saying: "Don't worry. I'll give your family R500 to help paying the [travel] documents; you'll be able to pay me back" (para. 18).

Finding work in the informal economy also creates vulnerabilities for unemployed Eastern Cape youth as "they haven't applied for jobs online, see what they can find, go through the interview process and go for a job" (para. 3), but often they "just simply get into a taxi and go towards the cities" (para. 3). Traffickers have specific recruitment strategies when "the kids...take their own transportation and go to the cities" (para. 19): "the traffickers are waiting for them at the borders. They canvas the bus stops. They canvas the taxi ranks" (para. 19). When these traffickers see "fresh meat is here off the bus, looking for a job. Duffel bag over the shoulder, not knowing where to go" (para. 19), they "Pretend to be lovely" (para. 19) to entice the vulnerable job seeker into a human trafficking situation: "they are: 'O, you cute things'...the attention of the boyfriend, incredibly nice at first and they think: 'Ah, such a relief. I've got help'" (para. 19).

After their trust has been won, these vulnerable persons find themselves being trafficked "into the sex trade or into the domestic labour market. A sort of debt bondage start up....The next thing you know they find themselves in the situation that they cannot get out of and they're being exploited" (para. 19). When in the trafficking situation, the trafficked persons mostly are not able to send money home: "Nothing to send home" (para. 19) and therefore "they also can't come back very easily" (para. 18) as there are few options for earning money

at home: “What are they going to do? How are they going to provide for the family? How are they gonna help support their own children and older people?” (para. 18).

NNC indicated that “the sale of children by families is going on all over the world...the family end up getting a little money” (para. 13). This global method of trafficking children involves the trafficker making promises such as “I’ll give your daughter a better life...we can make a plan...and then the child’s gone” (para. 13). This method was also employed in the Eastern Cape: “It’s how traffickers operate and they definitely gonna be operating like that in the Eastern Cape” (para. 13).

A Xhosa cultural practice in the Eastern Cape, ukuthwala, was found to be another way in which young girls were trafficked for the purpose of forced marriage: “in 2009 we had many, many cases of young girls being sold by their parents to older men, supposedly for marriage” (para. 9). In one case, NNC noted “the marriage wasn’t legal in any way. The girl was too young” (para. 9). This young girl “was kidnapped from her home. Once the sale had gone through, the parents got the money” (para. 9). After the kidnapping, the child “would be taken to an old man’s home” (para. 9). According to NNC, “99% of the cases” (para. 9) related to the “myth that if they married or slept with a virgin” (para. 9), the men who initiated the ukuthwala who “had contracted HIV/AIDS...would be healed” (para. 9). These older men “would rape them [child brides] a few times and kick them out the door” (para. 9). As in the case of youth that were trafficked when they were looking for work, these child brides “would then have no recourse. They would have no way to go home because their parents won’t have them back” (para. 9). As a result, “they end up wandering around the streets and the towns” (para. 9). To accommodate these abandoned teenage girls, “the government stepped in and set up a safe house” (para. 9) in the Eastern Cape: “When I checked up there were at least, 20,...more than 20 or 30 girls at one time at that safe house for girls who’d been truly abandoned through these false marriages” (para. 9).

NCC believed that “older ladies and men get trafficked all over the country for domestic labour” (para. 7), while the children and young adults are trafficked “more for the sex trade” (para. 7). NNC held that in the “inner city, like the cities of the Eastern Cape, there would be a high demand for boys and girls” (para. 83). In NNC’s experience, the trafficking of young boys is an underground phenomenon that takes place when they are moved “from one community to another behind the scenes where older men in that community are receiving boys from other villages” (para. 83). According to NNC, the trafficking of boys is done in a clandestine manner but it is not a secret to the surrounding community: “everyone knows about it but no one talks about it” (para. 83). The clandestine trafficking of males is also “happening in the cities in a similar manner” (para. 83) because “men will find the [trafficked] men in their communities through the clubs, through other means that are not on the surface” (para. 83). Boys, who are trafficked “for a very specific market” (para. 81) are “even cheaper than others” (para. 83) for the trafficker because there are no advertising expenses: “you’re not gonna advertise in the paper: ‘young boys’” (para. 83).

NNC had also encountered “a lot of cases even of domestic labour where even people are picked up, even older people, older women, older men” (para. 4). These older men and women are “picked up for day jobs or for a contract of a certain amount of the time to work as a domestic labourer or as a farm worker in another province” (para. 4). It is especially male victims of human trafficking of all ages that are less likely to be identified in trafficking situations: “Men can be exploited far more easily...because people don’t expect them to be exploited” (para. 83). Therefore, even though there is “somebody behind the scenes pulling the strings” (para. 83), people will think that “they are earning for themselves whatever it is” (para. 83).

Children in the Eastern Cape are also vulnerable to be trafficked for their body parts to be used in traditional medicine, called muti: “We’ve come across, also coming from the Eastern

Cape, a large amount of, unfortunately, trafficking cases of organs, of children taken for muti” (para. 9). These children, “very often they’re young” (para. 9), are kidnapped and then “their parts get taken and sold for muti all over the country, also through Africa” (para. 9).

Eventually trafficked persons do realise “that they are actually in a trafficking situation; being held against their will....Not being paid. The conditions are terrible” (para. 4). NNC referred to cases of “Eastern Cape women in a garage in Cape Town...15 of them in one little garage” (para. 4). They were trafficked for labour where they were “put into an uniform and forced to go and work” (para. 4). These trafficked women were not able to communicate their situation to the people they were forced to work for as they were not able to speak English: “you would be surprised how many of the Eastern Cape women can’t speak English...they can only speak Xhosa....they’re working for an English family in Cape Town and they can’t explain their situation” (para. 4). A lack of awareness among the people making use of the service of these trafficked women contributed to the perpetuation of the trafficking situation: “The client knows no different. She’s paying the agency for the help” (para. 4). Without a way to escape the trafficking situation, “that poor person ends up being used again and again and again without finding a way out” (para. 4).

NNC explained that trafficked victims, “If they do happen to escape and find enough money to get a taxi back to their home town in the Eastern Cape” (para. 5), are unlikely to disclose to anyone there that they have been the victims of a crime and forced into exploitation: “they don’t tell anyone because they’re so ashamed of what happened” (para. 5). NNC was of the opinion that the reason for the trafficking victim’s shame lays in the norms and values in the Eastern Cape communities: “Any sexual activity outside of marriage is seen as a shaming element when they come home....Someone might know that they’ve been in the sex trade somewhere” (para. 23). Although admitting “I don’t understand it always” (para. 76), NNC has recognised that it is “the rules of the community” (para. 76) that

determines whether someone is “no longer shamed sexually...and has very little to do with the actual sexual activity of the person” (para. 76). It is when there is “evidence” (para. 76) that somebody has broken the community’s rules regarding sexual behaviour when “she is shamed...and the family can’t allow that shame” (para. 76): “so, don’t come back pregnant, that shows that you’ve been sexually impure...don’t let there be evidence...then all of a sudden it’s a massive shame” (para. 76).

NNC considered these community norms and values to reflect the fact that “we live in a bit of a skewed society in terms of the rights of women and the rights of children” (para. 76). Even though the South African Constitution “says everybody is equal” (para. 76), the reality is that “according to culture, it’s a patriarchal society so women have very strict codes set upon them whereas men do not” (para. 76). NNC noticed that in Eastern Cape communities who are guided to Eastern Cape patriarchal values, “the women are expected to stay pure for marriage and just don’t let it be known that she is sleeping around” (para. 76). On the other hand, “the boys and the men are all very welcome to go and do what they want....In fact, they say it’s their right...and she’s [his wife] is not allowed to complain” (para. 76).

The fear of this shame prevents many trafficking victims to return home “they know that they come back to a shame situation” (para. 23). If they return home, they often do not disclose that they were sexually exploited. As a result, the community are not made aware of the existence of human trafficking and the methods of the traffickers: “they don’t hear the stories, they don’t understand that it can happen” (para. 5). This enables traffickers to return to the same communities to traffic more people: “the recruiter comes by next week to get another six women and no-one says what is going on” (para. 5).

Shame also prevents boys and men from disclosing that they have been trafficked: “The boys...it’s far more shameful for them” (para. 81). The boys prefer to “try to fend for themselves and carry on. Try to get away than access services for victims” (para. 81). As

being in a shelter and going through a treatment process “is too shaming for them” (para. 5), boys are not likely “ [to] sit in a safe house and go through rehabilitation” (para. 5). They are more likely to “disappear as quickly as possible and try and forget about it” (para. 81).

While fear of the shame they will experience in their home communities prevents trafficked persons from returning home, victims of trafficking will also find it difficult to leave the trafficking situation because of a number of reasons. According to NNC, “they are very young...and susceptible to manipulation” (para. 23) by the traffickers. The traffickers make use of fear, drugs, and emotional blackmail to “the point where they...feel trapped” (para. 23). NNC regarded drugs as the method traffickers regards as the easiest way to gain control over a victim: “the easiest one is drugs. They simply drug them up” (para. 23). Traffickers also “use a lot of fear tactics to hold them there” (para. 23). They will, for example, threaten the victims by saying to them:

If you try to get out or try to go back to your family....First of all we will tell them what’s going on and then we will demand that they recompense me and give your children in your place or they might just take them. (para. 23).

NNC recalled that “one of the traffickers said...: ‘When a girl stops fighting, then she starts working” (para. 23). The aim of the control methods are therefore “to break them down in every possible way: physically with the drugs, emotionally with all the blackmail and sexually they rape them” (para. 23). Once the trafficked person feels “as if they are used and abused, not useful to anyone else” (para. 23), then the traffickers can “put them to work” (para. 23) in exploitative situations.

Once a person has been in such a toxic controlling environment, NNC regarded it as “an environment that is closed” (para. 24). In this environment, “they have no control. The trafficker makes every decision for them” (para. 24) and “their whole psychological makeup is now designed” (para. 24) around their experiences in the trafficking situation. The level of

control the trafficker has over a victim is also dependent on the length of time he or she is in the trafficking situation: “the longer they stay in that place, the more they learn nothing but control of that environment” (para. 24). Eventually, trafficking victims can become dependent on the trafficker, which stops them from leaving the trafficking situation: “The trafficker makes every decision for them...they [victims]...report...trying [to]...make your own decision becomes so overwhelming because they’ve been told that’s not...the way it works” (para. 24).

NNC has seen that a trafficking situation eventually “escalates” (para. 29). Either the “abuse will escalate” (para. 29) or the trafficked person “will join the crime syndicate” (para. 29) when they “start recruiting other girls” (para. 29). This process of recruiting other victims, also takes place while under the control of their trafficker: “Most of the time they are just told to do it and they just feel: ‘Well, I don’t have a choice’ and they just go that route and they start recruiting other girls” (para. 29). This is done by phoning their friends back home and deceiving them into a trafficking situation: “Oh, it’s lovely down here. Bring five friends and come....Food every day...we get money, we see lots of boys, we’re having a jol, we’re at the clubs” (para. 29). After this, “the trafficker will pick them up and the cycle starts again” (para. 29). In NNC’s experience, “many of the victims or people who go into prostitution get into it through a form of deceit” (para. 31), often through “victims who become recruiters” (para. 29).

NNC regarded the presence of organised crime networks involved in human trafficking activities as an absolute fact, reasoning that other types of organised crime activities were already established in South Africa:

Everywhere where you have organised crime syndicates absolutely running rampant in the country as we do in South Arica, you will have drug smuggling. You will have arms

smuggling. You will have human trafficking. There is no doubt in my mind that it is happening. (para. 67).

These crime networks “are so well connected that they’re straight through the Eastern Cape, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Jo’burg, back to the West Coast” (para. 71). She described these organised crime networks to be “like a spider web” (para. 81). These crime networks originated “from everywhere” (para. 72). She was aware that “there are Russians...ones from the Eastern Countries...more from the Eastern bloc countries, Asian countries” (para. 72). However, in her opinion, “the Nigerians are the worst. They’re very brutal and they’re everywhere” (para. 72). NNC admitted that the Nigerian trafficking syndicates are the ones “that worry me the most...because they pop up...time and time and time again in areas where you don’t expect to see them” (para. 72). She also made it clear that she strongly distrusts Nigerians: “If I see a Nigerian in the Eastern Cape walking along the road, I can almost guarantee that they’re up to some scam, they’re up to some trafficking scam...dodgy business” (para. 72).

The human trafficking crime networks consist of many people with different functions: “Different people do different things” (para. 74). For example, “Some people do the transportation of the girls and they’ll move around. And then the other people actually own the company or the brothel that’s exploiting them” (para. 74). Some networks have strong international links with other crime syndicates: “the Russian mafia lent the South African mafia money to fly foreign traffic victims into the country....All they do is fund that at high interest rates. They get their money back after the girls made a bit of money....That’s just one part of the chain” (para. 74).

NNC’s interaction with ex-traffickers gave her information on how they operate: “We have spoken to ex-traffickers” (para. 68). From these interactions, she was surprised “how very big, very organised they actually are” (para. 68). The traffickers would move their

victims around the country regularly: “they get moved again to another place before they get sold again to another owner, another guy in another town, or another province” (para. 74).

The main reason for the constant movement of trafficking victims was that “They don’t let the victim sit for long in one place” (para. 68) because “by constantly being in motion they’re avoiding people getting suspicious” (para. 74) or “allow[ing] the police to get wind of them or get an idea of where they are” (para. 68). Moving the victims around also prevented them from forming bonds with people in their vicinity: “so you’re not talking to the same people...they’re avoiding a client getting too attached to a girl....Getting to know the landlords or some of the people or where is the phone booth” (para. 74). The traffickers also aimed to keep the victim unfamiliar with her environment to maintain psychological control over her: “they avoid all the pitfalls that come with their girl getting too comfortable with their environments...if they keep everybody on their toes all of the time, then they get into less trouble and they have less to deal with” (para. 74).

NNC believed that human trafficking is “an underground crime” (para. 48) and as a result, it is “not a crime that is readily known and brought to the light” (para. 48). As it is “a hidden crime” (para. 34), she has encountered denial that human trafficking exists: “people will say: ‘No, man. Slavery was abolished long ago and we got democracy now, there’s no slavery...they don’t understand...that it still exists today’” (para. 43). NNC also found that there is a complete lack of awareness that human trafficking takes place among some South African rural communities: “I’ve seen...complete ignorance. Absolute, complete ignorance” (para. 41). People are usually surprised that human trafficking actually takes place after NNC has done awareness training with them:

when you try to explain it to them, they’re completely amazed....Police officers are amazed. Border control people are amazed. DSD people are amazed. When they actually

hear what it actually really is, this kind of slavery, they're really like: "Oh my gosh!" (para. 41).

In the Eastern Cape, NNC has encountered that even those who are aware of the existence of human trafficking, believed that human trafficking "may be happening everywhere else...[but] it is not happening here" (para. 37) in the Eastern Cape. NNC thought a possible reason for this denial in the province is the tendency of people in the Eastern Cape to be "more locally minded" (para. 37). They are therefore "less concerned with international issues than local issues that directly affect them" (para. 37). NNC found that to be true even during the 2010 FIFA World Cup when "a lot of those trafficking issues were highlighted" (para. 37). The people of the Eastern Cape, however, "weren't too fussed" (para. 37) and rather focussed on their own local issues: "You know, we got other things to worry about" (para. 37).

NNC also hypothesised that denial of human trafficking could in part be due to the South African context in which "we live in a certain amount of denial at all times" (para. 45). Although most South Africans are aware that "There is violence all around me" (para. 45), they have a "sort of self-preservation that kicks in" (para. 45) in which they constantly reassure themselves: "No, man. I won't be killed today...we'll be all right, you know" (para. 45).

Another reason for ignoring the existence of human trafficking is the high level of other social issues South Africans are faced with daily, such as "AIDS...all these children that are being abused....domestic violence...unemployment rate and, and, and.." (para. 45). As a result, they develop the mentality of "I've got enough things to worry about. I've got enough issues on my plate. Don't give me another one" (para. 45). NNC believed that "when something becomes overwhelming, your first response is denial" (para. 46). Therefore, when faced by a hidden crime with that is "calculated, cold, hard blooded" (para. 45), the main

attitude of South Africans is: “That’s bad enough and I can see that every day around me. Now you give me another crime that I can’t even see around me that’s even worse” (para. 45), which results in people choosing to ignore the existence of human trafficking: “I’d rather just not know” (para. 45).

NNC had also seen the same mentality among government officials who have been involved with counter human trafficking tasks: “if you’re a government official...all of a sudden, it’s my problem. All my problem” (para. 46). For example, the people working for DSD (Department of Social Development) are faced with the overwhelming task of “I’ve got to heal them and restore them” (para. 46) and the NPA has to “prosecute those crimes with no evidence” (para. 46).

NNC saw that in the Eastern Cape, “a few people in law enforcement were really aware that it was happening here” (para. 38). However, “others were trying to ignore it” (para. 38). She believed that it is the nature of human trafficking and those who are involved in it that contributed to the denial that human trafficking exists: “it’s a terrible crime that highlights the depravity of...not only the perpetrator but the client who is buying the services” (para. 38). Sometimes, the clients of trafficked people “are prominent people in society...or are prominent groups” (para. 38) who might even legitimately acquire the services of trafficked people when they are “buying the services of people who do labour” (para. 38) or they might be involved in “a little bit of the underhanded sex trade” (para. 38). These clients deliberately try to stifle awareness of human trafficking: “it’s not in their best interest to have it all highlighted all over the place. So, you’ve got your client putting the lid on human trafficking” (para. 38).

NNC argued prostitution is driving demand for trafficked people: “we allow the demand for traffic victims for sexual purposes to pick up in our country because it [prostitution] is allowed” (para. 69). She reasoned that demand for the services of prostituted women,

although illegal, was commonplace: “When it comes to the sex trade, everyone knows that it is happening and everybody goes to prostitutes...Pastors go. We know business people go” (para. 69). According to NNC, societal attitude on prostitution varies: “it’s acceptable to a level...most people would say it’s acceptable” (para. 69) but disapproval towards making use of the services of a prostitute also exists: “It’s kind of an accepted unacceptable thing” (para. 69).

In addition, in South Africa “we have a culture of demand” (para. 68) in which the “culture of using labour without questions” (para. 68) feeds into the demand for trafficked people and the hidden nature of the crime. According to NNC, “We have a culture of labourers being the lower end of society, so they look poor...ragged...dirty” (para. 68). Therefore labourers could be a trafficking victims, but due to this culture of demand “we’re not gonna ask too many questions around their origin, how they came to be here, who’s paying them, are they getting the money that they’re earning that day?” (para. 68).

NNC further stressed that the fact that the supply of trafficked people “is unhindered because of all the borders that are open” (para. 69) and demand for the services of trafficking victims is “unhindered and strong” (para. 69), human trafficking in South Africa is a case of “basic economics; supply and demand meet each other” (para. 69). It is, however, “not the legitimate organisations that are meeting this demand” (para. 69), “but it can only be the crime syndicates that meet that demand” (para. 69). She was of the opinion that because “Corruption is so easy in our country” (para. 68) and the “average police” (para. 68) are vulnerable to be bribed because they “are paid so little and they have such big families to protect and they can’t even protect themselves” (para. 68), the trafficking process is streamlined: “So corruption is easy, which means that trafficking is even easier” (para. 68).

NNC was aware of “NGO people and people saying: ‘No, but this is something we need to do something about’” (para. 39). However, she found that in order to create awareness,

“you have to somehow convince them that it is happening” (para. 39). Media coverage is a way in which general awareness about human trafficking can be created. According to NNC, “there’s been a lot of media coverage in Jo’burg, in Durban, in Cape Town with investigations going on and cases coming to trial” (para. 49). In Port Elizabeth, however, she found that “it hasn’t made it to the PE papers. There aren’t trafficking cases reported in the newspapers, on TV” (para. 48). NNC’s NGO is affiliated with media monitors who “check the papers for stories” (para. 49). When a newspaper story is found with the elements of trafficking, without it being identified as human trafficking, these media monitors:

talk to editors and say: “You know what? You reported it like this but it’s actually a trafficking case because these are the elements. So the next time you run a story, won’t you please use the words human trafficking?” (para. 49).

NNC asserted that “until awareness comes, the response won’t come...it needs to be brought to the light before people will start doing something about it” (para. 48). She has found that when human trafficking awareness is created via the media, people “start to understand what it is and go: ‘Oh, something is tugging at me, I need to do something about this’” (para. 48). Through awareness raising “prosecutors [are] popping up who have a heart to do something about it because it’s an injustice” (para. 49). Similarly, police investigators are also focussing more on investigation of human trafficking cases after they became aware of the crime: “This is a serious crime and I see it all over actually now that I’m looking for it...we need to do something about it” (para. 49). Unfortunately, if human trafficking doesn’t “come to attention in some way” (para. 48) or if the “receiving community” (para. 48) is not willing to ask “What’s going on, why are these new kids on the street?” (para. 48), human trafficking activities can continue unabated: “the traffickers’ been having a field day because they literally been moving all these people around. Doing what they want and the source community is not doing anything or wanting to become aware of what’s going on” (para. 48).

Although the media can play a positive role in awareness raising, NNS was of the opinion that in Port Elizabeth “the media plays a negative role at this stage” (para. 53) as “they actually help the recruiting process for the clients to find the trafficker and the victim” (para. 53). This takes place when the media “place ads for the victims for the traffickers...for people, clients...for the trafficked victims” (para. 53) either for “labour at a really cheap price, or a service of some kind...sexual services in the back pages, in the ads sections, the classifieds” (para. 53).

For the communities targeted for recruitment by traffickers, awareness of human trafficking is important, but NCC considered knowledge about other related issues also important. For example, she believed a lack of “understanding of how the real world works, how cities works...how even prostitution rings work, how labour exploitation rings work” (para. 51) also played a large role in the growth of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, especially among previously disadvantaged and rural communities. Coming from a “village mentality where everyone knows everybody and trusts everyone” (para. 51), they trust a trafficker who recruits them with unrealistic promises:

They have no idea of how formal jobs work...if someone comes to you and says: “I can offer you a job as a waitress. I’ll give you full accommodation. I’ll give you travel money. I’ll give you cell phone money and I’ll give an outfit to wear and you’ll still make R2000 a month” and you in the rural area have no idea that that is not a realistic situation because that’s not how it works. (para. 51).

NNC had no doubt that traffickers used this lack of awareness and knowledge to deceive people into trafficking situations: “their innocence is so strong and that innocence is where they’re exploited. The family’s innocence...the children’s innocence...they’re just so vulnerable” (para. 51).

When awareness about human trafficking issues are brought to communities, NNC found that it can have far-reaching results. She gave an example of how an Eastern Cape community had addressed human trafficking when it was made aware that ukuthwala involving girls was a form of human trafficking: “What we did do at the time was the community chiefs got together and they agreed this is not a form of ukuthwala, it’s actually abuse” (para. 11). As soon as the community leaders were aware, “they did a road trip” (para. 11) taking “some NGOs with them” (para. 11). During this road trip through the Eastern Cape, they explained to other communities “that this was unacceptable, that this was human trafficking, and that it was not gonna be something they endorsed” (para. 11). They also made communities aware that ukuthwala “was an abuse of the [cultural] system and ...they won’t tolerate” (para. 11) it. After this roadshow, NNC believed that “things have actually calmed down in that respect” (para. 11).

One of the effects of a lack of information and a denial of the existence of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape is that there is no provincial coordination of counter human trafficking stakeholders. Although “NGOs and people saying: ‘No, but this is something we need to do something about’” (para. 39) and the involvement of “a very, very small group of people who have been doing investigations and rescues and trying to track down these perpetrators in the Eastern Cape for many years now” (para. 33). The NPA has not formed the provincial task team as they have been mandated to: “they’ve been mandated to have this group, but you know, unless they get told to do it, they’re not going to” (para. 34). South Africa has signed and ratified an international agreement called “the Palermo Protocol” (para. 33) and operationalised interim legislation to “say trafficking is wrong and its slavery and all these things” (para. 33), after which “provincial heads need to action certain things in the law” (para. 33). The formation of a provincial task team “to head up trafficking” (para. 33) was one of these actions: “it has to be headed by the NPA. Then the Hawks has to be

involved....Almost every single department is mandated to get on board: Home affairs for the documents... [Department of] Labour...DSD” (para. 33). NNC believed the reason the provincial task team has not been formed is that the NPA “got so many other crimes to deal with, that they’re hopping up all over the place” (para. 34). Another reason is that human trafficking is a hidden crime and “unless you’re proactive about the investigation thereof...those trafficking victims don’t come to light” (para. 34). Even when victims of trafficking are found, NNC asserted that “it is not as if we can take our victims and put it in front of everyone and say: ‘See, here they are’” (para. 39) to bring about more coordinated action in the province. In fact, she believed that in many cases, the trafficking victim is not recognised as a victim of crime, but is “seen as part of the perpetrating group and that’s the end of the story” (para. 34).

According to NCC, another aspect that counter-trafficking efforts in the Eastern Cape is the lack of international NGOs that operate in the province: “one of the key things that is missing....is international NGOs operating within their sphere of influence” (para. 55). Many of the international NGOs “are the ones with a lot of experience in trafficking, a lot of expertise” (para. 55) because of their international activities in the field of human trafficking: “these international groups are all aware of trafficking because they’re aware of how...it operates” (para. 55). These international NGOs, like “the IOM, International Organisation for Migration” (para. 59) had set up their offices in Gauteng, the Western Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal but not in the Eastern Cape: “they don’t have offices in the Eastern Cape. They don’t have offices in Mpumalanga, in Limpopo, in the Northern Province” (para. 55), even though these are often the provinces where human trafficking victims are sourced.

NCC was of the opinion only large cities were targeted by international organisations such as the IOM because “they have limited resources” (para. 63), including human resources: “they also will set up their organisations where they can find staff or they can find

the right kind of staff” (para. 63). These organisations often employ staff from overseas: “their staff are half international, sometimes half local” (para. 63) who prefer to be placed in the main centres: “They want to be in Cape Town or Jo’burg very often....Sometimes Durban as well” (para. 63). Provinces such as the Eastern Cape are less popular for international organisations: “They won’t necessarily easily post themselves out to a province such as the Eastern Cape” (para. 63), often because of the cost involved in travelling: “The flights are too expensive...if they got to travel a lot. It’s just not viable for them to go there” (para. 63).

The 2010 FIFA World Cup (World Cup) played a large role in the involvement of international NGOs that usually have “a lot of money behind them” (para. 55). The IOM, for example, “had a very large budget during the World Cup” (para. 59) for counter-trafficking programs: “there was funding for NPA and for police training and for NGOs” (para. 57). NNC explained that during the World Cup, “it was politically a good thing for us to show that we are doing something for human trafficking...because all eyes were on us and it was important that we put a good foot forward; that we are really doing something against human trafficking” (para. 57). As the World Cup was “an international event” (para. 87), the international NGOs used the opportunity to “put their brand on it” (para. 87) and treat the World Cup as a “sort of a marketing event for the internationals as well” (para. 87). They could, for example, claim “we have trained so many people around that” (para. 87) and are “partnering...with governments and doing this great campaign” (para. 87) which is “very good PR [Public Relations]” (para. 87). Therefore, during the World Cup these international NGOs “took the lead” (para. 55) and used the opportunity to “really do prevention work, to really get the word out there” (para. 55). NNC regarded the financial resources of the international NGOs as the main reason they were able to make a big difference in how human

trafficking issues were addressed before and during the World Cup: “Everything boils down to finances at the end of the day” (para. 65).

After the World Cup, however, these international NGOs like the IOM were “hardly working with trafficking at all” (para. 59) as all the funding “dried up soon after the World Cup” (para. 57). The “awareness that was created around 2010 World Cup around trafficking” (para. 87), which resulted in a “massive influx from international funding for awareness” (para. 57), however, “got the ball rolling” (para. 57) in South Africa and motivated other NGOs in South Africa to continue in counter trafficking activities: “the other NGOs who really cared and picked it up” (para. 57). NCC pointed out that once “the audience from all the PR disappears, it is the ...people who are truly committed to the cause of the victim” (para. 87) who remained focussed on counter human trafficking activities. These “other NGOs who really cared” (para. 57), especially attempted to build relationships with the people in the relevant government departments to improve government’s counter human trafficking responses: “find the people that still really have a passion and a heart and they then to promote again in their departments the work of human trafficking that came up during that time” (para. 57).

NNC has found that these South African counter human trafficking NGOs were experiencing difficulties with adequate funding for their operations. The amount of paperwork involved with funding is one barrier: “There’s so much paperwork involved...in proposals and budgets and stuff” (para. 88). Therefore funding received “at a very high level” (para. 88) such as government or big international NGOs “doesn’t get used correctly because action needs to go to a more underground level and it doesn’t reach that level” (para. 88). NNC explained that when government or big international NGOs receive “a bunch of funding, millions” (para. 88), they often don’t have the resources to “use that funding all by themselves” (para. 88). As a result, “they have to outsource their work to lower NGOs”

(para. 88), but because of the paperwork, the outsourcing “process is very long and often very complicated and it doesn’t work out” (para. 88). Therefore, although before the World Cup “there was a lot of money dumped in that pot but it wasn’t used correctly in the allocated time” (para. 88) and therefore funding “got removed” (para. 88). Funders assume that if funding was not used, there is no need for funding: “then people won’t see the demand for money and they’re not gonna get the supply” (para. 88). In order to advance any cause in the “NGO world or for things in the social development world” (para. 87), it is necessary to advocate for funding and you need to be able to explain why you want it and the person giving the money has to say: ‘OK, this is a worthy enough cause that I’m now gonna give money into this thing. (para. 87).

In order to get funding or use available funding, it is essential that “the police do these investigations, find those...trafficked people and bring them through the systems” (para. 88) because “unless we get victims through the systems that we’ve set up to help victims, people are gonna look at it and go: ‘Well, it’s useless. Why are we’re putting funding into helping? You said there were trafficked victims’” (para. 88). At the same time, investigations and the provision of services to trafficking victims also require funding: “the funding for all that...is key” (para. 88). NNC therefore accentuated how funding is fuelled by effective investigations and successful prosecutions of traffickers: “That whole system is dependent on proactive investigations, finding those crime syndicates, prosecuting them, getting the victims out, and putting them through the systems of prosecution, of law, of safe house, of repatriation, of those things” (para. 88). Unfortunately, she found that proactive investigations “are not happening by police at the moment” (para. 91). Instead, police investigations are “reactive” (para 91) mainly because the police are very busy reacting to other crimes: “They’ve go ...so many cases they have to open every day. So much that they have to run out and help with: burglaries and with assaults and theft and all of these things”

(para. 91). Therefore, the police investigators don't have the time or manpower to follow-up on tips by the public: "There's people coming in and out the whole time out of that building block and there's something going on there...there's no time to now sit there...for days on end and do an investigation" (para. 91). There is a specialised unit in the police: "the Hawks to investigate organised crime" (para. 91). The Hawks, however, "are a small group...not a massive police force" (para. 91), compared to the size of crime syndicates and their trafficking operations: "Trafficking is a huge problem. Crime syndicates are a huge problem and the ratio of people investigating to the perpetrators" (para. 92) is not adequate.

The reactive method of investigation in the police also influenced human trafficking investigations during the World Cup: "there weren't enough investigations done: 'We're not focussing on that. We are focussing on keeping the tourists safe. Keeping everything calm' They weren't now gonna do raids and rescues and upheaval during that time" (para. 67). Therefore, although many of the counter-trafficking stakeholders knew that human trafficking increased during the World Cup, "we can't prove that it did because of the [hidden] nature of the crime" (para. 67) and the fact that reactive police investigations did not provide useful information to uncover human trafficking activities during the World Cup: "we are not equipped in any way to understand the organised crime and the syndicates at the moment" (para. 67). As a result, NNC surmised that "I don't think we'll ever know" (para. 67) whether human trafficking activity increased during the World Cup, even though she is sure that human trafficking is rampant: "there is no doubt in my mind that we have a massive trafficking problem" (para. 67). NNC believed that the increased awareness around human trafficking before and during the World Cup "was very positive in terms of the fact that it mobilised people to be involved...to see the issue, to see the potential threat and to stand against it which I think is very, very, very helpful" (para. 67).

NNC's reflections on strengthening the counter human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

NNC asserted that “the whole of the Eastern Cape is a place where they just need a massive whack of understanding” (para. 87) about human trafficking. She specified that this understanding should not be the “hype general trafficking” (para. 89) information, but that the communities in the province should be informed on the “specific signs of how to stay safe and how do I identify when it’s happening” (para. 89). She highlighted how the Eastern Cape communities should be specifically informed about the recruitment methods used by Nigerian traffickers who are active in the Eastern Cape: “we need to be aware of who they are and they operate” (para. 72). This is achieved when counter-trafficking stakeholders “teach these people to know better, what to look for” (para. 72). With this information, these will be empowered to not “just trust what’s going on...and send out people with them” (para. 72), but rather to “Ask a lot of questions” (para. 72).

The Eastern Cape also needs “civil society, the churches, the people to be told on how to look for these signs” (para. 82) which will enable “understanding [of] what could be happening” (para. 96). NNC explained that once people “understand what human trafficking” (para. 96) and the dynamics of the crime: “it’s about control and manipulation, about keeping people captive” (para. 96), then they will interpret possible human trafficking situations for what they are: “what they’re seeing with their eyes they’re interpreting differently. They’re now interpreting in the light of understanding of what human trafficking is and what could be going on” (para. 96). Therefore, whereas a person may be “thinking a prostitute might be operating two doors down” (para. 96), with knowledge about human trafficking the same person could rather be “thinking someone could be in slavery in that house, used and abused on a daily basis two doors down. (para. 96). Whereas the first interpretation could be evaluated as “she’s trying to make a living; it’s a big dodge [dodgy]”

(para. 96), a person with an understanding of human trafficking perceiving the same situation could evaluate the situation as “a call as a human being, as a citizen of this country to not let that happen to that human being” (para. 96). NNC reported that after informing people on human trafficking, she had “people come to me and say: ‘You know what? I’m worried about the flat that I’m renting out. I’ve seen young Asian children in that flat with these kind of people. Stuff’s going on there that I can’t sleep at night. Getting rent from these people but it’s not sitting well with me” (para. 96). NNC regarded it as crucial that “we need to get people to the place where they recognise what is happening. What abuses are happening? What exploitation is happening?” (para. 96).

NNC argued that “unless society understands what those signs are, they can’t be proactive” (para. 96). With the correct information and training, she believed that “we as the community have to say: ‘We are going to be proactive and help the police’” (para. 92) instead of stepping back and saying: “Well, the police are gonna get proactive” (para. 92). She was of the opinion that the “Western Cape has had so much success” (para. 92) with human trafficking prosecutions because “a couple of people who were NGO-based” (para. 92) were trained in “how to do investigations. They’ve done all the investigation material themselves, give it to the police, explain” (para. 92). When the police raid the premises, “they go with them. They’re the ones who then take the victim...and take them through the care cycle along with the police and [with] DSD’s assistance” (para. 92). NNC believed that a similar model could be implemented in the Eastern Cape: “What we’d like to do is...have the NGOs that really care, gather that information. Put that information in a good docket. Give it to the police in a way that they can...make the investigation easier for them” (para. 92) by, for example, getting “Those police community forums to go alongside the police, do the investigations, give it to the police and then go and do raids jointly” (para. 92).

NNC considered successful investigations and prosecutions to be pivotal in the fight against human trafficking:

at the end of the day if you don't consider the big picture and consider it actually all starts with saying that it really is happening and we need to investigate and we need to rescue, the rest of the system's gonna fall apart, awareness is going to die and the perpetrators are still just going to get away with more and more and more trafficking. (para. 89).

NNC expected the comprehensive human trafficking law to be promulgated in the near future. She believed this would force all the government departments involved in providing services to the human trafficking victims to budget specifically for human trafficking services: "with the law coming out, there's going to be line items budgeted hopefully to help trafficking victims" (para. 89). A line item refers to a budget element that is separately identified (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2005). The lack of proactive investigations, however, could have a knock-on effect on funding for human trafficking services: "If investigations don't happen proactively and those line items are not used, the next time the budget goes through, people are just going to let it drop off" (para. 89). NNC firmly believed that it is only through partnerships "with government, partnerships with NGOs, partnerships with...these support groups that are local people helping the police" (para. 89) that more investigations that are effective would take place. It is "a horrible thing to consider" (para. 89) according to NNC, but unless trafficking victims are identified, human trafficking cases are investigated, and the necessary services provided to the victims of trafficking, "counter-trafficking stakeholders will not be able ask for more funding: "and say actually: 'You haven't given us enough money because there's an overwhelming need because there's just so many victims'" (para. 89).

NNC highlighted that strength of the Eastern Cape that would aid in awareness raising and the identification of human trafficking situations is that "they are community people.

They are caring people. They are very talk-to-your-neighbour type of people” (para. 97). This is “wonderful” (para. 87) because this “community vibe, understanding of one another and care for another is gonna be a massive benefit to you guys” (para.9). She was of the opinion that “once...you understand what trafficking is” (para. 97) more people in trafficking situations will be identified: “you gonna have them popping out all over the place. You’re gonna have the helpline number flooded with people and with ideas and investigations, have more teams in place to help to go and actually analyse and seeing what’s going on” (para. 97).

Another salient necessity in the Eastern Cape was that once people are able to recognise a trafficking situation, that there were “people that they can call...who understand what to do” (para. 97). The NGO for which NNC worked focussed on assisting civil society in building partnerships and networks between human trafficking stakeholders believed that “we can now start setting up those tasks teams” (para. 34) in Port Elizabeth, consisting of “passionate people with a vision and an understanding of human trafficking to start doing something” (para. 34). As “we’ve only just had the right kind of passionate people with the right kind of vision really moving into the Eastern Cape” (para. 34) who are “getting churches...and...other organisations involved” (para. 34), she hoped that people would “start to find some key partners” (para. 34).

NNC aimed for the Eastern Cape to “get three teams set-up in the next months: A task team, the government task team, the NGO raid response team to help the victims” (para. 34). Her vision was that civil society would take responsibility for a number of areas in assisting the police and DSD and “start picking up the slack in those areas” (para. 34) including:

your outreach teams. Your investigation from the public side teams. Your safe houses that take in victims, long-term safe houses. Narcotics teams to help with the detoxes.

People who help pay for the repatriation 'cause government won't do that anymore.

There's a lot (para. 34).

NNC realised that human trafficking would not “necessarily become the core work of the particular organisation, but that it becomes one of the things they are now addressing, which is great” (para. 34). Through these organisations, NNC hoped, other key organisations would become involved in a civil society network in Port Elizabeth via “word of mouth” (para. 34), when “the word spreads and all of a sudden people start realising: ‘Oh, I have to do something’” (para. 34). Once such a network involving civil society and other human trafficking stakeholders were established in Port Elizabeth, NNC hoped that “from PE that that will start moving out into the rest of the province as we get going” (para. 35). The goal was to establish a multi-organisational network in the Eastern Cape by “drawing in the education department. Drawing in the big NGOs. Drawing in the big funding partners that come into the Eastern Cape and so forth” (para. 35).

NNC considered respect between partners in such a network to be essential: “I think if everyone can have mutual respect for others within the field” (para. 91), instead of a situation where “government has something against the NGOs and NGOs has something against churches” (para. 91). She was of the opinion if “everyone can just get to a place where they honour the one who's being mandated with a specific task...and rather say: ‘I'm gonna help you to do it’” (para. 91) and focus on “giving them a lot of encouragement, a lot of support” (para. 91), it will benefit the counter human trafficking cause: “It's all about mutual benefits and honouring at the end of the day helps us to work together to erase this crime” (para. 91).

An important part of a civil society network is that once “we can find the people who can potentially fill those gaps and recruit them to the network” (para. 35), the next step is to “start doing a lot of awareness campaigns to churches, to communities into the rural areas to explain to them what trafficking is, what the dangers are and how to stay safe” (para. 35).

NNC has seen that people who “respond the most” (para. 46) to joining counter-trafficking initiatives are the “ones who have a religious background” (para. 46) and those that “have a heart motivation that comes from a place of seeking justice” (para. 46). She surmised that those with a religious motivation, “can carry the weight of the burden of the problem because...the full weight of it doesn’t land on their shoulders” (para. 46) because they have beliefs such as “it’s actually not me. God can do it. God can help” (para. 46).

According to NNC, “information is your power” (para. 26) and awareness campaigns should aim to protect the vulnerable of Eastern Cape populations from being recruited by providing information on “what the possibilities are of what can happen to them” (para. 26). So information includes informing people to “check and recheck information about certain jobs by friends, family, or connections that they know of” (para. 26) or helping them understand that they should “hold onto their travel documents” (para. 26).

NNC asserted that civil society and communities can also play a valuable role in helping trafficked people leave this situation: “we have different people in the network who try to reach those trafficking victims where they are before rescue can happen” (para. 27). When in the trafficking situation, NNC regarded it as vital that “the sooner we can get people out of those situation, the better” (para. 24) as “the longer you leave them in that environment the worse their rehabilitation is” (para. 24). Therefore, by “trying to access that victim” (para. 27), those “trafficking fieldworkers” (para. 27) try to “let them know they are of value” (para. 27) because they aim to communicate a message that “you are valuable enough to us that we will help you come out and there are options for you” (para. 27). NNC believed that reaching out to trafficking victims in this manner “can give someone hope that there is an exit” (para. 27), helping them to “hang on” (para. 27): “It’s amazing what self-preservation can do” (para. 27). On the other hand, NNC was aware that without that hope, some trafficking

victims “are committing suicide” (para. 27) or “end up becoming the traffickers. They end up doing a whole lot of things they shouldn’t do” (para. 27).

NNC regarded academic research on human trafficking in South Africa as an essential part of awareness raising among people who are in a “position of influence” (para. 103) as such research is regarded as credible evidence of human trafficking: “very often we can quote academic papers as being reasonable when you can’t just quote workers in the field” (para 103). She believed that academic research is “a position of strength to come from” (para. 103) as “It’s an academic publication or a doctor’s, so they will listen” (para. 103). She also believed that it is important for researchers also to explain, “Well, this is the scope of what we did and these were the findings” (para. 104). In her experience, there has been South African research that did not present an accurate picture of the extent of human trafficking. In one such study, “they could not find scientific data” (para. 104) because of the lack of any human trafficking legislation that negatively affected the identification of victims of trafficking. However, NNC related that these researchers’ finding “was more like: ‘Well, it’s not happening’ ...but...they...weren’t willing to say: ‘In the light of the fact that we don’t have a trafficking law, there were no trafficked victims. They were just saying: “There are no trafficking victims”’ (para. 104). NNC regarded it essential that the findings of the current research should be communicated to influential people with the goal of assisting them to “curb trafficking in the Eastern Cape” (para. 104) by explaining how these research findings “is very useful application for you, help you to understand what’s going on in the Eastern Cape” (para. 104).

Summary of NNC’s perspective.

NNC’s perspective highlighted the complex and hidden nature of human trafficking which requires a multifaceted, coordinated response to counter the coordinated actions by

organised crime syndicates involved in human trafficking. These organised crime syndicates in South Africa are able to simultaneously cater to the needs to those that use the services of trafficked persons, maintain psychological control over the victims of the crime through various strategies, and devise effective strategies to recruit vulnerable people into trafficking situations. As a remedy, NNC suggested a collective action approach in which partnerships between civil society organisations and government, including SAPS in the Eastern Cape would improve counter human trafficking activities such as awareness raising among vulnerable communities.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: Pastor Mercy Cwayi's (MC) Perspective

"All of these things are contributing, lack of leadership, lack of Ubuntu, lack of compassion....I think they are contributing in this thing of human trafficking because no one cares what is happening" (MC, para. 79)

Pastor Mercy Cwayi's (MC) perspective of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape was shaped by her position as director of On Eagle's Wings (OEW), a Non-Governmental Organisation (NPO) in Jeffreys Bay, Eastern Cape, her interactions with members of the South African Police Service (SAPS), and her involvement in counter human trafficking activities with employees of the Department of Social Development (DSD) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). She specifically interacted with SW who managed a DSD shelter that houses victims of human trafficking and with IO who was an investigating officer at SAPS in Port Elizabeth. MC is a Xhosa woman and therefore has knowledge and experience of the Xhosa culture and traditional practices.

MC's experience with human trafficking related to interacting with young women who were victims of the traditional Xhosa ukuthwala custom, although she had heard community members mention other forms of trafficking such as trafficking for sexual exploitation. MC's social development perspective as a Xhosa community leader revealed different systems, subsystems, and elements of the human trafficking system that are conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of development as illustrated in Figure 17 below.

Introducing MC.

Pastor Mercy Cwayi (MC) is a Xhosa woman who founded On Eagle's Wings (OEW)

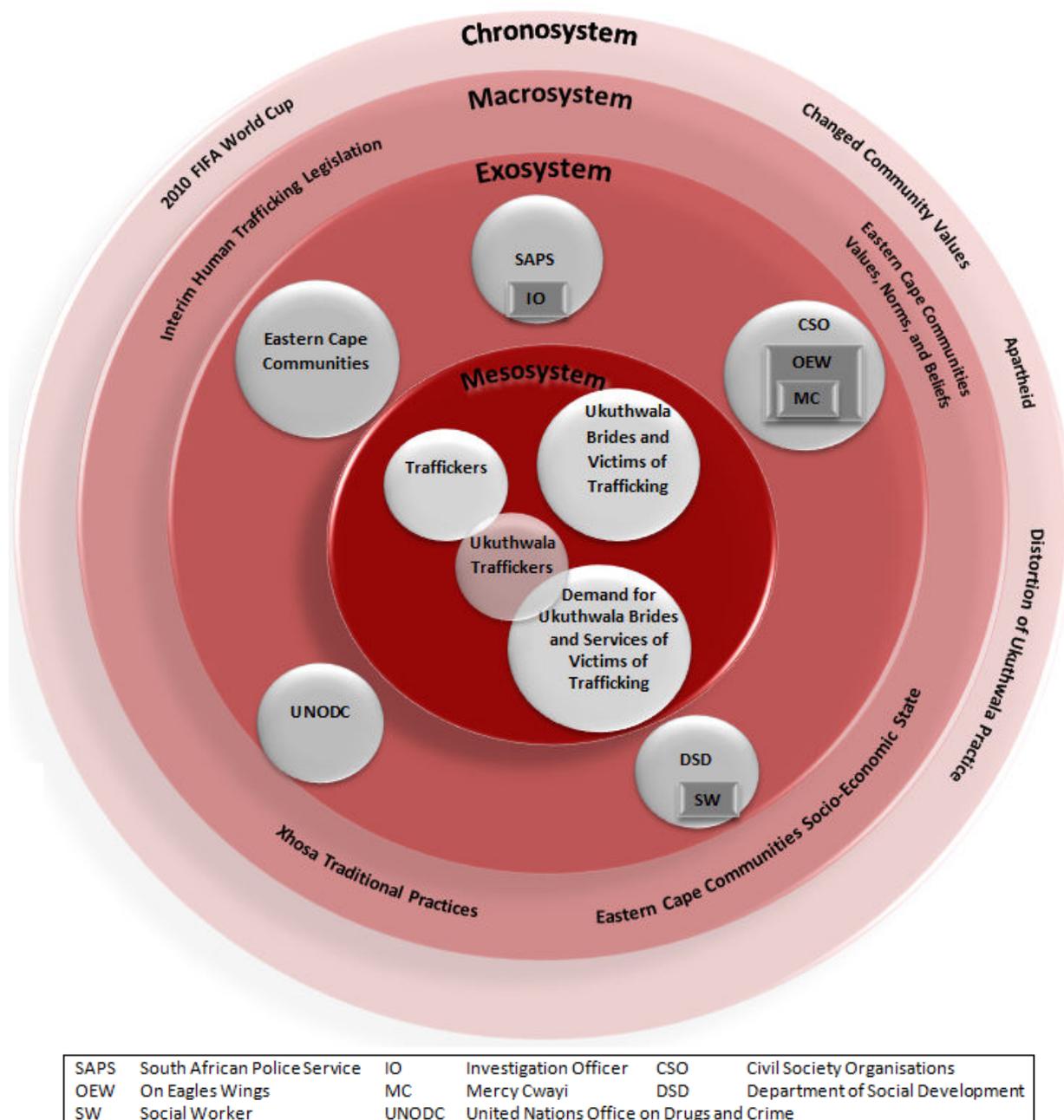


Figure 17. An ecosystemic representation of MC's knowledge and experience of the Eastern Cape human trafficking system as conceptualised by Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

Multi-Purpose Centre in 2005. This NGO is situated in Jeffreys Bay, a coastal town 75km west of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape Province. OEW received a portion of its budget from DSD at the time of the interview and received financial support from the UNODC. The centre mainly offers services such as counselling and life skills training to women and

children who have been victims of domestic and sexual violence. A growing focus of this NGO is to provide counselling services to families and couples with the aim of building strong families and relationships in the communities served by the NGO. OEW also trained volunteers in the community to provide counselling services to communities in and around Jeffreys Bay. OEW offered a 24 hour shelter facility for victims of domestic violence and sexual violence. MC is also a Christian pastor at a church in Jeffreys Bay. MC's view of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape is described in more detail below.

MC's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

According MC, she did not know much about human trafficking except "child labour and people that have been trafficked to work in other countries" (para. 2) until she participated in "an awareness campaign" (para. 2) that took place in June 2010 "before the [2010 FIFA] World Cup" (para. 2): "there was this thing that the World Cup is coming with all the human traffickers and our children will be trafficked" (para. 2). The awareness campaign took place in Port St. Johns, a coastal town in the rural Eastern Cape that previously was part of the Transkei:

they believe it is so much in those areas where...it was said there are people that are coming with cars and big...trucks or busses where they said: "We are going for (*sic*) the World Cup" yet it is a false thing. Instead they take the children for...trafficking (para. 2).

MC found that "the stories" (para. 2) they heard from the communities around Port St. Johns "was eye-opening; just to hear what is really happening in the villages when it comes to human trafficking" (para. 2). As the children in rural communities "are not in urban areas where children are educated and where there are TVs, so...really, really, children are taken unaware" (para. 2). During the campaign, MC learned that "human trafficking is not only

people that are overseas. That trafficking...it can be somebody that you know or somebody that knows you that can do that” (para. 2), which was “kind of a bit scary when we were hearing about it” (para. 2).

MC explained that “Jeffreys Bay is a small town” (para. 6) that is “a tourist destination” (para. 6), mostly during the summer months. However, “from the 1990s...people starting coming for employment....At first it was people that are coming from the...surrounding farms and then it grew from that people telling each other there is work” (para. 6). Most of the work offered in Jeffreys Bay “is seasonal” (para. 21) construction or hospitality industry work. As “Jeffreys Bay is an Afrikaans-speaking area” (para. 6), MC found that “If one is not educated...know Afrikaans...the job [opportunities] might also be slim here” (para. 6). Unfortunately, “many people are here that don’t know how to speak Afrikaans, that are not educated, and most of them are coming from Transkei” (para. 6). As a result, there is a high unemployment rate in the communities where OEW works: “when you are not working it means there is no money...and everybody is just sitting here with no employment. “ (para. 21). There is also a high incidence of substance abuse in the community: “the only thing is drugs and alcohol that people are using” (para. 21).

As Jeffreys Bay is a coastal town, MC has heard that “seamen here” (para. 23) could be driving “coastal trafficking” (para. 23). These “guys that come from the sea” (para. 23) after being at sea for “21 days” (para. 25), in MC’s opinion were also driving under-age prostitution, HIV infection, and substance abuse among the local population: “We’ve got these girls that are sleeping with these men” (para. 23) when they are “at a very tender age. There is a lot of HIV/AIDS that is coming through that....They are involved in drugs...alcohol and all of that” (para. 25). As Jeffreys Bay is close to Port Elizabeth (PE), there have been “stories you hear” (para. 29) about “PE guys [that] come here and they take whoever” (para.

27): “we’ve heard about it....a friend would come...and say there is this big club in PE...then they would go there....some manage to come out [after] two months or so” (para. 29).

MC was most familiar with the form of human trafficking “they call ukuthwala” (para. 2): “the one that I know that it is a problem that must be addressed is the one ukuthwala in the Eastern Cape. Especially when it comes to those places in the Transkei area. It is very prevalent there” (para. 2). Ukuthwala is a practice that “is part of the custom or tradition of the black people” (para. 2) and “is something, long ago, that was done between families” (para. 4) to facilitate marriage. According to MC, ukuthwala is when a young woman was “twala’d to this man that you don’t even know. You never thought of him. You never thought he would be your boyfriend. You don’t even like or love him” (para. 59). The young woman’s parents would make sure that the potential husband’s family “is a good family” (para. 4) and that their “daughter, as much as we are marrying her to this family, she will be taken care of” (para. 4). It was, for example, important that “the husband-to-be is working...those are the things that the old people were looking [for]” (para. 4). Ukuthwala also had the purpose of “building the relationship between the families” (para. 4) of the bride and groom. With the original form of ukuthwala, the bride price would be paid “with cows...livestock” (para. 69) and “there would be a marriage that is done...a public one” (para. 69) where “in the way of tradition...gifts would be exchanged between the families” (para. 71).

MC was of the opinion that ukuthwala has changed into a distorted form of ukuthwala which differs in significant ways from the original practice. With the distorted form of ukuthwala, marriage negotiations take place “without the girl’s knowledge and without the girl’s approval of the whole thing” (para. 6). Furthermore, after “the two families have agreed” (para. 59), the girl is abducted:

You are not going [to be married] the normal way of wearing your white dress and smiling in front of everyone...When you go to the river one day...they would abduct you there from the river or from the bush where you go...away from your home and take you and [you] would be screaming: “These men are taking me!”...and you are brought to this home of your future husband. (para. 59).

To MC, it seemed as if that the “people are just giving” (para. 4) the girl to the future husband: “it’s like they are selling their girls” (par. 4); “taking moneys (*sic*) and giving their children” (para. 9). Unlike the original form of ukuthwala where “a public marriage would be done” (para. 71), MC has not “seen...that done” (para. 72) with the “new ukuthwala” (para. 71).

The girls who are married through this distorted form of ukuthwala are typically under 16 years of age and even as young as 11 years old: “the constable...was telling me ...the...one was 11 years, that was twala’d” (para. 39). The practice of abducting young girls to be married to older men in the distorted form of ukuthwala has its origins in long-standing Xhosa tradition: “we’ll talk until next year because there is so much tradition rooted in all of that” (para. 95). According to MC, traditionally Xhosa men preferred to marry young women who had never had intercourse: “There were girls that were sleeping around but when the old people find out it was not easy for you to get married” (para. 95). Therefore, “the twala’d girls that never slept with men. That were (*sic*) virgins” (para. 95). HIV did not play a role in this preference because “In those days there was no HIV” (para. 99). In the distorted form of ukuthwala, however, there is a “myth that...if you sleep with a virgin then you won’t have HIV [any more]” (para. 99). Therefore, the younger the girl was, the more likely that she was a virgin.

MC had an encounter with a young female who was a victim of distorted ukuthwala: “we had a child here that was 13 to 14 years” (para. 6) which “came here in (*sic*) our

premises” (para. 9). She indicated that “this guy [husband] paid R10 000 to the father” (para. 8). Thereafter, she was told by her father to go to an evening church service where she was abducted: “she was taken under false pretence that she is going to church” (para. 8) and “after that they put her in the kombi with so many people and...she cried: ‘Aaah, where am I going?’” (para. 53). She “has never seen this man” (para. 8) she was married to, neither did she “love the man” (para. 8). In fact, MC recalled that she “doesn’t want nothing (*sic*) to do with the man” (para. 8). This girl was from the Transkei, but had to move to Jeffreys Bay because “the makoti goes to be with the husband” (para. 8) even if “she has never been to Jeffreys Bay” (para. 53). According to Xhosa tradition, a makoti is a newlywed woman. She is expected to put on a doek (head scarf), scarf around her waist, and a small blanket around her shoulders as a sign of respect to the elders and the ancestors. This outfit distinguishes her from unmarried girls and announces her womanhood (Z. Ntshona, personal communication, October 29, 2014). Even though her “desire is...she wants to go to school, she doesn’t want to get married” (para. 8), MC found that her husband “is locking her [in the house] and leaving her at home” (para. 8). She was also “not allowed to have friends” (para. 8) while “she is not getting no money from the guy” (para. 8). The girl reported that “any time he comes [home], he wants sex. Doesn’t matter whether it’s during the day. Doesn’t matter whether it’s at night” (para. 8).

MC indicated that at the time, the MC encountered girl, “it was June last year [2010]” (para. 8), her situation was not recognised as human trafficking. The girl first reported her abduction and abuse to police, who initially did not intervene and sent her to OEW: “She went first to the police station and then the police station told her to come here to me” (para. 6). At OEW, she was initially also counselled as a domestic abuse and sexual violence case: “when she came...I said to her: ‘You come for your next appointment the following week’” (para. 13). However, “she didn’t come that following week” (para. 13) after which MC

“made a follow-up with the volunteers to say: ‘Go pick her up and check this girl’” (para. 13). It was during that time that MC spoke to IO, who “educated me. [He] said: ‘No, that is human trafficking’” (para. 13). Realising that the forced marriage of a child was considered human trafficking was a turning point for MC: “And then my eyes were open. (*sic*)” (para. 13). She felt a strong desire to “rescue this girl” (para. 13): “I really wanted that girl...It was like you wanted to rescue somebody from...a bear or from a lion. That is how I felt with that girl” (para. 13).

Unfortunately, they found “the girl [had] run away” (para. 9): “when we went there we find the neighbours saying: ‘No, they haven’t seen her’ for a couple of days” (para. 13). As the girl had already gone “for refuge to the police” (para. 13), the police were familiar with her case. MC therefore “went back again to the police to say: ‘Do you remember the girl that came? ...please, let us make all the effort to get hold of this girl’” (para. 13). The police found that the husband “vanished into thin air because now we wanted the guy” (para. 9). The girl “spoke to the superintendent of our station” (para. 13) when she initially reported her situation and MC found that the superintendent made a concerted effort to track her down: “the superintendent was working for quite some time in that case...to link up to the police there” (para. 13) in the Transkei where the girl originally came from. Unfortunately, no charges resulted from this case.

MC was very concerned about this girl as she knew “she had nowhere to turn to” (para. 9) because “she had no mother, she only had a father and a sister” and “the father said: ‘If you are coming back, [if] you leave that marriage, I will disown you’” (para. 9). Similarly, “the sister was also the one saying: ‘Please, please. I don’t want you near me because if you are coming here, my father also will disown me, so rather see how your story [marriage] goes’” (para. 9). At the time of the interview, MC expressed her grief at the situation the girl found herself in at such a young age: “a child that...got those black doekies [head scarves]

and those...things that show that you are a wife; [a] very small [young], small girl. Very small girl” (para. 11). For that reason, MC understood why she had run away as “the state she was [kept] in, she couldn’t stay” (para. 11) which combined with the fact that she did not want to be married: “She didn’t want the marriage. She was falsely in that...it was pure ukuthwala” (para. 11) that resulted in a very unpleasant situation for a child to be.

MC described her experience with this teenager as “our first experience” (para. 9) with “something that is called ukuthwala” (para. 9) but in reality is a crime: “now we are aware...that [it] is human trafficking” (para. 9). She recalled that before she knew about human trafficking, she had been made aware that there are very young married women in the communities served by the NGO because OEW’s volunteers have told MC that “there are so many young girls that are married...in these shacks...in Jeffreys Bay” (para. 6). Many of these young wives were victims of domestic violence and had children: “So they would come and say: ‘This one is not staying there nicely. The husband is abusing [her]’ and to find that before even the girl is 18 years, has already got children, is married” (para. 6). One of these young married girls was “brought...to us” (para. 6) during a training event in the community and MC recalled that “I could see she was so small [young]” (para. 6). As MC “was not aware of the human trafficking” (para. 6), she did not know what to do about the young wives. At the time of the interview, she reflected that she would have done something to remove the girls from the trafficking situation if she had known: “at that time I didn’t know about human trafficking, you couldn’t intervene the way...we intervened [with the first case]...because I think we would have intervened even from the beginning” (para. 6).

MC was of the opinion that victims of ukuthwala develop psychological problems because of the situation they find themselves in: “their minds...psychological (*sic*) they are damaged” (para. 15). She illustrated the psychological effect of the ukuthwala situation with a “case of a girl that wanted to kill herself because of the same thing of...being kept here”

(para. 15). This girl came to the attention of MC in 2011 when she approached OEW for help. As she was severely depressed, MC tried to find her parents: “I was trying to get the number for the parent in Jo’burg...I said: ‘Bring me the number of your mum, you can’t die here’” (para. 15). MC described how her husband treated her like an object: “You are just something. You are just a toy for sex...They disregard you as a woman” (para. 15). She was also “put in another room with the child. No provision for nothing” (para. 15) while her husband was entertaining other women in the same house: “they can have as many women as they want” (para. 15). MC recalled that “the hospital ended up phoning us and saying there is a suicidal case. Can we take her in our shelter? And so when I enquired further, to find this is the same girl” (para. 15).

Despite knowing that there are a number of underage victims of ukuthwala in her community, “there’s a lot of them” (para. 13), MC was of the opinion that “our hands are tied” (para. 13) because “they are not complaining, they are not coming out” (para. 13): “There is nothing one can do. That is the irony of this whole ukuthwala thing” (para. 13). MC asserted that these victims of ukuthwala don’t speak up about their situation because “fear is the main factor that is keeping them in the relationship” (para. 15) as “This man is...threatening you” (para. 15). The husband also exerts control over the young wife by not giving her money: “He holds everything which is also part of abuse, financial abuse” (para. 19). Therefore, “There’s no money” (para. 17) for the girls to use to get away from their husbands. As these young women were abducted for forced marriage when they were young, “they are not educated” (para. 17) and therefore unlikely to find employment to generate an income if they leave the ukuthwala marriage.

Another factor that increases the silence of victims of ukuthwala is that the girls’ families do not want them to return because it would shame the family: “that thing of saying: “Don’t shame the family. Don’t bring shame” (para. 83). She used the example of the case she

referred to earlier in the interview where the father said “to this little girl: ‘If you come back from that marriage, I disown you. You don’t belong here” (para. 83). According to MC, the community honours families when their child is married: “for them it was like a pride that all my girls are married” (para. 83).

In the Xhosa culture, there is significant stigma involved when a female leaves her marriage as she “is given another name. In Xhosa they say: ‘Mabuyekwendeni””(para. 37) which is “Your divorced name” (para. 39). This name has “a stigma to it because you are the one who has come back from marriage. That is what that...translates to: The one who has come back from marriage” (para. 39). Mabuyekwendeni indicates that the woman has failed to uphold the values of being a married woman and due to this stigma, she does not even qualify to be called single or unmarried (Z. Ntshona, personal communication, October 29, 2014). MC explained that, “Instead of welcoming you, you are given a name” (para. 39) which stigmatises the girls, without considering that she was abducted: “remember you were twala’d when you were...13 years or 11 years, 12 years” (para. 39). Another stigma “besides them given a name” (para. 39) is that the girls will be unacceptable for marriage to a peer:

now by 17 years, they’re coming back [home]. Everyone in the community knew that you were a makoti, you were a wife. You’re not going to get [want] a 40 year old man. You’re going to want to...have boys...your age. And guess what the mothers will say? They’re going to warn their boys against you (para. 39).

MC likened this community attitude to “the same as [that of] people that kill and they come back, changed, and society never forgets...never forgives” (para. 39).

MC also was of the opinion that Xhosa communities do not reject the distorted practice of ukuthwala because “people live with these things and think it is a norm” (para. 53). The fact that ukuthwala has been practiced for generations further contributed to the lack of resistance: “you won’t see human trafficking and ukuthwala as something not right

because...your mom was twala'd, you were twala'd" (para. 107). As a result, "when you go to Transkei...people won't speak at (*sic*) these things. They are going to look at you and think: 'Who are you? [Who do you think you are?] This is what we grew up [with]. This is what we know'" (para. 53). When a child is the victim of ukuthwala, there is little resistance by these communities: "We will scream 'Ooh!' for a moment, but after that we don't even care because this has been done" (para. 53). MC was of the opinion that it is especially "in the...very deep, deep, deep rural areas" (para. 105) where the practice of ukuthwala is regarded as "our tradition" (para. 105) by the "amabomvana. In English it's red people" (para. 105). The amabomvana are referred to as red people because they smear their faces with red ochre and are staunch traditionalists (K. Ntteni, personal communication, October 21, 2014). In modern times, the amabomvana are regarded as illiterate people because they "never went to school" (para. 105). These traditionalists strictly apply patriarchal values in "those deep, deep [rural] villages" (para. 105), which further drives the support for the distorted form of ukuthwala in the rural areas. For example, in these communities, mothers are not allowed to contribute to the decision whether daughters are to be abducted and forced into marriage:

The thing of ukuthwala with this culture was not even negotiable with the wife because...they [men] say: "It's not your child. I'm the head of the family...I will do whatever I want to do with my children" They decide. Never negotiate. (para. 105).

MC was of the opinion that "there are so many mothers that have cried for their children. Who never wanted their children to go" (para. 105) but "because of men they had no voice" (para. 105): "You have no opinion. You can't object" (para. 105).

Another effect of patriarchy in the Xhosa culture is that "long ago there used to be a notion in the Xhosa culture that you mustn't educate the girl" (para. 71) because "you are wasting your moneys (*sic*) because this child would get married and leave" (para. 71) to

become part of her husband's family. MC asserted that the lack of education for girls "plays its own part in the whole thing" (para. 71) of human trafficking because "if your mother was not educated" (para. 71), she is not able to adequately prepare her daughters for "the 21st century (para. 71):

the [uneducated] mother can just instil so much...but also now there are things that are heard about human trafficking, about sex...about contraception that if my mother was educated, she would instil those things in me when I'm coming...of puberty (para. 71).

This would enable a person to be aware that it might be a tactic to be deceived into a trafficking situation when "...someone in the streets...is saying: 'Do you want to go and work in London?'" (para. 71), thereby reducing their vulnerability to be trafficked.

Being deprived of education also limited the vision of a mother to "push... [the] dreams" (para. 107) of their daughters in terms of education. Rather, "our mothers were raising us to be a good child that knows how to cook for your husband" (para. 107) instead of asking: "What do you aspire to be?" (para. 107).

According to MC, a driver of the distorted practice of ukuthwala and the lack of exposure of the abuse of this practice is because communities have "lost Ubuntu" (para. 51). Ubuntu is an African philosophy meaning "the quality of being human" (Flippin, 2012, para. 1). It holds that there is a link between all humans and from this interconnectedness a responsibility towards fellow human beings flows (Manda, 2009, para. 4). MC was of the opinion that one principle of Ubuntu namely the honouring of elders has "broken down now" (para. 75) in both the urban and rural areas in the Eastern Cape Province, "It is not as much as it used to be" (para. 77). Respect for elders functioned as a mechanism through which community morals and values was maintained as "we believed that whoever is your elder, is your parent" (para. 77). Therefore, in villages it was as if "everyone [was] educating everyone's child" (para. 77):

if by any chance you are caught by someone, the elder in the village, doing something that is inappropriate, that person didn't even ask for your permission. They go to your family and they tell your family that this is what [you did] and you ... get a whip (*sic*). (para. 77).

As all adult community members were responsible for the enforcement of community morals, young people were less likely to engage in inappropriate behaviours such as “standing with a boy hugging and kissing like what they are doing in the urban areas” (para. 77).

MC was of the opinion that maybe there are too many social ills taking place in communities and therefore community members “don't really pay attention” (para. 55). Concerning ukuthwala, she wondered whether community members were “seeing them being a makoti [wife] at that age. It must have raised a concern to me as a community member...to say: ‘My child, where do you come from? Aren't you small [young] not to be in school?’” (para. 55). She postulated that community members may have grown used to having young wives in the community and were regarding them as “a norm” (para. 55), but also considered the possibility that community members preferred to wait “until the people are brought into NGOs” (para. 55).

MC considered the loss of family stability under Apartheid as one of the main contributing factors to the loss of Ubuntu in Eastern Cape communities: “no stability; it started with the family. (para. 61). Although MC did not want to blame “Apartheid because everyone is blaming Apartheid and it will always make me cross” (para. 57), she was of the opinion that during Apartheid years, “especially in the rural areas” (para. 61) men were encouraged to move to cities to find work: “fathers were supposed to go to the mines” (para. 61). As a result, “for us it's a large majority that grew up without...fathers” (para. 59) and “that is where it is coming [from]...the breakdown of the society” (para. 59).

She explained this conclusion in more detail by highlighting that it was the norm in the Transkei, for men to be migrant workers while women took care of the household: “men used to be in the mines while the woman is at home doing...everything that the man was supposed to do” (para. 59). A marital couple often did not have a strong relationship because the marriage was arranged mainly for producing offspring: “the man is there through that traditional introduction and would sleep with you” (para. 59). A traditional family unit was therefore not formed through such a marriage: “in terms of me being together in one [family] with my husband...was out of the picture” (para. 59) because “the man is in the mines and woman is left here [rural areas]” (para. 59). Marital faithfulness by the husband was not expected: while “the man is in the mines getting...money” (para. 59), he also was “enjoying other extra-marital affairs there in Jo’burg” (para. 59). There was therefore “no love relationship yet because this people are far apart and there were no forms of communication” (para. 59) except “a letter...that comes once a month ...with money” (para. 59) to support the family. The husband would only come home once a year “December or June” (para. 59) and “he is not there to build a relationship...when he comes December...he’s coming to...leave you with a baby” (para. 59). If the wife got pregnant and had a child, “For years, the child is raised by the mother. As much as they are married ...it’s raised by a single mother” (para. 59).

MC was of the opinion that this resulted in generations of “people that never have that value of family unit” (para. 59). She contrasted this culture of single parenting with the culture of white people in South Africa: “I always say I appreciate the European culture for one thing of family” (para. 59) because “even if your family was not 100%...there was (*sic*) a mom and a dad...children grew up with a father, with a mother” (para. 59). While she acknowledged that “I can hear and see you [whites] are also having problems now like us...of divorces” (para. 59), she believed that “these are new things...” (para. 59). White

communities in her opinion are therefore more stable because a culture of family cohesion existed in these communities: “there are some roots in you. There is some background...that is functional...that stability...has been established” (para. 59).

A significant consequence of growing up without a father is the effect it has on the “children, especially girls” (para. 61). The girls “don’t have that solid, solid relationship with... [their] fathers” (para. 61): “You hear about your dad who is in Jo’burg...who comes with this great suit once a year and this big radio that is making noise” (para. 73). MC was of the opinion that an absent father results in psychological damage: “when you are a broken child” (para. 73) with a “void that is inside of you” (para. 73), it “causes...[you] not to have a self-respect in you” (para. 73). The result is promiscuous behaviour: “you will sleep around” (para. 73). The reasons many of these vulnerable young women get involved in relationships with older men to feel valued and loved. These relationships are characterised by the presence of transactional sex, which MC considered to be a form of prostitution: “it brings prostitution at an early age because you wanted...love...not because you love this big [old] man but this man is...giving you the love that you never experienced from your own father” (para. 61). However, “with an old [old] man who is giving you sex every day...there is not that connection of love” (para. 61) and this relationship is not a “respectful relationship whatsoever” (para. 63). MC noticed that an increasing trend “happening here in Jeffreys Bay mostly” (para. 73) is a phenomenon called “Vat-en-sit [take-and-sit]; staying together without getting married” (para. 73). She asserted that cohabitation resulted from when “the years progress and now you...sleep around with whoever...[then] you can do this...vat-en-sit” (para. 73).

MC commented on the lack of compassion that she has noticed in the communities in which OEW are present. For example, MC has noticed the tendency in communities to “blame the victim” (para. 55) when gender based crimes and ukuthwala occurred:

“sometimes they are judged, these girls. They are the ones [who wanted...it]. Why were you dressing (*sic*) like this? Why were you in church at night?” (para. 53). Community members also shamed families when their children engage in prohibited behaviours: “Just because my child is not involved in those things doesn’t mean that I must rejoice and be glad...because that is exactly what is happening” (para. 79). The tendency to shame others, according to MC, decreases the likelihood of those community members to engage in community improvement initiatives: “It’s like you are saying: ‘No, mine is not... a druggie, is not a prostitute, is not a sex slave’. So you tend to disassociate yourself from being a community patriot and being involved” (para. 79):

We laugh about them. Children are on drugs. We never take note as a community as say enough is enough...we don’t want drugs in our community. That is what leadership is. True leadership in a community. That is what compassion is in a community of people that are staying together, you know. (para. 79).

MC stressed that “all of these things...lack of leadership, lack of Ubuntu, lack of compassion” (para. 79) are contributing to “this thing...of human trafficking because no one cares what is happening’ (para. 79) in their own communities.

MC emphasised that the plight of children should improve due to the protection given to them under the Children’s Act: “now children have got a right...there is the new child’s bill (*sic*)” (para 43). With the Act, MC asserted that fathers can no longer “just do anything with your child because you are saying: ‘Yes, I’m a parent’” (para. 43). Parents in the Eastern Cape therefore have to accept that being responsible for a child “until he is 18 years” (para. 43) included taking responsibility to protect the child. This includes protecting them from human trafficking in all its forms:

It means that... as a parent, my responsibility is to protect. But in which areas am I protecting? ... Anything that would harm and endanger and put my child’s life and my

child's destiny...that would jeopardise that...must be protected, including human trafficking. Including me selling my child because somebody's giving me R10 000. R10 000! I can blow it in a day, it's [like] water. But your child's life is something that is precious (para. 43).

MC regarded it as essential that children are protected from harm, not only because they have the "right to be protected" (para. 43) but also because if a child "is damaged in the early years, it is so difficult to recover in the long years [long-term]" (para. 43).

From her interaction with SW, MC had realised that victims of trafficking are psychologically damaged: "The things that have been done to them...has destroyed them inside. Their self-esteem. Their self-worth" (para. 33). She has therefore considered "how to deal with this [human trafficking victim] when they have come out of that situation? (para. 31) and whether there were enough facilities in South Africa that were adequately equipped to deal with the needs of human trafficking victims: "are we having systems in place? Are we having structures in South Africa in place that can help these people into healing?" (para. 33). She acknowledged that at the time of the interview her shelter was not adequate because there it was not secure: "this moment we can't put any human trafficked person [here] because we don't have fencing" (para. 33). She also believed that the psychological needs of human trafficking victims far exceeds the services OEW offers to victims of domestic abuse and sexual violence:

They're not going to come like they're abused women....like the beaten women that are coming to me and sitting on my couch and I'm speaking to them and encouraging them....How do you think that we build [them up] by me sitting with them [and then say]: "OK by-by. Come to the next session" I don't think so. (para. 33).

MC concluded with a metaphor of a mouth to speak for "the communities...the culture...the people of South Africa in the Eastern Cape. I'm meaning representing the

women, the children, the girls in the Eastern Cape” (para. 113): “Because now you’ve heard it from the mouth but that mouth unfortunately from the years has been destroyed. That mouth hasn’t got self-esteem....Unfortunately the self-worth and the self-esteem of this mouth has been shutted (*sic*) down for long” (para. 113) because of “The shame...the fear...you cannot rise up” (para. 115).

MC’s reflections on strategies to combat human trafficking in the Eastern Cape through community interventions.

According to MC, the solution for many of the issues she believed contributed to persistence of the ukuthwala practice is to appeal to the communities to: “bring back the spirit of Ubuntu” (para. 53). Instead of shaming “those children [who] are coming back from this ukuthwala” (para. 57), MC wanted to urge communities to “have some ininba... understanding what has happened...it was something that was forced” (para. 53). Ininba is an isiXhosa word which means “motherly compassion”. (K. Ntenti, personal communication, October 23, 2014). MC was of the opinion that this attitude would aid the healing and reintegration of the girls who were victims of the ukuthwala practice:

if that girl is twala’d...as a society we should be having a motherly heart of embracing the child so that that child can be brought quickly into restoration and healing but how is she going to be healed...if...she is reminded of where she is coming from [because] of the new name she is given (para. 39).

MC asserted that “as community people...it is our responsibility to be our brother’s keeper” (para. 55). This means that if a community member “see something that is wrong” (para. 55) they should “report it” (para. 55).

MC regarded the family environment as equally important: “It starts from home, it goes to the community” (para. 120). Therefore it was her belief that the rejection of harmful

traditional practices would be encouraged if responsible parenting in which children are raised in an “environment of being protected, of being nurtured and supplied and...knowing what is right” (para. 89) was also encouraged. In these ways, “maybe...as communities we will be able to cut off the human trafficking in the Eastern Cape” (para. 55). With this attitude, a community member who

sees next door a child with all those garments that signifies that you are a wife, would ask: “Aow, my child. Where are you coming from? Who are your parents? How old are you to be [that you are] married?” (para. 57).

She emphasised the power of communal action: “Many things would be solved by us people if we would really take up the initiative as communities” (para. 79). The ukuthwala tradition, for example, would “be long gone if us as...women would stand up to those men in the village and say: ‘Away with this tradition’” (para. 79). To empower women in rural areas to assert their will MC again highlighted the need of knowledge and education to overcome “The fear. The shame. And women being all the time...under the authority [of men]” (para. 87). She hoped therefore that because “we are raising a generation that is learned [educated]” (para. 87) they would reject patriarchal norms:

Do you want to tell me that you’re going to allow, as educated as you are, a man [who] got Std. 6, who never went to school, who is working in the mines...to keep you as a wife and [you] do nothing? I don’t think so. (para. 87).

MC highlighted that for a community to act against human trafficking, “it will need community mobilisation” (para. 118) through which the communities themselves are empowered to decide which issues in their communities they want to address: “So, what do you think should be done? Let them think!” (para. 118). Participative community engagement, according to MC, motivates communities to “say: ‘Ja, this we don’t want’ And that is when the community can own up” (para. 118): “Let them have the voice. Let them

bring out their own situations that they are struggling with. Let them have their own solutions” (para. 120). After prioritising issues to address, MC envisioned the further empowerment of these communities: “Educate, not just workshops” (para. 18). This education will enable communities to “take out that old negative tape that has been working. The one saying: ‘We cannot do, we are the community that has been human trafficked. Our children are on drugs. Our fathers were like this....We were poor’” (para. 118) and replace it with a narrative that says: “Black and white is poor but it is what you choose to do...with yourself, with your family. You liberate yourself” (para. 118).

MC noted that she did not use this collaborative approach when she founded OEW: “I never called the people [together] and say: ‘What do you see can happen to reduce abuse...rape...human trafficking...drugs in this place....I came with my own ideas...and I started the organisation. Wrong!’” (para. 117). As a result, she found that the communities in which the NGO worked in remained passive and uninvolved: “they are watching you, folding their arms and saying: ‘We’re going to see how she is going to do that thing’” (para. 117). In retrospect, MC reflected that to bring solutions to communities instead of eliciting communities’ own abilities to find solutions themselves was “killing our communities” (para. 120): “We might be thinking that we are doing better, but we are killing them” (para. 120).

Therefore, MC emphasised that combating human trafficking in communities was “really, really...a community thing....It’s a community rising up and in arms together; children, women, and men, everybody who can see sense and say: ‘In our village, we will not allow our children to be twala’d’” (para. 85). Even though she acknowledged that participative community mobilisation might not stop human trafficking, it would reduce it because now “everybody will be knowing (*sic*): ‘In this community...human trafficking is not allowed’” (para. 118).

At the time of the interview, MC regarded that the Eastern Cape needed “the structures and systems in place” (para. 45) for when victims of trafficking leave the trafficking situation because “when they come out, they are damaged” (para. 45). One of her main concerns was the psychological needs of previously trafficked women once they leave the trafficking situation because it “can be a long-term thing” (para. 49) to recover from the trafficking situation. This recovery period depends on the “an individual...also on how long the person has been” (para. 49) in the trafficking situation: “if a person has been there five years you cannot expect the person...in a year to be OK” (para. 49). MC also realised that the rehabilitation and reintegration process of previously trafficked people would require “a team of people that are specialised” (para. 49). Her main concern was that if “we’re not going to be helping the victims of human trafficking in an appropriate way” (para. 47), that it would, for example, perpetuate the cycle of sexual abuse: “They’ve been sexualised...this thing of abuse. It’s going to grow and grow. We’re going to have...a cycle that will never end” (para. 47).

MC asserted that human trafficking and ukuthwala in the Eastern Cape “should have been cut off” (para. 113). She passionately expressed that it is only “knowledge, education, education, education” (para. 109) that could remedy the perpetuation of the practice of ukuthwala in the Eastern Cape. She questioned what I planned to do with the information she shared in the interview: “I don’t know where your research is going to go...what it is going to accomplish. Is it just for you to have a certificate and next to your name, we call you now Dr Amanda? I don’t know” (para. 109). She implored that I have come to “know more...about the Xhosa culture” (para. 113) it is my responsibility to share the negative dynamics of the distorted form of ukuthwala to aid in the education of communities: “with what you have...there need to a vigorous...very strong...injection...done in[to] the communities. When I say vigorous: In every meeting where there is people, this knowledge

is passed through to them (*sic*)” (para. 113). Moreover, she was of the opinion that raising awareness among communities should start with the children: “if they could start from sub A [Grade 1] and you teach the children. That would be good” (para. 109).

Summary of MC’s perspective.

MC accentuated the factors that contributed to the support of the distorted practice of ukuthwala in the Eastern Cape. These include patriarchal values that shaped a large proportion of Xhosa cultural practices and traditions as well as changes that occurred over time to the family structure in Xhosa society. MC was of the opinion that current socio-economic conditions in the communities served by OEW both increased the vulnerability of young women in these communities to be trafficked, while it decreased the likelihood that girls who had been the victims of ukuthwala would be identified. MC emphasised that the distorted form of ukuthwala could be eradicated only if communities were empowered to change, to grow in community spirit, and take responsibility for social ills in their community. She furthermore highlighted the value of education and knowledge to drive community change.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: A Faith-Based Organisation Manager's (MFBO) Perspective

“we really can't just slap a thing together. As much as we have a heart, we need to be strategic because crime is strategic” (MFBO, para. 65)

MFBO was a full-time employee of an international Faith-Based Organisation (FBO) that has an international counter human trafficking programme as one of its services. Her perspective on human trafficking was shaped through her interaction with the South African Police Service (SAPS), contact with other Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and FBOs in Port Elizabeth, and knowledge she gathered from incidents of human trafficking in other areas in South Africa where her organisation operates.

MFBO had knowledge mainly about human trafficking for sexual exploitation but briefly referred to the traditional Xhosa ukuthwala practice. Her view of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape from a faith-based organisation's perspective, showed many systems, subsystems, and element in the human trafficking system, which are conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development shown in Figure 18 below.

Introducing MFBO.

At the time of the interview, MFBO was stationed in Central, an inner-city neighbourhood in Port Elizabeth. Her responsibilities as a manager in the organisation included coordinating a number of community outreach programmes in Central, including the anti-human trafficking programme in the city. The FBO had “three different types of ministry. We have city ministry, township ministry, and the rural ministry” (para. 3).

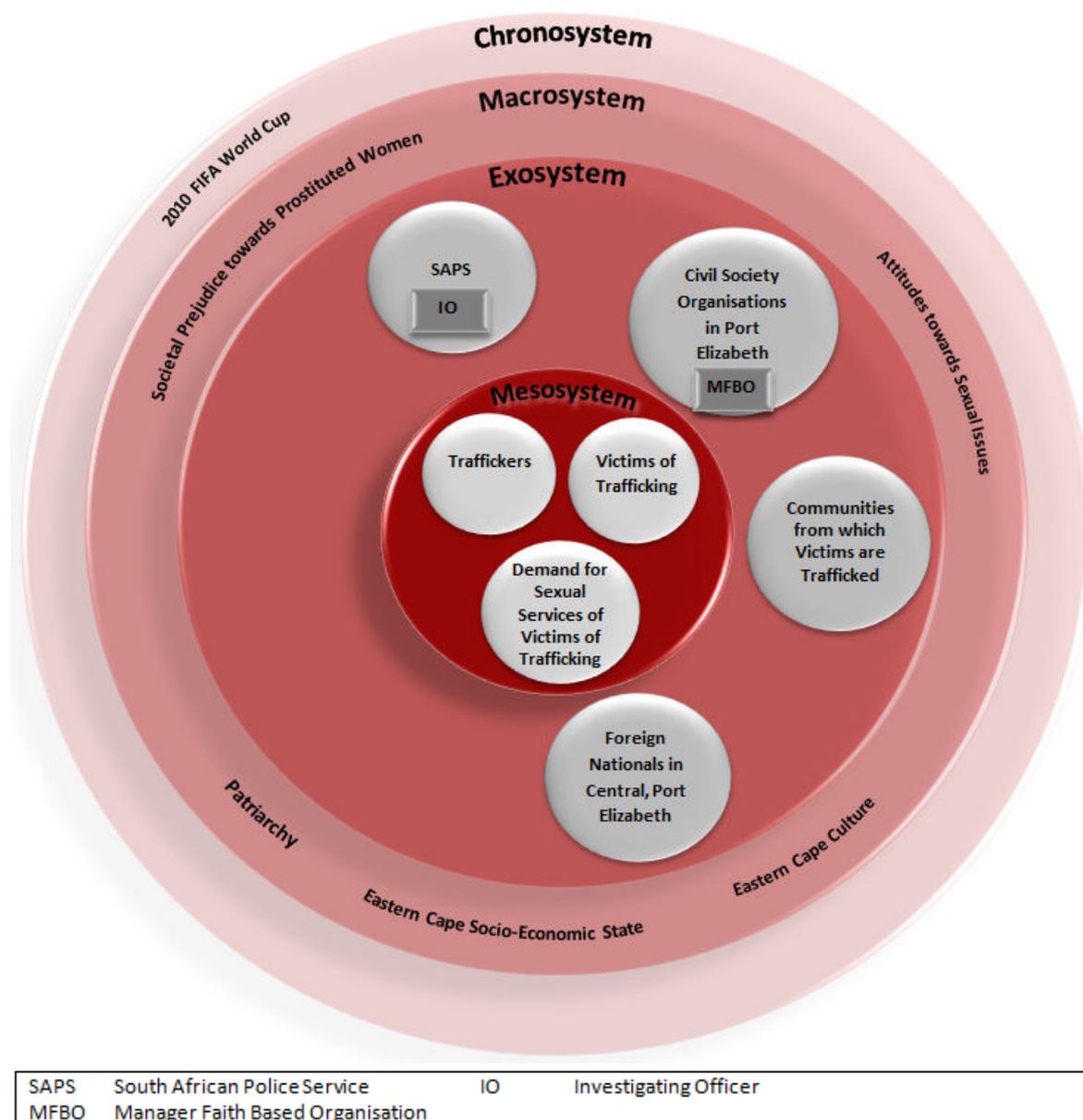


Figure 18. MFBO's knowledge and experience of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape conceptualised through Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

Nationally, programmes offered by each community in which the FBO was based were determined by the needs of that particular community. There are, for example, programmes focussing on vulnerable children and orphans, victims of gender based violence, and community-based health services. The organisation also has institutions such as child and youth care centres, a psychiatric institution, and shelters for victims of domestic violence.

According to MFBO, “specifically here [Central] we have a ministry that’s broad” (para. 43) and thus didn’t target any specific group such as “a prostitute ministry or a drug ministry” (para. 43). As an inner-city ministry, with “a large student population...and lots of bars and things” (para. 43), MFBO organised a regular Friday night event “called Coffee-on-a-Corner” (para. 43) where members of the FBO would strike up conversations with passers-by in “various stages of either drunkenness or they’ve come off something” (para. 43): “we give them coffee and we have life conversations with them. We ask them about their hopes and dreams and then move on to deeper conversations and share...the gospel with them” (para. 43).

The FBO had been involved in international counter human trafficking programmes for more than a decade as part of its general focus on providing humanitarian services: “as a church we’ve always been involved in providing opportunities for people that are marginalised” (para. 13). FBO explained that part of this effort “as an international church” (para. 14), human trafficking is “one of our priorities: To make a stance and be on the forefront to try and curb human trafficking” (para. 14). As part of the South African counter human trafficking programme, the organisation established “a human trafficking desk....We have a hot-line for people... a 08000 number that people can phone” (para. 14) and a shelter for victims of trafficking in Gauteng Province. MFBO’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape is described in more detail below.

MFBO’s perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

According to MFBO, the FBO found that human trafficking was “more prevalent...in the rural community” (para. 2) where, “our community church” (para. 2) reported incidents of ukuthwala: “We have many cases of ukuthwala where children are abducted” (para. 2). After the abduction, “the husband then would father one, two, three children and leave the

woman behind and work in the city or on the mines” (para. 2). The FBO found that “when the male passes away” (para. 2), the wife is left behind and rejected by her own family and the family of the man who abducted her: “the family then just kicks her away and she’s left destitute with no source of income, no way to provide for herself and no acceptance from the husband’s family” (para. 2).

Although “we haven’t as yet seen that” (para. 5) human trafficking occurs that often in the FBO’s township ministries; she acknowledged that “there are pockets there as well” (para. 5). According to MFBO, “In the city, specifically in this area [Central], we would see human trafficking connected to prostitution” (para. 3). MFBO was made aware of the existence of human trafficking in Central by the SAPS: “we would network with the police and they’ve exposed us” (para. 3) to human trafficking. The many night clubs and other entertainment establishments in the Central-area are, in MFBO’s experience, places from which females can be trafficked: “some of the clubs where young girls go... and if they’re not careful then their drink is spiked and they find themselves in an impossible situation” (para. 3). She was also aware that human trafficking occurs when “someone is lured from another country with a promise that they’ll have a wonderful life here and then they’re locked away and sold into prostitution” (para. 3).

MFBO was of the opinion that there are several factors which create an environment in which human trafficking can take place. The first salient factor was that of “poverty” (para. 9). According to MFBO, “there always will be the aggressor that has a long-term plan” (para. 9) who will target someone “wanting to find that end of the rainbow” (para. 9), lured by the “promise of something better” (para. 9): “they’ll capitalise on it and exploit the people whether male or female” (para. 9). MFBO therefore deduced that “so long as there is huge gap between the very poor and the very rich, we would possibly always have human trafficking” (para. 9).

Gender disparity and patriarchy, according to MFBO, increased the vulnerability of girls to be trafficked for the purpose of ukuthwala: “We would find that the girl child is very, very vulnerable because...first of all, because of their gender, and secondly because the male child and the male adult is regarded as more dominant” (para. 9). A contributor to the hidden nature of human trafficking in the rural communities where the FBO operates, according to MFBO is the fact that “people don’t talk about sexual issues because culturally it is not OK to speak about sexual issues” (para. 74). As a result, “there is a lot of stuff that then flare up...because of the silence” (para. 74). She specified that included phenomena such as “HIV....Child abuse....Human trafficking” (para. 74) which thrive when social ills related to sexual issues are not exposed in the communities in which they occur. MFBO was of the opinion that human trafficking in the form of forced marriages is also likely to take place in geographically isolated places “because it’s so far away and police aren’t able to get there as easily. So it’s easy to flare up” (para. 5).

MFBO regarded the demand for the services of prostituted women as another factor which could increase the occurrence of human trafficking, especially in port cities like Port Elizabeth where: “there are sailors that are coming in. They’ve been on the seas for months and months so there already is a need for prostitution to happen” (para. 25). Combined with the fact that “the security’s not so high” (para. 25) at the ports, MFBO surmised that “it’s easy to bring in young girls from all over the world” (para. 25) to Port Elizabeth for sexual exploitation. In addition, MFBO reasoned that moving victims of trafficking via harbours was probably “easier than flying them in or possibly bringing them in over a border [crossing]” (para. 5).

MFBO was of the opinion that there is “a big connection” (para. 29) between human trafficking for sexual exploitation and prostitution. MFBO estimated that “even up to 80% of prostitutes that are not from South Africa possibly find themselves in the grips of human

trafficking but they have no possible way out” (para. 29). Through her interaction with SAPS, MFBO had encountered a situation where Chinese women were kept in a brothel: “That evening that we were taken on the stakeout, in one of the cases we went into a house...a group of...ten to fifteen Chinese young girls were in this house” (para. 27). The police raided this house and “they got hold of a huge bag with identification [documents]. All these girls were held in the house” (para. 27). According to MFBO, “it became very clear...that this was a bordello” (para. 27). However, as “they obviously were tipped off” (para. 27), only “two potential shoppers, I call it that” (para. 27) were arrested during the raid while the operators of the brothel were able to escape apprehension: “we were not able to catch ringleaders” (para. 27).

From her experiences with prostituted women, MFBO had gathered that substance abuse plays a role to in keeping some prostituted women “in the grip of human trafficking” (para. 7). In Central, MFBO often interacted with prostitutes: “this particular church here in this neighbourhood has dealings with prostitutes on a weekly basis” (para. 7). These prostituted women regard themselves as stuck in prostitution, “saying: “I’m in the grips of prostitution. There’s nothing I can do really” (para. 7) due to substance abuse: “They are reliant on either alcohol or drugs” (para. 7).

MFBO also regarded foreign nationals to be “more likely to be exposed to human trafficking” (para. 29). In addition to “the usual people that you would think [for example] Chinese immigrants” (para. 29), she regarded “Zimbabwean immigrants, people from Somalia” (para. 29) to be vulnerable to be trafficked into South Africa because “they are in such a great need to...find safety and so they are very vulnerable to human trafficking” (para. 29).

Similarly, MFBO was of the opinion that foreign nationals were vulnerable to be recruited into organised crime syndicates that operated in Central, Port Elizabeth at the time

of the interview. In her opinion, foreign nationals would get involved in crime because “It’s profitable, it’s easy...it’s quick money” (para. 63), especially should those persons find that they are not able to earn an income through legitimate means: “if your children are starving and you have no option” (para. 63). However, to get involved in crime, MFBO reasoned a person would have to “lay aside some of your values” (para. 63) to get involved in drug- and human trafficking. She cautioned, however, that South Africans should not make assumptions regarding the moral nature of foreign national communities in South Africa. According to MFBO “we battle with our own prejudice” (para. 67) when assumptions are formed that foreign nationals do not have values: “people make the assumption that I [foreign national] cannot decide between wrong and right” (para. 69). She reasoned that it should be considered that poverty within foreign national communities could pull people into a life of crime: “when it comes to the issue of poverty, that wrong and right...the area of black and white becomes very grey so you...sometimes shift your values because of the need to be able to make a living and to survive” (para. 69). Therefore, some foreign nationals might also find themselves “in that opportunity where they could make money off someone else” (para. 67) to “make a better life for my family somewhere or this is easy money” (para. 67). MFBO was of the opinion that some of those involved in criminal activities may believe that their criminal activities are “not a long-term career” (para. 67) but that after making “quick money” (para. 67) they could “get out and then live a normal life” (para. 67), but then also “find themselves trapped” (para. 67) because they “know too much and they keep going” (para. 67).

According to MFBO, the 2010 FIFA World Cup (World Cup) had a big impact on both awareness raising as well as the activities of her organisation because “We knew that human trafficking would rise with so many people coming in” (para. 14) during the World Cup. The FBO “designed a particular red card in line with 2010 [World Cup] so that people could

phone this hotline” (para. 14) created by the FBO. When a person phoned the hotline “the switchboard would link you to a police station or any other organisation that would assist” (para. 14). It was also in preparation for the World Cup that MFBO “thought it would be best to start networking with SAPS” (para. 17), which is how “we got in touch with IO and he has exposed us to some of what’s happening in Port Elizabeth” (para. 17) by taking some members of civil society “to some of the [human trafficking] hot spots in this area” (para. 17). MFBO had also been “on a stakeout” (para. 17) with SAPS “where we’ve seen first-hand how these things happen” (para. 17).

Raising awareness about human trafficking among the communities in which the FBO is present is a significant part of its counter human trafficking activities. The Eastern Cape members of the FBO, for example, were informed about human trafficking and mobilised for counter human trafficking activities through “quite a bit of training” (para. 21) given during an annual “provincial gathering of women” (para. 21). During this weekend “rally...we would have a presentation on human trafficking and some practical ways of how to...get involved” (para. 21) in the counter human trafficking activities of the FBO. MFBO’s organisation also targeted female teenagers in their human trafficking campaigns in which they role-played potential recruitment scenarios: “We role-play it. We say put out a little advert and say there’s an opportunity for you to go and study overseas” (para. 27). The facilitator would then ask the teenagers to “put up hands; how many of them would like to do this” (para. 27). According to MFBO, “we’d see on a regular basis ...50% of girls would put their hands up” (para. 27). To “expose young girls [and] to say: ‘This is very, very real” (para. 27) the facilitator would then “bring them forward and say: ‘You’ve just been human trafficked” (para. 27).

During the preparation for the World Cup, IO organised a human trafficking forum which included civil society organisations as well as members of agencies tasked with

counter human trafficking responses such as the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). After IO left the SAPS, MFBO found that counter-trafficking activities among civil society organisations dwindled: “At the moment it’s a little bit dormant” (para. 31) and consists mainly of “talking about issues...raising awareness” (para. 19). In Central, MFBO was aware that due to the activities of civil society organisations, a few victims of trafficking were identified: “they...identified particular victims...so this is very small pockets that we’re helping in” (para. 23). However, her impression of the overall civil society response was that “there’s a desire but there’s no plan of action as such” (para. 17).

According to MFBO, a noticeable effect of the World Cup was that “the churches, the NGOs started working together..., especially in this particular part of Port Elizabeth” (para. 47). This cooperation between civil society organisations in Central, Port Elizabeth “has continued afterwards” (para. 47). One way in which the churches in Central, Port Elizabeth started to coordinate their efforts during and after the World Cup was to protect the vulnerable children in the neighbourhood: “in the [school] holidays a usual ministry that would happen would be to target children. There are a lot of children here in the city centre, there’s nowhere for them to go [during the day] and that makes them vulnerable” (para. 47). Increased communication and coordination resulted in “a real understanding of each other’s congregational outreaches” (para. 47). Therefore, instead of having separate children’s groups during school holidays, the inner-city churches decided to have “community kids clubs...so they pool their resources” (para. 47). Another area of cooperation that MFBO regarded as significant is that the churches in Central, Port Elizabeth were combining their efforts to “change how our community looks like” (para. 49). One example was when the church pastors “went and they testified at a hearing before the liquor board to change the...hours” (para. 49) at a “bar across the road” (para. 49) which was allowed to serve liquor

contrary to the provisions of legislation: “those things would never have been able to happen had they not met as a group of churches” (para. 49).

MFBO’s reflections on a counter human trafficking strategy among FBOs in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape.

According to MFBO, a counter human trafficking strategy needs to be “strategic, because the crime is strategic” (para. 65). At the time of the interview, MFBO was of the opinion that counter human trafficking organisations in Port Elizabeth need “to go the next step, the next level” (para. 31). The FBO she was involved in has had a national counter human trafficking programme for a number of years and therefore decided to “act and be proactive about it” (para. 19) by prioritising the development of a counter human trafficking strategy for Port Elizabeth. This entailed moving a person who had “been exposed greatly to human trafficking” (para. 19) in Gauteng, to Port Elizabeth. MFBO interpreted the then planned move of this minister to Port Elizabeth as her organisation’s desire to increase the counter human trafficking response in the Eastern Cape. This minister “ran a shelter in Johannesburg, Pretoria area...and networked with government, other NGOs in that...province” (para. 19) and therefore had “a great deal of knowledge” (para. 19) about human trafficking. MFBO was of the opinion that “she’ll be a great asset here” (para. 19) in Port Elizabeth.

MFBO communicated the FBOs “immediate long-term goal” (para. 80) in Port Elizabeth was to get better organised so that more victims of human trafficking can be identified and to document first-hand accounts of human trafficking which could then “be used to petition for a stronger response from local government” (para. 80). Although MFBO acknowledged that “we don’t particularly see that government will be able to solve that” (para. 82), she was of

the opinion that government “make policy” (para. 82) as well as offer “financial assistance” (para. 82) to support civil society’s counter human trafficking activities.

A coordinated, strategic approach, according to MFBO, would be the most practical way to organise an effective counter human trafficking response for the inner-city area in Port Elizabeth: “In a nutshell. We have to have stakeholders sitting around the table. We need to have proper planning” (para. 84). This would entail getting the relevant “stakeholders on board” (para. 84) and planning “Practical things” (para. 84) which are “doable rather than just speaking broadly” (para. 84). She was of the opinion that “if the churches organised as much as...last year [2010]...we could make a big, big difference here” (para. 51). MFBO regarded a coordinated response to be essential as “there’s a lot of social issues that need to be dealt with and when you are one church it become overwhelming” (para. 86). The FBO has therefore realised that “we have to network” (para. 86) to deal with issues such as “HIV and prostitution and, and, and” (para. 86) otherwise “we would kill our volunteer basis, we kill our pastors” (para. 86).

She recognised that an integrated, networked response is difficult because “Sometimes people come with their own agendas in that people want to catch the shine...want to be the people that get seen on TV” (para. 88). Another issue that interferes when churches attempt to work together is that “people come with their own doctrinal issues” (para. 88) which “are silly things but they still keep people apart and those things actually don’t matter” (para. 88). MFBO was of the opinion that churches should rather focus on the “fundamental things that put us together and that would bring us into common...ground so we know our purpose would be the same” (para. 88).

MFBO emphasised that a counter human trafficking response is not the responsibility of one person, but that the FBO regards it as the responsibility of all their members to participate in the strategy:

we also want to highlight it that as a church...each member of the church...themselves also [have to] become proactive in speaking it out, stopping it, not participating in it, and also assisting people that...find themselves in that kind of thing because our members live in the same community that human trafficking is happening in. (para. 19).

However, she acknowledged that the church members might be scared to get involved in counter human trafficking activities: “members of the church, they are normal human beings...they have fears” (para. 35). According to FM, these fears stem from knowing that “we’re going to be very much the enemy of organised crime” (para. 35): “if you take a prostitute away from a pimp, he’s gonna find her because she is the source of his income” (para. 65). Therefore, she was of the opinion “we...need to make sure then that our security:” is adequate at the shelter to protect the previously trafficked person from threat by traffickers. Safety concerns also affect others at the shelter as not only the previously trafficked person but also “the employees and volunteers of that particular safe house” (para. 65) could be at risk.

She therefore emphasised that a counter human trafficking strategy would require stakeholders “to have a lot of things in place” (para. 35). She was sensitised to the myriad of issues that needed to be considered when investigation of human trafficking activities while observing some of SAPS’ activities: “we saw the reality of human trafficking when we went on this stakeout” (para. 35):

You have to have the drug squad come. You have to have interpreters... as a police they have to follow procedures because if they don’t follow procedure the perpetrators get off on technicalities. You have to have, once you’ve identified victims, that very second you have to have a place of safety for them...you need to have security in place (para. 35).

Therefore, she regarded it as essential that it is recognised that “it’s a lot of pre-planning before...you start” (para. 35): “when you have victims of human trafficking...you need to

have a plan in place because you can't just have a heart and say: 'Oh, let's help people' and you don't have structures in place" (para. 14). MFBO, for example, noted that one should have plans to help previously trafficked people successfully reintegrate into society:

we have now a victim that has to really start from scratch. We've got to find opportunities for this person to work because as much as we've taken them out of that difficult situation; they made some kind of money in them (para. 35).

MFBO regarded a program that the FBO has used in "countries all over the world" (para. 65) as a possible way to assist victims of trafficking to reintegrate back into society. The FBO has an international "ministry called Microloans where people are given a small amount of money...they present a little business plan...and so we start people off on their own little business" (para. 65). At the time of the interview, the program was being piloted to "see how that would work" (para. 65).

According to MFBO, "when you look at the complexity of human trafficking" (para. 39), it becomes clear that simple solutions will not eradicate the crime. It is, in her opinion, therefore essential that communities become involved in counter human trafficking initiatives: "we need to impact the community. There wouldn't be a need for human trafficking if the community itself doesn't allow it" (para. 39). According to MFBO, the FBO has "learnt...that institutionalisation does not work on the long term...because it doesn't teach a particular person to be a responsible citizen...to go back into the community and cope with the same kind of situation that brought them to our institution" (para. 38). The FBO's strategy therefore increasingly focussed on building networks in the community to assist people with needs as well as empowering communities to reduce the vulnerability of the community members in specific areas:

if that community is capacitated in other areas....If there are instances of drug abuse, then you treat a particular person in the community. The community learns about drug

abuse...the drug user is then aware that they are still part of this community...now I have tools to help other people get through that particular situation. (para. 39).

The FBO viewed one of its ministers' primary tasks to build "networks in the community" (para. 76) which "link people up in the community where they can get the different services" (para. 73) from within the community. The main aim is also to "have those networks in place" (para. 76) before the need arises. According to MFBO, the community-based approach was applied in the case of "a lady in one of our churches in the rural area that was ukuthwala'd (*sic*)" (para. 73). After her "husband passed away" (para. 73), she was not able to support herself. Although the FBO did not have a shelter in the Eastern Cape it could support and help her, "as a community of church goers" (para. 73) to provide in her immediate needs. Another community initiative introduced by the FBO in a rural community was "a community forum" (para. 74) to discuss issues surrounding child sexual abuse, which MFBO was of the opinion, would also reduce the vulnerability factors of children to be trafficked in those communities: "the first is the silence to be broken, [then] education, and then accountability for the perpetrator" (para. 74).

According to MFBO, an area of silence in many communities related to prostitution: "people still speak very much in hushed tones about prostitutes" (para. 41) because of the stigma against prostituted women: "in Xhosa they would use Marhosha which...translates...as whore...those kind of things still speak very greatly about how society sees that particular person" (para. 41). MFBO predicted that stigma against prostituted women could be one of the main barriers against accepting that prostituted women could be victims of a crime: "because of the stigmatisation of people that find themselves in drug abuse or prostitution [which] comes with its own judgement: 'You are a prostitute so you should have expected it to happen'" (para. 53). In addition, MFBO was of the opinion that many people still don't understand exactly what human trafficking entails: "from a community point of view still a

lot of people are thinking [of] ...the old slavery and that seems like a fairy tale to people...so they haven't yet seen what human trafficking is" (para. 53). MFBO postulated that only when communities accept that human trafficking exists and come to grip with their "own judgement and lay that aside" (para. 53), would they become effective counter trafficking partners: "not only is it [human trafficking] hurting that person but it's destroying my community because my children cannot walk around freely because of human trafficking" (para. 53).

MFBO acknowledged that 'a smaller percentage of our church...is involved in community outreach" (para. 45) in the counter human trafficking field, mostly because "they don't feel safe" (para. 45) but also because "they don't see how they can make a difference or how their life experience will be able to change another person's life" (para. 45). When you look at the complexity of human trafficking MFBO was of the opinion that when community members actually had encounters with victims of human trafficking, they would be more inclined to get involved in counter human trafficking activities. MFBO referred to a life changing experience she had on a raid with SAPS that increased her understanding of the need to intervene in situations where people are exploited: "it burns into your memory. You don't forget" (para. 55). She was of the opinion therefore that it is important that people who have been exposed to human trafficking "have the right words so that they have a little picture of what they have seen and" (para. 57). With this knowledge and experience they can appeal to others saying: "This is it....This is what our future would look like...if we don't deal with this issue" (para. 57).

MFBO considered the need for information to "help us to understand how other faith based organisations think about" (para. 90) and respond to the challenges human trafficking posed to civil society organisations. She considered it especially valuable to "learn from other people's failure and their success" (para. 98) and use the information to enable her

organisation to “build on that” (para. 98). MFBO noted “It is not always easy when you’re in your little corner and you’re struggling” (para. 90) and “you think...we are the only church that goes through this. We are the only people who struggle with getting everybody on board” (para. 90). She therefore considered the knowledge and research generated by the current study as vital as it “gives a little bit of hope, perspective” (para. 90) when an organisation realises “Oh, no, someone else is also struggling” (para. 90).

Summary of MFBO’s perspective.

MFBO’s perspective revealed she regarded strategic thinking among civil society organisations, especially FBOs, when formulating counter human trafficking plans as vital. She accentuated the necessity that strategic plans should be both proactive and practical to address the needs of the victims of human trafficking and those who assist the victims of trafficking to recover and be reintegrated back into society. MFBO further emphasised the value of coordinated community-based responses to social needs within communities and was of the opinion that a similar approach would be invaluable to combat human trafficking and facilitate the reintegration of human trafficking victims. She highlighted the number of factors in communities that made individuals more vulnerable to be trafficked or to be lured into organised crime activities.

Mapping the Human Trafficking Maze: Folorunsho Jaiyeoluwa (FJ) Perspective

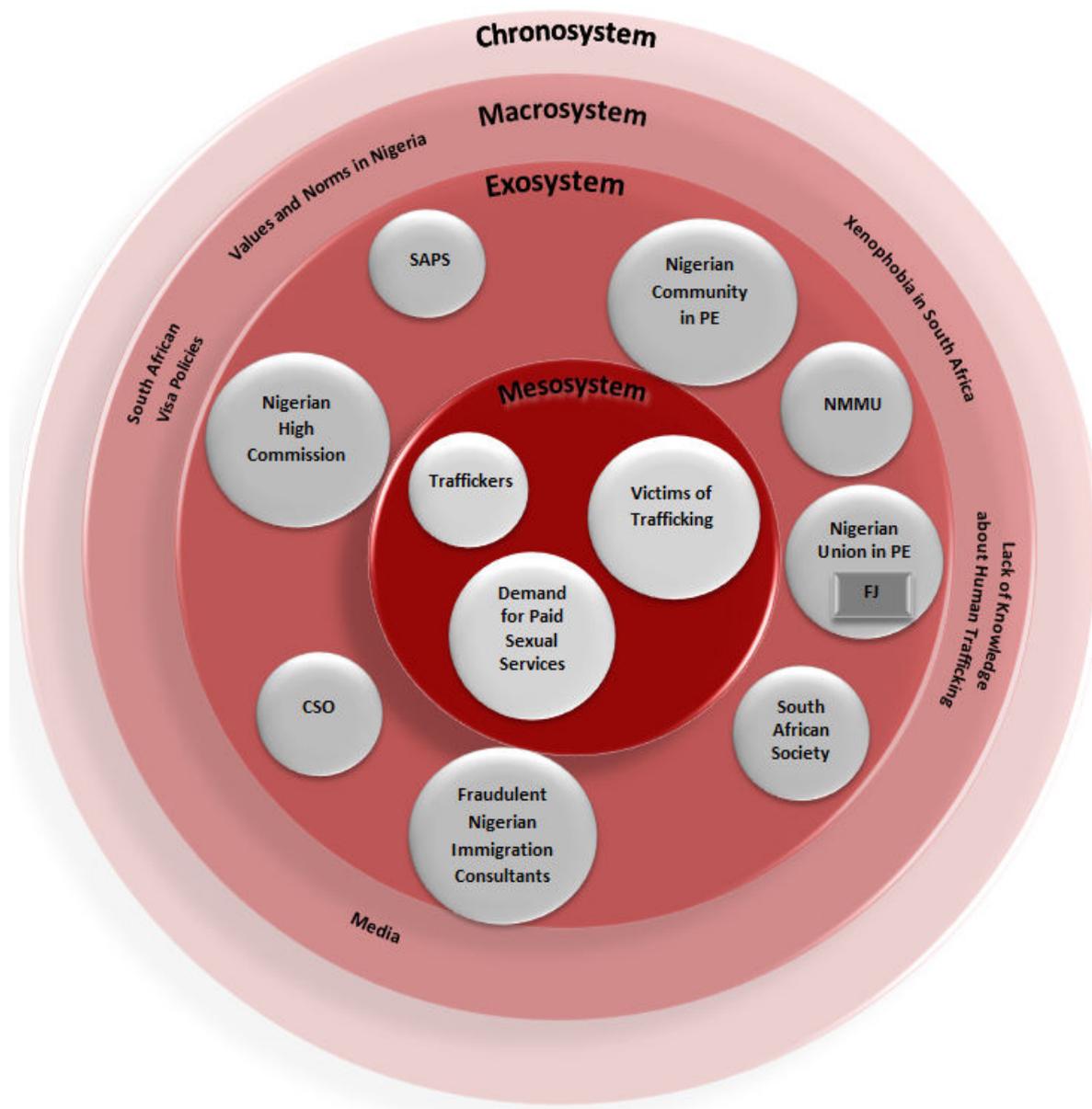
“you see the information, it’s so important. Lack of flow of information from the Nigerian society, foreign nationals, to the South African public....Those barriers needs to be broken” (FJ, para. 67).

Folorunsho Jaiyeoluwa (FJ)’s perspective of the human trafficking system resulted from his role as a community leader in the Nigerian community in the Port Elizabeth, his interactions with the South African Police Service (SAPS) about issues affecting the Nigerian community in Port Elizabeth, and as a student at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU).

FJ, as a community leader and Nigerian foreign national in South Africa, offered a perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape that indicated the presence of a range of systems, subsystems, and elements. These system components, conceptualised according to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development, is illustrated in Figure 19.

Introducing FJ.

FJ is a Nigerian male who, at the time of the interview, was completing a LLB degree at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). He participated in the current study in his capacity as the secretary of the Port Elizabeth Nigerian Union (Union). The Union is a community based organisation that was formed in 2009 with the aim of changing negative perceptions about Nigerian foreign nationals in Port Elizabeth. To achieve this aim, for example, the Union worked closely with business owners in Central, an inner-city neighbourhood in Port Elizabeth. FJ also was also the editor of the Karoodize magazine



SAPS	South African Police Service	NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
PE	Port Elizabeth	CSO	Civil Society Organisations

Figure 19. An ecosystemic depiction of FJ’s knowledge and experience of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape utilising Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological theory of human development.

for the National Association of Yoruba Descendants in Southern Africa. The Yoruba is one of the ethnic groups in Nigeria. This association aimed to, for example, promote empowerment of the Yoruba people in Southern Africa and bridge tribal divisions between Nigerians of different ethnic groups residing in Southern Africa. The ecosystemic

interactions and influences of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as perceived by FJ are discussed next.

FJ's perspective of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

According to FJ, there is a “lack of opportunities” (para. 11) for foreign nationals in South Africa, which “has a way of pulling foreigners into crime” (para. 11). The lack of legitimate work opportunities for foreign nationals can be attributed to a number of factors. The first contributing factor according to FJ is that “individuals who are legally married to South Africans” find that “the permit restricts them from getting employment or seeking employment” (para. 9).

Another factor that influenced Nigerian foreign nationals to turn to crime, according to FJ, “originates from Nigeria itself” (para. 10). In Nigeria “you get those who call themselves an immigration consultant” (para. 13). These immigration consultants promise Nigerians, “whose original destination is to head off to Europe” (para. 10) with the goal of “seeking a better life” (para. 13), to rather come to South Africa: “No, all you have to do is come to South Africa, you spend two, three months in South Africa, we’ll process you and you’ll go to Europe” (para. 10). With the belief “that South Africa could also be a springboard to European countries” (para. 13) or that there are “job opportunities in South Africa” (para. 13), Nigerian foreign nationals find themselves stranded in South Africa without work and an income: “Now these guys are struggling here. They need to survive” (para. 10). FJ has told Nigerians who want to move to South Africa to improve their quality of life that there are not many job opportunities in South Africa. He advised his fellow Nigerians only to move to South Africa with enough financial resources to sustain themselves: “either you’re coming to study and you have the [financial] resources to study or you coming in for investment and you have the [financial] resources” (para. 13).

The Union attempted to remedy this situation: “for those who don’t even have skills we’re trying to see how we could enrol them into programs where they could...acquire vocational skills where they could survive” (para. 11). However, due to South Africa’s work permit regulations, FJ wondered whether even skilled Nigerians would “be given a fair chance of actually having the ability to take care of their children that they have with their South African spouses” (para. 11).

FJ also found himself in a financially difficult situation when he moved to South Africa in 2003 to study at the University of Port Elizabeth. His tuition fees were three times higher than he expected: “I was supposed to pay R24000; I was given a quote for R8000” (para. 8). He “worked on a budget” (para. 8) and found that “Sustaining myself became difficult” (para. 8). As he “couldn’t get a job” (para. 8), FJ started “selling shoes on campus” (para. 8). Fortunately he knew “someone who had a shoe factory” (para. 8) which enabled him to supplement his income while he was studying, as his “funds were running dry from home” (para. 8).

Unlike FJ, some foreign nationals did not have access to the “necessary information to seek opportunities to survive” (para. 10) or are not “morally strong [enough] to withstand the tough time” (para. 10). FJ used the example of a Nigerian foreign national who was prosecuted for drug trafficking to illustrate how many Nigerian foreign nationals believe they have no option but to engage in crime:

his brother came home [in Nigeria]. Told him he was into business and all of that. Told him: “Ok, you come over [to South Africa]”. He came over only to realise his brother was dealing in drugs. He had nothing to do [for an income], nowhere to go. Can’t go back and he was forced into the drug trade. (para. 11).

Foreign nationals experienced pressure from their families in their countries of origin to be successful in South Africa so they could send money home: “the perception is that...the

moment you start out, you're already made. So there's an expectation that you are in a better place. You should be able to do more for those at home" (para.17). With the assurance by unscrupulous immigration agents that "where you are going is giving you a better promise" (para. 19), they use all their resources to move to South Africa: "you sell all you have. Your lifesavings, you take everything and you hit the road believing the risk I'm taking is worth it" (para. 19). However, after arriving in South Africa you find it "is worse from where you come [from in Nigeria]. When you left you gave everything to live for the hope there's something better out there and you realise: 'Man, it's not'" (para. 17). This person therefore has "nothing to live for back home" (para. 19), but is also under "pressure from home" (para. 19), which is why FJ was of the opinion that "they will give in" (para. 17) to making a living from crime. Even though FJ had empathy for the desperation felt by foreign nationals in this position, he did not condone that they turn to crime to earn a living:

in as much as one has empathy towards the pressure on them, I still can't get around why they cannot actually commit and be honest and say: 'Look, it is not the way it seems here. These are the challenges you are facing [here]' (para. 19).

FJ asserted that prejudice against Nigerian foreign nationals could be another contributing factor to the lack of job opportunities for Nigerian foreign nationals. As some Nigerian foreign nationals were known to engage in crime such as drug trafficking, he found that all Nigerian foreign nationals are stereotyped as criminals. When FJ first arrived in South Africa, he found that "I had students walking up to me asking me for drugs on the basis of my nationality" (para. 8) because they believed that "because I'm Nigerian, I could get them drugs" (para. 8). FJ was confused and shocked "because in all my years in Nigeria and up to now, I've not seen drugs" (para. 8), but perceived it as an added pressure on foreign nationals: "the society itself has placed a burden on, has placed an expectation on foreigners to perpetuate crime" (para. 8). FJ illustrated how the stereotype of Nigerian foreign nationals

directly contributed to unemployment of one foreign national: “a member of our Union was telling me that he was once working at an establishment” (para. 10). Even though his employer was satisfied with his performance, he was fired “because you’re a Nigerian and I’m afraid that one of these days I’ll come back and my things will be gone” (para. 10). FJ had also been the target of prejudice: “there’s a guy I know. We used to say hi to each other. Then, at the time, we were...just talking and he asked me: “Where are you from?” I said I’m Nigerian and he just walked off” (para. 24).

FJ noted that prejudice towards Nigerian foreign nationals prevented Nigerians with scarce skills from working legally in South Africa. Although “there is a shortage of medical doctors” (para. 20) in South Africa, yet he was aware of “at least 20 to 30 Nigerian doctors” (para. 20) in the “Eastern Cape alone” (para. 20) who “sat in with the South African examination... [and]...have passed” (para. 20) yet “they would not be given jobs for one reason or the other which are political” (para. 20). As a result, they “now have to do jobs under the table” (para. 20), which FJ knew “is a crime” (para. 20). He asserted, however, that this situation was “created by policy decisions” (para. 20). Although FJ acknowledged that the “South African government has the right to protect its citizens and make sure that they’re gainfully employed” (para. 20), he also believed that in cases such as these, the government was “not doing enough and not identifying how to deal with these things” (para. 20).

FJ asserted that the media in South Africa perpetuated prejudice against foreign nationals: “Daily Sun is most guilty....When you look at the news, they would deliberately state that this crime was committed by a foreigner” (para. 32). He described this phenomenon as “one of the things that haunts me most” (para. 32) and thought that the fact that the newspaper used the “word ‘alien’ to identify that it’s a foreigner” (para. 32) who committed a crime was one of the factors that were “sowing the seed of discord” (para. 32) between South Africans and foreign nationals. He illustrated how incorrect reporting about

foreign nationals by a Port Elizabeth newspaper resulted in the loss of a job opportunity for a Nigerian foreign national. According to FJ, a woman was murdered in Port Elizabeth, after which “the Herald reported that five Nigerians” (para. 36) had “been arrested in connection to the crime” (para. 36). After communicating with the investigating officer at the SAPS, FJ was informed that the crime was “committed by another nationality. Those people were arrested” (para. 36). The police officer clarified that at the time of the arrest, Nigerians residing in the same building as the alleged murderers were arrested “on some immigration issues and ...released” (para. 36). The investigating officer concluded “maybe the reporter got it wrong” (para. 36). The next day, FJ recalled, “a friend of mine...was supposed to get a contract from a firm” (para. 36), but was informed that he would not get the contract because he was Nigerian. The woman told him directly “The woman that was killed this morning was my friend. Your Nigerian brothers killed her. I’m not giving you the job then” (para. 36). According to FJ, the “tragedy” (para. 36) in this case was that “even if it was perpetrated by a Nigerian, does it mean he played a part?” (para. 36). He surmised that the problem in this situation was that people are “quick to assume that every black man is a Nigerian” (para. 37) or that “every crime that is committed by a black man that doesn’t look like a South African is a Nigerian” (para. 37).

Due to the way Nigerians are portrayed in the media, FJ was of the opinion that “people do not look beyond the crime” (para. 38), but merely are “scraping the problem on the head” (para. 38). According to him, “the kingpins behind drugs are not the Nigerians” (para. 38) but that the “foot soldiers are those Nigerian guys that are desperate to make a living” (para. 38). When police arrest these foot soldiers “on lesser drug related offences” (para. 38), the media are “quick to flash them on newspaper...Each time you read newspaper: ‘Nigerian person did this. Nigerian person did that’” (para. 38). However, he was of the opinion that the police need to adopt “a whole new approach” (para. 38) and focus on the “real target”

(para. 38) which should be the kingpins “because if I’m selling the drug on the street, who supplies me? Who supplies the middle man that supplies me?” (para. 38).

Due to the perception of foreign nationals, and especially the Nigerian community, that “South Africans don’t like us. They are just tolerating us” (para. 34), FJ was of the opinion that the Nigerian community in Port Elizabeth had become “closed, it’s an enclosed community because...it’s not being welcomed into the broader society” (para. 26). FJ concluded that there is a circular causality between prejudice and the lack of interaction between South Africans and foreign nationals: “foreigners are isolated and...when you isolate a society, you begin to create misconceptions... [and] mysteries around them. People live on these mysteries...on these misconceptions. That’s why there’s xenophobia...the foundation of all that is isolation” (para. 24). He realised that “even when people socialise, foreigners stick with foreigners. South Africans stick with South Africans” (para. 24): “this weekend, I had a meeting with friends. They were Nigerians. Not one single South African. I cannot remember the last time I actually sat down or went out to dinner with a South African. That is a problem” (para. 79). On the NMMU’s campus, he found that “you don’t find foreign students interacting with South Africans. You find them interacting more with Ugandans, with Nigerians, with Ghanaians than with South Africans” (para. 71). Therefore, foreign nationals “live on their own and create their own world within South Africa” (para. 79).

FJ was of the opinion that the isolation of foreign nationals is partly the result of the fact that “South Africa has been isolated for so long a period...I think the...problem is South Africa has...[an] inability to open up to the world” (para. 69). He referenced former president Thabo Mbeki that reiterated the point that: “there was something president Thabo Mbeki said when he was at Rhodes and he made reference to the fact that black South Africans are ignorant about Africa and it’s true” (para. 77). He illustrated this “depth of ignorance” (para.

77): “A black South African will ask me: ‘Are you from Africa?’ and I ask them: ‘Are you not in Africa?’” (para. 77).

FJ hypothesised that South Africans’ lack of interest to interact with foreign nationals can be attributed to a lack of exposure to “other parts of the world” (para. 77), maybe because it was not part of the education system to educate learners about other “parts of the world” (para. 77). In Nigeria in ‘my first two years of secondary school we did literature on Shaka Zulu....There was a piece we did on Miriam Makeba...we were exposed to other African countries. We knew about Ubuntu...we knew so much about other African countries” (para. 77). In FJ it created “some form of curiosity” (para. 77) about the rest of the world, that he believed has not been generated among South Africans.

Another way in which FJ discerned the lack of openness of South Africans towards foreign nationals related to the use of indigenous languages: “students...have forgotten that if you step into a university environment, the common language of communication is English. You can’t expect me, a Nigerian who speaks Yoruba, to speak to you in Xhosa” (para. 73). Instead, FJ believed that “common ground” (para. 73) should be found by both groups speaking English with one another: “we must and we have to communicate in English” (para. 73). He regarded the acquisition of the host country’s indigenous languages as an indication of integration into that society: “when you love the place and you love the people, you fall in love with the culture and the language and the number one starting point of falling in love with the culture is the language. You learn the language” (para. 73). Instead, he has found that because there are “hostilities between foreign nationals and South Africans” (para. 73), not many foreign nationals have “genuine interest in learning a South African language” (para. 73). FJ also had not learnt a South African indigenous language at the time of the interview: “I’ve been in South Africa since 2003. I don’t speak Xhosa because I’ve not felt the warmthness (*sic*) of the people in general and that is a problem” (para. 73).

According to FJ, the isolation of the Nigerian community is amplified because “from the Nigerian Union perspective, we do not know of any organisations...that deal with issues that affect foreign immigrants” (para. 22). He acknowledged that there may be such organisations in the Port Elizabeth, but “if there is, we’ve not had any contact whatsoever” (para. 22). He was of the opinion that the Union would have “done much more than we can” (para. 22) if there had been contact with such organisations, but from his perspective at the time of the interview, he acknowledged that for the Nigerian community, there has been “absolutely no support” (para. 24).

As the Nigerian community in the Port Elizabeth did not feel accepted by the larger South African society, FJ was of the opinion that the way in which this community wanted to contribute to the wellbeing of South Africa is affected: “reality is also that if society has not opened itself up to the [foreign national] community, how does the community...take ownership of the South African society” (para. 29). This state of affairs was troubling to FJ because “when you come into a society, you have a responsibility towards that society...to uphold the laws, to protect the interest of that society” (para. 29). However, due to the isolation of “foreign nationals, not just Nigerians” (para. 29), FJ perceived that “the foreign nationals are not protecting the interest of South Africa” (para. 29). He highlighted that it was also in the best interests for the South African society that crime perpetrated within foreign national communities is identified and reported by these communities: “it is not in the interest for me as a foreign national to see crime going on and not able to expose it” (para. 29). However, according to FJ, “reality is also dark” (para. 26). In the closed Nigerian community, he perceived that “Every community knows its home” (para. 26) where “It’s easier to know each other and to know what each other do” (para. 26): “this guy, well, he says he is doing business but we know he trades in drugs. No, we know he says he’s doing business but we know he has a prostitution ring” (para. 26). However, because of the lack of

societal acceptance, the community is less likely to report such criminal operations to the police: “if the police wants information....They’ve not been able to create a relationship with the Nigerian community” (para. 28). The lack of cooperation with law enforcement serves to perpetuate negative perceptions about the Nigerian community in the inner city neighbourhood in Port Elizabeth:

majority of those who perpetuate crime, live in Central. However, there is a greater portion of people that live in Central that do not commit crime. They have small businesses within Central, but because majority of the illicit activities that goes on in Port Elizabeth is in Central and those are easily identified as Nigerian, it creates a perception that it is all Nigerians. All Nigerians that live in Central that is committing those crimes (para. 28).

The Nigerian community’s reluctance to cooperate with the SAPS also was perceived to be due to the actions of some police officers towards members of the Nigerian community:

We’ve had cases when Nigerians were kicked up, beaten up, has their money taken from then by police officers. Now why would any Nigerian want to give information to police officers to have them deal with elements in our society? (para. 61).

Therefore, “the way it [crime] is being fought within the societies of foreign nationals is such that it’s not helping” (para. 61) to combat crimes such as “human trafficking, drugs ...whatever it is” (para. 61). According to FJ, if a foreign national does not feel safe with the police, “when I know you’ve done this to me” (para. 61), then the response from within the community towards the police is “why should I care?” (para. 61) when the police ask for assistance with crime. A similar attitude is also evident towards the larger South African society as a whole: “the issues the person is raising, whether it’s valid or not, I don’t even care about it” (para. 61) because of “The fact that you’re victimising me based on my nationality or you have a misconception about me based on my nationality” (para. 59). These

results in a lack of cooperation with authorities: “If you vilify a society, they become defensive, angry and you don’t get the result you need to get because...All I’m seeing is I’m being victimised, I’m being isolated” (para. 57) and “I don’t care what you have to say” (para. 59).

FJ was of the opinion that these feelings of anger and rejection reduce the Nigerian community’s empathy towards the victims of crime perpetrated by some of the members of their community: “I don’t care what pain you’ve gone through. I don’t care what loss you’ve gone through by what someone from my nationality has done” (para. 59). Therefore, FJ was of the opinion that because the Nigerian community perceives itself as being a target of prejudice, “the ball is being shifted from the problem [of crime]” (para. 59) to being “focussed on why are we being victimised?” (para. 59), which again perpetuates negative attitudes towards foreign nationals.

FJ surmised that some Nigerian foreign nationals get involved in crime because they don’t have “the moral strength to restrain or refrain themselves from crime” (para. 13). According to him “the majority [Nigerian foreign nationals] didn’t come here to commit crime” (para. 13), but when they “now got here and things they don’t work” (para. 13), then “those factors invariably would pull those who are morally weak into crime” (para. 10). FJ asserted that “upbringing is a problem” (para. 13) which would make it easier for some people to turn to crime for a living. However, he believed that the Nigerian context played a role: “There was a time when Nigeria was the number six most corrupt nation in the world so political leaders have also sown the seed of moral bankruptness (*sic*) in our society” (para. 15). This example of political leaders influenced the values of the Nigerian society in which “how much wealth you amass is glorified above the quality of who you are” (para. 15). As a result, FJ reasoned many Nigerians do not question the means by which wealth is acquired: “The issue is: Have it” (para. 15) instead of considering the importance of pro-social

behaviour: “There are certain things society expects of you. There are certain things that you as an individual based on your conviction expect of you” (para. 6).

FJ also considered the fact that Nigeria is also a “lawless society” (para. 33) as another factor which cultivated immoral behaviour among some of his Nigerian people. Even though South Africa has “a high proportion of crime” (para. 33), it is a “society that is orderly and lawful” (para. 33). Therefore, he was of the opinion that it would be easier to deal with crime in South Africa than in a society like Nigeria: “It is evil because a society that is lawless is more chaotic than a society that has a high [crime rate], because when someone is lawless it becomes very difficult, very hard to deal with those issues but here [South Africa] there is law, there is order” (para. 33). However, FJ considered the crime rate in South Africa to be worryingly high: “Crime happens everywhere. It’s all over, everywhere but the proportion to which it happens in South Africa is a problem...it worries me” (para. 33).

FJ was of the opinion that “you have instances where you have those that are actually devoid of their sense or their ability to have any morals at all” (para. 6). Such people’s actions “are based on material gains and not on moral law” (para. 6). According to him, these persons are “evil...pure evil” (para. 6) and “society at large, when they understand it, they also need to know the responsibility they have to expose those evils in this society” (para. 6). When it comes to his understanding of human trafficking and the perpetrators of the crime, he realised that “most of the people that are used in human trafficking are used for sexual purposes” (para. 43). When he considered that this entailed that “you keep people, whether forcefully or they follow you voluntarily and...now you trade them...money for sex” (para. 43), it “kind of makes me cringe” (para. 43). He concluded, “For me it’s not excusable” (para. 43).

For that reason, he was of the opinion that six Nigerian men who were accused of human trafficking activities in Port Elizabeth and in jail awaiting trial at the time of the interview

should “feel the full strength of the law...if indeed they are guilty” (para. 40). He indicated that the Nigerian community in South Africa also agreed, “the law should take its course” (para. 44) in this case. When the accused in “this case that is currently going on in court” (para. 44) called the Nigerian High Commission “saying they are being falsely accused” (para. 44), the Union decided “the consulate should not be involved” (para. 44) as the “prosecution has brought up a charge against these people...based on the evidence that’s been tendered” (para. 44).

FJ appreciated that many factors contribute to the criminal enterprises Nigerian foreign nationals get involved with. However, he stated that understanding these factors does not mean that one should “excuse...[or] validate their reasons for going into such activities” (para. 11). Instead, he believed the complexity of the contributing factors should only help to “identify what causes it” (para. 11).

According to FJ, there was a lack of awareness in his community and in the Union about what exactly comprises human trafficking. Even though human trafficking had been discussed at a meeting between the Union and SAPS, the Union did not get a satisfactory answer to the question: “What is human trafficking?” (para. 2). He was also unsure about “how prevalent or how terrible the situation is” (para. 2) although he was “aware of the fact that there is human trafficking” (para. 2). He assumed that “human trafficking would be probably people trading in humans” (para. 4), but he also thought, “it goes beyond that” (para. 4). However, because “we are ignorant of what it is, it becomes difficult for us to deal with it” (para. 4). Similarly, he was of the opinion that “the public do not really have a perfect understanding of what human trafficking is all about” (para. 2), which is why he assumed “it becomes very difficult to identify it” (para. 2).

FJ acknowledged that the issue of human trafficking is “more complicated” (para. 40) than merely an issue of “so much desperation for money that you trade in human beings”

(para. 40). Although “first and foremost those guys deal with drugs, there’s no lie about it” (para. 40), FJ heard from a Nigerian community member that “it is not like they go out and kidnap these girls” (para. 40). Rather, “Most of the times these girls do it for dependency on the drugs that these guys have” (para. 40). Therefore, some of the girls have to work as prostitutes to pay their drug debt: “you go work [as a prostitute], you pay for your habit, and they house them, they feed them” (para. 40). However, FJ did not consider any form of sexual exploitation to be “excusable” (para. 43): “you keep people, whether forcefully or they follow you voluntarily....they’re hooked on drugs or you now trade them...money for sex. They money they bring, you give them a portion whether you clothe them” (para. 43).

FJ’s reflection on interventions that could reduce the incidence of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape.

According to FJ, there is a need for “government, for NGOs [Non-governmental organisations] to come out and actually explain in the simplest terms what human trafficking is” (para. 2) to the “general public...to organisations...to individuals” (para 4). He asserted that this explanation of human trafficking should create a “explicit understanding of it” (para. 4). He was of the opinion that “once we are able to identify what it [human trafficking] is, we are able to deal with it within our community” (para. 2). However, as he felt the Union and the Nigerian community were “ignorant of what it [human trafficking] is, they find that it “becomes very hard for us to identify and to be able to expose it as a union” (para. 6).

FJ asserted that the Union could deal more effectively with human trafficking in the Nigerian community if there was “greater cooperation from government, from police” (para. 45) to create “platforms for civil organisation, for police to come and tell the people this and this is a crime....This is not accepted” (para. 45). FJ found that in their community “majority of the guys who are perpetrating these crimes...lack understanding of what is acceptable or

not acceptable” (para. 45). Instead, according to FJ, “one of the things we identified” (para. 45) was that these people have “in their mind...come to a place where they now believe that [crime] is business” (para. 45) because they “removed morality from the equation” (para. 45): “For them it is a transaction and for them it is survival” (para. 45). Therefore, even if some of those involved in crime are arrested and prosecuted, it “does not necessarily mean that that [crime] are solved because reality is that you must [then] find [the person] who has stepped into those guys’ position and continued [their criminal operation]” (para. 45). For that reason, FJ regarded it essential “for society, for government, for organisations to...start a process of reorientation or re-education of these individuals” (para. 45). Churches should also be involved in this process “because these individuals go to church” (para. 45).

FJ emphasised that the focus of these interventions should be on the moral regeneration in communities instead of only focussing on educating them on the law and their human rights: “Our focus [is] too much on laws, on rights...reality is that at times the message of morals plays a greater role that would solve more problems than the rights of the individual” (para. 45). He was of the opinion that concentrating on moral regeneration could have a societal influence: “if I have a perfect understanding and I’m in touch with what is moral, what is acceptable, it is easier for us to create sanctity within a society” (para. 45).

At the time of the interview, there had been no awareness campaigns on human trafficking in the Nigerian community in the Port Elizabeth. He was of the opinion that such campaigns “would have a profound effect because...people [will] begin to realise that what we actually [are] doing is wrong” (para. 53). Forcing community conversations around the issue of human trafficking would also provide the impetus for people to “expose it” (para. 53): “With every problem in society, you don’t deal with it by pretending it’s not there or by not talking about it” (para. 55). When there is silence about such issues, like with human trafficking, FJ was of the opinion that “People get used to it. It becomes a part of their life

and they ignore it” (para. 53). On the other hand, “the more you talk about it, the more people become aware of how to deal with it” (para. 53).

FJ indicated that the Union would encourage organisations to run such awareness campaigns in the Nigerian community in Port Elizabeth. However, he foresaw difficulties for the Nigerian community to accept information from South Africans because of their perception that this “society is hostile towards you” (para. 49). He therefore regarded it essential that “if we want to fight this thing [human trafficking], then there’s need for us to create a society...that gives everybody ownership of this city we are living in. This society we’re living in” (para. 49) through “orientation programmes, a campaign that begins to...prove that South Africa belongs to all who live in it and not just South Africans alone” (para. 49). According to FJ, such orientation programmes should aim to increase the integration between South Africans and foreign national communities through increased communication and flow of information between these groups: “the information, it’s so important....The barriers needs to be broken. It needs to work towards how to achieve that.” (para. 67). Without such interventions which can encourage better integration between South Africans and foreign nationals, FJ was of the opinion that “you will not get the best out of our societies” (para. 65), while “if I know I have a stake in making this society work, then I will play my part...very well in keeping it safe” (para. 49).

He strongly believed that South Africans and foreign nationals “need to get back to being humane to each other” (para. 34), as this would increase the Nigerian community in Port Elizabeth’s desire to address crime perpetrated by its community members: “Port Elizabeth is a friendly place but it needs to open up to foreign nationals. It needs to create an environment where we take ownership of the city we live in...and we protect it” (para. 29). He also placed a responsibility on his community: “I’m not saying the fault lies on South

Africans alone because the Nigerian community...in South Africa needs to look into itself and deal with the issues of immorality that crept up to such a large proportion” (para. 34).

FJ strongly asserted that government should play a much stronger role in resolving some of the issues affecting the Nigerian community: “at the end of the day the buck stops on the table of government not doing enough and not identifying how to deal with these things” (para. 20). He indicated that “all of this needs to be looked at wholly” (para. 41) instead of trying to solve the problems in a fragmented manner: “broaden the horizon here and say: ‘Ok, what are the problems? Why is this problem happening? How do we tackle it?...we can’t just keep trying to solve problems from one perspective” (para. 41).

FJ emphasised that a contributing factor to crime in the Nigerian community is that the South African government issued visas to “foreigners in South Africa that have nothing to offer the society. They are not contributing in any way to the society” (para. 41), because they are not employable in South Africa. FJ was of the opinion that “there is no need to start lying, to start being diplomatic” (para. 41), but that the “South African government needs to understand why and who issues visas to come to South Africa” (para. 41) to people without the skills which would increase their employability. Therefore, he asserted, “this starts from the...South African High Commission in Nigeria” (para. 41) that should consider a number of factors before they issue a visa for South Africa: “When you issue visas to people...on what basis did you issue the visa to this person? Why is he coming?...What skill are they bringing in?” (para. 41). More pertinent questions should be asked of people who claimed they had skills or will start a business in South Africa: “when an individual comes and says he’s coming for business in South Africa” (para. 41), it should be established “What kind of business?” (para. 41) this person plans to start.

FJ asserted that it is very important that government attempt to understand why there is “a great deal of influx [of foreign nationals] into South Africa” (para. 41). He was of the

opinion that this occurs due to the erroneous “perception of job opportunities in South Africa” (para. 41). The government should therefore ask questions such as: “What informed their decisions to come to South Africa?...Why do people believe we have job opportunities here because there isn’t that much job opportunities....Maybe because we have infrastructures that looks like developed world?” (para. 41).

FJ considered that there might therefore be a “need to review the South African visa policy” (para. 41). As a foreign national, he was of the opinion that South Africa should relax its visa policy for Africans because “at times when you make it so difficult for people to come in here, they think there’s something” (para. 41). In West Africa, “we have free visa policies where I can go into any West African state for 90 days” (para. 41). This allows potential immigrants to a West African country to find out whether they will be able to find work in that country: “by the time you go there, you realise: ‘OK, there’s really nothing happening here that I can’t get in Nigeria, so I don’t need to spend so much [to emigrate]” (para. 41). Previously “Nigerians used to go to England, thinking it has opportunities” (para. 41). According to FJ, however, “England has reviewed its policies” (para. 41) to introduce “visa regulation” (para. 41) to limit the number of visas issued to foreign nationals: “maybe per year they issue a thousand visas to come and work in the UK [United Kingdom]” (para. 41) based on the skills needed in the country. For this reason, FJ has seen that there is “a reduced influx of Nigerians to England” (para. 41).

Summary of FJ’s perspective.

FJ emphasised the push and pull factors which created an environment which increase the likelihood that some Nigerian foreign nationals in the Nigerian community in Port Elizabeth get involved in crimes such as human trafficking. He highlighted factors in the South African context such as societal prejudice and xenophobia towards foreign nationals,

the high crime rate, and the lack of employment opportunities in South Africa. He also identified certain characteristics of the Nigerian context that influenced the ease with which some Nigerian foreign nationals engaged in criminal opportunities such as the high level of corruption in Nigeria and the Nigerian society's focus on material gain and wealth. FJ noted that the absence of morality is a significant motivator for Nigerian foreign nationals to turn to crime to support himself or herself. He surmised that these factors are not excuses, but could be explanations to understand the reason some of Nigerian foreign nationals engage in human trafficking. He also suggested a number of interventions that could decrease the likelihood that Nigerian foreign nationals in Port Elizabeth would engage in crime or increase the willingness of the Nigerian community to expose crime in their community. These included awareness campaigns to explain what human trafficking is, educational programmes to re-establish the importance of morality among South Africans and foreign nationals in the country, and the South African government's revision of its visa policies.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the participants and presented their individual perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as conceptualised by Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development. Each perspective revealed that there are a myriad of interrelationships, linkages, and processes between many systems, subsystems, and elements within the human trafficking system and between the human trafficking system and its environment.

Participants were from diverse organisations and sectors. Thus, each participant's perspective revealed a unique, rich picture of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape that allowed the reader to perceive the human trafficking system from ten distinct, unique angles. For example, IO's law enforcement perspective highlighted interrelationships,

linkages, and processes between systems, subsystems, and elements in the human trafficking system and between the human trafficking system and its environment that all provided insights regarding the investigation of human trafficking cases. One such insight related to the how complexities of the human trafficking crime exposed the inadequacies of the traditional, conventional investigation method employed by SAPS. SW's social welfare and victim care perspective, on the other hand, provided insights about complexities involved the service provision for the victims of human trafficking. She highlighted, for example, the inadequacies in the government's response to provide in the multifaceted needs of human trafficking victims due to experiences in the trafficking situation. Thus, the multiperspectives of diverse, knowledgeable participants resulted in a rich, in-depth, and detailed representation of the complex interrelationships, linkages, and processes between a wide array of systems, subsystems, and elements within the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, as well as between the human trafficking system and its environment. In the next chapter, the complexity of the human trafficking system is viewed via the pooled perspectives of the research participants.

Chapter 6

Discussion

Principles for the development of a complete mind....Develop your senses – especially learn how to see. Realise that everything connects to everything else
(Leonardo da Vinci, cited in Miller, 2010, para. 12).

This chapter addresses the current study's second objective. This objective aimed to utilise complexity theory principles to describe the essence of the human trafficking system, according to the individual and pooled perspectives of the study participants.

First, the complexity of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape and the interconnectedness and interrelationships between system components in the human trafficking system is portrayed through two main themes that emerged from the combined perspectives of the study participants. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), the notion of bricolage in qualitative research refers to a “complex, quilt like...set of fluid, interconnected...representations” (p. 6) which integrates the different aspects of reality found in different perspectives. This notion is utilised to interweave participants' verbatim quotes into a rich, detailed, and shared account of the interrelationships and interconnectedness between system components in the human trafficking system relevant to each particular theme. In this discussion, the combined participant view is compared to existing literature on human trafficking to contextualise the findings of the current study.

Thereafter, a discussion of the findings of the study in light of complexity theory to provide a theoretically integrated understanding of participants in the current study's' perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape is provided. The discussion

is structure according to De Toni and Comello's (2010) consolidation of the characteristics of complex systems into seven principles of the complexity theory as discussed in chapter two.

Theme 1: The Complexity of Interactions between Traffickers and Victims of Trafficking

"human trafficking for sexual exploitation is not only an organised crime activity, but a crime of relational nature as well." (Verhoeven et al., 2013, p. 1)

The combined participant perspective revealed that the complex interactions and relationship dynamics between the traffickers and their victims was the most prominent focus of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. Three subthemes shaped participants' perspective of these complex relationships as shown in Figure 20. These subthemes included the abusive relationship dynamic between traffickers and the victims of trafficking, the vulnerability of the victims of trafficking, and the traffickers' recruitment strategies.

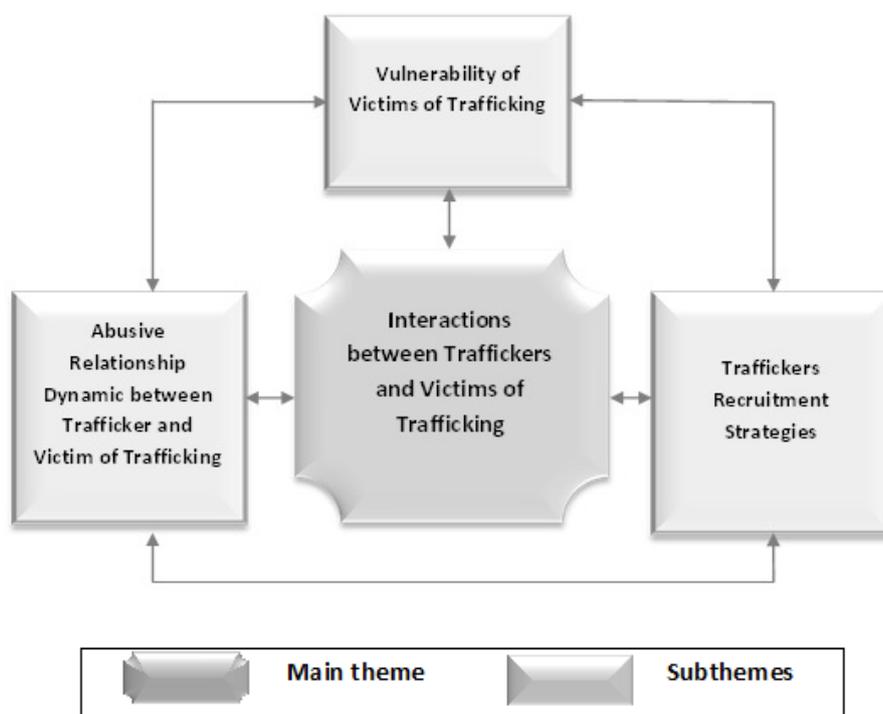


Figure 20. A diagrammatic expression of the main theme and subthemes.

Through participants' perspectives, it emerged that the nucleus of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape consisted of the interactions between the traffickers' system, the trafficked persons' system, and the demand system that comprises of the individuals or organisations that make use of the services of trafficked persons. In this criminal business triad, traffickers procured vulnerable human beings which matched the demand created by users of the services of the trafficked persons in the traffickers' operating areas where and trafficked persons' services are sold "as a commodity" (KH, para. 54) to buyers who created the demand for the specific service provided by the victim of trafficking. The buyer-seller-agent dynamic within this triad reflects the conceptualisation of human trafficking in terms of an economic supply and demand paradigm (Bermudez, 2008, p. 17, International Labour Organization (ILO), 2006, p. 19; Wheaton et al., 2010, p. 114).

Participants in the current study highlighted that for the trafficker, human trafficking for sexual exploitation is "all about the money. It isn't really about sex... for the guy that has the girls it is all about the money" (IO, p. 27). For that reason, traffickers consider victims only "in terms of profit and value to himself...or herself" (KH, p. 52). Trafficked persons and their services were therefore treated as "commodity" (KH, p. 52) and "an object" (KH, p. 52) by traffickers. As traffickers only see "the profit" (KH, p. 52) and "don't give a damn about a child and a child's needs or a woman and woman's needs." (KH, p. 52), they make use of "inhumane" (KH, p. 52) methods to control their victims. The fact that "a person can be seen and treated as a commodity" (SSA, p. 71) is outside the average person's "normal frame of reference" (SSA, p. 71). As a result, many people, including law enforcement officers find it hard to admit "it is a true reality" (SSA, p. 48), which contributes to hidden nature of the crime that "takes place under the table and does not show in public" (SSA, p. 69).

These observations correspond with those of Roelofse (2011, p. 1) who described human trafficking as one of the most extreme forms of exploitation and dehumanisation. Similarly,

Bales (2005: 9) argued that the greed of traffickers is one of the main drivers of human trafficking, which accords with participants' notions about human trafficking activities being mainly profit-driven.

Participants portrayed the complex interactions between traffickers and the victims of the crime as "an abusive relationship" (JP, p. 45) in which victims were abused "emotionally and physically, sexually, and financially" (JP, p.7). Abusive methods enabled traffickers to "break them down in every possibly way" (NNC, p. 23) to achieve psychological control over trafficked persons to make them compliant enough to earn money for traffickers: "When a girl stops fighting, then she starts working" (NNC, p. 23). Physical and sexual violence against the victims of trafficking also served as "as a punitive measure" (IO, p. 137) to maintain psychological control over the victims to comply with the traffickers' demands. When forced into sexual exploitation, for example, a trafficked person had to earn a predetermined amount of money or face punishment. According to IO these daily amounts varied "between R1500 and R5000" (p. 181). Therefore, when a victim JP encountered "hadn't been earning enough money" (p. 9), she was "whipped...kicked...beaten" (JP. p.9) by her trafficker to the point where JP was unable to recognise the colour of her skin due to the bruising. Humiliation accompanied physical punishment, as the victim was first told "to strip to humiliate her and to lie on the floor" (JP, p. 9) before the trafficker continued to assault her physically. The physical abuse participants encountered was often extreme. At a bail application hearing in Port Elizabeth, it was testified that a trafficker beat a trafficking victim with a hosepipe, "poured boiling water over her." (JP, p. 23), and tried to kill her when "he tried to run her over with a car" (SSA, p. 23). Rape was another method used by traffickers to force their victims into compliance during the course of the trafficking relationship. Therefore a victim can be "Raped on various occasions" (SSA, p. 23) by her trafficker. Various authors (Bermudez, 2008; Lutya, 2012, p. 6; Oram et al., 2012, p. 5;

Smith, 2010, p. 342) described similar violent methods used by traffickers to condition their victims into compliance including rape and sexually humiliating treatment as described by the current participants.

The Nigerian crime syndicates, who were dominant in the sexual exploitation of victims of trafficking in South Africa, were “very rough” (IO, p. 41) and simply resorted to violence if it would advance their goals. The tendency of Nigerian traffickers to be violent contributed to the fear victims of trafficking felt in the trafficking situation. In many instances, victims of trafficking observed violence towards others when, for example when a trafficker “pulls out a gun and shoots the guy next to him” (IO, p. 157). A victim observed an incident when traffickers held a gun against a user of her services’ head to force him to perform oral sex on a trafficker while the act was recorded. The aim of this was to extort money from this user: “Right...month-end we want R30 000”...or the clip gets loaded onto YouTube” (IO, p. 185). While IO was investigating human trafficking activities and testifying at a bail application hearing for six alleged Nigerian traffickers, he and his wife also received threats. Therefore, he had to move his family overnight to a safe house. Witnesses, including state witnesses and their families, were also targets of threats and actual violence. In once incident, a trafficker allegedly “petrol bombed the flat where she [state witness] stayed to intimidate her to withdraw as a witness...the statement came back to her: ‘Next firebomb goes off in the flat and nobody gets out. They’ll burn alive, so you pull back your statement’” (JP, p. 28). Similar, threats of violence against victims of human trafficking and their families have been reported in South Africa (Bermudez, 2008, p. 3, 421; Luty, 2012, p. 6). However, blackmail and threats against the users of the services of victims trafficked into sexual exploitation have not been reported. Although Bermudez (2008) noted that witnesses in cases against alleged traffickers have disappeared because they were threatened by organised crime syndicates, threats against police officers’ families have not been noted in South Africa.

As most trafficked persons have either been abused previously or observed “someone being beaten until they are half-dead or being raped” (IO, p. 137), they believed the threats made against themselves or others. Participants also described various non-violent coercive methods used by traffickers to attain psychological control over trafficked persons. For example, they threatened victims’ family members: “If you don’t do what I tell you to do, I will sort your family out or kill your child” (para. 43). Another victim was coerced to earn money for traffickers by keeping her “three-year old son locked up in a room for two years so that she would go out and get them money” (KH, p. 52). Similar non-violent, psychologically coercive methods employed by traffickers to control victims of trafficking were reported by both international (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006) and South African researchers (Bermudez, 2008, p. 31; Lutya, 2012, p. 6).

A number of participants emphasised that human trafficking “always goes together with alcohol and drugs” (SSA, p. 15), and that of all the methods to gain and maintain control over a person: “the easiest one is drugs. They simply drug them up” (NNC, p. 23). In South Africa, Nigerian crime networks operate both drug and human trafficking operations, according to IO: “It is intertwined, they run together” (IO, p. 59). For this reason, human trafficking activities are “hidden behind other things like prostitution and drugs” (KM, p. 2) and reflects their complex nature.

Some researchers (Bermudez, 2008: 33; Farley et al., 2004, p. 63; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. xv; Ngwira, 2011, p. 90) indicated that traffickers make use of drugs and alcohol as a means to control trafficked persons. Roelofse (2011, p. 5) indicated that Nigerian crime syndicates are known for running a number of criminal operations in addition to human and drug trafficking such as financial criminal schemes and money laundering. Participants indicated that drugs were used in varied ways to ensnare and coerce people into sexual exploitation. One approach was to trap drug addicts into a cycle of

repaying their debt through prostituting themselves for their Nigerian drug sellers. It becomes a continuous cycle: “when you’re on drugs and you need the money and you get involved with the Nigerians and then you start owing them and then it becomes a bit of a cycle” (KM, p. 17). Another strategy comprised forcing or introducing persons to drugs in the beginning of the trafficking process to “get them addicted...to drugs” (SSA, p. 15). This method served as an incentive for victims trafficked into street prostitution to remain in the trafficking situation: Traffickers would give victims of trafficking a free dose of drugs before they “go earn money” (KM, p. 19). If they return with the predetermined daily amount they had to earn for the trafficker, they would get another free dose of drugs. Traffickers benefit from this practice because “if you’re using women for prostitution, you got to have some control because otherwise they can run away...they’re on the street. You have no control over them”; “So that’s your control” (KM, p. 19). Addiction and the “next fix” (KM, p. 19), combined with the fear of physical punishment, therefore served as an “impetus for making money” (KM, p. 19). Traffickers also employed the non-violent, coercive method of withholding drugs from addicted victims of trafficking to force drug-addicted victims into compliance: “No, I’m not giving you your crack cocaine today until you do what I want you to do” (JP, p. 43). These methods described by participants to bring about compliance of persons trafficked into the sex trade was corroborated by South African research and anecdotal evidence (Bermudez, 2008; Martens et al., 2003; Molo Songololo, 2005) as well in international literature (Oram et al., 2012; Raymond et al., 2002, p. 61; Zimmerman et al., 2006). Traffickers to make it more difficult for victims to leave the trafficking situation by increasingly coercing victims into drug abuse (United States Department of State, 2014, p. 348). Participants’ views that physical and sexual violence, combined with non-violent coercive methods, were aimed at gaining control over the victims to facilitate their exploitation was corroborated by international (Reid & Jones, 2011, p. 219) and Southern

African research (Martens et al., 2003, p. 29). Raymond et al. (2002, p. 61) and Wiechelt and Shdaimah, (2011, p. 161) add that substance abuse is a also method prostituted women use to cope with negative feelings and emotions they experience because of their involvement in prostitution. Participants did not mention this coping mechanism that could have contributed to the hold traffickers were able to have over their victims.

Victims of trafficking, although abused and threatened, also felt “a certain level of loyalty” (KH, p. 3) towards their traffickers, similar to the “Stockholm Syndrome” (IO, p. 200) and where the perpetrator alternated abuse with rewards and kindnesses towards the victims to create a sense of “tainted security” (IO, p. 200). Although victims of trafficking were abused and exploited, they also “had a sense of security in this relationship” (IO, p. 200) with traffickers. Traffickers would also emotionally manipulate trafficked persons by continually attempting to convince them that they deserved the abuse and therefore “they are doing it [abuse] for their best interest” (SW, p. 87). Abuse was interspersed with “acknowledgement” (IO, p. 200) and gifts: ““Wow, you did a great job. Heavens, you brought back R10 000! Here, you can have R1000. Jis, you’re amazing. You are sexy; here are beautiful clothes for you”” (IO, p. 200). Stockholm syndrome (Graham, 1994) and traumatic bonding theory (Dutton & Painter, 1981; 1993) described dysfunctional emotional attachment between perpetrators and victims in traumatic and abusive contexts. Through small kindnesses displayed towards their victims, the perpetrators maintained attachment in the abusive relationship (Graham, 1994, p. 35) which they combined with intermittent abusive incidents to maintain an atmosphere of terror (Dutton & Painter, 1981; 1993).

The attachment formed through traumatic bonding makes it difficult for victims to leave the trafficking situation. Through physical and psychological control methods traffickers created a toxic “closed” (NNC, p. 24) environment in which they “make every decision” (NNC, p. 24) for the trafficked persons. In this controlled, confusing, and threatening

environment, victims of trafficking gradually lose their sense of autonomy and identity: “All the factors that are influencing them are now within...this trafficking scenario that they are in, so their whole psychological makeup is now designed around these things” (NNC, p. 24). As a result, even after leaving the trafficking situation, many victims of trafficking still felt “very loyal towards the traffickers” (SW, p. 85). The continuous “hope that they will get love and acceptance” (SW, p. 87) from traffickers combined with an “unconditional belief that these people [traffickers] really want to give them the best” (SW, p. 85) was a continual lure back to traffickers. As a result, many trafficking victims “who have been offered the opportunity of freedom ...have chosen to go back into that lifestyle” (KH, p. 57). SW emphasised an important aspect of the difficulty victims had in breaking free from the trafficking relationship, namely that they always had an “underlying fear” (SW, p. 87) of traffickers originating in emotional blackmail by traffickers. To bring back the stipulated daily amount of money, victims often committed crimes to avoid punishment. This served as a “sort of a stranglehold” (SW, p. 87) and increased the control traffickers had over victims. Traffickers also conditioned victims to fear people who potentially could aid them to leave the trafficking situation such as social workers and police officers. For example, the traffickers would “make a deal with the police officer in front of them [trafficked persons] so they knew that if they try to escape, it will be exactly those police [officers] that would come fetch them” (SW, p. 87). As a result, a victim of trafficking “don’t trust the police” (KM, p. 27) and therefore “would never run to the police because it’s part of the whole system” (KM, p. 27). Victims are also reluctant to escape the trafficking situation to return home because they will be shamed at home if it is known that they were involved in prostitution. As a result, communities “don’t hear the stories” (NNC, p. 5) to make them aware of the recruitment strategies used by traffickers, further increasing the vulnerability of these

communities: “the recruiter comes by next week to get another six women and no-one says what is going on” (NNC, p. 5).

Eventually, trafficked persons find that “they are caught in a trap” (JP, p. 45) of fear, coercion, substance addiction, and a sense of loyalty towards their traffickers. Therefore, many remain in the trafficking situation because they “can’t see another way out” (JP, p. 45). The complexity of the relationship between perpetrator and victim in human trafficking was revealed through an intricate arrangement between a victim and her trafficker, “a Nigerian and this white woman” (JP, p. 29), in which they planned to dupe another trafficker in Cape Town, situated in the Western Cape province. They had an arrangement in which the trafficker sold her to another trafficker. The next day “by prior arrangement” (JP, p. 28), after “the [new] guy put her on the streets” (JP, p. 28), she was picked up by her original trafficker and they “had a good laugh and off they went” (JP, p. 28). The trafficked person cooperated with her trafficker a number of times in a similar arrangement. This trafficked person eventually married her “Nigerian pimp” (JP, p. 31). JP indicated that fear most likely played a role in the marriage as she did it “to protect herself or probably because he needs to keep her there or he wanted South African citizenship” (JP, p. 31). In addition, “Internationally it’s known that there are victims of trafficking that have married their traffickers” (KH, p. 57).

The difficulty to leave the trafficking relationship and in some cases marry the abusive trafficker can be attributed to the strong attachment formed in abusive relationships where traumatic bonding has taken place (Dutton & Painter, 1981; 1993). According to the traumatic bonding theory (Dutton & Painter, 1993, p. 109) traumatic attachment makes it difficult to leave an abusive relationship. In addition, through traumatic bonding, attachment can be triggered when the abused person leaves the relationship resulting in an “undertow” (Dutton & Painter, 1993, p. 118) back to the abuser. Clawson and Dutch (2008, p. 2)

speculated that Stockholm syndrome can explain why victims of trafficking regard their traffickers as their protectors and sometimes as their boyfriends Verhoeven et al. (2013, p. 2) indicated that the complex trafficker-victim relationships can explain why victims do not run away from the trafficking situation or want to press charges against traffickers. Verhoeven et al., (2013, p. 7) also documented cases where traffickers lured victims into exploitative relationships through promises of marriage, having children together, or getting married. Ngwira (2011, p. 107) and Molo Songololo's (2000) research documented instances where corrupt police officers and politicians received money from traffickers to, for example, have charges against traffickers dropped. Bird and Donaldson (2009, p. 43) and Fick (2006, p. 16) also reported that street level prostitutes are unlikely to report any crime to police due to the humiliation they have to endure when they attempt to report a crime. The role of expected shame in home communities as well as the role it plays in the likelihood that victims of human trafficking will remain in a trafficking situation has not yet been explored in South African research.

Trafficked persons forced into commercial sexual exploitation committed crimes to earn the stipulated daily income, but some also became accomplices in crimes with their traffickers. One common crime is when they become "drugging (*sic*) mules" (IO, p. 59) for their Nigerian traffickers. Victims of trafficking can also "join the crime syndicate" (NNC, p. 29) by "recruiting other girls" (NNC, p. 29). NNC (p. 29) was of the opinion that victims who traffic others do so because of the relationship dynamics between the trafficker and victims of human trafficking: "Most of the time they are just told to do it and they just feel: 'Well I don't have a choice'" (NNC, p. 29). Victims will even recruit their own friends to comply with traffickers' demands by deceiving them: "Oh, it's lovely down here. Bring five friends and come" (NNC, p. 29). The involvement of trafficked persons in criminal activities other than prostitution has also been reported in South African research (Human Sciences

Research Council, 2010, p. xvi; Seethan & Ngwira, 2009). News reports (Dardagan, 2014; Davis, 2012) have also documented how trafficked women had to act as drug mules for Nigerian crime syndicates. Second wave trafficking, the phenomenon where victims of trafficking become traffickers, has also been reported in South Africa (Lutya, 2009, p. 60). Second wave trafficking has been conceptualised as the result of Stockholm syndrome (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; The United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, 2008, pp. 5-6) or a psychological mechanism to transfer loss and pain incurred during enslavement to the newly trafficked persons (Lutya & Lanier, 2012, p. 566).

The combined participants' perspective revealed that traffickers tended to target "the vulnerable of the vulnerable" (SSA, p. 15) to lure into trafficking situations. Factors present in the environment of the vulnerable person increased the individual's vulnerability to be trafficked. One of the salient vulnerability factors that participants highlighted was that the victims of trafficking they encountered could not rely on strong relationships within their families of origin to meet their emotional needs. Many trafficked persons had "problems at home" (SW, p. 79) before they were trafficked such as "parents are deceased or domestic violence...or broken families" (SW, p. 79). The background history of one victim of trafficking highlighted how the lack of strong family bonds facilitated her exploitation:

Her mother was a prostitute and she was...missing. No idea where the mother is. She grew up with her grandmother who died in the meantime. Stayed with her aunt. She moved in with a white man who supplied the aunt with groceries...and from there she moved in with Nigerians and she literally went from one Nigerian pimp to the next (SSA, p. 21).

Trafficking victims tended to view the trafficking situation as a "makeshift family" (KM, p.16) in which they considered "the other girls and even the trafficker as part of their circle" (KM, p. 16). This "little trafficking family" (KM, p. 16) compensated for the lack of "love,

acceptance, and close family relationships” (SW, 79) in their own family of origin and became “the family that they don’t have” (KH, p. 3). This coping mechanism was an attempt to “turn the situation that is horrific into one...that you can live in, that you can function in” (KH, p. 3). The lack of strong relationship within the victim’s family of origin, as noted by a number of participants, was identified as one of the most significant contributors to vulnerability to be trafficked in research among trafficked children and adolescents in South Africa (Everitt, 2013, p. 133). South African literature, however, has not revealed the fact that within a group of trafficking victims, a sense of belonging and family is fostered as a coping mechanism within the trafficking situation and as a mechanism to compensate for the “relational vacuum” (Everitt, 2013, p.133) in their families of origins. In a South African study among previously trafficked adolescents, Everitt (2013, p. 110) reported that previously trafficked adolescents in a safe house showed hostility towards each other to avoid vulnerability and closeness, even though they expressed the desire for deeper connections with other victims. This dynamic contradicts the findings of the current study. However, the “trafficking family” dynamic reported in the current study, occurred in the confusing, toxic trafficking environment, while Everitt’s (2013) research participants were resident in a safe house and had been removed from the trafficking situation. The differences in context could thus have played a role in the dynamic between trafficked persons.

The desire for love and acceptance created another avenue through which traffickers can trick vulnerable individuals into trafficking by feigning the “boyfriend-girlfriend thing” (KM, p. 109). According to participants, many victims of trafficking were lured into an exploitative situation due to “Promises of a better life. Promises that they will marry them...there’s this fantasising around the amazingness of this love, support systems that they don’t have in the communities” (SW, p. 79). An example of this strategy was a woman who was trafficked to Europe by her “Nigerian boyfriend” (JP, p. 35) who offered to pay for her

flight to Belgium to start a job at his sister's restaurant: "Don't worry. I love you mos. I'll pay for it" (JP, p. 35). The loverboy strategy (Dutch National Rapporteur, 2012, p. 2; Gunderson, 2012, p. 59) as described by the current study's participants is used globally by traffickers to groom vulnerable victims into an exploitative trafficking situation.

Participants explained that traffickers often targeted vulnerable individuals who were attempting to fill a "vacuum with various stuff i.e., sex, drugs, a false sense of belonging and purpose" (IO, p. G). This was achieved by exploiting potential victims' strong desire for "somebody to love me, somebody to accept me" (SW, p. 91). For example, through media such as television, adolescents from low socio-economic areas were exposed to new ideas about "what is...cool and what is accepted and what is good" (IO, p. 104). This produced desires in them to "want to go with nice guys who drive nice cars who will buy me liquor and look after me." (IO, p. 112) which increased their vulnerability to be targeted by traffickers: "a guy comes to her and says: 'Listen here, I can give you that. What do you want? Come with me and I... and that is where the drink gets spiked" (IO, p. 116). To pursue the desired lifestyle, victims frequented establishments where traffickers targeted vulnerable young women. For example, some victims in SW's shelter disclosed they were trafficked to other towns after they "were told they are going to a party in another town by someone that they for example met in a tavern and then they neatly pack their stuff and went" (para. 81). Traffickers also built friendships with potential victims of trafficking to gain their trust after which they were deceived and sold to other traffickers: "there were those who were told by friends: 'Come, let's go somewhere, we are going to party' and then were sold" (SW, p. 81). Mertz (2013, p. 1) and Wilson and Butler (2013, p. 2) highlighted that a child could be more vulnerable to be trafficked if the contextual factors such as unfavourable home and family conditions motivated the child to "fill a void in their life" in some manner (Mertz, 2013, p. 2). Participants also confirmed a notion introduced by Lutyia (2010, p. 9), namely that victim

vulnerability also includes living a lifestyle in which interaction with traffickers is facilitated. A desire for a better life (Bales, 2005, p 141), increasing exposure to mass media among youth (Huda, 2006, p. 375), and increasing materialism (Lutya, 2012, p 102-103) were identified as factors that increase victim vulnerability. Similarly, Everitt (2013, p. 123) found child victims of trafficking were made more vulnerable because they tried to find love and belonging in situations where traffickers were able to take advantage of them.

Participants were of the opinion that “there are so many elements “(JP, p. 24) in the victim’s environment which contributed to the vulnerability of individuals to be trafficked in the Eastern Cape. Socio-economic conditions of the victim’s community were highlighted as a prominent factor: IO was of the opinion that “poverty plays a very, very big part” (IO, p. 89) in victim vulnerability as traffickers target the Eastern Cape which is known as a “poverty stricken area where you easily are able to pick up...victims” (IO, p. 143). In addition to “greed and...poverty” (JP, p. 24), JP identified helplessness and need” (JP, p. 24) and the “naivety...of the people” (JP, p. 33) as factors which facilitated the ease with which traffickers deceive and recruit potential victims of trafficking. Due to poverty and the lack of employment opportunities, Eastern Cape adolescents and young adults found that they were under pressure to “go and make money somewhere for the entire family” (NNC, p. 18). Many adolescents and young adults in the Eastern Cape did not have high school certificates and thus had little opportunity to gain employment in “any normal, formalised job” (NNC, p. 17). Their only option “to get out of the village to make a living” (NNC, p. 17), especially in the rural Eastern Cape where there are few employment opportunities, and find work in “the informal economy” (NNC, p. 3). Traffickers therefore recruited these desperate individuals by deceiving them about job opportunities: “very often if a recruiter or a somebody comes round and says to them: ‘There is a couple of jobs going in this and this town, for this and this.’ they will go with these recruiters” (NNC, p. 3). For example, some victims were

trafficked when they were promised they will get scholarships to “go to a modelling school in New York” (SW, p. 81).

Traffickers also exploited the naivety and lack of exposure to legitimate employment processes of some members of Eastern Cape communities: “they haven’t applied for jobs online, see what they can find, go through the interview process and go for a job” (NNC, p. 3). Recruiters paid for the transport to the fictional job in another town, city, or country: “Don’t worry. I’ll give your family R500 to help paying the [travel] documents; you’ll be able to pay me back” (NNC, p 18). Other recruitment schemes were more sophisticated and involved job advertisements in newspapers. Victims who applied for these fake employment opportunities “went for interviews and then found that it [the job] is something totally different” (SW, p. 83). Another strategy traffickers employed was to wait for job seekers who travelled to cities for work: “the traffickers are waiting for them at the borders. They canvas the bus stops. They canvas the taxi ranks” (NNC, p. 19). The traffickers then first groom the vulnerable individuals who are in a strange, intimidating environment and “Pretend to be lovely” (NNC, p. 19) to win the trust of potential victims, after which they find themselves trafficked “into the sex trade or into the domestic labour market. A sort of debt bondage start up....The next thing you know they find themselves in the situation that they cannot get out of and they’re being exploited” (NNC, p. 19). Another vulnerability factor applied to women who were already prostituting themselves: “There were some of them who were in prostitution and recruited from there” (SW, p. 81). Another method of deceit was “with girls that sometimes walk in the street and are picked up....they are told: “Listen, we are quickly going there or I will take you home.” and then they just drive off [with them in the car]” (SW, p.83). Socio-economic issues such as poverty, desperation for work, especially in the rural areas of South Africa were identified as a key contributor to victim vulnerability (Bermudez, 2008, p. 12; Delpont et al., 2007, p. 32; Lutya, 2009, p. 68). Lutya

(2009, p. 68) indicated that traffickers recognised and exploited vulnerabilities due to socio-economic considerations and traffic vulnerable individuals through various methods including force or deceit. South African research has not highlighted specific contextual issues emphasised by participants such as the lack of knowledge about legitimate recruitment procedures by vulnerable individuals and the pressure placed on adolescents and young adults to provide for their families in impoverished areas. Participants' accounts of recruitment methods match Kruger and Oosthuizen's (2011, p. 47) assertion that traffickers use a range of methods to recruit victims depending on the method best suited to the specific context. Recruitment methods included false job advertisements in newspapers (Bermudez, 2008, p. 41) to lure women into prostitution and domestic work in cities (Bermudez, 2008: 31) and debt bondage (Bermudez, 2008, p. 47). Molo Songololo's (2005) research revealed that traffickers were known to the victims or were recruiters who moved between rural villages to lure people to cities for fictitious work opportunities (Delpont et al., 2007, p. 27).

Through participants' perspectives, it emerged that the nucleus of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape consisted of the interactions between the traffickers system, the trafficked persons system, and the demand system that consists of the individuals or organisations that make use of the services of trafficked persons. In this triad, traffickers procured vulnerable human beings which matched the demand created by buyers in the traffickers' operating areas and trafficked persons are sold "as a commodity" (KH, para. 54) to buyers who created the demand for the specific service provided by the victim of trafficking. The buyer-seller-agent dynamic within this triad reflected the conceptualisation of human trafficking in terms of an economic supply and demand paradigm (Bermudez, 2008: 17, International Labour Organization (ILO), 2006, p. 19; Wheaton et al., 2010, p. 114).

The demand for the services of victims of trafficking thus is one of the factors that creates an environment conducive for trafficking activities to take place. According to participants, demand was “our actual problem” (SW, p. 97) because “as long as there is a demand, there will be a supply” (SW, p. 97). South Africa has a “culture of demand” (NNC, p. 68). Traffickers are thus “feeding a market that has a demand for that service” (KM, p. 39). Curbing the demand aspect of the human trafficking system was considered as a possible measure to reduce human trafficking: “If there’s no demand, we won’t have the supply” (SW, p. 97). Shively et al., (2012, p. iv), Wolf-Branigin et al. (2010, p. 424), and Yen (2008, p. 666) asserted that as demand for the services of trafficked persons is one of the main drivers of human trafficking activities. The elimination or reduction of demand therefore may eliminate the market for trafficked persons (Shively et al, 2012, p. iv).

Traffickers also exploit ambivalent societal attitudes towards prostitution in which “It’s a kind of an accepted unacceptable thing” (NNC, p. 69) to make use of the services of prostituted women. Buyers of paid sex “don’t want people to know” (KM, p. 47) they purchase sex from prostituted women. Thus, to “accommodate the social disapproval” (KM, p. 43), the market for paid sexual services is “underground” (KM, p.43) and “hidden” (KM, p. 47). The fact that the demand for paid sexual services has to be concealed also increases the likelihood that human trafficking for sexual exploitation is taking place and increasing “because it’s so secret it’s not happening and because it’s not happening, you can’t protect them [trafficked persons] any...it just fosters that whole cycle” (KM, p. 45). The fact that prostitution takes place, fosters the growth of human trafficking: “we allow the demand for traffic victims for sexual purposes to pick up in our country because it [prostitution] is allowed” (NNC, p. 69). As indicated by participants, the users of prostituted women are a hidden population (Farley, 2007, p. 4). Cho et al. (2012) indicated that as prostitution increases, opportunities for the growth of human trafficking increases as well. Batsyukova

(2007, p. 47) specified that it is the exploitation of an existing prostitution market which increases human trafficking. There is a dearth of research in South Africa on the users of prostituted women that has investigated issues highlighted by participants in the current study such as the reasons for their unwillingness to be identified as users of prostitutes' services.

The demand for the services of prostituted women, according to participants can be attributed to "gender issues...men being entitled to sex" (KM, p. 39) driven by the belief that "women are there to accommodate men's sexual needs. You pay for it and ...you drop it off afterwards...it's a commodity" (KM, p. 39). The objectification of women for sex therefore is deemed as another contributing factor to the demand for prostituted women and inadvertently fuels the trafficking of young women for sexual exploitation: The fact that "we live in a bit of a skewed society in terms of the rights of women and the rights of children." (NNC, p. 76) contributes to an environment in which "the boys and men are all welcome to go and do what they want" (NNC, 76) such as making use of the services of prostituted women while wives are "not allowed to complain" (NNC, 76). Researchers confirmed the opinions of research participants regarding the role of patriarchy in human trafficking. Araujo (2011, p. 5) and Wolf-Branigin et al. (2010, p. 242) indicated that women and children are vulnerable to be trafficked into gender specific areas such as prostitution, sex tourism, or forced marriages. According to Delpont et al. (2006, p. 37) sexual entitlement of men, endemic in patriarchy underpins these contexts of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, according to Balos (2004) the objectification of sexuality occurs in both prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation as the user views the prostituted woman "no more as the sex she sold" (p. 169). Male preferences, as the primary customers of prostituted women therefore influence the type of females trafficked, and the demand for sex with children (Wolf-Branigin et al., 2010, p. 424).

Participants were of the opinion that “the girl child” (MFBO, p. 9) and “African women” (IO, p. 101) in the Eastern Cape were more vulnerable to “violence and harmful practices.” (IO, p. 101) due to patriarchal attitudes towards women in the province: “the male child and the male adult is regarded as more dominant” (MFBO, p. 9). One of the harmful practices highlighted by participants is an altered form of the traditional Xhosa practice of ukuthwala or abduction of a young woman for marriage. The original form of ukuthwala had the purpose of “building the relationship between the families” (MC, p. 4) of the bride and groom. However, due to “greed...and power” (IO, p. 101) ukuthwala has become more “like they are selling their girls” (MC, p. 9). In the distorted ukuthwala practice, a young woman’s marriage is planned “without the girl’s knowledge and without the girl’s approval of the whole thing” (MC, p. 6) due to prevalent patriarchal attitudes in which women “have no opinion” (MC, p. 105) and “no voice” (MC, p. 105). The future husband and his accomplices abduct the girl or young woman: “they would abduct you from the river or from the bush where you go” (MC, p. 59). One young woman indicated that “this guy [husband] paid R10 000 to the father” (MC, para. 8).

According to MC, traditional preferences by Xhosa men to marry women who have never had intercourse before contributed to the distorted ukuthwala practice that targets girls and young women who are likely to still be virgins. MC was told by a police officer that a victim of ukuthwala he encountered “was 11 years” (MC, p. 39) while MC counselled a victim of ukuthwala who was “13 to 14 years” (MC, p. 6). Men infected with HIV believe “if you sleep with a virgin then you won’t have HIV [any more]” (MC, p. 99) which further contributes to the vulnerability that girls and young women will be abducted according to the distorted ukuthwala practice.

Young women are also vulnerable because traffickers exploited the distorted ukuthwala practice to deceive parents to give their adolescent daughters in marriage to them. IO

encountered a case in the Eastern Cape in which normative practice of ukuthwala was abused by a foreign national who knew about “these practices and of cultural things” (IO, p. 92).

This foreign national made promises to the adolescent’s mother such as “I’ll look after her... I will bring her up. We will get married” (IO, p. 92). In this way, he was able “to eventually get her [the young woman] under his control” (IO, p. 92) by making vague promises to her mother after which she “ended up in prostitution and then she was trafficked eventually” (IO, p. 89). The practice of ukuthwala is reportedly rife in the Eastern Cape (Godongwana, 2009; Human Sciences Research Council, 2010; Louw, 2014; van der Watt & Ovens, 2012).

Researchers (Mwanbene & Sloth- Nielsen, 2011, pp. 6-7; Thornberry, 2013; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012) emphasised that the current form of ukuthwala as found in the Eastern Cape differs from the original, normative form. Thornberry (2013, para. 4-5) indicated that the consent of the girl or young women is not sought before the abduction as is the practice in the normative form of ukuthwala. A successful prosecution in South Africa in 2014 revealed aspects of the ukuthwala custom in the Eastern Cape described by participants. For example, the trafficked young woman was only 14 years old when she was abducted after which her husband repeatedly raped and beat her when she did not want to submit to him. Her uncle received R8 000 for her, even though her mother did not consent to the marriage. Research by Nabo (2013, p. 25) and Delport et al., (2007, p. 37) revealed that rigid patriarchal norms were being practiced in the Eastern Cape in terms of which males have the authority to make the decisions for the family without the input of the females in the family. Van der Watt and Ovens (2012, p. 11) argued that young women are vulnerable to be trafficked if traffickers, including foreign nationals, are aware of the existence of traditional practices in the community which they can manipulate to their advantage. The authors (Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 19) noted that anecdotal evidence suggests that victims of the ukuthwala practice may be more vulnerable to be trafficked in the long run which corresponds with the

fate of a young woman encountered by IO. Bermudez (2008, p. 17) and Leclerc-Madlala (2002, p. 92) indicated that a cultural myth exists that a man can cure his HIV/AIDS infection through intercourse with a virgin, which drives the demand for sex with girls and young women. This may increase the vulnerability of girls and young women to be married against their will at a young age (Modisaotsile, 2013, para. 10). Wolf-Branigin et al. (2010, p. 42) revealed that globally there is a male demand for virgins to exploit for sexual purposes which also drives child trafficking.

MC emphasised that the victims of forced marriage are unlikely to disclose their situation: “they are not complaining” (p. 13). . Similar to other forms of trafficking “fear is the main factor that is keeping them in the relationship” (MC, p. 15) due to the abuse young ‘thwala’d wives experienced. MC indicated that these husbands would exert control over their young wives by not giving them money that is “also part of the abuse, the financial abuse” (MC, p. 8) and treating them without empathy: “You are just something. You are just a toy for sex...They disregard you as a woman” (MC, p. 15). Their lack of education due to being abducted when young, reduced the likelihood the abducted girls would be able to secure employment if they left the marriage. A salient factor, which contributed to these victims’ silence about their situation, is that their families forbade them to leave the marriage, as this would shame the family. The young woman MC counselled was told by her father that if “you come back from that marriage, I [will] disown you. You don’t belong here” (MC, p. 83). Communities, especially “in the...very deep, deep, deep rural areas” (MC, p. 105) of the Eastern Cape are not likely to show compassion for a girl that has left a forced marriage because they “think it [ukuthwala] is the norm” (MC, p. 53) as ukuthwala has been practiced for generations: “This is what we grew up [with]. This is what we know” (para. 53). In addition, as “your mom was ‘thwala’d, you were ‘thwala’d” (MC, p. 107), the

abduction of a child or young women is seen as part of the custom and not resisted: “We will scream ‘Ooh!’ for a moment, but after that we don’t even care” (MC, p. 53).

Research identified that girls and young women forced into marriage through the ukuthwala practice have been forced to endure physical and sexual abuse such as rape from their husbands (Monyanea, 2013, p. 64; Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011, p. 9-16; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 11). Researchers (Maphanga, 2011, p. 90; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 18-19) indicated that shame and fear of being shunned by their families reduced the likelihood that the girl or young woman would leave the marriage. In addition, violence committed under the distorted practice is regarded as normative and customary by some communities (Ngwira, 2011, p. 114; Thornberry, 2013, para. 4-5; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012, p. 16) because of the long historical use of brutal practices as part of ukuthwala (Karimankewnda, 2014, p. 6).

The physical, sexual, and emotional abuse the victims of human trafficker are exposed to results in psychological and physical trauma: “The things that have been done to them...has destroyed them inside. Their self-esteem. Their self-worth.” (MC, p. 33). . KM recognised the high levels of trauma experienced by a victim of trafficking whom “probably experienced more trauma than anybody I previously had worked with before” (KM, p. 59). This young woman “was experiencing quite severe psychotic episodes” (KH, p. 6), which was a coping mechanism, “like at type of disassociation” (KH, p. 6) resulting from “the extent of brutality that she experienced.” (para. 6) combined with the effect of withdrawal from substances she abused while in a trafficking situation. This victim also tried to “kill herself on a number of occasions” (KH, p. 85) and grieved for her lost childhood: “...she just wishes she could play like a child” (KH, p. 85). Young women who were the victims of the ukuthwala practice also developed psychological problems: “their minds...psychological (sic) they are damaged.” (MC, p. 15). One such young woman “wanted to kill herself“(MC, p. 15).

International research (Oram et al., 2012; Smith, 2010, p. 342; Zimmerman et al., 2006) indicated that abuse, exploitation, and degradation experienced in the trafficking situation resulted in physical and psychological symptoms as depression, suicidal and self-destructive behaviour, dissociative episodes, hopelessness, and despair have been reported by previously trafficked persons. The only study (IOM, 2006) which reported the psychological and physical effects of human trafficking on the victims in South Africa did not investigate the effects of ukuthwala on the girls or women involved.

The second main theme, which reflects the complexity of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape Province, is discussed next.

Theme 2: Witness Credibility in Human Trafficking Prosecutions

“Recently, I was discussing a human trafficking case with defense counsel, who leaned in and said, ‘You know, your alleged victim is a prostitute.’ I looked at him and said, ‘You know, she’s only 15.’ It was clear that he will never see her as just a kid, just as I will never dismiss her victimization by categorizing her as ‘just a prostitute.’ She is both, making her case a very difficult one to resolve with a happy ending” (Grona-Robb, 2010, para. 1).

The second main theme that emerged from the pooled participants’ perspectives related to the role of witness credibility in human trafficking prosecutions. This theme included four subthemes. These subthemes include victims of trafficking that are not credible witnesses during human trafficking prosecutions, the South African legal system that is not able to construe crimes with intricate relationship dynamics, the legal fraternity that has difficulty to understand the effect of experiences during the trafficking situation on victims’ lack of

credibility, and the lack of success in prosecuting traffickers. This theme and subthemes are illustrated in Figure 21 below.

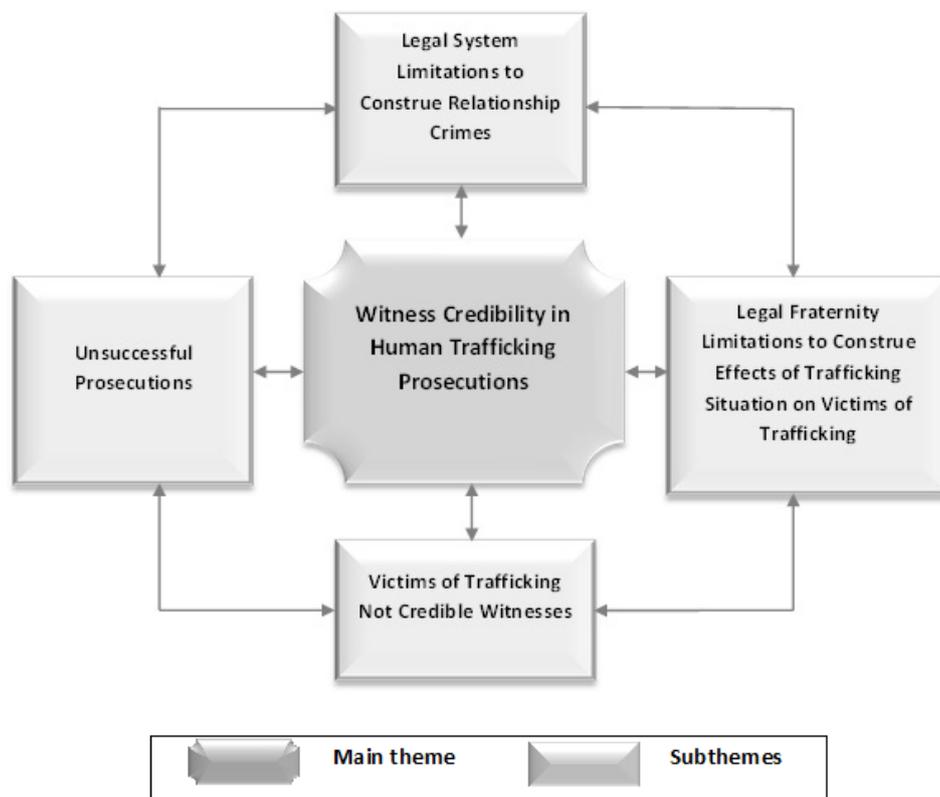


Figure 21. A diagrammatic expression of the main theme and subthemes.

The investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases in the Eastern Cape was negatively influenced by the complexity of human trafficking as the crime is “difficult to understand” (SSA, p. 7) for investigating officers, public prosecutors, and presiding officers. In addition, it is difficult “to convince a court” (SSA, p. 7) when a public prosecutor presents a particular set of facts to the court. The two main reasons for this are, first, that “with law you’re supposed to deal with only the facts that are in the courtroom” (KM, p. 67), therefore “your case is only as good as your witnesses and testimonies. You base your case on your witnesses” (SSA, p. 7).

The second reason relates to the lack of credibility of trafficked persons as witnesses in the prosecution of alleged traffickers, which has a negative influence on prosecutions: “the quality of your testimony is of such a nature that you need to know that it is very difficult to

convince the courts” (SSA, p. 53). As a result, “we can prosecute but our prosecutions have not been very successful. They’re not happening because of our victims” (KM, p. 31).

The legal system deals best with clear-cut facts and straightforward crimes: “if I kill you it is very clear” (KM, p. 63). However, human trafficking cases have “extraneous relationships or things that are happening.” (KM, p. 68) which confuses the legal fraternity: “They don’t understand the dynamic. They don’t understand they’re protecting the trafficker” (KM, p. 61). In addition, human trafficking victims seem to be acting contrary to victims of straightforward crimes like murder and robbery where the victim of a crime cooperates willingly with police, gives a full statement, and follows-up with police on the progress of the investigation. Human trafficking victims often seem to be “...behaving exactly the way a liar would behave” (KM, p. 64) in prosecutions. For example, victims of trafficking do not disclose all the necessary information in one sworn statement. Rather, “It is a process of disclosure...to disclose what happened with him or her” (SSA, p. 7). Each statement contains more information that is relevant but is never a complete rendition of the criminal acts committed against the victim of trafficking: “she sometimes only tells you half the story...she’ll forget some of the details” (KM, p. 20). The complex relationship between the victim of trafficking and the trafficking also influences disclosure as the victim often does not want to implicate him in her statements: “She’ll try to protect the guy that is raping her” (KM, p. 64).

As the victim of trafficking discloses more information over time, several statements have to be taken from each victim with the result that “you have one complainant but three...sworn statements or four sworn statements” (SSA, p. 8). A significant factor that contributed to the need for several statements from victims of trafficking related to the lack of relevant experience of the only investigating officer involved in the investigation of large human trafficking case: “he was left on his own...the only one that had to investigate this

huge, enormous case” (SSA, p. 18). This investigating officer also did not receive any guidance from his commanding officer concerning the intricacies of taking statements from human trafficking victims who are challenging witnesses. Although SSA “spoke on various occasions with the commanding officer and said we need a whole team of investigators.” (SSA, p. 18), this request “never was realised” (SSA, p. 18). This single investigating officer was a “very, very dedicated detective” (SSA, p. 18) with the “necessary theoretical knowledge.” However, “given the fact that he didn’t have all the background and experience in...police investigation, he got off on the wrong foot. Like he had to carry this investigation on his own with his one arm tied behind his back” (SSA, p. 18). SSA was therefore the investigating officer’s sole source of guidance and support during a large, complex human trafficking investigation. A consequence of his lack of relevant experience in human trafficking cases combined with the lack of guidance and support from his superiors in SAPS was that the investigating officer was not prepared adequately for the intricacies involved in taking statements from human trafficking victims. Therefore, he had to take several additional statements from human trafficking victims to “follow up on many of the aspects [in earlier sworn statements]” (SSA, p. 19). Consequently, serious contradictions between sworn statements emerged, which are “unfortunately one dynamic of a human trafficking case” (SSA, p. 15).

IO also indicated that the limited support he received from his commanding officers in SAPS curbed his effectiveness in taking statements from human trafficking victims. IO requested the assistance of a female detective to support him when he took statements from female trafficking victims, as “a woman will pick up certain things I won’t pick up” (IO, p. 177). This request was denied and IO was forced to take statements from four female victims of trafficking without the support of a female investigating officer. It later emerged these four victims of trafficking were “competing” (IO, p. 177) for his attention, which “obviously

contributed to things being said inaccurately” (IO, p. 177). As a result, substantive contradictions between the statements IO took from the four victims of trafficking and later statements taken by other police officers from the same four victims emerged.

A potential prosecution in the Eastern Cape had to be withdrawn due to such contradictions between statements: “...unfortunately her different versions made in the different statements were just so contrasting...so many inconsistencies. There were so many contradictions. There were so many improbabilities” (SSA, p. 9). Contradictions between sworn statements are problematic as, according to the South African legal system, in court prosecutors “are unfortunately bound by these statements (SSA, p. 8). This means that victims of trafficking will be placed under cross-examination to discredit the witness. In South Africa’s adversarial legal system, the cross-examination process can be traumatic. KH indicated that the adversarial approach used in court, can be “very insensitive” (KH, p. 93) towards victims of crimes such as child sexual abuse and human trafficking cases: “you’re talking about expecting people to talk...to a perfect bunch of strangers, who, most of the time behave as if they couldn’t give a damn. So, that insensitivity” (KH, p. 93). KH found testifying in court as an expert witness so intimidating that she had to “take Calmettes before I do that” (KH, p. 91)” “I hate going to court. I think it’s the worst place in the world” (KH, p. 91).

Due to the contradictory sworn statements and the adversarial legal approach in court, SSA chose to withdraw a case against alleged prosecutors as testifying would have done “more damage to the victims, to put them through the process of giving testimony and through the trauma of cross examination” (SSA, p. 9). In this case, the public prosecutor recognised that already traumatised victims could be re-traumatised through cross-examination. This sensitivity is not always the case as “There has always been...a clash” (KH, p. 87) between the goals of the legal system and those stakeholders concerned with the

psychological health of victims of trafficking. The legal system “fails...to see the people it relates to as humans....They look in terms of sections [of law]” (KH, p. 89). As a result, “the victim has no voice” (KH, p. 89) and often is “seen as a pawn in...the state’s case” (KH, p. 89). When victims of human trafficking experience secondary trauma due to the legal process, they “have fewer rights than...the accused people.” (KH, p. 89), which could be regarded as a situation that resembles the trafficking system: “So, to a certain extent, as much as they belong to a trafficker they now belong to the criminal justice process” (KH, p. 89).

Participants gave a number of reasons why so many contradictions emerge between sworn statements of victims that all relate to the trafficking “process they have been through” (SSA, p. 53). The first is “drugs...that complicates a case incredibly” (IO, p. 155) as well as “that recurring trauma, every day” (IO, p. 155) that victims of trafficking endured. When victims of trafficking were under the influence of substances, it influenced “their memory and that which they can remember...and recall in a statement” (SSA, p. 58). KM interviewed a victim of trafficking and therefore had insight on the effect of multiple traumatic experiences and substance abuse on the victim’s recall of multiple events:

the trauma had such an impact that she’s had psychosis. She’s been in institutions. She can’t remember three-quarters of the thing, she was on drugs some of the time, she’s confusing rapes. Her stories aren’t exactly the same as the other girls’ stories who were there because of course their memories are not exactly the same....she was raped by hundreds of people. She’s had sex with thousands of people. Her memory isn’t clear (KM, p. 59).

The coping mechanisms used by some victims of trafficking to cope with psychological trauma further compromised the accuracy and credibility of their testimony. For example, “some of these girls have been so badly traumatised and abused that they live lives of fantasy

to that they don't even know what is real and what is not real" (KM, p. 74). In addition, previously trafficked young women have a tendency to "try and manipulate the prosecutors. They...elaborate their stories for effect because of whatever they are at the point and there's no credibility at all" (KM, p. 61).

Other factors also contributed to contradicting facts between victims' sworn statements. SSA suspected that in one large human trafficking prosecution where "contradictions and substantive contradictions" (SSA, p. 27) emerged over time in victims' statements, that the alleged traffickers intimidated witnesses to change their statements, even "They [victims of trafficking] had, and also family members, received phone calls from St. Albans prison to say: 'You mustn't speak to the police. Don't tell the police you know me'" (SSA, p. 37). Other reasons for contradictions in this specific case were misunderstandings that could have resulted because the victims were not able to give statement in their mother tongues or that due to the long duration of preparation for prosecutions that the victims changed their statements because "they don't feel like this court procedure and this court story anymore" (SSA, p. 37).

A problem of cooperation between stakeholders also contributed to a situation where several statements were taken from victims of trafficking. The Department of Social Development requires a sworn statement from a victim of trafficking before the person can be admitted to a shelter for his or her protection and rehabilitation. The police were therefore forced to take sworn statements from victims of trafficking before they were ready to give coherent and comprehensive statements. Consequently, further statements had to be taken to clarify and follow-up on inconsistencies resulting in "three or four different versions" (SSA, p. 66) which has to be "disclosed to the defence" (SSA, p. 66) in the event of a prosecution.

The legal fraternity, unfortunately, could not make sense of the effect of trauma and substance abuse on the lack of consistency between statements which could be because they

are not “equipped properly to get a more fair look at it because they don’t have the knowledge or the training” (KM, p. 74) regarding the complex nature of human trafficking. However, due to the influence of substance abuse and trauma on the psyche of the victim of trafficking, the legal fraternity has to deal “with such a destroyed human being that it is very difficult to find the truth” (KM, p. 74). As a result, “you always have problems to get a constant and correct example from your witness that you can present to the court.” (SSA, p. 15): Therefore, SSA asserted that substantive differences between sworn statements reduced the likelihood that the court would accept the testimony of victims of trafficking as the truth: “Which court would believe you?” (SSA, p. 59).

Negative social attitudes according which “prostitutes are...the lowest of the low” (KM, p. 43) further influenced the legal fraternity’s perception of the witness credibility of victims of human trafficking. When trafficked into sexual exploitation as prostitutes, victims adopt the behaviours and language use of prostitutes. KM revealed the behaviour of a victim of trafficking: “when she’s talking to you she lifts up her dress and she shows you her panties and says: ‘This is what they want.’...she’s a street prostitute” (KM, p. 37). The same victim of trafficking was described as “...not the nicest human being.” (KH, p. 85) with a “mouth like a proper hooker. Her language was foul! It was like a blue cloud above her head” (para. 44). Therefore, as this victim was “very sexualised...very common...very street prostitute” (KM, p. 59), KM was of the opinion that “It’s gonna be very difficult to get her evidence in” (KM, p. 59). Due to negative perceptions of prostitutes, the presiding officers found it hard to discern the truth of a “10-year old who were sold by her aunt for groceries” (KM, p. 61), who was perceived as an adult prostitute with all the stereotypical behaviour of a prostitute. Similarly, the negative bias towards prostitutes prevented police officers from identifying a victim of trafficking if she was “drunk or drugged” (KH, p. 44) and was “offering herself for sex...It is difficult for them to see that as a victim” (KH, p. 44). Prejudice towards

prostitutes in South Africa also serves to conceal human trafficking activities behind prostitution, which is illegal in South Africa. As a result, trafficked persons are not recognised as victims of crime, but are “seen as part of the perpetrating group and that’s the end of the story” (NNC, p. 34). Negative bias towards prostitutes may also contribute to a dynamic in which a victim of trafficking may be blamed for his or her victimisation because of risky behaviours they engaged in before they were trafficked such as drug abuse or prostitution: “You are a prostitute so you should have expected it to happen” (MC, p. 53).

A “type of chauvinistic mockery” (SSA, p. 74) among the legal fraternity and police officers results in a sceptical attitude towards claims by prostitutes that they were raped. This notion further erodes the witness credibility of victims of trafficking: “Yes, she says he raped her, but...can we trust her because she’s actually a prostitute. And she has lied on so many occasions already” (KM, p. 70). The public prosecutor therefore has to overcome the prejudices of presiding officers regarding prostituted women who claim they were raped and has to prove that they became street prostitutes because of human trafficking: “And now, now we want to take it further and we want to say: ‘This is not only a prostitute that got raped.’ We want to say she became a prostitute because of x, y, and z” (SSA, p. 74).

These complexities present significant barriers to successful human trafficking prosecutions: “The problem is to get the quality of the testimony to be good enough to have success with a prosecution” (SSA, p. 53). The National Prosecuting Authority decides to prosecute a case only “if there is a reasonable prospect of a successful prosecution” (SSA, p. 9). If there is no “such a reasonable prospect” (SSA, p. 9), then the case has to be withdrawn. Flawed, contradictory statements therefore limited the reasonable prospect of a successful prosecution with such statements as there are “always problems to get a constant and correct example [of the crime] from your witness that you can present to the court” (SSA, p. 15). These complex barriers in the prosecution of human trafficking cases are considered as a

contributor to the impunity with which traffickers operate. In addition, other people are encouraged to engage in human trafficking it is “a good way to make money” (KM, p. 78). The effect of the impunity with which traffickers operate encourages human trafficking to “flourish!” (KM, p. 78) while the lack of successful prosecutions also maintains the “almost undetected” (JP, p. 61) nature of the crime.

Research confirmed the many complexities involved the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases (Farrell et al., 2014). One of the complexities relates to the fact that the testimonies of the victims of trafficking are critical to the success of human trafficking prosecutions (Farrell et al., 2014, p. 157). Research also highlighted that many obstacles to obtain credible witness victim statements. For example, David (2008, pp. 1, 3) and Van Zyl and Horne (2009, pp. 15-16, 21) indicated that trafficked persons are difficult witnesses to work with as they often give inconsistent and contradictory statements that can be due to substance dependence and trauma. Intimidation and threats from traffickers can also pressure victims of trafficking to change statements (Helfferich et al., 2011, p. 125) as indicated by the current research participants. Horne (2014, p. 221) revealed that among the reasons identified victims of trafficking did not want to cooperate with the law enforcement and criminal justice system included substance withdrawal, and fear of traffickers’ retaliation. Zimmerman et al., (2006, pp. 20-22) argued that memory difficulties are common in trafficked persons which have the potential to negatively influence the credibility of the testimonies of victims of trafficking during prosecutions of traffickers. Lievore (2004, p. 1) also indicated that inconsistencies in victims’ statements could have a detrimental effect on the successful prosecution of a crime. For example, David (2007, p. 3) argued that inconsistencies between statements can be used to attack the credibility of victims of trafficking in court. No South African research on the credibility of victims of trafficking as witnesses in prosecutions of traffickers and the effect inconsistencies between victims’

statements on the prosecution of traffickers has been produced. This includes research into the impact of the complex dynamic between traffickers and victims of trafficking on the prosecution of human trafficking cases. There has also been no research about the memory difficulties experienced by victims of trafficking and the influence of such difficulties to recall information accurately on victim credibility in human trafficking prosecutions in South Africa.

Research (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 63-64; Van Zyl & Horne, 2009, p. 23) indicated that the level of experience and training of police officers was an essential factor in the investigation and prosecution of a human trafficking process similar to the notions expressed by research participants. Seethal and Ngwira (2009) identified that the lack of skills among police officers was one of the reasons cited for the lack of success in counter human trafficking efforts in the Eastern Cape. Horne (2014, p. 289) revealed that South African public prosecutors identified several barriers in the prosecution of human trafficking cases. These barriers include inadequate training and knowledge about human trafficking, partaking in corruption, and negative attitudes towards prostitutes, which corresponds with notions expressed by the current study's participants. Horne (2014, p. 290) also found that South African prosecutors learned that victim care and support is vital in human trafficking cases. For example, public prosecutors noted that the criminal justice system has to "take care of the victim first; to prevent secondary abuse and trauma to victims as without the victim's evidence there is no case." (p. 290). Researchers (Araujo, 2011, p 5; Delpont et al., 2007, p. 26; Long, 2012, p. 24) assert that the low risk to be prosecuted for human trafficking offences in South Africa encouraged traffickers to commit their trafficking activities.

The lack of coordination between stakeholders negatively influenced the investigation and prosecution process. Annison (2013 p. 58) and the United States Department of State

(2014, p. 35) indicated that the police's need to gather evidence may conflict with the best interest of the victim of trafficking as victims may be pressurised by police officers to give premature statements which may re-traumatise them. One study (Ngwira, 2011) found that there was some cooperation between law enforcement personnel and counter human trafficking civil society organisations in the Eastern Cape. Participants in the current study confirmed that in the Eastern Cape, coordination difficulties between the Department of Social Development and the law enforcement agencies in which both the victim's welfare and the success of the prosecution were put in jeopardy through pressure to take premature statements. The coordination and cooperation between all counter human trafficking stakeholders to determine whether any conflicts in operating procedures between stakeholders has a negative effect on victims of trafficking has not yet been investigated. Horne (2014, p. 290) indicated that police officers emphasised the value of support from other investigators. Participants indicated that the lack of organisational support in SAPS in the Eastern Cape had a negative influence on human trafficking investigations in the province. No research could be identified that addressed this aspect of human trafficking investigations in the Eastern Cape.

Researchers (Lutya, 2009, p. 66; Richter et al., 2010, p. 4; Scorgie et al., 2013, p. 2) indicated that entrenched negative attitudes towards persons who work as prostitutes exist in South Africa. Lutya (2012, p. 6) suggested that this stigma is also found within the police service which regards all women in prostitution, including victims of trafficking, to "be just another group of morally depraved girls searching for easy money" (p. 6). Research in the United States of America (Farrell et al., 2014, pp. 157-159) indicated that a cynical attitude exists among presiding officers, prosecutors, and police officers towards prostituted women as well as complainants who were involved in criminal acts or risky behaviour such as persons involved in prostitution. No South African research could be identified in which the

influence of negative attitudes towards prostitutes among police officers, prosecutors, and presiding officers has been investigated. More specifically, the effect that such negative attitudes towards prostitutes has on the manner in which the witness testimony of victims of trafficking are appraised by presiding officers, prosecutors, and police has not been explored in South Africa.

A Complexity Theory View of the Human Trafficking Maze in the Eastern Cape

“We cannot ‘know’ a complex thing in all its complexity; we reduce the complexity in order to be able to say something about it within the finite means of our comprehension” (Cilliers, 2005, p. 607).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, a discussion of the findings of the study in light of complexity theory will provide a theoretically integrated understanding of study participants’ perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. This discussion follows De Toni and Camello’s (2010) sequence of the seven principles. The seven principles are (a) self-organisation, (b) edge of chaos, (c) hologrammatic principle, (d) impossibility of prediction, (e) power of connections, (f) circular causality, and (g) try and learn.

Each of these principles emphasises a specific aspect of a complex system. However, “complexity is complex” (De Toni and Camello. 2010, p. 56) resulting in overlaps between the theoretical tenets underlying each of these seven principles. Thus, even though the discussion of a principle will emphasise that principle’s theoretical tenets, aspects of other complex system principles may be identifiable in the same illustration. Furthermore, as Cilliers (2005, p. 607) asserted that complexity cannot be known in its full complexity, De Toni and Camello’s (2010) principles are thus not considered as accurate representation of the complexity of the holistic human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. Instead, these

principles are employed merely to illustrate the value and relevance of complexity theory to gain an understanding of the complexity of the holistic human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

Principle 1: Self-organisation.

De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 32) regarded self-organisation is a distinctive feature of a complex system. This process occurs when interactions between the elements in a system spontaneously results in the emergence of a new structure and new behaviours. Self-organisation takes place without some form of leadership (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 32). The principle of self-organisation is demonstrated through the manner in which victims of trafficking subsystem self-organised to cope with the trafficking environment and their interactions with the abusive trafficker subsystem.

Traffickers create abusive, controlling trafficking environments in which victims of trafficking experience chronic stress, fear, and isolation from people outside the trafficking situation. To cope with these traumatic, demanding environments, victims of trafficking spontaneously developed new, cohesive patterns of interaction with other victims in the same trafficking environment. Even though traffickers control every aspect of the trafficking environment, they were not involved in the emergence of family-type relationships between their victims.

The emergent new relationship patterns victims of trafficking developed are an example of self-organisation as self-organisation refers to a spontaneous process in which new order or new forms of behaviour emerges in a complex system (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 32) or a large enough subsystem (Cilliers, 1998, p. 91). Complex systems develop or change spontaneously to cope with or manipulate their environments (Cilliers, 1998, p. 90). Similarly, the emerging new cohesive behavioural patterns by groups of victims of trafficking

functioned as coping mechanisms to deal with their toxic trafficking environments. The process of self-organisation in a complex system takes place without centralised control but results from the interactions between elements within a system (Dekker, 2011, p. 157). Similarly, the new cohesive relationship dynamic between victims of trafficking developed due to new interaction patterns between trafficked persons and not because of traffickers' orchestrations. Participants in the current study acknowledged that victims employed strategies to cope with extremely demanding trafficking situations but usually referred to individual coping responses such as disassociation and drug abuse. The participants, however, recognised that the emergence of new interactions patterns from within a group of individuals in a trafficking situation was a novel dynamic and referred to this dynamic as the "trafficking family" dynamic.

A prominent aspect of the trafficking family dynamic was the sense of belonging it gave to victims of trafficking, especially those victims whose own families of origins were dysfunctional. Cooperation and mutual positive interactions patterns in a complex system drive emergent behaviours and increases complexity of a system (Cilliers, 1994). Thus, mutual, positive interactions between victims served to strengthen the sense of belonging and increased meaningful cooperation between victims of trafficking. As the sense of belonging and mutual positive cooperation between victims strengthened, surprising and counter-intuitive behaviours emerged. Participants' accounts of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape revealed an example of cooperation in one such trafficking family in which victims attempted to stop a trafficker from raping another victim, even though they knew they would incur punishment from traffickers afterwards.

The sense of belonging fostered within the trafficking family dynamic functioned as an attractor within the core human trafficking system. Attractors act as magnetic forces that pull a complex system into a particular trajectory (Gilstrap, 2005, p. 58). Attractors can also

influence the long-term behaviour of the complex system (Rihani, 2002, p. 78). According to participants, this sense of belonging within the trafficking family was especially important to victims with dysfunctional families of origin. Participants likened the sense of belonging victims of trafficking felt within the family dynamic to an addiction. This addiction was powerful enough to draw victims back into trafficking situations after they left. Some victims of trafficking returned to their traffickers after prosecutions after their traffickers were withdrawn even if they had laid charges against their traffickers. As a result, the trafficking family dynamic contributed to the maintenance and growth of human trafficking activities in the Eastern Cape.

Principle 2: On the edge of chaos.

De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 34) described the edge of chaos as an area between predictable order and chaotic disorder. At the edge of chaos, the complex system is able to innovate, yet remains stable enough for steady growth. The principle of the edge of chaos will be illustrated through the relationship dynamics between the trafficker subsystem and the trafficked persons subsystem.

Participants revealed traffickers maintained control over the victims of trafficking to facilitate the continued exploitation of the victims by alternating two sets of behaviours to maintain the dominant-submissive relationship dynamic. Firstly, traffickers consistently enforced their dominance in the relationship and induced compliance by generating fear and anxiety through physical violence and abuse, and verbal threats and intimidation. They also made use of drugs and alcohol to make trafficked persons more compliant. Secondly, to maintain such coercive attachment by victims, traffickers occasionally made use of positive interactions with their victims. Victims would receive physical beatings for no reason except to enforce their compliance through the arousal of fear and anxiety, yet unpredictably at other

times, they also received praise and positive interaction from their traffickers. Thus, traffickers sustained an environment that seemed volatile to trafficked persons.

In this threatening, insecure environment, victims devised ploys to lessen the sense of volatility in their relationships with traffickers, avoid punitive measures, and increase the likelihood that they would receive affirmative responses such as praise or gifts. Participants described how victims of trafficking assumed the dress, behaviour, and identity of prostituted women in order to lure potential users of their services to maximise their earnings and avoid punitive measures from traffickers if they did not earn a stipulated daily amount. Trafficked persons also committed crimes, such as robberies, to increase their income and please their traffickers. Some victims of trafficking complied with traffickers' demands to deceive other individuals into the trafficking situations to please their traffickers and avoid abuse. Horgan (1995, p. 105) postulated the existence of different types of systems such as highly ordered systems in which novel development can be predicted. On the other hand, there are also completely chaotic, unpredictable systems. Interactions between traffickers and victims created a system in which there was neither a high degree of order and predictability nor a high level of chaos and unpredictability.

Although traffickers aimed to keep the actions of victims as predictable as possible to ensure a steady daily income, participants revealed that victims also exercised agency and acted in unpredictable, unexpected ways. For example, a victim tried to prevent a trafficker from raping another victim even though she knew it would result in her own abuse. Another victim fled a trafficking situation after a beating that was meant to induce compliance, while another laid charges against her trafficker after a raid on the premises where she resided. Victims also turned state witnesses in prosecutions against their traffickers.

To ensure that the core trafficking system did not enter a state of unpredictable chaos, participants conveyed the innovative strategies traffickers utilised to contain the level of

unpredictability due to environmental threats. For example, to disrupt investigations initiated by the charges laid by victims of trafficking, traffickers engaged in bribing police officers and threatened family members of witnesses and police investigators to discourage them to continue their investigations. Traffickers also increased their intimidation strategies against victims of trafficking to increase the fear of retaliation if they should testify against them. For example, traffickers waited in parked cars outside the secure shelter that housed victims of trafficking to intimidate them and shelter staff. Even when in jail awaiting trial, traffickers bribed correctional services employees to access cell phones to threaten victims of trafficking against testifying in court. Traffickers devised a new recruitment strategy to reduce the likelihood that new victims could be credible witnesses by recruiting mentally challenged young women who would not be able to give an accurate description of the trafficking operation to police officers.

Marion (1999, p. 82) asserted that only in the edge of chaos can true complex behaviour be found. The complexity in the relationship between traffickers and victims was evident through the variety of tactics devised by both systems to sustain the predictability and instability of the system. Interactions between traffickers and victims resulted in the edge of chaos, a “thin transition zone” (Marion, 1999, p. 23) in which neither system exhibited a high degree of order and predictability nor a high level of chaos and unpredictability.

Principle 3: Hologrammatic Principle.

De Toni and Comello (2010) described the hologrammatic principle as “The part is in the whole. The whole is in the part.” (p. 36). The hologrammatic principle will be illustrated through a description of relationship dynamics between genders that disregarded the opinions and agency of women in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape as it relates to the distorted form of the Xhosa traditional practice ukuthwala. According to the practice, men

abduct young women for the purpose of forced marriage. This illustration will focus on relationship dynamics in trafficker-victim relationships, relationships in victims' families of origin, and relationships in the communities from which both the trafficker and the victim.

Participants indicated that relationships between traffickers and thwala'd young women was abusive and disregarded the personhood of the abducted wife. For example, a participant revealed that a trafficker locked his thwala'd wife in the house during the day, he had sex with her against her will, and had sex with other women in the same house as the thwala'd wife. Thwala'd women were abducted and thus were not given the opportunity to give consent to be married. Participants also noted that thwala'd adolescents often were not allowed to continue their education, which further subjugated her under her trafficker's control. A feature of this trafficker– victim relationship is thus that young thwala'd women held little agency while husbands freely exerted their power without empathy towards their wives.

The thwala'd women's family of origin reflected similar unequal relationship dynamics as in the marriage which followed the ukuthwala practice. Male family members assume dominant positions and give input in decisions, while females are not allowed to voice their opinions and are expected to submit to decisions made by the male head of the household. Thus, mothers are not allowed to voice an opinion or withhold consent in the decision to allow the ukuthwala of their daughters. This patriarchal relationship dynamic reflects the trafficker-victim relationship in which males are dominant while females are silenced.

The communities in which traffickers and thwala'd young women reside, echoed similar unequal relationship dynamics between genders. According participants, such patriarchal attitudes were visible in unequal sexual norms for men and women according which women have to abide to strict sexual rules both inside and outside of marriage, while men are socialised to consider extra-marital relationships as their right as males. Participants also

indicated that the trend to abduct very young girls and young women also originated in distinctly different the sexual sanctions for males and females. Males were encouraged to have sexual relationships outside of marriage, yet they preferred to marry females who had not had sexual relationships. A man therefore could guarantee a virgin wife by abducting a girl or young woman for marriage as seen in the distorted form of the ukuthwala practice.

Thwala'd young woman experienced a lack of empathy and compassion from her trafficker husband as he exerted his will on her without considering her well-being or opinion. They experienced similar callous attitudes from their families. For example, fathers forbade thwala'd young women to leave their abusive marriage and return to their families lest they shame their families. Community members of both genders reflected a similar lack of compassion towards twala'd young women by stigmatising, rejecting, and shaming thwala'd them if they leave their marriages after ukuthwala took place. Participants indicated that young thwala'd women who flee ukuthwala marriages and who can't go back to their families, are vulnerable to be trafficked into sexual exploitation by other traffickers outside the ukuthwala human trafficking system.

The similar patriarchal relationship dynamic between trafficker and victim, the families of the thwala'd individuals, and the communities of origin of traffickers and victims thus reflected similar patriarchal relationship dynamics and stigmatising attitudes towards the victims. De Toni and Comello (2010, 39) compared the hollogrammic feature of complex systems to stem cells within the human body. Stem cells are both a part of the body, yet contain information about the whole body. Applying this illustration, the patriarchal relationship dynamic between traffickers and thwala'd wives were reflected in the patriarchal relationship dynamics of the whole ukuthwala human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. The similarities between these three systems reflects the hollogrammic principle as described by De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 39).

Principle 4: Impossibility of prediction.

De Toni and Comello (2010, pp. 40-41) argued that there are many possible behaviours in a complex system and it is thus impossible to predict with certainty the future state of a complex system. Interactions between victims of trafficking who were witnesses in human trafficking prosecutions and the trafficker subsystem brought about unexpected, unanticipated outcomes during human trafficking prosecutions.

Participants indicated that the prosecution process is dependent on the quality of witness testimony presented to presiding officers. However, victims of trafficking proved to be unreliable witnesses during human trafficking investigations and prosecutions due to intricate relationship dynamics between victims and traffickers. Both traffickers and trafficked persons exhibited unexpected and unpredictable behaviours during the criminal justice process. For example, traffickers threatened victims of trafficking or their families. Participants suspected therefore that victims suddenly changed their statements or withdrew their complaints to avoid retribution by traffickers.

Participants also indicated that police officers and public prosecutors were unprepared for the consequences of victims' trauma and substance abuse while the trafficking situation. For example, traumatic experiences and substance abuse interfered with the accurate recall of criminal actions by traffickers. Substantive differences thus emerged between victims' statements. As the legal paradigm construes contradictions between statements as a possible indication that witnesses are lying, victims of trafficking were not considered as credible witnesses during prosecutions.

The law enforcement and legal systems thus expected normative victim behaviours from victims of trafficking. However, trafficked persons and traffickers acted in unanticipated and unpredictable ways that sabotaged the prosecutions process. According to Friedman and Allen (2011, p. 10) factors beyond present systemic circumstances contribute to ability of

complex systems act in surprising ways. Thus, police officers and public prosecutors did not consider the possibility that victims' experiences in the trafficking situation may interfere with their cooperation during prosecutions. De Toni and Comello (2010) argued that complex systems could behave in any number of ways. However, due to the complexity of interactions in complex systems, it is impossible to predict which of these options, if any, will materialise. Similarly, law enforcement and the legal system expected a predictable prosecution process. However, none of the expected outcomes materialised as unanticipated substantive contradictions between statements of victims of trafficking resulted in the lack of successful prosecutions in the Eastern Cape. According to participants, failed prosecutions enabled human trafficking activities in the Eastern Cape to continue unabatedly.

Principle 5: Power of connections.

De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 42) argued that the numerous nonlinear connections and relationships in a complex system results in its ability to be “more than the sum of its parts” (p. 42). According to this principle, the brain is more than connections between millions of neurons but is the seat of intelligence (De Toni and Comello, 2010, p. 42). Similarly, numerous interconnections within the Nigerian trafficker subsystem gave rise to a prominent and active organised crime syndicate throughout South Africa.

Participants described the Nigerian trafficker subsystem as a loosely organised crime syndicate that forms a network across South Africa. Each member of the loose crime syndicate had their own trafficking operation but mutually benefitted through cooperation with other members in the loose network. For example, participants noted that traffickers in one South African city sold trafficked persons to traffickers in other cities. Members of the loose network have regular meetings to improve cooperation between members and facilitate their criminal activities. There were also competitive interactions between traffickers. For

example, a participant revealed that victims of trafficking colluded with traffickers in schemes to swindle other traffickers. Thus, similar to the cooperative or competitive interactions between system elements within a complex system, traffickers engaged in a diverse range of interactions (Cilliers, 1998, p. 7).

Participants revealed that numerous interconnections between members of Nigerian crime networks in South Africa and Nigeria exist. In addition, there are connections between Nigerian traffickers and non-Nigerian individuals who participated in human and drug trafficking activities. All these connections contributed to the complexity and growth of the Nigerian crime syndicates and their operations. Nigerian traffickers, for example enlisted other Nigerian foreign nationals in South Africa, victims of trafficking, and family members to participate in drug trafficking activities. Traffickers utilised communication technology such as cell phones to initiate and maintain long-distance connections with traffickers in other cities and countries to grow their human trafficking activities. For example, Nigerian crime syndicates interacted with crime syndicates in Nigeria to facilitate money laundering. Instead of exclusively focussing on their own small trafficking operations, Nigerian traffickers interacted with many other agents within their system and in their environment to grow the size and influence of the Nigerian crime syndicate. Thus, Nigerian crime networks resembled another feature of complex systems, namely that the interactions between system elements within a complex system are more important than the characteristics of the components (Cilliers, 2001, p. 140). The range of interactions between Nigerian crime syndicates reflect Cilliers' (1998, p. 4) assertion that interactions within complex systems usually have a short range but long-range interactions also possible. The emergence and growth of Nigerian crime syndicates through the range and types of interconnections between system components confirm complexity theory principles that it is only through dynamic and diverse interaction patterns between simple elements that complex systems can emerge

(Cilliers, 1998, p. 4). Through dense and frequent interaction patterns between traffickers, other subsystems, and individuals of other systems in their environment, Nigerian organised crime syndicates grew to be regarded by participants as the most dominant organised crime network in the sex trafficking of women in South Africa.

Principle 6: Circular causality.

De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 44) recognised that every discipline hopes to deduce effects from causes. However, De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 44) asserted that it is impossible to detect traditional linear cause and effect explanations for phenomena in complex systems. The cybernetic understanding of nonlinear cause and effect in complex systems thus better suited to understand complex systems (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 45). Relationships between exploitative strategies of traffickers and vulnerable, drug addicted women will illustrate the principle of circular causality.

Participants indicated that traffickers used illegal substances to coerce vulnerable young women who were already addicted to substances into exploitative situations. These young women obtained their drugs from Nigerian drug traffickers who initiated a continuous exploitative cycle by offering drugs on credit to these young women. When they were not able to pay back the debt, yet needed money to buy drugs to feed their addiction, the women prostituted themselves to repay their debts. However, their drug addiction increased their vulnerability for exploitation by drug traffickers who perpetuated the cycle by providing more drugs on credit, which incurred more drug debt to be repaid through prostitution. This cycle also increased their drug addiction, which in turn reinforced their vulnerability in the exploitative situation. For example, traffickers used victims' drug addiction as a method to coerce them to earn a stipulated daily amount for the trafficker and receive a free dose of drugs. This reward ensured that the trafficked women returned to the trafficking situation

daily, but also increased their drug dependency, and reduced the likelihood that they would leave the trafficking situation.

The description of the interrelationship between the trafficker and trafficked persons subsystems in this illustration, demonstrate the inadequacy of a traditional linear cause and effect approach to determine the exact reasons individuals are trafficked. Although young women's drug addictions motivated them to seek out drug traffickers, they would not have been trafficked if they did not interact with drug traffickers who targets vulnerable, drug addicted young women to entrap them in a drug debt cycle and exploit them in street prostitution. Thus, according to De De Toni and Comello (2010, p. 45), the relationship between the trafficker and trafficked person in this illustration can be best understood when circular cause and effect between the elements in a complex system is considered. The cause and effect relationship in this illustration was also circular as vulnerability and drug addiction increased the likelihood that young women were exploited in trafficking situations, but exploitation in trafficking situations fuelled their vulnerability and drug addiction. The circular action between vulnerability, addiction, and exploitation illustrated how cause and effect relationships in complex systems are intertwined and connected to form a retroactive "loop" (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 46) between cause and effect.

Principle 7: Try and learn.

According to De Toni and Comello (2010) a complex system in a "situation between necessity and hazard" (p. 46) manages the complexity of its environment through a "try & learn" (p. 46) approach. This principle will be illustrated through a description of the manner in which traffickers managed threats such as police investigations into their trafficking activities and the prosecution process.

According to participants, traffickers are people without morals. Thus, traffickers easily made use of illegal methods such as violence and bribery of police officers to protect their human trafficking operations from threats such as police investigations and prosecutions. For example, when traffickers realised IO was gathering information about their activities, they attempted to discourage him through trial-and-error. They sent threatening messages to him through some of the prostituted women he previously approached for information. When these threats did not discourage IO, they located his wife's cell phone number and threatened her telephonically. However, as IO moved his family to a safe place overnight, this threat did not have the desired effect. Traffickers thus focussed their attention to threatening witnesses in the criminal case against them. For example, they burned down a witnesses' flat as a warning not to continue her cooperation with the criminal justice system. A more subtle manner in which traffickers managed threats to their operations was through bribery of police officers to find out in advance when raids on their premises will take place. As a result, traffickers avoided arrest on many occasions. Thus, traffickers were able to try a number of ways to find effective solutions that reduce the challenges posed by their environment. According to De Toni and Comello (2010), trying and learning is the way in which a complex system in "a situation between necessity and hazard" (p. 46) manages threats and challenges posed by its environment. Traffickers thus managed the threat posed by police investigations through experimenting with various strategies (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 48).

Unlike traffickers, the law enforcement system has to operate within parameters such as legislation. Due to these restrictions, police officers were not able to match the flexibility of traffickers during investigations into human trafficking activities in the Eastern Cape. IO's actions were constrained by the South African legal framework and established investigative procedures and techniques utilised by the SAPS. As a result, his ability to explore different

investigative options was constrained. Although IO gathered new intelligence and used innovative ways to conduct the investigation, he consistently had to compare his investigative process to relevant legislation. However, within these systemic constraints, IO was able to refine his investigative techniques by, for example, learning which types of questions to ask new informants to access information about human trafficking activities. He also used trial-and-error learning during undercover investigations and learned, for example, that a rich business executive persona enabled him to gather more intelligence than a taxi operator. De Toni and Comello (2010) distinguished between two learning strategies illustrated by IO and the trafficker subsystem. The first strategy involves refining existing knowledge, such as the refining of investigative techniques. The second, more radical strategy, refers to “try & learn” (De Toni & Comello, 2010, p. 46) or exploration and trials approach to learn. Traffickers demonstrated this strategy when they explored increasingly violent strategies to discourage IO from investigating their human trafficking activities.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to convey the current study participants’ individual and pooled perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape in line with the second research objective. Two main themes emerged from the pooled participant perspective that conveyed the interconnectedness and interrelatedness between system components in the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. The first theme revolved around the intricate, complex perpetrator-victim relationship dynamics in the crime of human trafficking. The second main theme communicated the importance of credible witnesses in human trafficking prosecutions and the interrelatedness between the lack of victims’ witness credibility on the one hand, and the limitations of the legal system and the legal fraternity to comprehend the complexities which contribute to the lack of witnesses credibility of victims of trafficking on

the other hand. Relevant international and South African research findings were compared to the combined participant view of the human trafficking system to reveal whether human trafficking in the Eastern Cape confirm or contradict existing research.

A theoretically integrated discussion of participants' perspectives of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape, using De Toni and Comello (2010) conceptualisation of the characteristics of complex systems into seven principles, revealed that each of the seven principles illustrated interaction patterns and dynamics between system components of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. Broad conclusions drawn from the current study, limitations of the current study, and recommendations for future research are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Conclusions, Limitations, and Recommendations

everything in the universe is directly or indirectly connected to everything else
(Richardson & Midgley, 2007, p. 164).

In this chapter, the conclusions of the current study are presented, followed by its limitations. Thereafter, recommendations are made for future research that could add knowledge about the human trafficking system and assist policy makers and counter-trafficking stakeholders with planning and executing counter human trafficking strategies.

Broad Conclusions of the Current Study

The current study demonstrated the value of using Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development to map the complex nature of the human trafficking system according to the ten unique perspectives of participants in the current study. Through the application of Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory, system components that emerged from study participants' perspectives were mapped according to five ecosystemic levels. For example, the microsystemic level consisted of three microsystems, namely the trafficker microsystem, the trafficked person microsystem, and the users of the services of trafficked person's microsystem. The interactions, linkages, and processes between these three microsystems formed the core human trafficking system at the mesosystemic level. The exosystemic level included systems that comprised formal organisations such as the South African Police Service (SAPS), the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), and the Department of Social Development (DSD), as well as nongovernmental organisations and groups such organised crime syndicates. This systemic level also included communities such as the Eastern Cape communities from which trafficked persons were recruited. The

macrosystemic level included aspects such as the Xhosa traditional practice of ukuthwala, bodies of knowledge such as South African interim human trafficking legislation, and the sub-optimal socio-economic state of the Eastern Cape. In the chronosystem, changes over time such as changes in the normative Xhosa practice of ukuthwala and the impact over time of the 2010 FIFA World Cup were included.

The use of Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory resulted in rich, in-depth, multi-level, and multi-perspectival pictures of the complex interrelationships, linkages, and processes within and between multiple system components in the human trafficking system and its environment in relation to the Eastern Cape. The systemic perspective on the human trafficking system revealed a better understanding of the human trafficking system than the traditional reductionist research through a conceptualisation of the interconnectedness between system components. For example, it was revealed that circular feedback loops exist between traffickers and victims of trafficking which made it difficult, if not impossible, to establish clear cause and effect relationships. For example, traffickers utilise various strategies to maintain control and dominance over victims of trafficking, including physical abuse and emotional manipulation such as feigning love relationships with victims. Victims of trafficking submit to the strategies due to fear and a desire for a love relationship with traffickers. Their submission, in turn, encourages traffickers to continue their controlling, dominant behaviour, which encourages continued submission. This dynamic was one of many that made it difficult for victims to leave the trafficking situation and was associated with them often returning to the exploitative situation even after police had removed them from this situation.

The application of complexity theory to the human trafficking system indicated that the theory enables the conceptualisation of the complex relationship dynamics within and between interconnected elements of the human trafficking system. Moreover, this approach

enabled a better understanding of the complex interrelatedness within and between system elements of the complex human trafficking system than a traditional reductionist approach. This theoretical approach, for example, enabled a conceptualisation of the complex, multi-layered interactions between traffickers and victims of trafficking within the core human trafficking system according to the complexity theory concept of the edge of chaos. The interactions between the traffickers and victims of trafficking systems exhibited neither a high degree of order and predictability nor a high level of chaos and unpredictability. Traffickers alternated abusive behaviour with pleasant interactions to sustain a volatile and unpredictable environment to maintain control and dominance over their victims, while victims tended to reduce the volatile and unpredictable behaviours of their traffickers through compliant behaviours. However, victims of trafficking also asserted their agency over traffickers through unpredictable behaviours by laying charges against their traffickers or becoming state witnesses in human trafficking prosecutions, which prompted traffickers to act to reduce the threat through, for example, threatening victims not to testify. The edge of chaos principle of complexity theory, thus increased understanding about the relationship dynamics between traffickers and victims and how this relationship contributes to the ability of the core human trafficking system to remain stable enough to grow and develop without disintegrating into chaos.

Limitations

One of the main difficulties experienced regarding the study was with regard to the availability of relevant literature on the topic of human trafficking in South Africa due to the limited number of studies that have focussed on human trafficking in South Africa and the Eastern Cape Province in particular. No South African or international research has employed a complex systems approach to provide a holistic view of the human trafficking

system and its intra- and inter-relationships. As a result, no comparative findings from similar research in South Africa or internationally could be included in the current study.

Participants in the current study mainly had experience of working with human trafficking for sexual exploitation. While this focussed the target population of the current study it also provided a limited view of the multidimensional nature of the broader human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape.

As the counter human trafficking response in the Eastern Cape is underdeveloped, only a small number of individuals were actively involved in counter human trafficking activities in the province at the time of the current study. Therefore, the number of participants that met the selection criteria for participation in the current study was limited. In addition, the counter human trafficking response in the eastern region of the Eastern Cape Province, which is also more rural in nature, was decidedly more underdeveloped and as a result it was not possible to obtain participants from this region. This limitation however, was mitigated as most of the current participants had information regarding human trafficking activities in this area. For example, IO, NNC, SSA, and MC were involved in counter human trafficking activities in the region; SW housed various victims of trafficking from the eastern region of the Eastern Cape in the shelter where she was employed, while MFBO regularly met with other employees of a faith-based organisation who worked in the eastern region of the Eastern Cape.

An additional limitation is the hidden nature of the human trafficking system that restricted the volume and depth of data about human trafficking in the Eastern Cape obtainable through normal research and data gathering methods.

A further limitation involved the use of complexity theory in social sciences. Social research using complexity theory mainly utilised computer-aided, mathematical analysis methods to simulate complexity in social systems (Cilliers, 2000, p. 30; Eidelson, 1997, p.

54). There were thus no suitable existing data analysis methods or frameworks to guide the analysis of complex systems data for qualitative research. As a result, a data analysis method to achieve the first objective of the current study, that is, to describe the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape from the perspectives of the participants, utilising Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development had to be devised.

The first objective was to describe the human trafficking system in the province from the perspectives of the study participants. Bronfenbrenner's (1994) bioecological theory of human development was used to conceptualise their perspectives as systemic components of the human trafficking system in the Eastern Cape. In addition, Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory also enabled the description of interrelationships, linkages, and processes between the components of the human trafficking system based on the participants' perspectives.

Qualitative research can introduce bias and skewing of data collection and analysis due to the stance of the researcher. Thus, a number of limitations related to the features of the researcher. First, the fact that I am a white woman may have influenced the data collection, analysis, and interpretation in the current study. In addition, I was already familiar with literature about the human trafficking system before the data collection phase started. This factor may have skewed the data gathered. For example, there were times in interviews when participants revealed information that I was aware of, which reduced the amount of probing and clarification that took place around this data. However, on the other hand, by not dwelling on familiar information, the data collection interviews may have revealed more in-depth and richer data as more unfamiliar and even unknown data could be probed in greater depth. The fact that I am a psychologist may also have influenced data collection process. For example, participants may have been reluctant to share their perspectives on a psychological issue in the human trafficking system due to their awareness I am a psychologist. On the other hand, it may have been possible that knowledge of my profession

encouraged participants to disclose unpleasant and shocking information on issues such as the effect of human trafficking on the trafficked persons due to their perception that I was used to dealing with such information and experiences. To mitigate this potential influence during the course of the data collection phase I chose not to disclose my profession to participants.

Recommendations

No other South African research has used the complex systems approach to provide a holistic view of the human trafficking system and its intra- and inter-relationships. It is therefore recommended that further human trafficking research both locally and internationally be conducted using this theoretical approach.

The current study revealed that the complex dynamics between traffickers and victims of trafficking played a prominent role in the development and growth of the human trafficking system. Moreover, these relationships limited the effectiveness of counter human trafficking stakeholders. It is recommended that these relationship dynamics be explored in greater depth and include the recruitment processes used to acquire potential victims of human trafficking.

Future research should also include other forms of human trafficking besides sex trafficking such as labour trafficking or domestic servitude. Such research should aim to access a broader range of human trafficking stakeholders that include victims of trafficking, traffickers, individuals, organisations, and industries that create the demand for the services of trafficked persons.

The complex systems approach, with its origins in natural and physical sciences, lends itself to the computerised modelling and simulation of complex systems (Eidelson, 1997). Future studies on the human trafficking system should integrate suitable computerised

modelling techniques in the methodology to enhance existing knowledge about human trafficking.

Finally, it is suggested that future human trafficking research incorporate participatory research approaches such as community-based participative research to increase the synergy between communities and researchers and the knowledge about human trafficking that results from such research approaches.

References

- Adams, G. (2011). Re-trafficked victims: How a human rights approach can stop the cycle of re-victimisation of sex trafficking victims. *The George Washington International Law Review*, 43, 201-234. Retrieved September 25, 2013, from <http://docs.law.gwu.edu/stdg/gwilr/PDFs/43-1/6-%20Adams.pdf>
- Adams, T. E. (2010). Global village. In R. L. Jackson (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Identity* (Vol. 1, pp. 315-316). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Adeagbo, O. A. (2013). We are not criminals, we are just victims of circumstances': An exploration of experiences of Nigerian immigrants' men that married South African women in Johannesburg. *National Identities*, 1-20.
- Adepoju, A. (2005). Review of research and data on human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa. *International Migration*, 43(1), 75-98.
- Agbu, O. (2003). Corruption and human trafficking: The Nigerian case. *West Africa Review*, 4(1), 1-13.
- Akee, R., Bedi, A., Basu, A. K., & Chau, N. (2010, September). Transnational trafficking, law enforcement and victim protection: A middleman's perspective. *Paper presented at the Transnationality of Migrants (TOM) Marie Curie Research Training Network*. Retrieved from <http://dev3.cepr.org/meets/wkcn/2/2414/papers/ChauFinal.pdf>
- Akyeampong, E. (2005). Diaspora and drug trafficking in West Africa: A case study of Ghana. *African Affairs*, 104(416), 429-447. doi:10.1093/afraf/adi015
- Alhadeff-Jones, M. (2008). Three generations of complexity theories: Nuances and ambiguities. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 40(1), 66-82.
- Allain, J. (2011). Commentary: Trafficking of persons for the removal of organs and the admission of guilt of a South African hospital. *Medical Law Review*, 19, 117-122.

- Allais, C. (2013). The profile less considered: The trafficking of men in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(1), 40-54.
- Alvesson, M. (2002). *Postmodernism and social research*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Alvesson, M., & Sköldbberg, K. (2000). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Ambagtsheer, F., Zaitch, D., & Weimar, W. (2013). The battle for human organs: Organ trafficking and transplant tourism in a global context. *Global Crime*, 14(1), 1-26.
- American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the american psychological association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Amin, S. (2010). A step towards modeling and destabilizing human trafficking networks using machine learning methods. In N. Eagle, & E. Horvitz, *Conference: Artificial intelligence for development, papers from the 2010 AAAI Spring Symposium, Technical Report SS10-01* (pp. 2-7). Stanford, CA: AAAI.
- Anderson, R. E., Carter, I., & Lowe, G. R. (1999). *Human behaviour in the social environment* (5th ed.). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Andrees, B. (2008). *Forced Labour and human trafficking*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organization. Retrieved November 5, 2014, from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_097835.pdf
- ANEX-CDW. (2006). *Child domestic work: Baseline research*. Cape Town, RSA: ANEX-CDW.
- Angelou, M. (1983). *Shaker, why don't you sing*. New York, NY: Random House.

- Annison, R. (2013). *In the dock: Examining the UK's criminal justice response to trafficking*. London, UK: Slavery International.
- Araujo, E. (2011). The need for human trafficking policy. *AISA Policy Brief*, 37, 1-10.
- Arocha, L. (2010). *Wrong kind of victim? One year on: An analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons*. London: Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group. Retrieved June 16, 2010, from https://www.amnesty.org.uk/sites/default/files/wrong_kind_of_victim_report.pdf
- Aromaa, K. (2007). Trafficking in human beings: Uniform definitions for better measuring and for effective counter-measures. In E. U. Savona, & S. Stefanizzi (Eds.), *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls* (pp. 13-26). New York, NY: Springer.
- Aronowitz, L. A. (2001). Smuggling and trafficking in human beings: The phenomenon, the markets that drive it and the organisations that promote it. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 9, 163-195. Retrieved January 24, 2014, from <http://mensenhandelao1112.wdfiles.com/local--files/in-woord/Artikel%20A.%20A.%20Aronowitz.pdf>
- Aronson, G. (2006). Seeking a consolidated feminist voice for prostitution in the US. *Rutgers Journal of Law and Urban Policy*, 3(3), 356-388.
- Arthur, S., & Nazroo, J. (2003). Designing fieldwork strategies. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 110-137). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Bak, P., Chen, K., Scheinkman, J., & Woodford, M. (1992). *Working papers*. Retrieved November 25, 2011, from Santa Fe Institute: <http://www.santafe.edu/media/workingpapers/93-01-004.pdf>

- Bales, K. (2000). Expendable people: Slavery in the age of globalization. *Journal of International Affairs*(53), 461-484.
- Bales, K. (2005). *Understanding global slavery*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.
- Bales, K. (2007). What predicts human trafficking? *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 31(2), 269-279. doi:10.1080/01924036.2007.9678771
- Balos, B. (2004). The wrong way to equality: Privileging consent in the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 27, 137-175. Retrieved November 25, 2014, from <http://www.law.harvard.edu/students/orgs/jlg/vol27/balos.pdf>
- Bassiouni, M. C. (2008). Enslavement: Slavery, slave-like practices, and trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation. In M. C. Bassiouni (Ed.), *International Criminal Law: Sources, Subjects and Contents* (pp. 535-587). Leiden, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. doi:10.1163/ej.9789004165328.i-1086
- Batsyukova, S. (2007). Prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation. *Gender Issues*, 24(2), 46-50.
- Beeson, J. G. (2015). Psychology of human trafficking. In M. J. Palmiotto (Ed.), *Combating human trafficking: A multidisciplinary approach* (pp. 47-60). Boca Raton: CRC Press.
- Belser, P. (2005). *Forced labour and human trafficking: Estimating the profits (Working Paper No. 42)*. Geneva: International Labor Organization. Retrieved November 22, 2014, from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_081971.pdf
- Bennett, T. W. (2010). The cultural defence and the custom of Thwala in South African law. *University of Botswana Law Journal*, 10, 3-26.
- Bermudez, L. (2008). *"No experience necessary": The internal trafficking of persons in South Africa*. Pretoria, RSA: IOM.

- Bird, R., & Donaldson, R. (2009). "Sex, sun, soccer": Stakeholder-opinions on the sex industry in Cape Town in anticipation of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. *Urban Forum, 20*, 33-46.
- Boaventura, L., Manjate, C., & Mackay, A. (2006). *Human trafficking in Mozambique: Root causes and recommendations*. Paris, France: UNESCO. Retrieved January 2, 2014, from <http://www.unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/0014/001478/147846.pdf>
- Bohler-Muller, N., Hollely, K., Minnie, D., & Muller, K. (2010). *Breaking the silence: An introduction to human trafficking*. Port Elizabeth, RSA: Institute for Child Witnesses Research and Training.
- Bohmer, C. (2000). *The wages of seeking help: Sexual exploitation by professionals*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Bonthuys, E. (2012). The 2010 Football World Cup and the regulation of sex work in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 38*(1), 11-29.
- Boulding, K. E. (1956). General systems theory: The skeleton of science. *Management Science, 2*(3), 197-208.
- Bowen, G. L. (2004). Social organization and schools: A general systems theory perspective. In P. Allen-Meares (Ed.), *Social Work Services in Schools* (4th ed., pp. 60-80). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*, 77-101.
- Bravo, E. K. (2007). Exploring the analogy between modern trafficking in humans and the transatlantic slave trade. *Boston University International Law Journal, 25*, 207-295.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist, 32*, 513-531.

- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *Ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In M. Gauvain, & M. Cole (Eds.), *Readings on the development of children* (2nd ed., pp. 37-43). New York, NY: Freeman.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 793-828). New York: NY: Wiley.
- Brunk, G. G. (2001). Self-organised criticality: A new theory of political behaviour and some of its implications. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(2), 427-445.
- Buffalo City Metro. (2014). *Key sectors*. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from Buffalo City Metro: <http://www.buffalocity.gov.za/business/keysectors.stm>
- Bütz, M. (1997). *Chaos and complexity*. Washington DC: Taylor & Francis.
- Byrne, D. (1998). *Complexity theory and the social sciences: An introduction*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Byrne, D. (2005). Complexity, configurations and cases. *Theory Culture Society*, 22(5), 95-111.
- Byrne, D. (2014). Thoughts on a pedagogy of complexity. *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education*, 11(2), 40-50.
- Caelli, K., Ray, L., & Mill, J. (2003). 'Clear as mud': Toward greater clarity in generic qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(2), 1-13.

- Retrieved April 21, 2014, from
<https://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/IJQM/article/download/4521/3651>
- Campbell, R., Dworkin, E., & Cabral, G. (2012). An ecological model of the impact of sexual assault on women's mental health. In C. M. Renzetti, J. L. Edleson, & R. K. Bergen (Eds.), *Violence against women* (pp. 3-29). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Capra, F. (1996). *The web of life*. London, UK: HarperCollins.
- Cauduro, A. (2009). Review of the research studies on the demand for prostitution in the European Union and beyond. In A. Di Nicola, A. Cauduro, M. Lombardi, & P. Ruspini (Eds.), *Prostitution and human trafficking: Focus on clients* (pp. 5-22). New York, NY: Springer.
- Cheek, J. (2004). At the margins? Discourse analysis and qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 14*, 1140-1150. doi:10.1177/1049732304266820
- Cho, S.-Y. (2012). Modelling for determinants of human trafficking. *Economics of Security (Working Paper 70)*. Retrieved October 10, 2013, from http://www.economics-human-trafficking.net/mediapool/99/998280/data/WP70_Cho_Modelling_for_Determinants.pdf
- Cho, S.-Y., Dreher, A., & Neumayer, E. (2012). Does legalized prostitution increase human trafficking? *World Development, 41*, 67-82. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.05.023
- Chuang, J. (2006). Beyond a snapshot: Preventing human trafficking in the global economy. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, 13*(1), 137-163.
- Cilliers, P. (1998). *Complexity and postmodernism*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cilliers, P. (2000). Knowledge, complexity, and understanding. *Emergence, 2*(4), 7-13.
- Cilliers, P. (2001). Boundaries, hierarchies and networks in complex systems. *International Journal of Innovation Management, 5*(2), 135-147.

- Cilliers, P. (2005). Knowledge, limits and boundaries. *Futures*, 37, 605-613.
- Clawson, H. J., & Dutch, N. (2008). *Identifying victims of human trafficking: Inherent challenges and promising strategies from the field* (Issue Brief 2). Washington DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. Retrieved October 15, 2013, from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/07/HumanTrafficking/>
- Clayton, H. (2011). *South Africa's obligations regarding sexual exploitation of children* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Potchefstroom, RSA: North-West University.
- Cluver, L., Bray, R., & Dawes, A. (2007). Monitoring the worst forms of child labour, trafficking and child commercial sexual exploitation. In A. Dawes, R. Bray, & A. van der Merwe (Eds.), *Monitoring child rights and well-being: A South African approach* (pp. 247-267). Cape Town, RSA: HSRC Press.
- Coleman, P. T., Vallacher, R. R., Nowak, A., & Bui-Wrzosinska, L. (2007). Intractable conflict as an attractor: A dynamical systems approach to conflict escalation and intractability. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(11), 1-22.
- Coles, C. M. (1993). Land reform from post-apartheid South Africa. *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review*(4), 700-758.
- Community Agency for Social Enquiry. (2006). *Commercial and sexual exploitation of children and child trafficking: A South African national situation analysis*. Johannesburg, RSA: CASE.
- Cox, L. M., & Lyddon, W. J. (1997). Constructivist conceptions of self: A discussion of emerging identity constructs. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 10, 201-219.
- Coy, M., Wakeling, J., & Garner, M. (2011). Selling sex sells: Representations of prostitution and the sex industry in sexualised popular culture as symbolic violence. *Women's Studies International forum*, 441-448. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2011.05.008

- Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act. 2007. (RSA)
- Crotty, M. J. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Cullen-DuPont, K. (2009). *Human trafficking*. New York, NY: Infobase Publishing.
- Cullin, J. (2005). The ethics of paradox: Cybernetic and postmodern perspectives on non-direct interventions in therapy. *ANZIFT*, 26(3), 138-146.
- Dafel, V. (2014). *The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013: A critical analysis of its potential impact on child trafficking prosecutions in South Africa* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Durban, RSA: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Dallos, R., & Draper, R. (2010). *An introduction to family therapy: Systemic theory and practice* (6th ed.). Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.
- Dardagan, C. (2014, August 7). Guardian angel of SA drug mules. *The Mercury*. Retrieved November 24, 2014, from <http://www.iol.co.za>
- David, F. (2007). Law enforcement responses to trafficking in persons: Challenges and emerging good practice. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 347, 1-6.
- David, F. (2008). Prosecuting trafficking in persons: Known issues, emerging responses. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 358, 1-5. Retrieved November 23, 2010, from www.aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/tandi2/tandi358.pdf
- Davis, R. (2012). The great NGO funding crisis. *Daily Maverick*. Retrieved January 24, 2014, from <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-07-23-the-great-ngo-funding-crisis>
- Dekker, S. (2011). *Drift into failure: From hunting broken components to understanding complex systems*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

- Delport, E., Koen, K., & Mackay, A. (2007). *Human Trafficking in SA: Root causes and recommendations*. Paris, France: UNESCO. Retrieved December 8, 2013, from http://www.santac.org/por/content/download/467/2968/file/Human_Traffic1.RSA.pdf
- Denzin, K. N., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 1-29). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Derby, N. (2010). Enslavement and human trafficking: The supple swimmers of fishing at Yeji, Ghana. In *Who Pays the Price? Foreign Workers, Society, Crime and The Law* (pp. 189-200). New York, NY: Nova Science Publishers. Retrieved November 25, 2014, from http://www.arjenleerkes.nl/who_pays_the_price.pdf#page=209
- De Sas Kropiwnicki, Z. O. (2012). The politics of child prostitution in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30(2), 235-265.
- De Toni, A. F., & Comello, L. (2010). *Journey into complexity* [E-reader version]. Retrieved from http://www.diegm.uniud.it/detoni/drupal/sites/default/files/Journey%20into%20complexity_0.pdf
- Dickson-Swift, V., James, E., & Liamputtong, P. (2008). *Undertaking sensitive research in the health and social sciences: Managing boundaries, emotions and risks*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dimitrov, V., & Woog, R. (1997). Studying social complexity: From soft to virtual systems methodology. *Complex Systems*, 501-509.
- Di Nicola, A. (2007). Researching into human trafficking: Issues and problems. In M. Lee (Ed.), *Human Trafficking* (pp. 49-72). Devon, UK: Willan Publishing.
- Dinah, M. M. (2012). How is child trafficking addressed in South African schools' policies? *Journal of Social Science*, 30(1), 65-70.

- Dolan, S. L., Garcia, S., Diegoli, S., & Auerbach, A. (2000). *Organisational values as "attractors of chaos": An emerging cultural change to manage organisational complexity*. UFP Economics Working Paper No. 485.
- Du Bois-Pedain, A. (2007). *Transitional Amnesty in South Africa*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children. (2012). *Human trafficking is happening here: Fact sheet accompanying the Ninth report of the Dutch Rapporteur*. The Hague: National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children. Retrieved November 28, 2014, from www.nationaalrapporteur.nl
- Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children. (2014). *Does legalised prostitution generate more human trafficking?* Retrieved December 10, 2014, from National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children: <http://www.dutchrapporteur.nl/current/news/archief/new-article-does-legalised-prostitution-generate-more-human-trafficking.aspx>
- Dutton, D., & Painter, S. L. (1981). Traumatic bonding: The development of emotional attachments in battered women and other relationships of intermittent abuse. *Victimology*, 6, 139-155.
- Dutton, D., & Painter, S. (1993). Emotional attachments in abusive relationships: A test of traumatic bonding theory. *Violence and Victims*, 8(2), 105-120.
- Eastern Cape Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEDEAT). (2013). *The Eastern Cape socio-economic review and outlook*. Bhisho, RSA: Eastern Cape Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from

<http://www.dedea.gov.za/research/Research/Socio->

[Economic%20Review%20and%20Outlook%202013-1.pdf](http://www.dedea.gov.za/research/Research/Socio-Economic%20Review%20and%20Outlook%202013-1.pdf)

- Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council. (2012). *Eastern Cape development indicators - 2012*. Port Elizabeth: ECSECC. Retrieved December 4, 2014, from http://www.ecsecc.org/files/library/documents/EasternCape_withDMs.pdf
- Ebbe, O. N. (2008). Introduction: An overview of trafficking in women and children. In O. N. Ebbe, & D. K. Das (Eds.), *Global trafficking in women and children* (pp. 3-16). Boca Raton, FL, USA: CRC Press.
- Eidelson, R. J. (1997). Complex adaptive systems in the behavioral and social sciences. *Review of General Psychology, 1*(1), 42-71.
- Ely, M., Vinz, R., Downing, R., & Anzul, M. (1997). *On writing qualitative research: Living by words*. London, UK: Falmer Press.
- Emser, M. (2013). *The politics of human trafficking in South Africa: A case study of the KwaZulu-Natal Intersectoral Task Team and South African counter-trafficking governance*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Durban, KZN: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Emser, M., & Francis, S. (2014). Media waves and moral panicking: The case of the FIFA World Cup 2010. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa: 20 years of South African Democracy, 36*(2), 169-180.
- Esade, M. B., & McKelvey, B. (2010). Integrating modernist and postmodernist perspectives on organisations: A complexity science bridge. *Academy of Management Review, 35*(3), 415-433.
- Esterberg, K. (2002). *Qualitative methods in social research*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Everitt, D. (2013). *Locked in transit: Girls inside the gates of child sex trafficking in South Africa* (Unpublished master's thesis). Pretoria, RSA: University of South Africa.

- Farley, M. (2007). *'Renting an organ for ten minutes': What tricks tell us about prostitution, pornography, and trafficking*. Retrieved from Prostitution Research: www.prostitutionresearch.com
- Farley, M., Bindel, J., & Golding, J. M. (2009). *Men who buy sex: Who they buy and what they know*. London: Eaves; Prostitution Research & Education.
- Farley, M., Cotton, A., Lynne, J., Zumbek, S., Spiwak, F., Reyes, M. E., . . . Sezgin, U. (2004). Prostitution and trafficking in nine countries. *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2(3-4), 33-74.
- Farley, M., Macleod, J., Anderson, L., & Golding, J. M. (2011a). Attitudes and social characteristics of men who buy sex in Scotland. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 1-14. doi:10.1037/a0022645
- Farley, M., Schuckman, E., Golding, J. M., Houser, K., Jarret, L., Qualliotine, P., & Decker, M. (2011b). *Comparing sex buyers with men who don't buy sex: "You can't have a good time with servitude" vs "You're supporting a system of degradation"*. Paper presented at the psychologists for social responsibility annual meeting, Boston, MA.
- Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. (2014). New laws but few cases: Understanding the challenges to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61, 139-168. doi:10.1007/s10611-013-9442-1
- Fellows, S. (2008). *Trafficking body parts in Mozambique and South Africa*. Maputo, Mozambique: Liga Moçambicana Direitos Humanos. Retrieved July 26, 2010, from http://www.iese.ac.mz/lib/PPI/IESE-PPI/pastas/governacao/justica/artigos_cientificos_imprensa/trafficking_body_africa.pdf
- Ferrari, T., & Bloch, S. (2014, November 22). Landmark sentence in human trafficking case. *News24*. Retrieved from News24: <http://news24.com>

- Fick, N. (2006). Sex workers speak out: Policing and the sex industry. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 15, 13-18.
- Flippin, W. E. (2012, April 6). *Ubuntu: Applying African philosophy in building community*. Retrieved October 23, 2014, from Huffpost Blackvoices:
<http://www.huffingtonpost.com>
- Foucault, M. (1971). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Fouché, C. B., & Delpont, C. S. (2002). Introduction to the research process. In A. S. de Vos, H. Strydom, C. B. Fouché, C. S. Delpont, & A. S. de Vos (Ed.), *Research at grass roots: For the social sciences and human services professions* (2nd ed., pp. 77-91). Pretoria, South Africa: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Fredette, K. (2009). Revisiting the UN Protocol on Human Trafficking: Striking balances for more effective legislation. *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 101-134.
- Friedman, B. D., & Allen, K. N. (2011). Systems theory. In J. R. Brandell, *Theory and Practice in Clinical Social work* (pp. 3-20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Friese, S. (2014). *Atlas.ti 7 user guide and reference*. Berlin, Germany: Scientific Software Development GmbH. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from http://atlasti.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/atlasti_v7_manual_en_201409.pdf
- Frigg, R. (2003). Self-organised criticality: What it is and what it isn't. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 34, 613-632.
- Fukushima, A., & Liou, C. C. (2012). *Weaving theory and practice: Anti-trafficking partnerships and the fourth 'P' in the human trafficking paradigm* (CDDRL Working Paper Number 004). Stanford, CA, USA: Program on Human Rights, Centre on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law Freeman Spogli Institute for

- International Studies. Retrieved January 7, 2014, from http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/23750/Liou%26Fukushima_Final_06_12.pdf
- Gallagher, A. (2014, November 28). The global slavery index is based on flawed data - why does no one say so? *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 7, 2014, from <http://www.theguardian.com>
- Gallagher, A., & Holmes, P. (2008). Developing an effective criminal justice response to human trafficking: Lessons from the front line. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 18(3), 318-343.
- Gallinetti, J. (2010). Don't shout too loud. Reflections on the outrage against human and child trafficking. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 33, 11-18.
- George, C. (2012). The issue of demand in human sex trafficking. *Florida Coastal Law Review*, 13, 293-334.
- Gergen, K.J. (1982). *Toward transformation in social knowledge*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Gibson, J. (2014, December 9). *Good leaders embrace the 'not knowing'* [Blog post]. Retrieved from White Spaces: <http://unclutteredwhitespaces.com/2014/12/good-leaders-embrace-the-not-knowing/>
- Gilstrap, D. L. (2005). Strange attractors and human interaction: Leading complex organizations through the use of metaphors. *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education*, 55-69.
- GLE Consulting. (2011). *The 2012 Games and human trafficking: Identifying possible risks and relevant good practice from other cities*. Retrieved August 19, 2013, from La Strada International: www.lastradainternational.org/Isidocs/The2012GamesandHumanTrafficking.pdf

- Godongwana, P. (2009, February 26). *Forced marriage lamented during 16 days of activism launch*. Retrieved January 11, 2010, from Province of the Eastern Cape Social Development: <http://www.socdev.ecprov.gov.za>
- Gould, C. (2006). Cheap lives. Countering human trafficking: Considerations and constraints. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 16, 19-25.
- Gould, C. (2007). Countering the 'scourge': The time for evidence and reason on human trafficking. *Crime Quarterly*, 22, 7-12.
- Gould, C. (2010). Moral panic, human trafficking and the 2010 Soccer World Cup. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 24(85), 31-44.
- Gould, C., & Fick, N. (2008). *Selling sex in Cape Town: Sex work and human trafficking in a South African city*. Pretoria, RSA: Institute for Security Studies.
- Gould, C., Richter, M., & Palmery, I. (2010). Of Nigerians, albinos, Satanists and anecdotes. A critical review of the HSRC report on human trafficking. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 32, 37-45.
- Gózdziak, E. M., & Bump, M. N. (2008). *Data and research on human trafficking: Bibliography of research-based literature: Final report*. Institute for the Study of International Migration. Washington DC: Georgetown University.
- Graham, D. R. (1994). *Loving to survive: Sexual terror, men's violence, and women's lives*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Grauerholz, L. (2000). An ecological approach to understanding sexual revictimization: Linking personal, interpersonal, and sociocultural factors and processes. *Child Maltreatment*, 5, 5-17.
- Grona-Robb, B. (2010). Prosecuting human traffickers. *The Prosecutor*, 40(5). Retrieved January 30, 2015, from The Prosecutor: <http://www.tdcaa.com/node/7370>

- Guastello, S. J. (2001). Nonlinear dynamics in psychology. *Discrete Dynamics in Nature and Society*, 6, 11-29.
- Gunderson, C. (2012). *Human trafficking: The trafficking of women in Northern Germany for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Systemic overview of community based responses and challenges*. Berlin, Germany: LIT Verlag.
- Hamman, M. (2011). *A tangled web*. Johannesburg, RSA: Media Monitoring Africa.
- Retrieved from
http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/images/uploads/ATangledWeb_WebPDF_pdf
- Härkönen, U. (2007). The Bronfenbrenner ecological systems theory of human development. *Scientific Articals of V International Conference PERSON.COLOR.NATURE.MUSIC*. Saule: Daugavpils University.
- Hayward, Y. (2008, September 5). Bay cop cracks human trafficking syndicate. *The Herald Online*. Retrieved January 11, 2014, from The Herald online:
<http://www.eherald.co.za>
- Helfferrich, C., Kavemann, B., Rabe, H., Toll, C., & Flach, G. (2011). Determinants of the willingness to make a statement of victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the triangle offender–police–victim. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 125-147. doi:DOI 10.1007/s12117-011-9125-1
- Hennig, J., Craggs, S., Laczko, F., & Larsson, F. (2007). *Trafficking in human beings and the 2006 World Cup in Germany*. Retrieved August 19, 2013, from International Organization for Migration:
www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/serial_publicationsmrs29-excerpt.pdf
- Herman, J. (1992). *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence from domestic abuse to political terror*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

- Heylighen, F., & Joslyn, C. (2001). Cybernetics and second-order cybernetics. In R. A. Myers (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Physical Science & Technology* (3rd ed., pp. 155-169). New York, USA: Academic Press.
- Hicks, J. (2010). A gendered response to the 2010 World Cup: Insights from the South African Commission for Gender Equality. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 24(85), 105-115.
- Hicks, S. C. (2004). *Explaining postmodernism: Scepticism and socialism from Rousseau to Foucault*. Milwaukee, WI: Scholargy Publishing.
- Hoag, C. (2010). The magic of the populace: An ethnography of illegibility in the South African immigration bureaucracy. *POLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 33(1), 6-26.
- Hollely, K. A. (2002). Children in court: The role of the support person. *CARSA*, 13(1), 14-17.
- Hollely, K. A. (2003, August). *Inviting psychology into the legal arena*. Paper presentation presented at the meeting of ISRCL, The Hague.
- Hopper, E., & Hidalgo, J. (2006). Invisible chains: Psychological coercion of human trafficking victims. *Intercultural Human Rights Law Review*, 1, 185-209. Retrieved May 23, 2012, from <http://www.publications/cthb/2008/01/2322/811-en.pdf>
- Horgan, J. (1995). From complexity to perplexity. *Scientific American*, 272(6), 104-109.
- Horn, W. (2009). *South Africa's legal compliance with its international obligations in respect of child trafficking* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Potchefstroom, RSA: North-West University.
- Horne, J. (2011). The investigation of human trafficking: An impossible mission without elemental identification of the crime. *Acta Criminologica*, 24(3), 20-30.

- Horne, J. S. (2014). *A critical analysis of human trafficking for sexual exploitation* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Pretoria, RSA: University of South Africa.
- Horwood, C. (2009). *In pursuit of the Southern dream: Victims of necessity*. Geneva, Switzerland: IOM.
- Hosken, G. (2013, November 6). SA is a major highway for human trafficking. *The Times*. Retrieved November 10, 2013, from <http://www.timeslive.co.za>
- Howitt, D. (2010). *Introduction to qualitative methods in psychology*. London, UK: Pearson Education Limited. Retrieved April 24, 2014, from http://catalogue.pearsoned.co.uk/assets/hip/gb/hip_gb_pearsonhighered/samplechapter/Howitt%20Web%20Sample.pdf
- Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (2002). *The qualitative researcher's companion*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hübschle, A. (2010). *Dispelling popular organised crime myths*. Retrieved January 27, 2014, from Institute for Security Studies: <http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/dispelling-popular-organised-crime-myths>
- Huda, S. (2006). Sex trafficking in South Asia. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics*, 94, 374-381. doi:10.1016/j.ijgo.2006.04.027
- Human Sciences Research Council. (2010). *Tsireledzani: Understanding the dimensions of human trafficking in Southern Africa*. Pretoria, RSA: National Prosecuting Authority.
- Hyland, K. E. (2001). The impact of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. *Human Rights Brief*, 8(2), 30 -31, 38. Retrieved July 26, 2014, from <http://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1492&context=hrbrief>

Ibeh, N. (2013, October 7). Visa scam: ICPC warns travellers against fake travel agencies.

Premium Times. Retrieved December 9, 2014, from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com>

International Labour Organization. (2006). *The demand side of human trafficking in Asia*.

Bangkok: International Labor Organization. Retrieved November 24, 2014, from *The Demand Side of Human Trafficking in Asia*:

International Labour Organization. (2012a). *ILO global estimate of forced labour: Results and methodology*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organization.

Retrieved December 9, 2013, from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_182004.pdf

International Labour Organization. (2012b). *Questions and answers on forced labour*.

Retrieved December 9, 2013, from International Labour Organization:

http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181922/lang--en/index.htm

International Organization for Migration. (2006). *Breaking the cycle of vulnerability:*

Responding to the health needs of trafficked women in East & Southern Africa.

Retrieved October 10, 2012, from

http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/books/Breaking_the_Cycle2.pdf

International Organization for Migration. (2010). *Beneath the surface: Methodological issues in research and data collection with assisted trafficking victims*. Geneva, Switzerland:

IOM.

Jackson, M. C. (2000). *Systems approaches to management*. New York, NY: Kluwer

Academic/Plenum Publishers.

- Johnson, E. S. (2008). Ecological systems and complexity theory: Toward an alternative model of accountability in education. *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education*, 1, 1-10.
- Jonsson, A. (2009). Introduction: Human trafficking and human security in the Baltic Sea region. In A. Jonsson (Ed.), *Human trafficking and human security* (pp. 1-9). New York, USA: Routledge.
- Jörg, T. (2011). *New thinking in complexity for the social sciences and humanities: A generative, transdisciplinary approach*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Juarrero, J. (2010). *Complex dynamical systems theory*. Retrieved June 3, 2013, from Cognitive Edge: <http://www.cognitive-edge.com>
- Jülich, S. (2008). Stockholm Syndrome and child sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(3), 107-129.
- Kamidi, R. (2007). *A legal response to child trafficking in Africa: A case study of South Africa and Benin* (Unpublished master's thesis). Cape Town, RSA: University of the Western Cape.
- Kangaspunta, K. (2003). Mapping the inhuman trade: Preliminary findings of the human trafficking database. *Forum on Crime and Society*, 3(1-2), 81-103.
- Kangaspunta. (2007). Collecting data on human trafficking: Availability, reliability and comparability of trafficking data. In E. U. Savona, & S. Stefanizzi (Eds.), *Measure human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls* (pp. 27-36). New York, USA: Springer.
- Karimankewnda, N. (2014, November 26). Difficult questions about ukuthwala and violence. *Dispatch Live*. Retrieved from www.dispatchlive.co.za
- Khedikar, S. S. (2013). Deterioration of human values. *International Journal of Application or Innovation in Engineering and Management*, 2(12), 42-43. Retrieved November 26, 2014, from <http://www.ijaiem.org/volume2issue12/IJAIEM-2013-12-06-011.pdf>

- Kleemans, E. R. (2011). Expanding the domain of human trafficking research: Introduction to the special issue on human trafficking. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 95-99.
doi:10.1007/s12117-011-9139-8
- Konrad, H. (2008). The fight against trafficking in human beings from the European perspective. In S. Cameron, & E. Newman (Eds.), *Trafficking in humans: Social, cultural and political dimensions* (pp. 161-180). Hong Kong: United Nations University.
- Kovačević, I., & Mirović, V. (2007). *Children speak out: Trafficking risk and resilience in Southeast Europe*. Podgorica, Montenegro: Save the children in Montenegro Child Trafficking Response Programme Southeast Europe. Retrieved December 8, 2013, from http://www.humantrafficking.org/uploads/publications/izvjestaj_EN.pdf
- Koyana, D. S., & Bekker, D. C. (2007). The indomitable ukuthwala custom. *De Jure*, 40(1), 139-144.
- Krauss, S. E. (2005). Research paradigms and meaning making: A primer. *The Qualitative Report*, 10(4), 758-770.
- Kreston, S. S. (2007). Trafficking in children in South Africa: An analysis of pending legislation. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa*, 8(1), 35-50.
- Kropiwnicky, Z. D. (2010). *Wolves in sheep's skin: A Rapid assessment of human trafficking in Musina, Limpopo province of South Africa*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration. Retrieved September 25, 2012, from <http://southafrica.iom.int/publication/wolves-in-sheeps-skin-a-rapid-assessment-of-human-trafficking-in-musina-south-africa/>
- Kruger, B. (2010). *Combating human trafficking: A South African legal perspective*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Bloemfontein, RSA: University of the Free State.

- Kruger, B. (2012). In the firing line: The South African legislative response designed to combat human trafficking. *South African Journal of Criminal Justice*, 25(2), 252-270.
- Kruger, H. B., & Oosthuizen, H. (2012). South Africa: Safe haven for human traffickers? Employing the arsenal of existing law to combat human trafficking. *PER: Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsbank*, 15(1), 282-343.
- Kruger, B., & Oosthuizen, H. (2011). Looking behind the mask of confusion: Towards a better understanding of human trafficking. *Child Abuse Research*, 12(2), 45-65.
- Kulwicki, C. (2008, December 13). *Why is victim a dirty word?* [Blog post] Retrieved from The Curvature: <http://thecurvature.com/2008/12/13/why-is-victim-a-dirty-word/>
- Kurtz, C. F., & Snowden, D. J. (2003). The new dynamics of strategy: Sense-making in a complex and complicated world. *IBM Systems Journal*, 42(3), 462-483.
- Laczko, F. (2005). Introduction. In F. Laczko, & E. M. Gozdziaik (Eds.), *Data and research on human trafficking: A global survey* (pp. 5-16). Geneva, Switzerland: IOM.
- Laczko, F. (2007). Enhancing data collection and research on trafficking in persons. In E. U. Savona, & S. Stefanizzi (Eds.), *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls* (pp. 37-44). New York, NY: Springer.
- Laczko, F., & Danailova-Traino, G. (2009). *Trafficking in persons and human development: Towards a more integrated policy response*. Retrieved April 13, 2010, from Munich Personal RePEc Archive: http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/19234/1/MPRA_paper_19234.pdf
- Laczko, F., & Gramegna, M. (2003). Developing better indicators of human trafficking. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 10(1), 179-194. Retrieved September 25, 2013, from http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/laczko_gramegna_2003__devel.pdf

- Layder, D. (2007). Self-identity and personhood in social analysis: The inadequacies of postmodernism and social constructionism. In J. L. Powell, & T. Owen (Eds.), *Reconstructing postmodernism: Critical debates* (pp. 3-14). New York, NY: Nova Science Publishers.
- Lazos, G. (2007). Qualitative research in trafficking - A particular case. In E. U. Savona, & S. Stefanizzi (Eds.), *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls* (pp. 95-106). New York City, NY: Springer.
- Leclerc-Madlala, S. (2002). On the virgin cleansing myth: Gendered bodies, AIDS and ethnomedicine. *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 1(2), 87-95. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from <http://www.wisis.unam.na/hivdocs/leclercmadlala2002.pdf#page=1&zoom=auto,0,716>
- Legard, R., Keegan, J., & Ward, K. (2003). In-depth interviews. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 138-169). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Leggit, T. (2004). Hidden agendas: The risks of human trafficking legislation. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 1-5.
- Levy, D. (1994). Chaos theory and strategy: Theory, application, and managerial implications. *Strategic Management Journal*, 15, 167-178.
- Lewis, J. (2003). Design issues. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 49-76). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- LexisNexis. (2013). *The LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness (HTA) Index*. Johannesburg, RSA: LexisNexis. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from <http://www.lexisnexis.co.za/pdf/LexisNexis-Human-Trafficking-Index.pdf>

- Lietz, C. A., Langer, C. L., & Furman, R. (2006). Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research in social work: Implications from a study regarding spirituality. *Qualitative Social Work*, 5(4), 441-458. doi:10.1177/1473325006070288
- Lievore, D. (2004). *Prosecutorial decisions in adult sexual assault cases: An Australian study*. Barton, ACT: Commonwealth of Australia .
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Denzin, N. K. (2000). The seventh movement. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 1047-1065). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishers.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Livneh, H., & Parker, R. M. (2005). Psychological adaptation to disability: Perspectives from chaos and complexity theory. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin*, 49(1), 17-28.
- Long, E. (2012). Revealing the realities of trafficking: A conversation with E. Benjamin Skinner. *Journal of International Peace Operations*, 7(6), 22-25. Retrieved May 5, 2013, from http://issuu.com/ipoa/docs/journal_v7n6
- Loubser, R. (2009). *Human trafficking in Southern Africa* (Unpublished master's thesis). Vienna, Austria: Universität Wien.
- Louw, P. (2014, August 4). Child bride horror. *Times Live*. Retrieved December 4, 2014, from www.timeslive.co.za
- Lucas, C. (2004). *Attractors everywhere: Order from chaos*. Retrieved November 28, 2011, from The complexity and artificial life research concept for self-organizing systems: www.calresco.org/attract.htm

- Lutya, T. M. (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, T. M. (2010). Lifestyles and routine activities of South African adolescents at risk of being trafficked for involuntary prostitution. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, 22(2), 91-110. doi:10.2989/17280583.2010.528578
- Lutya, T. M. (2012). Human trafficking of young women and girls for sexual exploitation in South Africa. In A. Muela (Ed.), *Child abuse and neglect: A multidimensional approach* (pp. 1-32). Croatia: Intech.
- Lutya, T. M., & Lanier, M. (2012). An integrated theoretical framework to describe human trafficking of young women and girls for involuntary prostitution. In J. Maddock (Ed.), *Public Health: Social and Behavioural Health* (pp. 555-570). Rijeka, Croatia: Intech.
- Lyotard, J-F. (1983). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mahmoud, O., & Trebesch, C. (2009). The economic drivers of human trafficking: Micro-evidence from five Eastern European countries. *Proceedings of the German Development Economics Conference No. 38*. Frankfurt: Leibniz Information Centre for Economics. Retrieved October 15, 2013, from <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/39939>
- Manda, D. S. (2009, March 14). *Ubuntu philosophy as an African philosophy for peace*. Retrieved October 23, 2014, from Africa Files: <http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=20359>
- Manson, S. M. (2001). Simplifying complexity: A review of complexity theory. *Geoforum*, 32, 405-414.

- Maphanga, N. (2011). *Traumatic experience of violence-abduction leading to marriage* (Unpublished Master's Thesis) . Pretoria, SA: University of Pretoria.
- Maqoko, Z., & Dreyer, Y. (2008). Child-headed households because of the trauma surrounding HIV/AIDS. *HTS Theological studies/Teologiese Studies*, 63(2), 717-731. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/hts/article/viewFile/41210/8598>
- Marion, R. (1999). *The edge of organization: Chaos and complexity theories of formal social systems*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Martens, J., Pieczkowski, M., & van Vuuren-Smyth, B. (2003). *Seduction, sale and slavery: Trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa*. Pretoria, RSA: IOM.
- Mashiya, T. (2010). *The effectiveness of human trafficking legislation in South Africa* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Bay, RSA: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.
- McNiel, M., Held, T., & Busch-Armendariz, N. (2014). Creating an interdisciplinary medical home for survivors of human trafficking. *Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 124(3), 611-615.
- McQuoid-Mason, D. (2009). The practice of "ukuthwala", the Constitution and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act. *Obiter*, 30(3.), 716-723.
- Merali, Y., & Allen, P. (2011). Complexity and systems thinking. In *the sage handbook of complexity and management* (pp. 31-52). London: Sage Publications.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Introduction to qualitative research*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary* (11th ed.). (2005). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

- Mertz, J. (2013). The FBI's Innocence Lost National Initiative: Child prostitution is not a "Game". *CANCER inCYTES*, 2(1), 1-3. Retrieved Oct 5, 2014, from CancerinCytes: <http://www.cancerincytes.org/#!child-prostitution-is-not-a-game/cjmx>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Miller, D. (2010, December 11). *Great thinkers: da Vinci (1452-1519)*. Retrieved November 3, 2014, from Smart Tutor Referrals: <http://www.smarttutorreferrals.com/articles/pespectives-learning/da-vinci>
- Miller, J. (1978). *Living systems*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare. (2009). *A baseline assessment of human trafficking in Namibia: A nationally representative qualitative assessment*. Windhoek, Namibia: Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare. Retrieved January 2, 2014, from <https://dec.usaid.gov/dec/content/Detail.aspx?ctID=ODVhZjk4NWQtM2YyMiOOYjRmLTkxNjktZTcxMjM2NjktZTcxMjM2NDBmY2Uy&rID=MxM2Nzc2>
- Mitleton-Kelly, E. (2003). Ten principles of complexity and enabling infrastructures. In E. Mitleton-Kelly (Ed.), *Complex systems and evolutionary perspectives on organisations: The application of complexity theory to organisations* (pp. 23-50). Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science.
- Mitleton-Kelly, E. (2011). Identifying the multi-dimensional problem-space and co-creating an enabling environment. *Emergence: Complexity & Organization*, 13(1-2), 1-25.
- Modisaotsile, B. (2011, July 9). *Ukuthwala: Is it culture correct or culture corrupt?* Retrieved November 23, 2014, from Pambazuka News: <http://www.pambazuka.net/en/category/features/88180>

- Mollema, N. (2013). *Combating human trafficking in South Africa: A comparative legal study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Pretoria, RSA: University of South Africa.
- Mollema, N. (2014). Combating human trafficking in South Africa: A critical evaluation of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013. *Journal of Contemporary Roman-Dutch Law / Tydskrif vir Hedendaagse Romeins-Hollandse Reg*, 77, 246-262.
- Molo Songololo. (2000a). *The trafficking of children for purposes of sexual exploitation: South Africa*. Cape Town, RSA: Molo Songololo.
- Molo Songololo. (2000b). *The trafficking of women into the South African sex industry*. Cape Town, RSA: Molo Songololo.
- Molo Songololo. (2005). *Trafficking in children in the Western Cape Province – South Africa*. Cape Town, RSA: Molo Songololo.
- Monyanea, C. (2013). Is Ukuthwala another form of 'forced marriage'? [Abstract]. *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(3), 64-82. doi:10.1080/21528586.2013.817050
- Morgan, P. (2005). *The idea and practice of systems thinking*. Retrieved November 8, 2011, from Centre for Development Innovation:
[http://portals.wi.wur.nl/files/docs/SPICAD/13.%20Idea%20and%20practice%20of%20systems%20thinking%20\(ECDPM\).pdf](http://portals.wi.wur.nl/files/docs/SPICAD/13.%20Idea%20and%20practice%20of%20systems%20thinking%20(ECDPM).pdf)
- Morrison, K. (2008). Educational philosophy and the challenge of complexity theory. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 40(1), 19-34.
- Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), 250-260. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250
- Müller, K. (2010). International instruments on trafficking. In N. Bohler-Muller, K. Hollely, D. Minnie, & K. Müller, *Breaking the silence: an introduction to human trafficking* (pp. 1-33). Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape: Author.

- Müller, K. D. (1997). *The child witness in the accusatorial system* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Grahamstown, SA: Rhodes University.
- Müller, K. D. (2004, August). Empowering children to testify: The development of a standardised preparation programme for child witnesses. *Paper presented at the National Victim Empowerment Conference: 10 Years of Democracy*. . Durban.
- Muller, K., & Hollely, K. (2009). "I want to be a different person". The impact of trafficking on children. The story of Elsie. *SAPSAC 10th Annual National Conference on Child Abuse. A focus on trafficking*. Pretoria, RSA: SAPSAC.
- Müller, K. D., & Van der Merwe, I. A. (2006). Recognising the victim in the sentencing phase: The use of victim impact statements in court. *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 22(4), 647-663.
- Mwambene, L., & Sloth-Nielsen, J. (2011). Benign accommodation? Ukuthwala, 'forced marriage' and the South African Children's Act. *Journal of Family Law and Practice*, 2(1), 5-16.
- Nabo, S. S. (2013). *Human trafficking: Narratives of non-governmental organization caregivers in the Eastern Cape* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Fort Hare: East London.
- Najemy, L. B. (2010). South Africa's approach to the global human trafficking crisis: An analysis of the proposed legislation and the prospects of implementation. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, 9(1), 171-194.
- National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa. (2014). *National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa*. Retrieved March 9, 2014, from NPA Mandate: <https://www.npa.gov.za/?q=node/9>
- NCH Software. (2014). *Express Scribe* [Computer Software]. Retrieved from <http://www.nch.com.au/scribe/essetup.exe>

- Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. (2014, December 13). *Bay Info*. Retrieved from Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality:
<http://www.nelsonmandelabay.gov.za/Content.aspx?objID=33>
- Ngwira, C. M. (2011). *Human trafficking in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa* (Unpublished master's thesis). East London, RSA: University of Fort Hare.
- Nkiwane, V., & Muso, L. (2007). *Human trafficking in Lesotho: Root causes and recommendations*. Paris, France: UNESCO. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001528/152824e.pdf>
- Nkosi, M., & Buthelezi, T. (2013). The nature and causes of bride abduction cases in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Studies of Tribes and Tribals*, 11(2), 161-178.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2010). Racism, ethnicity and the media in Africa: Reflections inspired by studies of xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 45(1), 57-93. Retrieved November 6, 2014, from <http://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/files/journals/1/articles/248/public/248-249-1-PB.pdf>
- Obakata, T. (2006). *Trafficking of human beings from a human rights perspective: Towards a holistic approach*. Leiden, Netherlands: Nijhoff Publishers.
- Odigie, D., & Patience, C. (2008). Human trafficking trends in Nigeria and strategies for combating the crime. *Peace Studies Journal*, 1(1), 63-75.
- Oram, S., Stöckl, H., Busza, J., Howard, L. M., & Zimmerman, C. (2012). Prevalence and risk of violence and the physical, mental, and sexual health problems associated with human trafficking: Systematic review. *PLoS Medicine*, 9(5), 1-13.
doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1001224
- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L., & Wynaden, D. (2000). Ethics in qualitative research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 33(1), 93-96.

- Otto, J. (2014, February 14). Man jailed for marrying, raping girl, 14. *IOL News*. Retrieved from www.iol.co.za
- Palla, G., Derényi, I., Farkas, I., & Vicsek, T. (2005). Uncovering the overlapping community structure of complex networks in nature and society. *Nature*, *435*(7043), 814-818.
- Pandey, S., Tewari, H. R., & Bhowmick, P. K. (2013). Antecedents and reintegration of sex trafficked victims in India: A conceptual framework. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 47-62. Retrieved January 15, 2014, from <http://www.sascv.org/ijcjs/pdfs/pandeyetalijcjs2013istissue.pdf>
- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pharoah, R. (2006). *Getting to grips with trafficking*. Pretoria, RSA: Institute for Security Studies.
- Phelan, S. E. (2001). What is complexity science, really? *Emergence*, *3*(1), 120-136.
- Phinney, A. (2002). *Trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation in the Americas: An introduction to trafficking in the Americas*. Retrieved January 2, 2014, from Inter-American Commission of Women: <http://portal.oas.org/portal/topic/comisi%C3%B3ninteramericanademujeres/documentos/proyectos/tr%C3%A1ficodemujeresyni%C3%B1os/tabid/737/default.aspx?language=en-us>
- Pilgrim, D. (2000). The real problem for postmodernism. *Journal of Family Therapy*, *22*, 6-23.
- Piper, N. (2005). A problem by a different name? A review of research on trafficking in South East Asia and Oceania. *International Migration*, *43*(1/2), 203-233.

- Poland, B. D. (2004). Transcription, transcript. In *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods* (p. 1136). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Polaris. (2014, September 15). *Why trafficking exists*. Retrieved from Polaris:
<http://www.polarisproject.org/human-trafficking/overview/why-trafficking-exists>
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(2), 137-148. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.137
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2005). Qualitative research in counseling psychology: A primer on research paradigms and philosophy of science. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(2), 126-136. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.126
- Porter, T., & Córdoba, J. (2009). Three views of systems theories and their implications for sustainability education. *Journal of Management Education, 33*, 323-347.
doi:10.1177/1052562908323192
- Preissle, J. (2006). Envisioning qualitative inquiry: A view across four decades. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 19*(6), 685-695.
doi:10.1080/09518390600975701
- Preller, J. (2011, January 22). *Human traffickers get red light*. Retrieved January 11, 2014, from MyPE: <http://mype.co.za>
- Ratter, B. M. (2013). Surprise and uncertainty: Framing regional geohazards in the theory of complexity. *Humanities, 2*, 1-19. doi:10.3390/h2010001
- Raymond, J. G., D'Cunha, J., Dzuhavatin, S. R., Hynes, H. P., Rodriguez, Z. R., & Santos, A. (2002). *Comparative study of women trafficked in the migration process: Patterns, profiles and health consequences of sexual exploitation in five countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Venezuela, and the United States)*. Boston, MA: Coalition against Trafficking in Women/University of Massachusetts.

- Reda, A. H. (2012). *An investigation into the experiences of female victims of trafficking in Ethiopia* (Unpublished master's thesis). Pretoria, SA: University of South Africa.
- Reid, J. A., & Jones, S. (2011). Exploited vulnerability: Legal and psychological perspectives on child sex trafficking victims. *Victims and Offenders: An International Journal of Evidence based Research, Policy, and Practice*, 6(2), 207-231.
doi:10.1080/15564886.2011.557327
- Republic of South Africa Department of Home Affairs. (2005). *Presentation to the Joint Monitoring Committee on Improvement of Quality of Life Status of Women: 24 June 2005* [PowerPoint Slides]. Retrieved January 23, 2014, from
<http://www.pmg.org.za/docs/2005/050624dha.ppt>
- Republic of South Africa Department of Social Development. (2006). *National policy guidelines for victim empowerment*. Pretoria, RSA: Department of Social Development. Retrieved January 22, 2014, from
<http://www.issafrica.org/crimehub/uploads/vep-policy-guidelines.pdf>
- Richards, K., & Lyneham, S. (2014). Help-seeking strategies of victim/survivors of human trafficking involving partner migration. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 468, 1-10. Retrieved December 21, 2014, from
<http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/current%20series/tandi/461-480/tandi468.html>
- Richardson, K. A. (2004). Systems theory and complexity: Part 1. *E:CO*, 6(3), 75-79.
- Richardson, K. A., & Midgley, G. (2007). Systems theory and complexity: Part 4. *E:Co Issue*, 9(1-2), 163-180.
- Richardson, L. (2000). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 923-948). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Richter, L. (2004). *The impact of HIV/AIDS on the development of children. A generation at risk*. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from Institute for Security Studies:
<http://www.issafrica.org/pubs/Monographs/No109/Chap2.pdf>
- Richter, M. L., Chersich, M. F., Scorgie, F., Luchters, S., Temmerman, M., & Steen, R. (2010). Sex work and the 2010 FIFA World Cup: Time for public health imperatives to prevail. *Globalization and health*, 6(1).
- Richter, M., & Massawe, D. (2010). Did South Africa's soccer bonanza bring relief to sex workers in South Africa? The 2010 FIFA World Cup and the impact on sex work. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 21-30.
doi:dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2010.9676320
- Rihani, S. (2002). *Complex systems theory and development practice*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Ritchie, J. (2003). The applications of qualitative methods to social research. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 24-46). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 77-108). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Roelofse, C. (2011). Human trafficking as an organised crime in South Africa pre-, during and post soccer World Cup 2010. *Acta Criminologica*, 24(3), 1-19.
- Rolfe, G. (2006). Validity, trustworthiness and rigour: Quality and the idea of qualitative research. *Methodological issues in nursing research*, 304-310.
- Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Postmodernism and the social sciences: Insights, intrusions, and inroads*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Rotman, B. (2005). Trafficking legislation in South Africa after Beijing. *Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 19(64), 114-116.
- Royal, M. (1998). *The pimp game: Instructional guide*. Los Angeles, CA: Sharif Publishing.
- Sambo, J., & Spies, G. (2012). The role of the social worker in the prevention of child trafficking in South Africa. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 48(2), 113-131.
Retrieved January 18, 2014, from
http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/20813/Sambo_Role%282012%29.pdf?sequence=1
- Savona, E. U., & Stefanizzi, S. (2007). Introduction. In E. U. Savona, & S. Stefanizzi (Eds.), *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls* (pp. 1-4). New York, NY: Springer .
- Scheinkman, J. A., & Woodford, M. (1994). Self-organized criticality and economic fluctuations. *The American Economic Review*, 84(2), 417-421.
- Scheurich, J.J. (1997). *Research method in the postmodern*. . London: Falmer.
- Scientific Software Development GmbH. (2014). *Atlas.t.* (v.7.5.3) [Computer Software]. Berlin, Germany: v.7.5.3.
- Scorgie, F., Vasey, K., Harper, E., Richter, M., Nare, P., Maseko, S., & Chersich, M. F. (2013, July 26). *Human rights abuses and collective resilience among sex workers in four African countries: A qualitative study*. Retrieved August 30, 2013, from Globalization and Health: <http://globalizationandhealth.com/content/9/1/33>
- Seekings, J. (2007). *Poverty and inequality after apartheid (Working Paper No. 200)*. Cape Town, RSA: University of Cape Town. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from http://www.sarpn.org/documents/d0003024/Poverty_inequality_Seekings_Sep2007.pdf

- Seethal, C., & Ngwira, C. (2009, September). *Human trafficking in South Africa: Perspectives from the Eastern Cape*. [PowerPoint slides]. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society of South African Geographers Conference. Centurion, RSA.
- Seidman, S. (1994). Introduction. In S. Seidman (Ed.), *The postmodern turn: New perspectives on social theory* (pp. 1-23). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Shabangu, T. (2010, October 28). *Human Trafficking. Multidisciplinary measures to address the problem of human trafficking* (Workshop Report). Pretoria, RSA: Idasa and the African-Asian Society.
- Shaw, M. (2001). Towards and understanding of west African criminal networks in Southern Africa. *African Security Review*, 10(4), 74-94. doi:10.1080/10246029.2001.9627954
- Shelley, L. (2007). Human trafficking as a form of transnational crime. In M. Lee (Ed.), *Human trafficking* (pp. 116-137). Devon, UK: Willan Publishing.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22, 63-75.
- Shigekane, R. (2007). Rehabilitation and community integration of trafficking survivors in the United States. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 29, 112-136.
- Shively, M., Kliorys, K., Wheeler, K., & Hunt, D. (2012). *A national overview of prostitution and sex trafficking demand reduction efforts* (Report No 2008-IJ, CS-0010). Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Sigfridsson, T. (2012). *Trafficking of children: The case of South Africa* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Stellenbosch, RSA: University of Stellenbosch.
- Sisken, A., & Wyler, L. S. (2013). *Trafficking in persons: U.S. policy and issues for congress*. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service. Retrieved November 16, 2013, from <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=732626>

- Sison-Arroyo, N. P. (2008). Responsive law enforcement approach to combating child trafficking. *Ateneo Law Journal*, 52, 837-869.
- Skinner, E. B. (2010, January 18). The new slave trade in South Africa. *Time*. Retrieved August 18, 2013, from <http://www.time.com>
- Skyttner, L. (1996). General systems theory: Origin and hallmarks. *Kybernetes*, 25(6), 16-22. Retrieved February 14, 2014, from http://doctorat.feaa.uaic.ro/studii/Documents/02%20Dinamica%20sistemelor%20complexe/01_02_GST_Origins_Skyttner%281996%29.pdf
- Skyttner, L. (2001). *General Systems Theory*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing.
- Smith, M. A. (2010). The traumatic impact of global human trafficking: Implications of The Salvation Army's cultural and trauma services to victims. In E. P. Eyébiyi, P. Herrmann, & V. Sheen (Eds.), *Global Crossroads in Social Welfare, Emergent Issues, Debates and Innovations across the Globe* (pp. 333-358). Bremen, Germany: Europäischer Hochschul-Verlag.
- Smuts, J. C. (1926). *Holism and evolution*. New York, NY: The MacMillan Company.
- Snape, D., & Spencer, L. (2003). The foundations of qualitative research. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 2-23). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- South African Government. (2014). *South Africa's provinces*. Retrieved from South African Government: <http://www.gov.za/about-sa/south-africas-provinces>
- South African History Online. (2014a). *The homelands*. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from South African History Online: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/special-features/homelands>
- South African History Online. (2014b). *Transkei*. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from South African Online History: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/places/transkei>

- Speer, S. A. (2005). *Gender talk: Feminism, discourses and conversation analysis*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., & O'Connor, W. (2003). Analysis: practices, principles and processes. In J. Ritchie, & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 200-218). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Srikantiah, J. (2007). Perfect victims and real survivors: The iconic victim in domestic human trafficking law. *Boston University Law Review*, 87(157), 187-211.
- Statistics South Africa. (2012a). *Census 2011* (Report No. P0301.4). Pretoria, RSA: Statistics South Africa. Retrieved December 3, 2014, from <http://www.statssa.gov.za/Publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf>
- Statistics South Africa. (2012b). *Census 2011 Municipal report Eastern Cape* (Report No. 03-01-50). Pretoria, RSA: Statistics South Africa. Retrieved December 7, 2014, from http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products/EC_Municipal_Report.pdf
- Statistics South Africa. (2014). *Quarterly labour force survey (QLFS), 3rd Quarter 2014* (Report No. P0211). Pretoria, RSA: Statistics South Africa. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from www.statssa.gov.za
- Sterman, J. D. (2006). Learning from evidence in a complex world. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(3), 505-514. Retrieved November 1, 2014, from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1470513/pdf/0960505.pdf>
- Strydom, H. (2002). Ethical aspects of research in the social sciences and human service professions. In A. S. De Vos (Ed.), *Research at grass roots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (2nd ed., pp. 137 - 149). Pretoria, RSA: Van Schaik.
- Surtees, R. (2005). *Second annual report on victims of trafficking in South Eastern Europe*. Geneva: International Organization of Migration. Retrieved January 20, 2014, from

http://lastradainternational.org/Isidocs/494%20iom_2005_second_annual_report_on_victims_of_trafficking_in_south_eastern_europe_2005_22.pdf

Suter, W. N. (2012). *Introduction to educational research: A critical thinking approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Svendsen, A. S. (1990). Unforgettable Thorolf Rafto. *Reader's Digest*, 1-3.

Swart, D. N. (2012). Human trafficking and the exploitation of women and children in a Southern and South African context. *Child Abuse Research*, 13(1), 62-73.

Swart, H. (2014, August 27). Of victims and victimhood. *The Daily Maverick*. Retrieved August 27, 2014, from www.dailymaverick.co.za

Swick, K. J., & Williams, R. D. (2006). An analysis of Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological perspective for early childhood educators: Implications for working with families experiencing stress. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 33(5), 371-378.

Tanner, J., & Brake, S. (2013). *Exploring sex offender grooming*. Retrieved September 12, 2014, from KB Solutions: <http://www.kbsolutions.com/Grooming.pdf>

The Big Issue. (2012). NGO funding crisis risks cutting lifeline to SA's vulnerable children. *The Big Issue*. Retrieved January 20, 2014, from <http://www.bigissue.org.za>

The Future Group. (2007). *Faster, higher, stronger: Preventing human trafficking at the 2010 Olympics*. Retrieved August 19, 2013, from La Strada International: [www.lastradainternational.org/Isidocs/342/PreventingHuman Trafficking at the 2010 Olympics.pdf](http://www.lastradainternational.org/Isidocs/342/PreventingHuman%20Trafficking%20at%20the%202010%20Olympics.pdf)

The Local Government Handbook. (2014). *Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality*. Retrieved December 15, 2014, from The Local Government Handbook: <http://www.localgovernment.co.za/metropolitans/view/1/Nelson-Mandela-Bay-Metropolitan-Municipality>

- The Walk Free Foundation. (2014). *2014 Global Slavery Index*. Australia: Hope for Children Organisation Australia . Retrieved December 5, 2014, from <http://www.globallslaveryindex.org/>
- Thelwell, E., & van der Merwe, C. (2014, November 10). Don't look away: SA's dirty slavery secret in 2014. *News24*. Retrieved from news24: www.news24.com
- Thornberry, E. (2013). "*Ukuthwala*": *Even living custom must be developed to comply with Constitution*. Retrieved from Custom Connected: <http://www.customcontested.co.za/ukuthwala-even-living-custom-must-be-developed-to-comply-with-constitution/>
- Tobin, G. A., & Begley, C. M. (2004). Methodological rigour within a qualitative framework. *Methodological Issues in Nursing Research*, 388-396.
- Toh, T. J. (2009). *Combating child trafficking: A comparative analysis of applicable law in Cameroon and South Africa* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Potchefstroom, RSA: North West University.
- Tørres, L., & Du Toit, D. (2010). *Southern Africa Counter-Trafficking Programme (SACTAP) review*. Oslo: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. Retrieved December 27, 2013, from <http://ncg.no/novus/upload/file/Project%20Reports/2010-Southern%20Africa%20Counter-%20Trafficking%20Programme%20%28SACTP%29%20Review-1.pdf>
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851.
- Transparency International. (2013). *International global corruption barometer 2013*. Retrieved January 27, 2014, from Corruption Watch: <http://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/sites/default/files/2013/2013GlobalCorruptionBarometer.pdf>

- Troshynski, E. I., & Blank, J. K. (2008). Sex trafficking: An exploratory study interviewing traffickers. *Trends Organised Crime, 11*, 30-41. doi:10.1007/s121117-07-9015-8
- Tudge, J. R., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E., & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory and Review, 1*, 198-201.
- Turner, J., & Kelly, L. (2009). Trade Secrets: Intersections between diasporas and crime groups in the constitution of the human trafficking chain. *British Journal of Criminology, 49*, 184-201. doi:10.1093/bjc/azn079
- Tyldum, G. (2010). Limitations on research on human trafficking. *International Migration, 48*(5), 1-13. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00597.x
- Tzvetkova, M. (2002). NGO responses to trafficking in women. *Gender and Development, 10*(1), 60-68. Retrieved May 4, 2013, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030684>
- United Nations. (1948). *The universal declaration of human rights*. Retrieved July 29, 2009, from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>
- United Nations. (2005). *Updated set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Retrieved December 12, 2013, from <http://derechos.org/nizkor/impu/principles.html>
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2004). *Struggles against slavery*. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from Culture: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001337/133738e.pdf#page=9>
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . (2005). *Trafficking in human beings, especially women and children, in Africa*. Florence, Italy: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre. Retrieved December 11, 2013, from www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/trafficking-gb2ed-2005.pdf

- United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking. (2008). *Profiling the traffickers* (The Vienna Forum to Fight Human Trafficking Background Paper Workshop 016). Vienna, Austria: UN.GIFT. Retrieved January 13, 2014, from <http://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2008/BP016ProfilingtheTraffickers.pdf>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2012). *Global report on trafficking in persons*. Vienna, Austria: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Retrieved December 9, 2013, from http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/Trafficking_in_Persons_2012_web.pdf
- United States Department of State. (2009). *Trafficking in persons report 2009*. Retrieved July 29, 2009, from United States Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2009/#>
- United States Department of State. (2010). *Trafficking in persons report 2010*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from United States Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/142979.pdf>
- United States Department of State. (2011a). *Four "Ps": Prevention, protection, prosecution, partnerships*. Retrieved from United States Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/4p/>
- United States Department of State. (2011b). *Trafficking in persons report 2011*. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from United States Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/index.htm>
- United States Department of State. (2012). *Trafficking in persons report 2012*. Retrieved January 4, 2014, from United States Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2012/192368.htm>

- United States Department of State. (2013). *Trafficking in persons report 2013*. Washington DC: United States Department of State. Retrieved November 15, 2013, from www.state.gov/j/tiprls/tiprpt/2013/210757
- United States Department of State. (2014). *Trafficking in persons report 2014*. Retrieved November 25, 2014, from United States Department of State: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/226848.pdf>
- United States Government Accountability Office. (2006). *Human trafficking: Better data, strategy, and reporting needed to enhance U.S. antitrafficking efforts abroad*. Washington DC, USA: United States Government Accountability Office. Retrieved December 9, 2013, from <http://www.gao.gov/assets/260/250812.pdf>
- Van den Anker, C. (2004). Contemporary slavery, global justice and globalization. In C. Van den Anker (Ed.), *The political economy of new slavery* (pp. 15-36). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van der Watt, M. (2014). Towards a complex systems understanding for combating human trafficking. *Culture, Policy and Law Enforcement*, 3(1), 1-3. Retrieved December 12, 2014, from http://www.togetherletsstoptraffick.org/assets/2014_Van%20der%20Watt_Towards%20a%20CS%20understanding%20in%20combating%20HT.pdf
- Van der Watt, M., & Ovens, M. (2012). Contextualising the practice of Ukuthwala within South Africa. *Child Abuse Research*, 13(1), 11-26.
- Van Zyl, M. C. (2010). *Die Strafregtelike bekamping van mensehandel vir die verwydering van liggaamsdele: 'n Suid-Afrikaanse perspektief* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Bloemfontein, RSA: University of the Free State.
- Van Zyl, M., & Horne, J. (2009). A policing perspective on the investigation challenges of child trafficking in South Africa. *Child Abuse Research*, 10(2), 10-24.

- Väyrynen, R. (2002). *Illegal immigration, human trafficking, and organized crime*. (WIDER Discussion Papers No. 2003/72). Retrieved January 25, 2014, from <http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/52839/1/376632771.pdf>
- Veltheim, J. (2011). BodyTalk: The journey. *Journal of Alternative Medicine Research*, 3(3), 279-284. Retrieved September 12, 2014, from http://www.bodytalksystem.com/learn/bodytalk/research/journal_articles/alternative_medicine_articles.pdf
- Verhoeven, M., & Van Gestel, B. (2011). Human trafficking and criminal investigation strategies in the Amsterdam Red Light District. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 14, 148-164. doi:DOI 10.1007/s12117-011-9126-0
- Verhoeven, M., Van Gestel, B., De Jong, D., & Kleemans, E. (2013). Relationships between suspects and victims of sex trafficking. Exploitation of prostitutes and domestic violence parallels in Dutch trafficking cases. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 1-15. doi:10.1007/s10610-013-9226-2
- Vermeulen, G. (2007). The long road from rhetoric to evidence on trafficking in human beings: About research efforts to prepare proper EU monitoring on the matter. In E. U. Savona, & S. Stefanizzi (Eds.), *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls* (pp. 107-123). New York, NY: Springer.
- Vlieger, A. (2011). *Domestic workers in Saudi Arabia and the Emirates title paper*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: University of Amsterdam. Retrieved December 25, 2013, from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1933749>
- Von Bertalanffy, L. (1968). *General systems theory: Foundations, developments, applications*. . New York: Braziller.
- Von Bertalanffy, L. (1972). The history and status of general systems theory. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 15(4), 407-426.

- Walby, S. (2007). Complexity theory, systems theory, and multiple intersecting social inequalities. *Philosophy of Social Sciences*, 37, 449-470.
- Watson, C. (2006). *The organised crime of organ trafficking* (Unpublished master's thesis). Bloemfontein, RSA: University of the Free State.
- Weitzer, R. (2005a). Flawed theory and method in studies of prostitution. *Violence against Women*(11), 934-949. doi:10.1177/1077801205276986
- Weitzer, R. (2005b). New directions in research on prostitution. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 43, 211-235. doi: 10.1007/s10611-005-1735-6
- Weitzer, R. (2007). The social construction of sex trafficking: Ideology and institutionalization of a moral crusade. *Politics Society*, 35, 447-475.
doi:10.1177/0032329207304319
- Weitzer, R. (2012). Sex trafficking and the sex industry: The need for evidence based theory and legislation. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 101(4), 1337-1370.
Retrieved December 6, 2014, from
<http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc/vol101/iss4/4>
- Westhorp, G. (2012). Using complexity-consistent theory for evaluating complex systems. *Evaluation*, 18, 405-417.
- Wheaton, E. M., Schauer, E. J., & Galli, T. V. (2010). Economics of human trafficking. *International Migration*, 114-141. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00592.x
- Wiechelt, S. A., & Shdaimah, C. S. (2011). Trauma and substance abuse among women in prostitution: Implications for a specialized diversion program. *Journal of Forensic Social Work*, 1(2), 159-184. doi:10.1080/1936928X.2011.598843
- Williams, D. (2011). *Qualitative inquiry in daily life*. Retrieved December 20 2014, from
<https://qualitativeinquirydailylife.wordpress.com>

- Williams, P. (2009). Combating human trafficking: Improving governance institutions, mechanisms and strategies. In C. Friesenhof (Ed.), *Strategies against human trafficking: The role of the security sector* (pp. 381-425). Vienna: National Defence Academy & Austrian Ministry of Defence and Sports.
- Williams, P., & Godson, R. (2002). Anticipating organized and transnational crime. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37, 311-355.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.
- Wilson, B., & Butler, L. D. (2013). Running a gauntlet: A review of victimization and violence in the pre-entry, post-entry, and peri-/post exit periods of commercial sexual exploitation. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 1-11.
doi:dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0032977
- Wilson, G., & Mpande, H. (2010, April 22). Syndicate suspected in child trafficking ring. *The Herald*. Retrieved January 11, 2014, from <http://www.theherald.cl.za>
- Wolf-Branigin, M. (2009). Applying complexity and emergence in social work education. *Social Work Education*, 28(2), 115-127. doi:10.1080/02615470802028090
- Wolf-Branigin, M., Garza, S., & Smith, M. A. (2010). Reducing demand for human trafficking: A non-linear approach for developing capacity. *Social Work and Christianity*, 37(4), 424-436.
- Wolf-Branigin, M., Jensen, K., & Smith, M. A. (2008). Preparing for the emerging issue of human trafficking. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 6(1), 132-137.
doi:10.1080/15362940802119393
- World Bank. (2009). *Social development notes: Conflict, crime and violence. (No 122)*. Washington, DC, USA: World Bank. Retrieved January 22, 2014, from

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1239390842422/6012763-1239905793229/Human_Trafficking.pdf

World Bank. (2013a). *Defining civil society*. Retrieved January 20, 2014, from The World Bank:

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20101499~menuPK:244752~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html>

World Bank. (2013b). *The Africa competitiveness report 2013*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Economic Forum. Retrieved January 3, 2014, from

http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Africa_Competitiveness_Report_2013.pdf

Wuiling, C. (2006). Assessing criminal justice and human rights models in the fight against sex trafficking: A case study of the ASEAN region. *Essex Human Rights Review*, 3(1), 46-63. Retrieved January 28, 2014, from

<http://projects.essex.ac.uk/ehrr/V3N1/Wuiling.pdf#page=3&zoom=auto,0,309>

Yen, I. (2008). A new approach to eradicating sex trafficking by reducing male demand through educational programs and abolitionist legislation. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 98(2), 653-686.

Yin, R. K. (2011). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.

Zhang, S. X. (2009). Beyond the 'Natasha' story: A review and critique of current research on sex trafficking. *Global Crime*, 10(3), 178-195. doi:10.1080/17440570903079899

Zimmerman, C., Hossain, M., Yun, K., Roche, B., Morison, L., & Watts, C. (2006). *Stolen smiles: The physical and psychological health consequences of women and adolescents trafficked in Europe*. London, UK: The London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine. Retrieved July 31, 2009, from www.lshtm.ac.uk/php/ghd/docs/stolensmiles.pdf

Treaties and Statutes

Congress of Vienna. Declaration of the Eight Courts relative to the Universal Abolition of the Slave Trade, 8 February 1815.

Le Code Noir ou recueil des reglements rendus jusqu'a present, 6 May 1685, available at https://directory.vancouver.wsu.edu/sites/directory.vancouver.wsu.edu/files/inserted_files/webintern02/code%20noir.pdf

League of Nations, Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery, 25 September 1926, 60 LNTS 253, Registered No. 1414, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36fb.html>

UN General Assembly, Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, 2 December 1949, A/RES/317, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38e23.html>.

UN General Assembly, Transfer to the United Nations of the functions and powers exercised by the League of Nations under the international Convention of 30 September 1921 on Traffic in Women and Children, the Convention of 11 October 1933 on Traffic in Women of Full Age, and the Convention of 12 September 1923 on Traffic in Obscene Publications, 20 October 1947, A/RES/126, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f1ef34.html>

UN General Assembly, Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 15 November 2000, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4720706c0.html>

South Africa. Child Care Act, 74, 1983.

South Africa. Children's Act and Children's Amendment Bill, 38, 2005.

South Africa. Combating and Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act, 7, 2013.

South Africa. Immigration Act, 13, 2002.

South Africa. Prevention of Organised Crime Act, 121, 1998.

Appendix A : Invitation to Participate in the Current Study

**Faculty of Health Sciences
Department of Psychology
NMMU (South Campus)**
E-mail: s189094530@nmmu.ac.za

Contact person: Amanda van der Westhuizen

Dear

You, _____ are being asked to participate in a research study. I, Amanda van der Westhuizen, will provide you with the necessary information to assist you to understand the study and explain what would be expected of you as participant. These guidelines will include the risks, benefits, and your rights as a research participant. Please feel free to ask me to clarify anything that is not clear to you.

To participate, I will ask you to provide a written consent that will include your signature, date, and initials to verify that you understand and agree to the conditions.

You have the right to query concerns regarding the study at any time. Immediately report any new problems during the study to me. I have provided my telephone number, so please feel free to call this number or contact me via my email address.

Furthermore, it is important that you are aware of the fact that the ethical integrity of the study has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the university. The REC-H consists of a group of independent experts that has the responsibility to ensure that the rights and welfare of participants in research are protected and that studies are conducted in an ethical manner. Studies cannot be conducted without REC-H's approval. Queries with regard to your rights as a research subject can be directed to the Research Ethics Committee (Human), Department of Research Capacity Development, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

If no one can assist you, you may write to: The Chairperson of the Research, Technology and Innovation Committee, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

Participation in research is completely voluntary. You are not obliged to take part in any research. If you do partake, you have the right to withdraw at any given time during the study without penalty. If I believe that it is not in your best interest to continue in this study, or for administrative reasons, we will discuss this together. The study may be terminated at any time by me or the Research Ethics Committee (Human).

Although your identity will at all times remain confidential, the results of the research study may be presented at scientific conferences or in specialist publications.

This informed consent statement has been prepared in compliance with current statutory guidelines.

Yours sincerely

Amanda van der Westhuizen
RESEARCHER

Dr. L. Stroud
HOD: Department of Psychology

Prof. C.N. Hoelson
RESEARCH SUPERVISOR

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Researcher's details	
Title of Research Project	Co-mapping the maze: A complex systems view of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape
Reference Number	H11-HEA-PSY-001
Principal Researcher	Amanda van der Westhuizen
Contact Telephone Number	0415042330

A. Declaration by participant		Initial
1.	I, the participant, was invited to participate in the above-mentioned research study that is being undertaken by Amanda van der Westhuizen from the Department of Psychology in the Faculty of Health Sciences.	

2. The following aspects have been explained to you, the participant:		Initial
2.1 Aim		
We will explore the complexities of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape by discussing how the relationships and interconnections between factors and organisations involved in the development, maintenance, and growth of human trafficking in the province interact.		
2.2 Procedure		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• I will be conducting an interview with you where I will ask you to answer, from your experience, a number of open-ended questions. This means that you could expand on your answer to my question if you want to. I will also ask probing questions if I need you to clarify something or discuss a point in more detail.• The interview will commence once we have discussed issues such as confidentiality and we have reached an agreement regarding your participation in the study.• I will make a digital voice recording of our interview to enable me to listen attentively during the interview. After our interview, I will transcribe our interview. If you are willing, I will email or post, or deliver if practically possible, the transcribed interview to you. You may then comment on, correct, or add to the transcribed information from the interview if you so desire.		
2.3 Risks		
There are no risks.		

2.4 Possible benefits			
Although your participation in the study has no monetary benefits, I believe that your participation in the research could lead to the potential benefit of an enhanced understanding of how interactions between factors and organisations have contributed to the development, maintenance, or growth of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. You could also gain an enhanced understanding of your role or the role of your organisation in this process.			
2.5 Confidentiality			
Your identity will not be revealed in any discussion, description, or scientific publication by me, the researcher or			
You give me, the researcher permission to reveal your identity in any discussion, description, or scientific publication, or			
You give me, the researcher permission to use the following description of your identity in any discussion, description, or scientific publication:			
2.6 Access to findings			
Any information or benefit that develops during the course of the study will be shared as follows:			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As I've discussed above, I will provide of a copy of the transcribed interview for you to comment on, correct, or add to. 			
2.7 Voluntary participation/refusal/discontinuation			
Your participation is voluntary	YES	NO	
Your decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect your present or future employment/lifestyle.	TRUE	FALSE	

3. The information above was explained to you, the participant by:							Initial
Amanda van der Westhuizen							
in	Afrikaans		English		Other		
and you are in command of this language.							
You were given the opportunity to ask questions and all these questions were answered satisfactorily.							
No pressure was exerted on you to consent to participate in the study and you understand that you may withdraw at any stage without penalisation.							
Participation in this study will not result in any additional cost to you.							

A2. I hereby voluntarily consent to participate in the abovementioned research study.			
Signed/confirmed at		on	20
Signature of participant			

B. Statement by the researcher					
I, Amanda van der Westhuizen, declare that:					
1.	I have explained the information in this document to	(name of participant)			
2.	He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions;				
3.	The conversation was conducted in	Afrikaans		English	
	And no translator was used				
4.	I have detached Section C and handed it to the participant.	YES		NO	
Signed/confirmed at			on	20	
Signature of researcher					



C. Important message to participant
<p>Dear Participant</p> <p>Thank you for your participation in this study. Should, at any time during the study:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An emergency arise as a result of your participation in the research; • You require any further information with regard to the study; or • Should you experience emotional discomfort as a result of your participation in the study. <p>Kindly contact me, Amanda van der Westhuizen at phone number 0415042330</p>