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tackling modern slavery in supply chains

# A SCOPING RESEARCH REPORT FOR STRONGER TOGETHER SOUTH AFRICA:

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## FORCED LABOUR AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN FRUIT AND WINE INDUSTRIES

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## Introduction by Stronger Together

This report provides an overview of the scoping research conducted by an independent researcher at the start of the Stronger Together South Africa programme, on tackling labour exploitation in the fruit and wine industries. The report summarizes the findings, trends and data gaps as identified in the desk research and a short but focused follow-up field research. The field research was conducted in areas that were underrepresented in the desk research. The majority of the available research focuses on the Western Cape. As such, our field research was conducted in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape to widen the understanding of the labour issues affecting the industry beyond the Western Cape.

**A total of 58 stakeholders (including 36 permanent & seasonal farm workers and 6 producers) were interviewed on site and over the phone. To put this in context, there are 880,000 people employed in the agricultural industry in South Africa and 232,000 of these are employed in the Western Cape<sup>1</sup>.**

The report provides an overview of the scoping exercise that informed the initial stages of the programme and served as a starting point for learning. From the outskirts of the programme, we have a continued focus on engaging with and learning more from all stakeholders including: local and national public sector bodies, businesses across the supply chain, NGOs, trade unions, academia and other experts.

### The aim of the research was:

- To collate and provide a summary and insight into the available information on the scale and nature of forced labour/labour exploitation in the wine and fruit growing industry in South Africa, including the causes of vulnerability
- To assess and provide insight into labour in the South African wine and fruit growing industries, i.e. labour flows, how labour is supplied and managed, worker demographics, interplay between businesses and workers, state of the economy and availability of work, workforce vulnerability factors
- To review the South African legal framework regarding labour and human rights in the agricultural industry and the relevant international legislation (e.g. the UK Modern Slavery Act)
- To identify/explore models of forced labour in the wine and fruit growing industries in South Africa
- To assess the extent to which local and national businesses and other stakeholders are aware of the issue of forced labour in the wine and fruit growing industries in South Africa.
- To capture evidence of good practice of businesses and other stakeholders in tackling forced labour in the agricultural sector in South Africa, in particular the wine and fruit growing sectors.

1. [http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=1854&PPN=P0211&SCH=6813](http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1854&PPN=P0211&SCH=6813)

## Executive Summary

The ILO Forced Labour Convention No. 29 (1930) called upon member States to suppress the use of forced labour and to criminalize the offence. Yet, over 80 years later, and despite almost universal ratification of the Convention, the practice still exists across the globe. In recent years, forced labour, contemporary forms of slavery and human trafficking have been the subject of widespread international attention and concern. The 2016 Global Slavery Index estimates that there are 24.9 million people in conditions of forced labour around the world, and 200,000 people in conditions of forced labour in South Africa<sup>2</sup>.

The European Union is still the leading export market for the majority of fruits from South Africa. Overall, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany are the biggest importers of South African fruits. South Africa is the world's 7th largest wine producer. Its vineyards account for 4% of global wine output. The UK, Germany, France, Russia, Canada and Denmark remain the biggest importers of bulk wine from South Africa. China continues to be a major future growth market for South African packaged wine.

In South Africa, the labour market has undergone considerable changes over the last thirty years. The post apartheid era witnessed a number of core labour rights for agricultural workers embedded in legislation. Whilst these rights have been important victories for farm workers, they have been implemented unevenly and the reality is that many of these rights are unenforced. This report evaluates understandings of forced labour, the effectiveness of current labour and anti-trafficking legislation, and international mechanisms and their applicability when dealing with issues of forced labour in the South African context.

This scoping report included limited empirical research conducted in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, which suggested evidence of a number of indicators of forced labour. This data, compounded with the desk-based research that focused mainly on the Western Cape, and

the acknowledged high risk of forced labour within the agricultural sector in general, would indicate that forced labour is likely to be present in the fruit and wine farming sectors of South Africa. Recent years have seen a growing commercial imperative for ethical trade and both industries have responded by adopting ethical parameters to measure the impact of efforts taken to tackle environmental and social issues that may negatively affect workers in the sectors. However, understanding of the term 'forced labour' and how it applies in the South African context is variable.

Economic disparity, much of which is a bi-product of the Apartheid regime, continues to linger. With unemployment as one of the predominant difficulties facing South Africans, internal migration to farming areas in search of work is common practice. This coupled with the flow of migrants from neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho, has resulted in tensions within the workforce and increased vulnerabilities. There is an increasing divide between permanent farm workers and a growing pool of precariously employed workers, who labour seasonally and are increasingly recruited by labour brokers. Forms of paternalism continue to exert strong influence over labour relations on South African farms and there are low levels of unionisation among farm workers. Organising fruit and wine workers poses a unique set of challenges and existing strategies are not effective.

Section one the research provides a statistical overview of the fruit and wine industries, section two presents key themes from a review of existing literature, section three examines different legislation aimed at addressing forced labour within global supply chains, section four presents a comparison of desktop and fieldwork insights from Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and Western Cape in relation to the ILO framework on forced labour, and section five assesses the role of business in responses to forced labour. The report concludes with a set of recommendations on further research and forthcoming project implementation.

2. <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/country/south-africa/>

**The Global Slavery Index estimates that there are 24.9 million people in conditions of forced labour around the world.**



# Introduction

**No attempt is made here to estimate the actual size of forced labour in South Africa, but rather this research aims to highlight the vulnerability context and the extent to which forced labour occurs in the fruit and wine sectors.**

Although exploitative labour practices have taken place globally for centuries, only in the last decade has the question of forced labour come to the forefront of international policy and research agendas; this is in part due to recent legislation such as the UK Modern Slavery ACT 2015. Ethical codes of conduct and social auditing are becoming increasingly important policy tools for improving labour conditions in global supply chains, and businesses are being encouraged to take proactive steps to implement ethical practices in their operations and supply chains.

Over the last century, the agricultural sector in South Africa has experienced huge and sometimes contrasting changes in the structure of its production. The fruit and wine industries have had to navigate a host of transformative labour legislation, whilst responding to market deregulation and trade liberalisation.

The criminal and hidden nature of forced labour presents many challenges to empirical research, particularly the collection of accurate statistics. The South African Department of Labour and local ethical auditing bodies hold much of the statistical data related to farm labour, and despite requests for information, it was not made available during the research period. Hence, no attempt is made here to estimate the actual size of forced labour in South Africa, but rather this research aims to highlight the vulnerability context and the extent to which forced labour occurs in the fruit and wine sectors.

Using the International Labour Organization (ILO) definition of forced labour<sup>3</sup>, this report presents primary and secondary findings from the fruit and wine farming industries in South Africa. Through a combination of qualitative methods, this study aims to increase understanding of the scope and context related to forced labour and sets out to answer the following questions;

1. What is the current socio-political landscape of labour relations in the wine and fruit growing industries across different provinces in South Africa?
2. Are South African stakeholders aware of the definition of forced labour as defined by ILO?
3. What are trends and indicators of forced labour in the South African fruit growing and wine industries?
4. What are the barriers/limiting factors to fulfilling national and international legal obligations and ethical standards in South African wine and fruit industry?
5. How can businesses in the wine and fruit supply chain be better supported and incentivized to tackle forced labour?

3. The definition of forced labour specified in the ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29) as: "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily". [http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/publications/WCMS\\_203832/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/publications/WCMS_203832/lang--en/index.htm)

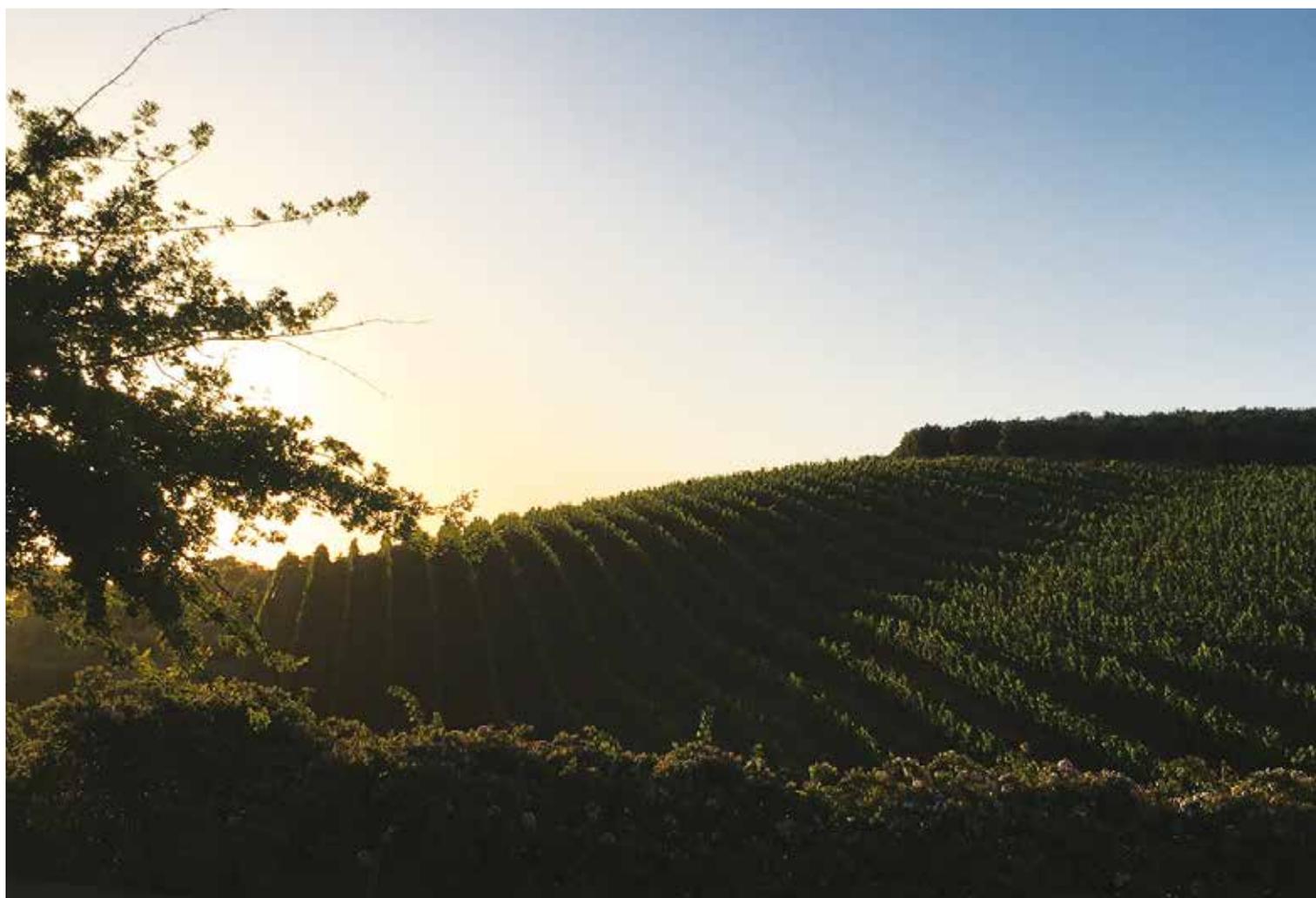
## Methodology

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The study methodology included a desk review and a short and focused field study component. Data sources included, but were not limited to; academic research papers, programme reports, local and international non-governmental organizations, and official statistics all produced in English. The provinces Limpopo and Eastern Cape were selected for field research because the majority of available research reports focus on the Western Cape. A total of 58 stakeholders<sup>4</sup> were interviewed on site and over the phone.

**A total of 58 stakeholders were interviewed on site and over the phone**

*More details about the methodology can be found in Annex I of this report.*



4. The participants consisted of; 36 permanent & seasonal farm workers, 6 producers, 3 Government officials (Provincial Dept. of Labour and local Dept. of Agriculture), 3 local NGO's, 2 trade union representatives, 2 retailer/export companies, 2 Social Auditors, 2 royal/traditional land owners, 1 local fruit produce buyer and 1 fruit industry association.

# Desktop insights on labour relations within fruit and wine farming in South Africa

After 1994, the ANC with support of its trade union partner COSATU introduced a host of legislation aimed at protecting workers.

## Historical context of agricultural reform

The introduction of neo-liberal economic reforms, labour and tenure legislation accelerated a number of key changes in the agricultural sector. During the apartheid era, farm workers were excluded from legislation governing labour relations. After 1994, the ANC with support of its trade union partner COSATU introduced a host of legislation aimed at protecting workers that included; the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, the Labour Relations Act, the Extension of Security of Tenure Act and a Sectoral Wage Determination that provided a minimum wage level for agricultural workers. Producers have also had to navigate a transformed economic landscape, whereby the ANC government abolished many protections, regulations and subsidies that had safeguarded white commercial farmers for almost a century (Du Toit 1993).

The end of apartheid also heralded the end of economic sanctions and opened up the economy to the international market. For the fruit sector, this meant the State established fruit export monopoly was dismantled and led to the rapid growth of private export agents as farmers competed to sell their produce abroad (IDS 2011). For the wine industry, the dismantling of regulatory systems and the insertion of the South African economy into global circuits of trade dramatically increased wine exports (Greenburg 2013).

Figure 1: Agricultural labour distribution by province

Employed by Industry and province							
	QLFS 2009	QLFS 2010	QLFS 2011	QLFS 2012	QLFS 2013	QLFS 2014	QLFS 2015
	Thousand						
<b>Agriculture</b>	<b>715</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>696</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>702</b>	<b>880</b>
Western Cape	149	161	120	135	149	142	232
Eastern Cape	77	65	63	55	78	78	83
Northern Cape	51	44	52	46	44	44	36
Free State	84	69	66	63	72	57	71
KwaZulu Natal	115	114	97	93	98	90	145
North West	44	40	36	36	39	42	55
Gauteng	47	35	50	64	47	59	34
Mpumalanga	83	79	82	98	98	84	89
Limpopo	65	58	79	106	114	106	135

Source: Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS), 2nd Quarter 2017

## The scale and flow of farm labour

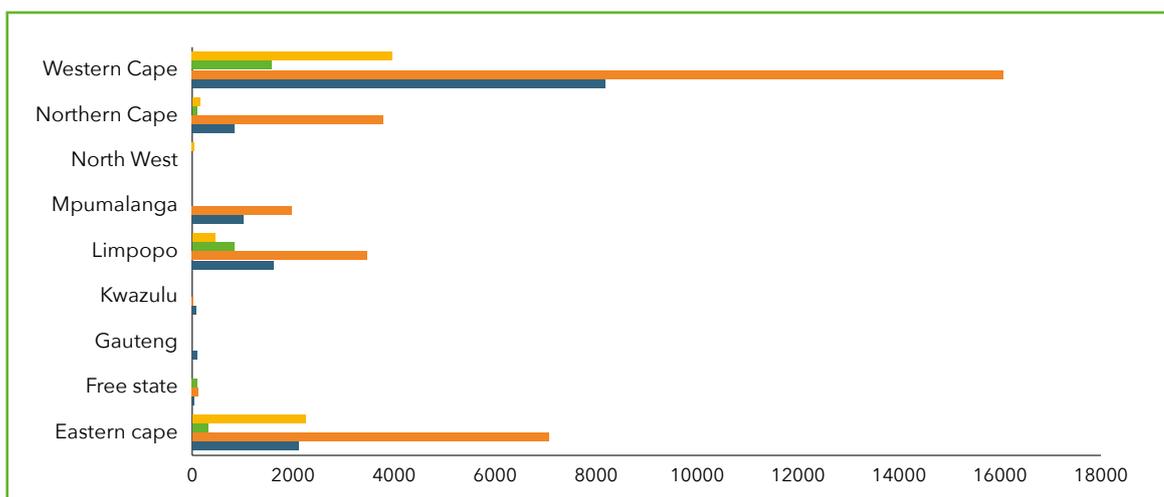
The agricultural sector in South Africa is the biggest single employer of people in the rural area; not only providing employment but also accommodation and several related services without any support, either financial or public acknowledgement, from the government. The figure below shows agricultural labour statistics over a six year period. The Western Cape remains the largest employer of agricultural labour, with KwaZulu Natal and Limpopo the second and third largest regions respectively. The number of agricultural workers in the Eastern Cape, Free State, Mpumalanga and North West province has increased, whilst there has been a reduction of labour in the Northern Cape and Gauteng. Research studies suggest the majority of workers on wine and fruit farms are male and range between 25 - 50 years old (Human Rights Watch 2011). The age group for female workers is less documented, although one study suggests a younger workforce in comparison male workers (Women on Farms Project & Centre for Rural Legal Studies 2008).

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## Casualisation of farm labour

Statistics on the actual numbers of farm workers must be viewed with caution since there is an increase in workers during peak harvesting periods and the numbers of migrant workers go largely undocumented. It seems that one of the unforeseen consequences of Extension of Security Tenure Act has been to contribute to the process of casualisation of farm labour (Visser and Ferrer 2015). The majority of farm workers are classified as 'temporary workers' in each province. This term is interchangeable with 'seasonal workers' and is indicative of an increasing body of evidence that shows the shift away from permanent labour living on farms, to the recruitment of seasonal labour off farm to rural towns and informal settlements (Barrientos 2003).

Figure 2: Types of farm workers by province



	Western Cape	Northern Cape	North West	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	Kwazulu	Gauteng	Free state	Eastern Cape
Agency	3963	149	45	0	450	0	0	0	2236
Migrant	1578	97	0	1	833	0	0	101	308
Temporary	16071	3783	0	1973	3465	20	0	120	7063
Permanent	8179	831	0	1004	1613	69	98	26	2097

Source: QLFS 2016 Q3 (Stats SA, 2016) [http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=1854&PPN=P0211&SCH=6813](http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1854&PPN=P0211&SCH=6813)



**Another study found that the majority of labour brokers required training on basic labour law**

### Recruitment of farm labour

Agriculture is dependent on Temporary Employment Services (TES) of some form, also known as 'labour brokers' in the South African context. These services can include private employment agencies and independent contractors where there is often joint liability for complying with labour legislation (Visser & Ferrer 2015).

The shift in recruiting seasonal labour has opened up a space for labour brokers to act as intermediaries and has exposed farm workers to additional levels of insecurity and exploitation. Farmers often opt to use cheaper and less bureaucratic services of informal labour brokers as opposed to formal registered employment agencies. A common form of informal recruitment of farm labour known as the 'bakkie brigade' involves an individual with a bakkie (truck), cell phone and extensive contacts in townships/informal settlements and rural areas, who routinely recruits and transports willing workers to farms (Budlender 2013). However, it remains unclear which farmworkers (local South Africans, migrant South Africans, or international migrants) are recruited in the ways mentioned above, the price of such services and the scale in which it occurs nationally.

The COSATU affiliate charged with organising farm workers, the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) has asserted that an outright ban of labour brokering is the only way to reduce exploitation in the labour market (Webb 2017). Another study found that the majority of labour brokers required training on basic labour law and highlighted the need for an association of labour brokers to enhance bargaining power with employers and ensure payment of minimum wage (Centre for Rural Legal Studies 2008).

It should be noted that a large degree of the information on labour brokers remains anecdotal, with limited statistical research conducted on the subject.

**Figure 3: National overview of registered employment service providers**

#### Private employment agencies registered with the Department of Labour, July 2013

Province	Number
Eastern Cape	55
Free State	21
Gauteng	373
KwaZulu-Natal	161
Limpopo	3
Mpumalanga	7
Northern Cape	7
North West	19
Western Cape	330
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>

Source: Nelia Pretorius, Department of Labour

## Overview of labour conditions

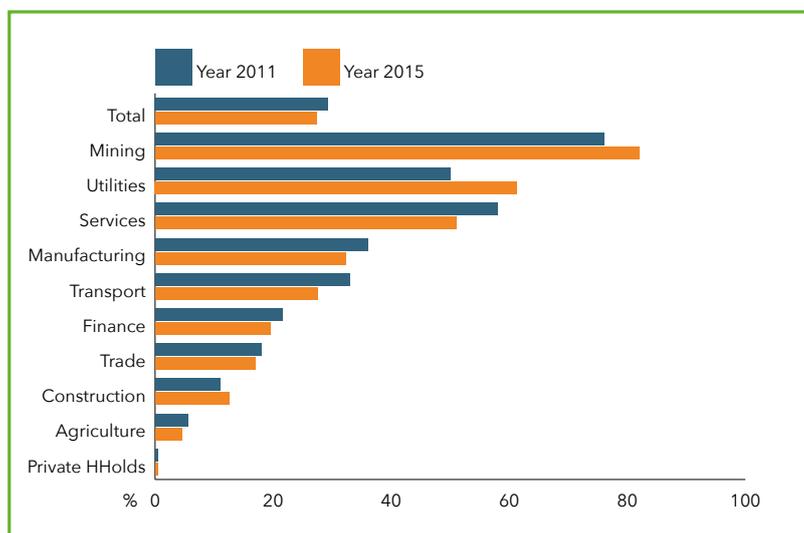
### Freedom of association

Fewer than six per cent of farm workers nationally belong to trade unions. Low levels of unionisation in the agricultural sector, are due to a number of related factors and conversations on this are ongoing in the sector. Firstly, South African trade unions have largely been urban based, making rural access to farms difficult. Secondly, labour relations on farms usually go beyond wage levels and encompass broader concerns around housing, transport and services that unions at times don't have capacity to deal with. Thirdly, unions active in the agricultural sector have largely been unable to organize seasonal workers who constitute the growing majority (Human Rights Watch 2011). Paternalism has been cited as a primary obstacle to organising farm workers, due to an entrenchment in a racially hierarchical system that limits workers freedom to associate (Webb 2017). The Ethical Trade Initiative (ETI) have conducted a recent study to better understand the challenge surrounding issues of Freedom of Association in the South African agricultural context, with a focus on the Western Cape, to identify examples of good practice and encourage the wider adoption of these<sup>5</sup>.

### Working and living conditions for farmworkers

A study on forced labour in the UK food industry states there is a fine line between exploitation and forced labour, making it impossible to make a distinction and prove a forced labour case (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2012). The conditions of employment in South African agriculture reflect a pattern of employment that dates back to colonialism (Barrientos et al. 2001). The review of existing literature on farm labour relations shows that paternalism continues to exist in a variety of forms. The historical master-slave relationship on farms is based

Figure 4. Overview of unionized employees by sector



Source: StatsSA Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 3, 2015

on the notion that workers are reliant on the farmer for their livelihood and extends beyond the labour-wage nexus (Devereux & Solomon 2011). The accommodation for farm workers and farm dweller rights has been extensively researched over the years and the majority of findings report inadequate housing and poor living conditions for farm workers and their families. Improper structures, overcrowding, forced evictions and limited access to electricity, water and toilets are some of the key issues for farm workers living on farm accommodation (Lawyers for Human Rights 2013). Due to the casualisation of farm labour, the majority of South African farm workers live in informal settlements or townships and use daily transport to get to and from the farm. The standard of living is similar to that of farm accommodation and in some cases worse. In recent years, migrant South Africans and international migrants have also begun to settle in local townships. It is not entirely clear whether the considerable growth of these informal areas is predominantly part of a voluntary movement off-farm, the result of in-migration from other parts of the country, or because of persistent evictions of farm workers (Visser & Ferrer 2015).

5. Promoting freedom of association, organisational rights and collective bargaining in the Western Cape fruit and wine sectors: What are the lessons from 'good practice' farms?. <https://www.ethicaltrade.org>

**Figure 5: Current minimum wage calculation for general farm workers in South Africa**

Table 1: Minimum wages for employees in the farm worker sector, of South Africa as from 01 March 2017											
Minimum rates for the period				Minimum rates for the period				Minimum rates for the period			
1st March 2016 to 28 February 2017				1st March 2017 to 28 February 2018				1st March 2018 to 29 February 2019			
Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Hourly
R2 778.83	R641.32	R128.26	R14.25	R3001.13	R692.62	R138.52*	R15.39	Previous years minimum wage plus CPI EOER = 1%			
* For employees who work 9 hours a day.											
** The CPI to be utilized is the available CPI EOER (Consumer Prize Index excluding owners equivalent rent as released by StatsSA six weeks prior to the increment date. CPI EOER=7%+1=8% increase.											

Source: <http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/downloads/legislation/sectoral-determinations/basic-conditions-of-employment/Sectoral%20Determination%2013%20-%20Farm%20workers%20doc%202013.pdf>

## Vulnerable workers

There is also evidence to suggest contrasting experiences based on the demographic makeup of farm workers. Women are largely concentrated in the category of temporary and seasonal workers and conditions are often worse for women regardless of location or type of work (Greenberg 2013). The underlying belief that men's work is of a higher value than that of women is compounded by the dual dependency of many women workers who depend on their partner/husband (male worker) and the farmer for her, and in most cases her children's livelihood (DFID 2005). Women are contracted to work the same hours as male counterparts but often don't receive paid maternity leave. There are also reports on the physical and sexual violence perpetuated against female farm workers (Devereux and Solomon 2011). Consequently, efforts have been made to rectify these violations and there are examples of good practice where farms have enforced non-discriminatory policies (IDS 2011).

With regards to migrant labour on fruit and wine farms, it is important to distinguish between South African migrants, who move to farming to seek employment, and international migrants, who come from neighbouring countries. Migration to the labour intensive fruit areas of the Western Cape is increasing and remains an attractive option for South African and international migrants as it offers longer seasonal employment at higher wages than other parts of the country (Visser and Ferrer 2015).

Moreover, Visser states the recruitment of migrant labour is attractive for farmers because more control can be exercised over labour, especially where workers stay in on-farm hostels.

International migrant workers are often more vulnerable than their counterparts since they are largely undocumented, so accept harsh working conditions due to a fear of deportation (Human Rights Watch 2011). Although there is evidence of a shared working class identity that supersedes nationality amongst some farm workers, some argue influx of international migrants has displaced South African farm labour and is the root cause for xenophobic sentiment (ACMS 2015).

## Remuneration of farm labour

Sectoral Determination 13: Farm Worker Sector applies to all workers on a farm and stipulates the minimum wages, working hours, number of leave days and termination rules. In March 2017, minimum wages for farm workers were increased and can be seen below. There is much contestation in South Africa about the minimum wage versus a living wage with a number of key stakeholders weighing in on the issue<sup>6</sup>. The Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy (BFAP) 2015 report, surveyed typical rural Western Cape wage-earning households and discovered that a household with two adults earning a wage of R150 (approx. £8 / \$11) per worker, per day cannot afford a relatively diverse daily food intake (Greenberg 2013).

## Ethical auditing and compliance

Findings suggest that some producers attach more value to the results of international ethical trade audits than to the inspections conducted by the Department of Labour. In some cases, producers fail to report accurately on farm worker conditions and third party auditors do not follow up to verify information and/or address serious concerns (Human Rights Watch 2011). It is largely recognised that one failure in enforcing regulations is the lack of capacity within the national and provincial Department of Labour offices where there are fewer than 1000 inspectors to cover 40,000 farms nationally (Devereux & Solomon 2011).

Ethical audits on fruit and wine farms have been conducted to varying degrees across the commodities and provinces. There is evidence to show the benefits where retailers insist suppliers comply with labour standards in the absence of government enforcement of labour legislation. For example, producers were directed by the export retailer to cease practices such as the 'dop system'<sup>7</sup> to avoid losing listing by a British supermarket, Tesco (DFID 2005). Another key area requiring attention is the need for improved worker awareness of ethical codes of conduct. Communication and integration of codes into day-to-day company practice is essential to keep them 'alive' and 'real' as part of a more transparent and participatory management style on farms and pack houses (IDS 2011).

**There is evidence to show the benefits where retailers insist suppliers comply with labour standards in the absence of government enforcement of labour legislation.**



7. 'Dop' the Afrikaans word for a tot is a system to keep workers drunk with free alcohol by being paid in alcohol instead of money. It was commonly practiced during apartheid.

## Overview of labour legislation in South Africa and the role of Government

South Africa has one of the most progressive Bill of Rights of any developed nation. The South African Constitution (1996) is the supreme law of the land, binding on all organs of state at all levels of government. Forced labour is prohibited under Section 13 of the Bill of Rights and provides that no one may be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour.<sup>8</sup> Section 23 of the Constitution regulates labour relations and states that everyone has the right to fair labour practices and aims to uphold the obligations that South Africa incurs as a member of the ILO.

South Africa has ratified numerous ILO conventions pertaining to human trafficking and forced labour, including the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29) and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105) in 1997. South Africa has also signed and ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol), which both came into force in 2003. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (Act 75 of 1997) is one of the main legislative acts in South African labour law and also prohibits forced labour. The Act regulates particulars of employment and the monitoring, enforcement, protection and legal proceedings of employees against discrimination.<sup>9</sup>

In December 2003, the South African government established a multi-sectoral National Task Team consisting of the department of Justice and Constitutional Development, National Prosecuting Authority, South African Police Services, Home Affairs, Social Development and Civil Society in order to develop a comprehensive National Action Plan to combat human trafficking in the country. The National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) spearheaded the programme of assistance known as

Tsireledzani, with the primary aim to provide a blueprint for all those working to prevent trafficking.<sup>10</sup> This included training for prosecutors, magistrates, and police in all provinces and provincial task teams supervised national law enforcement efforts. Despite this positive step, the government failed to systematically address labour trafficking offences or successfully prosecute cases against any major international syndicates responsible for much of the sex trafficking in the country. A serious lack of funding, capacity and widespread corruption among the police force hindered progress in anti-trafficking law enforcement efforts.

In July 2013, President Jacob Zuma, signed into law the country's first comprehensive legislation on human trafficking, the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (PACOTIP) (Act 7 of 2013), which finally came into force in June 2015.<sup>11</sup> Its objective is to specifically provide a legal framework to combat human trafficking for the purposes of forced labour and forced prostitution in South Africa. The enactment and implementation of this comprehensive legislation provides further opportunity to facilitate an environment where structures are created to collect data on human trafficking, establish the extent of the problem, and evaluate whether measures to combat trafficking are effective. South Africa has created significant legislation to deal with human trafficking in compliance with the minimum standards as prescribed in international obligations, however has done little to enforce these laws. There is tremendous scope to develop local understandings of forced labour through this legislation and develop mechanisms for the investigation, reporting and prosecution of cases of forced labour within the agricultural sector and more generally. Addressing all forms of forced labour and trafficking through a single-policy framework and coordination body, could promote greater coherence in national responses.

8. <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SACConstitution-web-eng.pdf>, 9. <http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/downloads/legislation/acts/basic-conditions-of-employment/Amended%20Act%20-%20Basic%20Conditions%20of%20Employment.pdf>, 10. <https://www.npa.gov.za/node/56>. 11. <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2013-007.pdf>

**Figure 6: Existing South African Legislation and gaps in relation to forced labour**

Legislation	What it provides for in respect of forced labour	Existing gaps in relation to forced labour
Basic Conditions of Employment Act 1997 (BCEA)	<p>The BCEA provides that no person may, for his or her own benefit, or for the benefit of someone else, cause, demand or impose forced labour on any person.</p> <p>Established the Employment Conditions Commission</p> <p>In 2014, the government amended it to extend prohibitions to the informal sector, and doubled prescribed maximum penalties for forced labour for both children and adults, from three to six years' imprisonment.</p>	<p>The BCEA is mainly enforced through inspectors from the Department of Labour.</p> <p>The maximum penalty for violations is 6 years imprisonment - inadequate in cases of extensive forced labour and allows for a fine in lieu of imprisonment. The prescribed punishment is not commensurate with serious crimes</p>
Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (Act 7 of 2013) (PACOTIP)	<p>National Policy Framework to ensure a uniform, coordinated and co-operative approach by all government departments, organs of state and institutions, in dealing with matters relating to the trafficking in persons</p> <p>Since its adoption the government convicted 11 traffickers, and handed down stringent sentences in 10 cases.</p>	<p>The government did not comprehensively monitor or investigate forced child labor or the labor trafficking of adults in the agricultural, mining, construction, and fishing sectors.</p> <p>No specific provision for cases of forced labour that are not linked to trafficking</p>
The Labour Relations Act (LRA), Act 66 of 1995	<p>The Labour Court in South Africa has accepted that the definition of "unfair labour practice" in the LRA 66 of 1995 is not necessarily exhaustive.</p> <p>The Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) is a dispute resolution body established in terms of the LRA</p>	<p>Since other forms may be recognised under the broader constitutional guarantee of fair labour practices. South African Labour Courts must be sensitised to prosecuting people engaged in forced labour, as it will constitute unfair labour practice under the broader constitutional guarantee of fair labour practices.</p> <p>Low success rate on labour disputes and evictions brought to CCMA (access problems for non unionised farm workers)</p>
Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997	<p>To regulate the conditions of residence on farms, conditions and legal process which has to be followed by the land owner, before a farm worker may be evicted</p>	<p>Misconception by occupiers that the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997 (ESTA) grants occupiers ownership rights to their residences that they occupy on farms. A farm worker does not receive ownership of a house that has been allocated to him on a farm.</p> <p>Fails to protect women and children from illegal evictions</p>
The Employment Services Act (Act 4 of 2014)	<p>Requires the Department of Labour to license and regulate private employment agencies and prohibits agencies from charging fees for their services unless explicitly authorised by the Minister of Labour.</p> <p>Under the Act, foreign nationals employed in South Africa will be protected by fair labour practices and may only perform work as authorised in terms of their work visas. Employers who hire employees without a valid work visa would face consequences.</p>	<p>Cheaper, easier, less bureaucratic methods to obtain mass labour</p> <p>Informal Labour Brokers (Unregistered labour contractors) go unregulated through private deals with producers "bakkie brigade" services (recruiting large numbers of people from townships and roadside)</p> <p>Indunda Brokers - system whereby traditional Chief's supply labour to Producers at a fee</p>
Employment Equity Act (No 55 of 1998)	<p>The purpose of the Act is to achieve equity in the workplace by promoting equal opportunity in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination.</p>	<p>Systems may be in place for equal treatment and opportunity but in practice racial and ethnic based discrimination in the recruitment, designation and treatment of farm workers exists.</p>
New Immigration law, March 2018	<p>Applications for a General Work Visa will have to include a certificate from the Department of Labour confirming that a contract signed by both the employer and applicant stipulates conditions that are in line the labour laws of South Africa.</p>	

## Forced Labour in the South African wine and fruit industries

**The ILO defines forced labour as “all work or service which is extracted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily”**

Modern slavery is by its nature a hidden and complex crime which takes many forms, and therefore it is a complicated task to gather hard data to represent the true scale of the problem. There is yet to be uncontested and internationally accepted statistics. The most recent attempt to estimate a true picture of the problem is the 2016 Global Slavery Index (GSI), published by the Walk Free Foundation, which estimates that at any one day in 2016 40.3 million people globally were in conditions of modern slavery, and 24.9 of these were in ‘forced labour’. These estimates are based on extrapolated data from survey data from 19 countries.<sup>12</sup> Whilst keeping in mind the limitations of the data these estimates provide a guide for assessing the potential issues.

The GSI estimates that 248,700 people or 0.45% of the total population live in conditions of modern slavery in South Africa, based on a random-sample, nationally-representative

survey undertaken in 2015. They also concluded that more than 200,000 workers are subject to forced labour in South Africa. Survey<sup>13</sup> results showed an estimated 11 percent of victims in South Africa are exploited in construction, five percent in farming, and eight percent in drug production.<sup>14</sup> Forced labour is a multi-dimensional social phenomenon that is perpetuated by both the socio-economic challenges facing poor people, which can make them vulnerable to harsh working conditions on farms, also known as ‘push factors’, as well as demand for the exploitative use of farm labour, also known as ‘pull factors’.

The ILO defines forced labour as “all work or service which is extracted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily” (Article 2:1). This section of the report will present the key desktop and fieldwork findings in relation to the set of eleven ILO indicators to ascertain the extent to which forced labour exists within the small sample of fruit and wine farms included in this study. According to the ILO, the presence of a single indicator in a given situation may in some cases imply the existence of forced labour. However, in other cases it may be the combination of several indicators which, taken together, point to a forced labour case. Overall, the set of eleven indicators covers the main possible elements of a forced labour situation, and provides the basis to assess whether or not an individual worker is a victim of this crime.



12. <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/methodology/>. 13. [https://governmentresponse.globallslaveryindex.org/country.php?country=3t79xKmiUEQ\\_EQ\\_](https://governmentresponse.globallslaveryindex.org/country.php?country=3t79xKmiUEQ_EQ_).  
14. <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/country/south-africa/>

Figure 7: Existing South African Legislation and gaps in relation to forced labour

ILO Forced Labour Indicator <sup>15</sup>	Evidence from fieldwork <sup>16</sup>	Evidence from desk research <sup>17</sup>
1. Abuse of vulnerability	Farm workers without signed employment contracts in their possession	Lack of employment contracts (Greenburg) (BAWSI) Deductions & charges (Visser) (IDS) Payment below minimum wage (Human Rights Watch) Discrimination against women (Barrientos) (Devereux) (Greenburg) (DFID) (Action Aid) Unfair dismissal (Lawyers for Human Rights) Controlling paternalistic/'master-slave' relationship (Webb) (Visser) (Barrientos) Insistence on a medical letter on the first day of illness (Visser) (Centre for Rural Legal Studies) (Action Aid) (Human Rights Watch)
2. Deception	Working without any form of employment contract Farm workers signing employment contracts they have not read/understood	Labour brokers operating outside of legal norms (ACMS) (Buddlender) (Centre for Rural Legal Studies) (Webb)
3. Restriction of movement	No evidence found	Farm premises locked after work hours (BAWSI) High cost of farm transport
4. Isolation	Farm workers routinely prevented from joining a trade union	Infringement on freedom to join union (Human Rights Watch) (Lawyers for Human Rights) (BAWSI) (Webb) Discrimination against black workers compared to coloured workers (IDS) Xenophobia against Zimbabwean workers (ACMS)
5. Physical & sexual violence	No evidence found	Sexual harassment & violence against female workers (Devereux)
6. Intimidation and threats	Farm workers threatened and punished for consulting/joining a trade union	Discipline through dismissal threats (Visser) Threats of denunciation (Fairtrade)
7. Retention of identity documents	No evidence found	No evidence found
8. Withholding of wages	Farm workers routinely paid below the minimum wage	Gwaza system of no pay for not finishing daily target (ACMS) (Du Toit)
9. Debt bondage	No evidence found	Compulsory food packages + remnants of dop system (Human Rights Watch) Exorbitant food prices at farm shop (ACMS)
10. Abusive working & living conditions	Farm workers not provided protective clothing and exposed to pesticides Farm workers routinely verbally abused during work hours Denied access to clean drinking water	Poor on farm housing conditions e.g. overcrowding, no access to water, electricity and sanitation (DFID) (Barrientos) (Fairtrade) (Greenburg) (Centre Rural Studies) Illegal evictions of farm dwellers (BAWSI) (Lawyers for Human Rights) Lack of protective clothing (Centre Rural Studies)
11. Excessive overtime	Farm workers routinely working more than 9 hours per day	Excessive work days & overtime (Human rights Watch) (BAWSI) (DFID) (Fairtrade)

15. [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms\\_203832.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_203832.pdf). 16. The fieldwork evidence relates to dominant themes from discussions with farm workers. Isolated or individual experiences are not included here. 17. Author/study name is shown in source found in references.

# The Role of Business

The findings in this scoping study suggest that the producers included in the research did not make a direct link to how forced labour practices against farm workers can jeopardize performance and shareholder confidence

## Awareness of forced labour

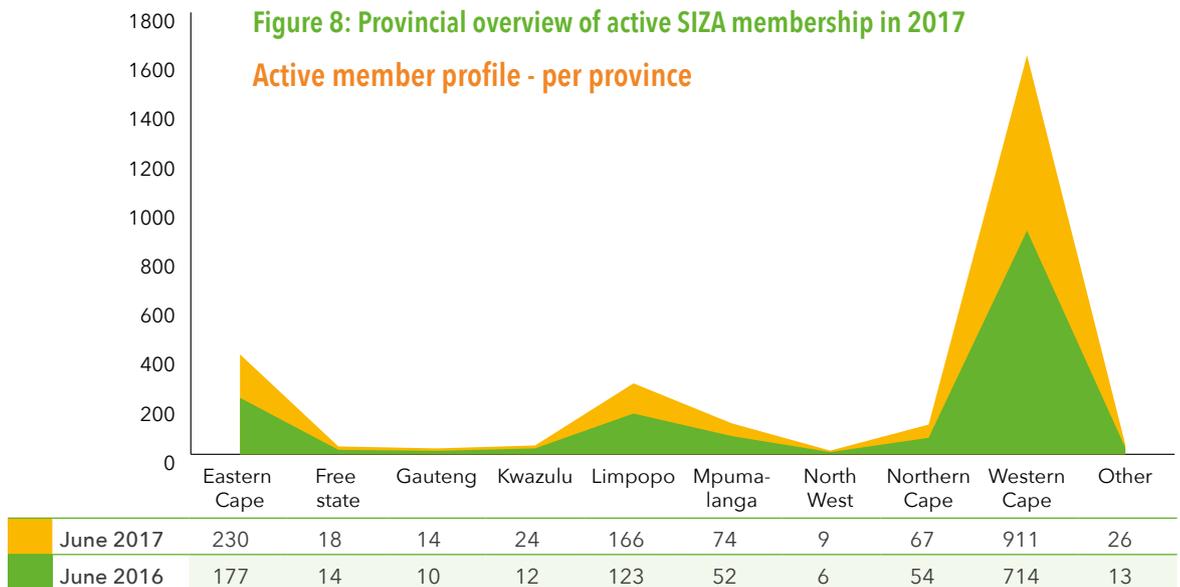
Trafficking is often associated with prostitution, or confused with the smuggling of persons. Defining forced labour and its elements in national legislation is critical to identifying cases, developing policies to address the problem and to securing convictions. The findings in this scoping study suggest that the producers included in the research did not make a direct link to how forced labour practices against farm workers can jeopardize performance and shareholder confidence. Much of the discussions focused on the mandatory compliance with labour legislation and export standards.

## Policies and processes to respond

The Wine Industry Ethical Trade Association (WIETA) was formally established in November 2002. The WIETA code of practice is premised on the base code of the International Labour Conventions' Ethical Trading Initiative and also incorporates South African labour legislation.

Cellars, cooperatives and wine estates are encouraged to take their suppliers through the WIETA process. The process involves completing a comprehensive assessment, participating in grower awareness workshops on compliance requirements, and undertaking an inspection where the site has previously not had an ethical audit. Many wine brands have adopted a proactive programme of continuous improvement in the employment and living conditions of farm workers over the last five years and continue to create better working environments going forward. Currently, WIETA has 1480 accredited members which constitutes over half (53.8%) of total wine producers in South Africa

In 2008 the South African fruit industry took a decision to respond to the need to provide retailers and their consumers with assurances of fair labour practices in their supply base. Fruit South Africa engaged with the Global Social Compliance Programme (GSCP) to develop of a single South African based ethical standard and programme that would meet all retailer requirements.



Source: QLFS 2016 Q3 (Stats SA, 2016) [http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=1854&PPN=P0211&SCH=6813](http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1854&PPN=P0211&SCH=6813)



The Sustainability Institute of South Africa (SIZA) is a membership based programme designed to implement a locally relevant and managed ethical trade and environmental programme, aligned to local and international standards that assist growers with compliance whilst minimizing costs. There are currently 1,539 active SIZA members, this is an increase of 30% in the last reporting year.

**The role of CSR and the overarching rights to fair labour in terms of section 13 of the Constitution, will place an indirect responsibility on South African corporates and/or corporates established in South Africa, to ensure that their business partners, suppliers and intermediaries do not engage in human trafficking or forced labour.**

The Companies Act 71 of 2008 section 72(4) provides for the establishment of a social and ethics committee, which is in line with Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of corporate companies. In South Africa, CSR

receives unique attention from a legislative point of view. The Companies Act requires a juristic entity to appoint a social and ethics committee, and to contribute to CSR initiatives. In addition to the Companies Act and regulations thereto, the guiding principles are summarised in the 'King III Report on Governance' for South Africa.<sup>18</sup>

While these laws do not specifically focus on forced labour, they have put increasing pressure on companies around South Africa to improve and report on their social responsibilities, performance and impact, which includes that their workers' rights are not violated and that they are not associated with or related to entities which might be implicated in human trafficking and forced labour. The role of CSR and the overarching rights to fair labour in terms of section 13 of the Constitution, will place an indirect responsibility on South African corporates and/or corporates established in South Africa, to ensure that their business partners, suppliers and intermediaries do not engage in human trafficking or forced labour.

18. <http://www.polity.org.za/article/corporate-social-responsibility-in-south-africa-more-than-a-nice-intention-2011-09-12>

# Recommendations

## Research related

- **Monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment**

The project should develop a set of performance indicators that measure stakeholder engagement, monitor and assess the impact of the project. The knowledge developed will be of significant interest to project funders and wider stakeholders within the fruit and wine industry.

- **Strengthen statistical data**

There is a need for further research studies to quantify important information on labour brokers, international migrants and audit/inspection processes within the fruit and wine farming sectors nationally. This statistical data will improve the evidence base and verify the existing anecdotal evidence.

- **Policy research**

The collection of reliable data on forced labour is the first step in a larger process. Collaboration with think tanks and academic institutions is key to conducting more qualitative and quantitative data across different provinces. Once data is compiled, it must be summarised, analysed and turned into information that can be used to make informed policy and operational decisions at the local and national level.

## Project related

- **Implementation of existing legislation**

Addressing forced labour through existing legislation like the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act (Act 7 of 2013, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the relevant coordination bodies, could promote greater coherence in national responses. For example, work to increase efforts to enforce provisions within these laws that involve investigation, prosecution, and conviction of employers in cases of forced labour.

- **Worker engagement with social/ethical auditing**

Workers should be trained as social auditors and be viewed as active partners in guaranteeing good working conditions. The farm worker committee model should be supported and promoted nationally to ensure workers have some engagement with ethical codes of conduct. WIETA's worker based monitoring system presents an opportunity to collaborate and build capacity for more worker engagement.

- **From data to information and knowledge**

There is need to develop a data management system on forced labour that is relevant, timely and reliable. Data should provide government with information about how to effectively prevent forced labour, how to identify, arrest and prosecute offenders, and how to effectively protect farm workers. Data information systems must be properly designed, implemented and maintained so that they may be sustainable. There is an opportunity to collaborate with GLO.ACT South Africa (The Global Action to Prevent and Address Trafficking in Persons and the Smuggling of Migrants) who expressed interest in developing such an information system.<sup>19</sup>

- **Meaningful stakeholder engagement**

Issues of trust, cooperation and coordination between sectors and provinces need to be considered as separate and important issues that will require appropriate planning during project implementation. There is a pressing need to recognise that change is a product of struggle. The struggles of: male, female, black, coloured and migrant workers, the struggles of fruit and wine producers, the struggles of trade unions, the struggles of government and others committed to improving labour conditions must be understood within the local context.

- **Extension of training to key law enforcers**

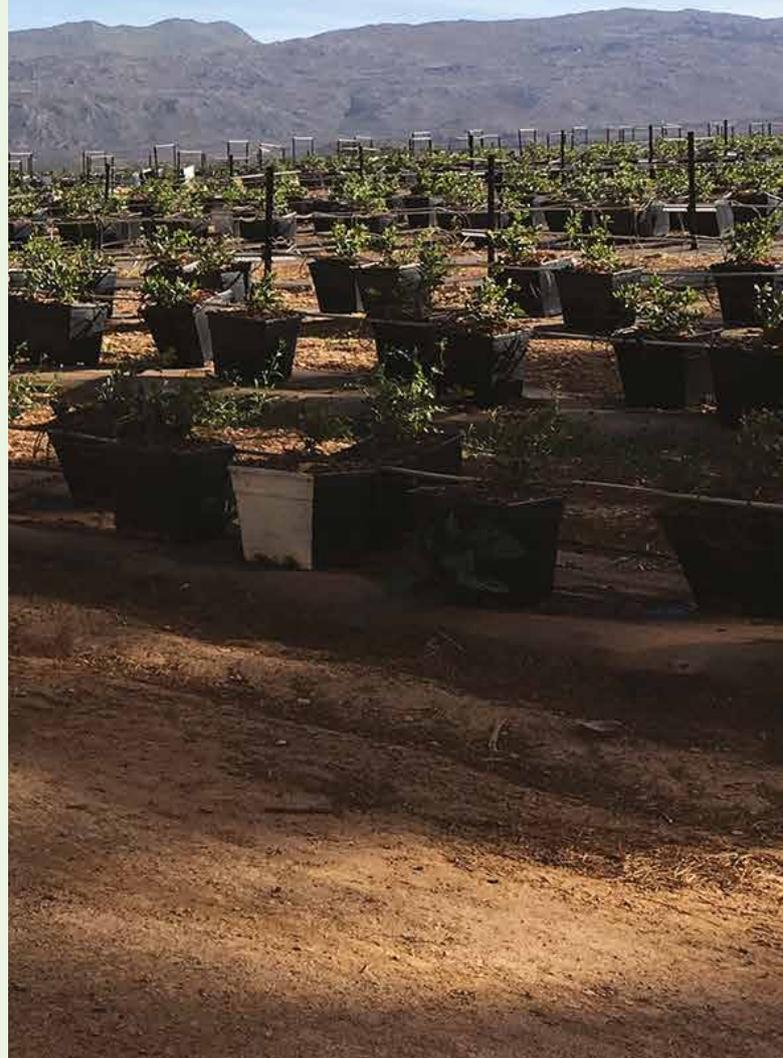
Stronger Together training for producers on forced labour should be shared with the National Working Group on Prevention and Combatting of Trafficking in Persons as per section 44(10) of the PACOTIP Act to strengthen their training courses to ensure that all police officials, prosecutors and other functionaries are able to deal with matters relating to trafficking and forced labour in an appropriate, efficient and sensitive manner.

- **National and regional multi agency communication and collaboration**

Due to the cross-border and multi layered nature of forced labour, the establishment of national and regional multi agency communication channels and collaboration is important. The fruit and wine industry associations, government departments and NGOs should establish workable networks and relationships that will enable communication and strengthen solutions associated with combating forced labour in South Africa. These solutions should then be shared with regional stakeholders to improve responses to forced labour on the continent.

- **Directed awareness campaigns**

Awareness campaigns which enable civil society to identify and report suspected forced labour cases are necessary. The 'bus/taxi drivers', 'nurses at clinics', 'church pastors' are often the overlooked people with detailed information on labour conditions for farm workers and can play an important role in reporting and prevention. There are opportunities to collaborate with the 'South African Human Trafficking Resource Line'<sup>20</sup> to include the reporting of forced labour.



19. <https://www.unodc.org/southernafrica/en/tp/glo-act-south-africa-hosts-a-first-of-its-kind-information-sharing-workshop-for-all-role-players-involved-in-the-response-to-trafficking-in-persons-.html>. 20. <http://www.ccarht.org/site/new-south-african-human-trafficking-resource-line/>

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## Annex 1: Methodology of research

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A desktop review was conducted to assess existing information to provide insight on labour relations and ethical trade within the fruit and wine farming in South Africa. The key emerging themes were then analysed through a 'forced labour' lens and triangulated with national and international legislation. Data sources included but were not limited to; academic research papers, programme reports, local and international non-governmental organizations, and official statistics all produced in English.

Face to face and telephone interviews were scheduled and conducted by the researcher during fieldwork. Interview time varied from 20 to 90 minutes in length depending on the breadth of information and willingness of the participant. Participants that did not have specific information on forced labour were probed on broader labour and agricultural trends within South Africa.

### Ethical considerations

Participants were informed about the purpose of the study prior to being interviewed and provided with a signed verification letter from Stronger Together and WIETA. Each participant was provided with the option of anonymity when submitting sensitive information, and were ensured that in all instances their confidentiality would be upheld. Face to face interviews were held in a number of spaces dependent on where participants felt the freedom to share their experiences.

### Research sites

Due to the extensive research already conducted on labour relations on wine and fruit farms in the Western Cape, it was important for this study to also gain insights from other key producing, and less well researched areas in South Africa. For this reason, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape were identified as research sites to provide a comparison to both the primary and secondary Western Cape findings in this study.

### The research sample

A snowball sampling methodology was an essential component of this research. Existing appointments with stakeholders led to local navigation and introductions to other stakeholders who were interested in participating. Effort was taken to ensure a balance between gender, age and racial groups of all participants.

In total, fifty-eight (58) participants were involved in the research study across three provinces. Of these, thirty-two were from Limpopo, nineteen from the Eastern Cape and seven from the Western Cape. The participants consisted of; 36 permanent & seasonal farm workers, 6 producers, 3 Government officials (Provincial Dept. of Labour and local Dept. of Agriculture), 3 local NGO's, 2 trade union representatives, 2 retailer/export companies, 2 Social Auditors, 2 royal/traditional land owners, 1 local fruit produce buyer and 1 fruit industry association.

## Limitations of research

The major factor that limited this scoping research study was the allocated time period of forty-two days. The time constraints resulted in a limited exploration of desktop themes and fieldwork, particularly where unknown information came to light. Existing research and statistical information is largely conducted and organised according to either the fruit or wine sectors. While it is important to gain insights from specific sectors, this creates limitations on a broader analysis of cross cutting themes that are present in both sectors. A further limitation to the fieldwork were the high levels of suspicion and distrust within the farming sector, which made access to key stakeholder groups challenging at best and sometimes impossible. A final limitation was the use of language, the term “forced labour” frustrated and angered a number of potential research participants even when efforts were made to change and rephrase project references. It is recommended that future research studies be cognisant of these limitations and provide further insights where existing information is lacking.

**Figure 9: Overview and justification of fieldwork locations**

Research site	Province	Description
Hoedspruit	Limpopo	Located in Maruleng Local Municipality, its dominant economic activity is commercial agriculture. Commercial farming, including Agro-processing contributes 41% of all formal employment in the municipality. The region is the leading producer and exporters of mango and one of the largest producers of citrus. 30 kms from Mpumalanga border.
Levubu	Limpopo	High proportion of land restitution claims & 'collapsed' Communal Property Associations (CPAs). Majority of farm workers are recruited from claimant communities. Many conflicts have emerged within some of the communities. Farming includes, citrus, avocado, banana, mangoes & quavas.
Patensie	Eastern Cape	Small town next to Baviaanskloof Wilderness area. located in the Sarah Baartman District municipality. The citrus industry dominates all activities with a number of large pack houses. Many citrus producers have diversified and grow salad vegetables for the local market. The citrus season runs from April to October. The majority of farm workers live in nearby Ramaphosa settlement and Hankey.
Sundays River Valley	Eastern Cape	Located in the Cacadu local municipality and Sarah Baartman District municipality. Large citrus & deciduous fruit farming area. Recently experienced a devastating 'fruit drop' on navel oranges which drop and split before packaging and has resulted in major losses for producers. Expected causes are drastic weather changes, lack of rain, higher build-up of salts and minerals in the ground.
Grabouw	Western Cape	Grabouw is located some 65 km south-east of Cape Town. The town is the commercial centre for the vast Elgin Valley, the largest single export fruit producing area in Southern Africa. The town's economic activity has historically been centered on deciduous fruit farming. Now increasingly, the wine industry has reported impressive growth.

## Annex 2: Research tools

### Focus group discussion (FGD) questions

#### 1. How did you get your job working on the farm?

- Who are the labour brokers? Race?
- How do you meet them? / What do they tell you?
- Do you pay them? / How much?

#### 2. Have you been given an employment contract as a farm worker?

- Do you know what it says?
- Did you sign it? / Do you have a copy?

#### 3. Were you made aware of your rights and responsibilities in terms of your contract?

- When? / By who?

#### 4. Have you heard of the Employment Equity Act? or Labour Relations Act?

- Do you understand the laws included?
- Do you know what the minimum wage is?

#### 5. Were you informed about the terms and conditions of employment before you started work?

- When? / By who?

#### 6. Where do you live on the farm?

- Do you like your housing? Why?
- How many people sleep in one room?
- Do you have electricity? Do you have access to water?
- Do you have a phone you can charge easily?

#### 7. Have you been given protective clothing to wear?

- What type of clothing?
- Was it free? If not, how much did you buy?
- Was everyone given?

#### 8. Have you received any training to do your job?

- What kind of training?

#### 9. How many hours do you work?

- Per day? Month? Times?

#### 10. How much do you get paid?

- Has it ever increased / decreased?
- Have you ever asked for more money?
- What happened?

#### 11. How do you get paid?

- Frequency?
- Do you get a pay slip?
- Are there any deductions?

#### 12. Have you ever worked and not got paid?

- What happened?
- How much was not paid to you?

#### 13. Do you belong to a trade union?

- Which one?
- Are you happy with the representation? Why?
- Have you ever been stopped from joining? By who?

#### 14. How is your relationship with the farm owner/management?

- Do they treat you well?
- Do you trust them?
- Do they make decisions for you?

#### 15. Have you ever been threatened by the farm owner/management?

- What happened?
- What did you do?
- Who did you report/tell?

**16. Are there any differences in the way men and women farm workers are treated?**

- What? How?

**17. Are there any differences in the way foreign/ (other race) farm workers are treated?**

- What? How?

**18. Did you or anyone you know have to give their identity documents in order to secure employment?**

**19. Have you experienced any form of abuse (physical, sexual, verbal) from a farmer/labour broker?**

- What happened?
- Did you report?
- What was the outcome?

**20. Do you know anyone under the age of 15 working on the farms?**

- What age?
- How were they recruited?
- Where do they live?
- Does a family member also work on the farm?

**21. How would you describe your relationship with the farm owner?**

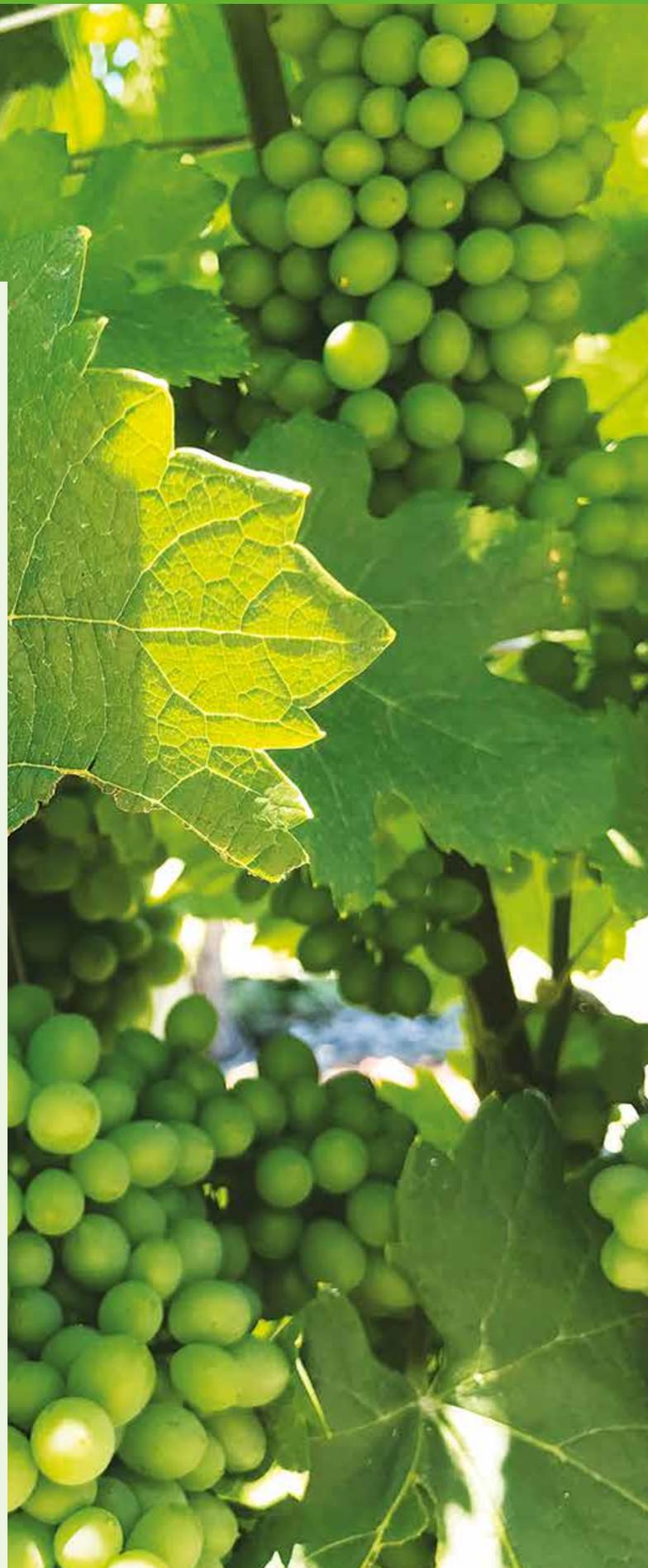
- Do you trust them?
- Do they make decisions for you?

**22. Have you ever been given sick leave?**

- What happened?

**23. Have you experienced ethical standard audit/ inspection?**

- When / Who / Where / What?





## Semi-structured interview questions

### Generic

1. How would you describe labour relations between farm owners and workers in this area?
2. How are people recruited to work on the farms?
3. How would you describe working conditions for farm workers?
4. How would you describe the accommodation for workers on farms?
5. Are there any differences in the treatment between male/female or local/foreign workers on farm?
6. What impact if any, has BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) had on the fruit industry in this area?
7. Which Government departments do you interact with & how would you describe the interaction?
8. Which ethical trade bodies are you familiar with & how would you describe the interaction?
9. What are the challenges for businesses to comply with labour legislation/ ethical standards in South Africa?

## Forced language

10. Have you heard the term forced labour before?
11. What does 'forced labour' mean to you?
12. How forced labour is understood in the South African context?

## Project scoping

13. What are the key issues the project should raise awareness on?
14. How can the project build capacity in the wine and fruit growing industry?
15. How could industry stakeholders be supported to promote measures that enforce ethical standards in South Africa?
16. Do you have suggestions on other related issues that require further research?
17. Could you recommend any other relevant stakeholder who could also participate in this research and/or the project overall?