

**INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: FROM
'LIVED EXPERIENCES' TOWARDS A COMPLEX SYSTEMS UNDERSTANDING**

by

MARCEL VAN DER WATT

submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR RIKA SNYMAN

2018

DECLARATION

I, Marcel van der Watt, student number 3732997-9, declare that this thesis, entitled *"Investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation: From 'lived experiences' towards a complex systems understanding"*, is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

Signature: *Marcel van der Watt*

Date: 2018-09-03

©

UNISA 2018

SUMMARY

Human trafficking for sexual exploitation, as the most documented type of trafficking both internationally and in South Africa, was the focus of this study as it poses significant challenges to response efforts whilst remaining a crime of vast impunity. At the centre of this study was the researcher's curiosity-infused endeavour to understand the lived experiences of multipronged stakeholders who have first-hand experience of the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A qualitative approach and the use of hermeneutic phenomenology within a broader postmodernist and constructivist positioning served as the catalyst for generating novel insights. Numerous formal and informal conversations over the 5-year research period, site visits to multiple sex trade locations around South Africa and 91 in-depth and unstructured interviews with participants from 15 different vantage points were conducted.

Five themes were identified from participants' lived experiences as they related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. These were Theme 1: Sex Trade, Human Trafficking and Organised Crime; Theme 2: Combating Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation; Theme 3: Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation; Theme 4: Corruption and Compromise; and Theme 5: The Social Context and Scope of the Problem. A rich and in-depth presentation of participants' lived experiences from an emic point of view was made. Knowledge generated include the revelation of problematic claims by preservationists around the nature of the sex trade in South Africa, insights into complexities intrinsic to human trafficking for sexual exploitation and multi-layered challenges associated with investigations into the crime.

At the apex of the study was the deconstruction of complex systems theory and its application to the phenomenological essence of participants' lived experiences. A proposed application of the theory was suggested for a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A strong argument is made for a 'whole' and non-reductionist approach to investigations that continuously considers both the complexity of the crime and the day-to-day realities of the stakeholders who contribute to the multipronged investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Ukurhweba ngabantu ngeenjongo zokubaxhaphaza ngokwesondo, lolona didi lorhwebo lokuxhaphaza ekubhalwe ngalo kakhulu kwihlabathi jikelele nakuMzantsi Afrika. Esi sifundo sigxile kolu rhwebo njengoko lucela umngeni kwimizamo yokusabela lo gama ilulwaphulo mthetho olungalawulekiyo. Esizikithini sesi sifundo yayingumdlala womphandi ukuqonda ngamava abo bathatha inxaxheba ekuphandeni ngorhwebo lokuxhaphaza ngokwesondo. Kukhethwe ufundo oluqwalasela umgangatho nokusetyenziswa kwesimbo sokutolika iimeko ezikhoyo kwilizwe elisemva kwelale mihla siphila kuyo njengeyona nqobo eya kuveza iimbono ezingaqhelekanga. Kwabanjwa inqwaba yeencoko ezisesikweni nezingekho sikweni ezenziwe kwisithuba seminyaka yophando engaphaya kwemihlanu, kwatyelelwa kwiindawo zorhwebo lokuxhaphaza ngokwesondlo ezikhoyo eMzantsi Afrika, kwabanjwa nodliwano ndlebe olunzulu lungaqingqwanga olungama-91 nabantu abakwiindawo zomdlala ezili-15.

Kwabonakala imixholo emihlanu esuka kumava abathathi nxaxheba malunga nophando ngorhwebo lokuxhaphaza ngesondo. Le mixholo yile: Umxholo woku-1: Urhwebo Lwesondo, Urhwebo Lokuxhaphaza Abantu, Nolwaphulo Mthetho Olucwangcisiweyo; Umxholo wesi-2: Ukulwa Urhwebo lokuxhaphaza abantu Ngenjongo Yesondo; Umxholo wesi-3: Amaxhoba Orhwebo Lokuxhaphaza Abantu Ngenjongo Yesondo; Umxholo wesi-4: Ubuqhophololo Nokunikezela; kunye noMxholo wesi-5: Imeko Yezentlalo Nomthamo Wengxaki. Kwenziwa inkcazelo enzulu netyebileyo yamava abathathi nxaxheba evelwa ngokwendlela abantu bendawo abacinga nabazibona ngayo izinto. Ulwazi olufunyenweyo luquka izimvo eziyingxaki zabantu abakhuthaza ukugcinwa kwezinto zinjengoko zinjalo, malunga nohlolo olululo lorhwebo ngesondo eMzantsi Afrika, izimvo ngobunzima obubuthume kurhwebo lokuxhaphaza abantu ngenjongo yesondo kunye nemingeni emininzi eyayanyaniswa nophando lolwaphulo mthetho.

Encochoyini yesi sifundo kukuhlakaza ingcingane exhakaxhaka yeenkqubo nokusetyenziswa kwayo kwiimeko ezikhoyo kumava abathathi nxaxheba. Kwacetyiswa indlela yokusebenzisa le ngingane ekwenzeni icebo elinamandla nelisebenzayo lokulwa urhwebo lokuxhaphaza abantu ngenjongo yesondo. Kuthethelwa indlela yokusebenza 'epheleleyo' nengacuthi nto ekuqhubeni uphando

olusoloko luthathela ingqalelo ubuxhakaxhaka bolwaphulo mthetho namava emihla ngemihla abathathi nxaxheba abafaka isandla kuphando oluvelela iinkalo ezininzi kurhwebo lokuxhaphaza abantu ngenjongo yesondo.

IQOQO LOKUBALULEKILE

Ukushushumbiswa kwabantu ukuze baxhashazwe ngokocansi, njengohlobo lokushushumbisa oluqoshwe phansi ngokudlula zonke ezinye izinhlobo emhlabeni wonke kanye naseNingizimu Afrika, yikona okugxilwe kukho kakhulu kulolu cwaningo njengoba kuyikona okungadala izingqinamba ezinkulu emizamweni yokubhekana nakho kube futhi kuyilona hlobo lobugebengu olungajeziswa kangako. Okunguwona mgomo walolu cwaningo yimizamo yomcwaningi egqugquzelwa ngokufuna kwakhe ukwazi ukuze aqonde lokho okubonwe ngababandakanyekayo abahlukahlukene abebebhekene ngqo nokuphenywa kodaba lokushushumbiswa kwabantu ukuze baxhashazwe ngokocansi. Kusetshenziswe indlela yokwenza ephathelene nokuqoqwa kwemininingwane engamaqiniso nokusetshenziswa kohlobo locwaningo olwahlukile kulolo olubheka ukwenzeka kwezinto ngokwemvelo maqondana nokuhleleka kwezinto ngokwesikhathi esilandela esezinto zesimanjemanje, nangendlela elandela umumo othize, njengegqugquzela ubukhona bokuqonda okuhlaba umxhwele ngokungajwayelekile. Kube khona izingxoxo eziningi ezihleliwe nezingahlelwanga ezenzeke esikhathini esiyiminyaka emihlanu yocwaningo, kwavakashelwa izizinda eziningi ezindaweni okuhweshelwana kuzo ngocansi eziseNingizimu Afrika, kwaphinde kwaba nezingxoxo ezingama-91 ezijulile ngokuphonsa imibuzo engahleliwe ngokusemthethweni kubabambiqhaza abavela ezindaweni eziyi-15 ezilungele lolu cwaningo.

Kuhlonzwe izingqikithi ezinhlanu eziqhamuke kulokho okubonwe ngababambiqhaza ngokuhlobana kwabo nophenyo lokushushumbiswa kwabantu ukuze baxhashazwe ngokocansi. Yilezi, Inggikithi 1: Ukuhweba Ngocansi, Ukushushumbiswa Kwabantu Nobugebengu Obuhleliwe; Inggikithi 2: Ukulwisana Nokushushumbiswa Kwabantu Ukuze Baxhashazwe Ngokocansi; Inggikithi 3: Izisulu Zokushushumbiswa Ukuze Zixhashazwe Ngokocansi; Inggikithi 4: Inkohlakalo Nokwenza Okungahambisani Nawe; neNggikithi 5: Indikimba Kwezenhlalo Nobubanzi Benkinga. Kube sekwethulwa ngokucebile nangokujulile okubonwe ngababambiqhaza ngokwenzazelo ehambisana nohlobo lwesifundo. Ulwazi olutholakele lubandakanya ukuvela kwalokho okuyinkinga okushiwo yilabo abalwela ubukhona bohwebo lwezocansi eNingizimu Afrika, ukuqondwa kwalokho okungekho lula ukukuqonda okuphathelene

nokushushumbiswa kwabantu ukuze baxhashazwe ngokocansi kanye nezingqinamba ezishiyana ngokwezigaba ezihambisana nophenyo lwalobu bugebengu.

Ekujuleni kocwaningo kube khona ukuhlaziya okubanzi ngokuhlakaza izinhlelo zezinzululwazi okungekho lula ukuziqonda nokusetshenziswa kwazo kulokho okusemqoka okubonwe ngababambiqhaza. Kuhlangozwe ukuba kusetshenziswe isu elisheshayo, elishubile nelizosebenza ngempumelelo elihlukene izigaba eziningi ezibheka konke elizolwisana nokushushumbiswa kwabantu ukuze baxhashazwe ngokocansi. Ukudingida kabanzi ngendlela 'ephelele' nengancike ndawo okumele ilandelwe uma kuphenywa nezobheka kokubili ukungabi lula kobugebengu okubhekenwe nabo kanye nokubonwa imihla ngemihla ngababambiqhaza abasiza ngokuthile ophenyweni olubheka okuningi okwahlukahlukene maqondana nokushushumbiswa kwabantu ukuze baxhashazwe ngokocansi.

KEY TERMS

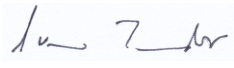
Trafficking in persons; human trafficking for sexual exploitation; prostitution; sex work; organised crime; complexity theory; systems theory; complex systems theory; investigation; hermeneutic phenomenology.

EDITOR'S DECLARATION

I, Susan van Tonder, hereby declare that I have proofread and edited the PhD thesis entitled *"Investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation: From 'lived experiences' towards a complex systems understanding"* by Marcel van der Watt.

My qualifications are as follows: MA Linguistics

I have extensive experience in proofreading and editing and can be contacted at the following address: 14 Morpeth Road, Plumstead, Cape Town. My telephone number is: +2783 710 7701 (South Africa) and +968 9453 9595 (Oman).

Signature: 

Date: 2018-01-30

DEDICATION

To those oppressed and marginalised;
To those who persist in the pursuit of justice for the oppressed and marginalised;
To those perplexed by the complexity of human trafficking;
To the armchair critics who deny the reality and scope of this phenomenon in South Africa – ideologies blind and agendas obscure;
To the media, your contribution is vital. Beware of the naked man who offers you clothes and remember that the death of a lion cannot be announced by a goat;
To the policy makers considering prostitution law in South Africa, for whom pondering the lived experiences and wisdom of crowds offered in this study is a critical exercise;
To the President of the Republic of South Africa, Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa, you have devoted yourself to the well-being of the Republic and all of its people – I pray that this thesis will serve as an arrow in your quiver;
To the Deputy Minister of Justice, John Jeffery, whose commitment, leadership and continued display of even-handed wisdom in the fight against human trafficking in South Africa have not gone unnoticed;
To Sarah 'Saartjie' Baartman, who will not be forgotten; and
Finally, to Janice 'Vissie' Kakora, whom I long to meet one day;
This thesis is dedicated to you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my Heavenly Father, I honour you for the ability that you have graced me with to complete this study. Not only did you save my life in March 2001, but you allowed me to engage with bitter pain and darkness, fully equipped to be your ambassador in the fight for justice. You are profoundly real.

I am eternally grateful to my promotor, Prof. Rika Snyman. Words cannot express my deep appreciation for your continued support, encouragement and belief in my vision for this study. Your highest level of integrity and professionalism are saluted.

I would like to thank Mrs Susan van Tonder for proofreading and editing this thesis. Your work ethic, attention to detail and exceptional contribution to the quality of this thesis have been invaluable.

To the late Professor Moses Montesh, who nominated me for the AQIP programme, and to UNISA's College of Law, words cannot describe my gratitude to you.

To the National Freedom Network, your contribution to South Africa's efforts to combat this crime is unmissable. Diane, Marina, Kirsten and Beatri – I salute you!

To all the participants who so generously contributed to this research, your lived experiences will significantly contribute to the eventual unveiling of this hidden monster, human trafficking, in South Africa.

To Amanda, my dear friend and complex systems intellectual, thank you for recalibrating my perspective and journeying with me.

To my parents, family, friends and colleagues, thank you for your continued encouragement and prayers.

Thank you to Mia and Milo, my furry children. You provided much-needed companionship, calmness and humour when I needed these the most.

Finally, and with deep love and appreciation, to my beautiful wife and best friend, Karolien, thank you. This would not have been possible without your belief in me, your persistent encouragement and your understanding during days marred by long hours of work. Thank you for your 15 years of unflinching camaraderie. I love you.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
AQIP	Academic Qualification Improvement Programme
CAS	Crime Administration System
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CLE	City Law Enforcement
CPF	Community Police Forum
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CS	Civil Society
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DOJ	Department of Justice
DPCI	Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation, more commonly known as the 'Hawks'
DSD	Department of Social Development
DSO	Directorate for Special Operations
DT	Delirium Tremens
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCS	Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GREAT	Global Resources Epicenter against Human Trafficking
GST	General Systems Theory
HS	Health Services
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICS	Investigation Complex System
ICT	Information and Communications Technologies
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INT	International
IO	Investigating Officer
IRR	Institute of Race Relations

KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MED	Media
MP	Member of Parliament
NFN	National Freedom Network
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
PACOTIP	Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
POE	Ports of Entry
RTF	Rich Text Format
SANAB	South African Narcotics Bureau
SANPAD	South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development
SAPS	South African Police Service
SHT	Shelters
STP	Sex Trade Professional
TCS	Trafficking Complex System
TED	Tell, Explain and Describe
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICRI	United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNODC	United Nations Office against Drugs and Crime
UNTOC	United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
VIP	Very Important Person
VOT	Victims of Trafficking
VUCA	Volatile, Uncertain, Complex and Ambiguous
YPIA	Young People in International Affairs

CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
SUMMARY	iii
ISISHWANKATHELO	iv
IQOQO LOKUBALULEKILE	vi
KEY TERMS	viii
EDITOR'S DECLARATION	ix
DEDICATION	x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xii
LIST OF TABLES	xxiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xxiii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 COMPLEXITY AND EXISTING KNOWLEDGE APERTURES	2
1.3 TOWARDS MEANING-MAKING, NOVEL PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSITIONS	6
1.4 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES	8
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS	9
1.6 REFLEXIVE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PROBLEM STATEMENT	10
1.6.1 Background and Childhood	11
1.6.2 Life, Military and Early SAPS Career	12
1.6.3 Exposure to Human Trafficking	13
1.6.4 Investigating Human Trafficking	14
1.6.5 Awards, Contribution to Knowledge and Community Engagement ...	16
1.6.6 Faith in God	18
1.6.7 Contextualising the Problem and Purpose of the Research	18

1.7	KEY CONCEPTS	20
1.7.1	‘Lived Experience’	20
1.7.2	‘Investigating’ and ‘Investigation’ of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation	21
1.7.3	Heidegger’s View on ‘Truth’ as <i>Alētheia</i>	24
1.7.4	Concepts within the Sex Trade Discourse	26
1.7.4.1	‘Prostitution’ and ‘person in prostitution’	27
1.7.4.2	‘Victim’ and ‘survivor’ of human trafficking	28
1.7.4.3	‘Pimp’ and ‘trafficker’	29
1.7.4.4	‘Buyer’	30
1.7.5	Complex Systems Concepts.....	30
1.7.5.1	Investigation Complex System (ICS).....	30
1.7.5.2	Trafficking Complex System (TCS).....	31
1.7.5.3	Subsystems	32
1.8	CHAPTER LAYOUT	33
1.9	SUMMARY	34
CHAPTER 2 FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL: SOUTH AFRICA’S HUMAN TRAFFICKING ECOLOGY IN THE GLOBAL THEATRE		35
2.1	INTRODUCTION.....	35
2.2	HUMAN TRAFFICKING: A GLOBAL OVERVIEW.....	36
2.2.1	A Complex Phenomenon.....	36
2.2.2	Scope, Nature and Extent of Human Trafficking.....	40
2.2.3	Human Trafficking as Organised Crime.....	43
2.2.4	Combating Human Trafficking	46
2.2.5	Gaps in Research and Methodology	52
2.2.6	A Sociological Perspective on Human Trafficking	54
2.3	SLAVERY, OPPRESSION AND TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW.....	55

2.4	SOUTH AFRICA: THE CONTEXTUAL LANDSCAPE	59
2.4.1	Population and Geography.....	60
2.4.2	Governance and Politics.....	61
2.4.3	Economy.....	65
2.4.4	Human and Social Issues.....	66
2.4.5	Crime and Justice.....	68
2.5	FROM PALERMO TO THE PREVENTION AND COMBATING OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS ACT 7 OF 2013.....	73
2.5.1	The Palermo Protocol.....	73
2.5.2	Common Law, Statutory Crimes and Interim Legislative Provisions..	76
2.5.3	The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013	78
2.6	SOUTH AFRICA'S POST-PALERMO NARRATIVE.....	81
2.6.1	Human Trafficking in South Africa: An Overview	81
2.6.2	Scope, Nature and Extent of Human Trafficking.....	86
2.6.3	Prostitution, Human Trafficking and the South African Sex Trade.....	92
2.6.4	Missing Persons	100
2.7	SUMMARY	103
	CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	104
3.1	INTRODUCTION	104
3.2	PHILOSOPHICAL WORLDVIEW	104
3.2.1	Postmodernism.....	106
3.2.2	Social Constructionism	109
3.3	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	111
3.3.1	Qualitative Research Design	111
3.3.2	Phenomenology.....	112
3.3.2.1	Hermeneutic phenomenology	117
3.3.2.2	Reflexivity and the position of the researcher	119

3.3.3	Population and Sampling.....	122
3.3.4	Data Collection – Unstructured and In-depth Interviews.....	127
3.3.5	Data Analysis.....	135
3.3.5.1	Phase 1: ‘The wonder years’.....	136
3.3.5.2	Phase 2: From murky to muddled; from muddled to meaningful	140
3.3.5.3	Phase 3: First wave coding	141
3.3.5.4	Phase 4: Second wave coding.....	141
3.3.5.5	Phase 5: Essence, textural and structural description.....	142
3.3.5.6	Phase 6: In pursuit of <i>alētheia</i> , interpretation and invitation	143
3.4	THE ETHICAL DIMENSION OF THE STUDY.....	145
3.5	ACCURACY OF THE RESEARCH	149
3.5.1	Validation Strategies.....	149
3.5.1.1	Prolonged engagement and persistent observation	150
3.5.1.2	Triangulation	150
3.5.1.3	Peer review and debriefing	151
3.5.1.4	Clarifying researcher bias	151
3.5.1.5	Member checking.....	151
3.5.1.6	Rich, thick description	152
3.5.2	Reliability	153
3.5.3	Methodological Standards of Evaluation in Phenomenological Research	153
3.6	SUMMARY	157
	CHAPTER 4 ‘LIVED EXPERIENCES’: INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION	158
4.1	INTRODUCTION	158
4.2	INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS	159

4.2.1	City Law Enforcement.....	160
4.2.2	Civil Society	160
4.2.3	Department of Home Affairs	161
4.2.4	Department of Justice.....	162
4.2.5	Department of Social Development	162
4.2.6	Health Services	163
4.2.7	International.....	164
4.2.8	Media.....	164
4.2.9	National Prosecuting Authority	165
4.2.10	Non-Governmental Organisations	166
4.2.11	Ports of Entry	167
4.2.12	Sex Trade Professionals.....	168
4.2.13	Shelters	169
4.2.14	South African Police Service	170
4.2.15	Victims of Trafficking.....	171
4.3	LIVED EXPERIENCES OF PARTICIPANTS.....	172
4.3.1	THEME 1: Sex Trade, Human Trafficking and Organised Crime.....	173
4.3.1.1	A tangled web of activities.....	174
4.3.1.2	Various forms of recruitment into the sex trade.....	177
4.3.1.3	A continuum of control methods over victims	182
4.3.1.4	Brothels and places of exploitation: various shapes and sizes	186
4.3.1.5	'Johns' and the ever-present demand.....	190
4.3.1.6	Trafficking operations: resilient, resourced and sophisticated	195
4.3.1.7	Brazenness and impunity.....	199
4.3.1.8	The ambivalence of agency	201
4.3.2	THEME 2: Combating Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation ...	208

4.3.2.1	Knowledge vacuum: conceptual fragmentation and awareness deficit	209
4.3.2.2	Partnerships and synergy: a medley of insights and experiences.....	212
4.3.2.3	The SAPS: deficits in support, urgency and skills	217
4.3.2.4	Law enforcement and criminal investigation: a complex undertaking	222
4.3.2.5	Lack of proactive and intelligence-led investigation strategies	224
4.3.2.6	Specialisation deficit and the need for specialised units ...	227
4.3.2.7	Non-existent or ineffective intelligence and information systems.....	230
4.3.2.8	Missing persons and human trafficking: an unexplored nexus	232
4.3.2.9	Workload and human trafficking as an ad-hoc priority	233
4.3.2.10	Physical, emotional and psychological costs and risks	235
4.3.2.11	Discontentment with the status quo	241
4.3.3	THEME 3: Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation	242
4.3.3.1	Complex relationship dynamics between victims and traffickers	243
4.3.3.2	Disclosure as a process	245
4.3.3.3	Service provision challenges and the complexities of trauma	246
4.3.3.4	Contextual factors and special needs	249
4.3.3.5	Health problems	252
4.3.3.6	Drugs and addiction	254
4.3.3.7	Beyond control and captivity: transcending factors	258
4.3.3.8	The verity of minors as victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.....	259

4.3.3.9	Victims' resilience and capacity for justice	263
4.3.3.10	Lack of a victim-centred approach	264
4.3.4	THEME 4: Corruption and Compromise	267
4.3.4.1	Broad-stroked statements about corruption as endemic menace	268
4.3.4.2	A miscellany of grassroots' corruption manifestations.....	269
4.3.4.3	Corruption at ports of entry	276
4.3.4.4	Compromised embassies and embassy staffs	279
4.3.4.5	Corruption as an integral part of traffickers' modus operandi	281
4.3.4.6	The tainted influence of politics and bureaucratic power...	283
4.3.5	THEME 5: The Social Context and Scope of the Problem.....	286
4.3.5.1	South Africa's sociological landscape	287
4.3.5.2	Denial of the scope, nature and extent of the problem.....	292
4.3.5.3	Unidentified incidents of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.....	294
4.3.5.4	Undocumented cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.....	298
4.3.5.5	Limited value of statistics and shortfalls in research	302
4.4	SUMMARY	304
CHAPTER 5 COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEORY: MEANING-MAKING, NOVEL PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSITIONS		305
5.1	INTRODUCTION	305
5.2	THE TCS, THE SCOREBOARD AND THE 'BATTLE OF WITS'	305
5.3	COMPLEXITY AND THE 'VUCA' WORLD	307
5.4	COMPLEXITY, CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT	310
5.5	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THEORY IN RESEARCH.....	311
5.6	SYSTEMS THEORY	313

5.7	COMPLEXITY THEORY	320
5.7.1	Defining a ‘Complex System’	324
5.7.2	Natural versus Social Sciences	327
5.8	COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEMES	328
5.8.1	Complex versus Complicated	329
5.8.2	Boundaries, Environment and Perspectives	333
5.8.3	Hierarchy	337
5.8.4	Entropy and Negentropy	340
5.8.5	Interconnectedness, Interaction and Communication	343
5.8.6	Feedback and Feedback Loops	349
5.8.7	Unpredictability and Constant Change	353
5.8.8	Self-organisation and Emergence	356
5.8.9	Learning and Evolving	361
5.9	THE FRUITS OF COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEORY	364
5.10	LIMITATIONS OF COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEORY	367
5.11	SUMMARY	368
CHAPTER 6 EMBRACING COMPLEXITY: APPLICATION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION		369
6.1	INTRODUCTION	369
6.2	SUMMARY	369
6.3	THE ESSENCE OF PARTICIPANTS’ LIVED EXPERIENCES	374
6.4	INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: A COMPLEX SYSTEMS APPLICATION	379
6.4.1	Seeing the Part, Pursuing the Whole.....	380
6.4.2	Embracing the Power and Currency of Connections	384
6.4.3	Change, Asymmetry and Pre-emptive Capacity Building	388
6.4.4	Tweaking the Micro, Reconfiguring the Macro.....	391
6.4.5	Truth as <i>Alētheia</i> : Friend not Foe	394

6.5	RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESEARCH DIRECTIVES	397
6.5.1	Embracing Complex Systems Thinking	397
6.5.2	Specialisation and Proactive Intelligence-led Investigations.....	398
6.5.3	Parallel Counter-corruption Strategy	399
6.5.4	Prostitution Law	400
6.5.5	Prostitution and Human Trafficking Research	402
6.6	CONCLUSION.....	404
	LIST OF REFERENCES	406
	ANNEXURE 1: Media coverage of the researcher’s investigations	471
	ANNEXURE 2: Controversies in South Africa’s governance and politics.....	472
	ANNEXURE 3: Participants, subsystems and sampling employed	475
	ANNEXURE 4: Informed consent form	483
	ANNEXURE 5: Actor attribute form	486
	ANNEXURE 6: Complex systems characteristics form	487
	ANNEXURE 7: Confidentiality forms – Nikann Transcription Solutions	488
	ANNEXURE 8: UNISA College of Law ethical clearance for research	491
	ANNEXURE 9: Permission for research from government departments	492
	ANNEXURE 10: TIP case process flow.....	500

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1:	Global prosecutions, convictions and victims identified: 2009 to 2016 .	46
Table 2.2:	IRR national opinion survey of public attitudes	67
Table 2.3:	Reported TIP cases: 1 January 2006 to 12 December 2017	91
Table 2.4:	Reported missing persons: 1 January 2000 to 31 December 2015	102
Table 3.1:	Criteria for evaluating the phenomenological quality of a study	155

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1:	Provinces of South Africa	61
Figure 4.1:	The Investigation Complex System (ICS)	159
Figure 4.2:	Themes emanating from participants' lived experiences	173
Figure 4.3:	Theme 1	174
Figure 4.4:	Theme 2	209
Figure 4.5:	Theme 3	243
Figure 4.6:	Theme 4	267
Figure 4.7:	Theme 5	287
Figure 5.1:	The Trafficking Complex System (TCS)	306
Figure 6.1:	A complex system: The ICS, TCS and essence of participants' lived experiences	378
Figure 6.2:	A complex systems investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation	380

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

...there is nothing inevitable about trafficking in human beings...just because a certain abuse has taken place in the past doesn't mean that we have to tolerate that abuse in the future or that we can afford to avert our eyes.

(Kerry, 2016)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Every journey, whether contemplative or pragmatic, starts somewhere. This chapter serves to introduce the reflexive complexity of thought, experience and curiosity of the researcher that served as an impetus for this study, and which is positioned in a comprehensive and reflexive autobiographical problem statement. The reader is invited as a co-participant in this study's sense-making journey, where a different way of thinking about, and responding to, human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be ushered in. From the outset of the study the reader is prompted to embrace the full complexity intrinsic to the phenomenon being investigated, while being reminded that oversimplistic explanations and either-or approaches fall short of a 'whole' understanding of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The chapter will start off by positioning the issue of human trafficking, and more specifically human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, as a complex phenomenon with which scholars, practitioners, policy makers and activists, globally and in South Africa, grapple. The search for novel perspectives and propositions in the midst of prevailing complexity will then be highlighted. This is followed by the presentation of the research aim, objectives and questions that underpin this study. A reflexive autobiographical problem statement by the researcher is then presented, which explicates his background and position in the broader counter-human trafficking ecology and brings to the fore any biases which may influence the research. The chapter then moves to an operational clarification of key concepts, which is central not only to the substantive dimension of the study but also to its philosophical underpinnings. It concludes with the chapter layout of the rest of this study and a summary of the current chapter.

1.2 COMPLEXITY AND EXISTING KNOWLEDGE APERTURES

Since 2000 the global anti-trafficking movement has achieved some notable successes, yet so much work remains to be done as millions of people continue to be bound by various forms of coercion and manipulation by traffickers, who exploit their vulnerabilities for profit. This calls for deliberate efforts to address the ecological effects of human trafficking on society. The wider ecology of harm (Greenfield, Paoli & Zoutendijk, 2016: 152) underpins a range of consequences, from the rupture of families and communities and the distortion of global markets to the weakening of the rule of law and the solidification of transnational organised criminal networks (U.S. Department of State, 2016: 7). Ideological fault lines and agendas that have led to the politicisation of research methodologies (Raphael, 2017: 1), and unsustainable claims regarding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking (Dempsey, 2017: 61), also inhibit progress in the fight against the crime. The prospect of scholarly agreement on the best way forward for addressing the issue will remain elusive for most of the foreseeable future. There is certainly no research or evidence-based foundation for all-encompassing generalisations about best practices at this stage (Dragiewicz, 2015: 195).

Numerous studies have reported on the complex nature of human trafficking, which includes the inherent multidimensional complexities in effectively combating the phenomenon (Van der Watt & Kruger, 2017; Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017; Gómez-Mera, 2016; Van der Westhuizen, 2015; United Nations Office against Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2014; Centre for Social Justice, 2013; Joarder & Miller, 2013; Holmes, 2010; Aronowitz, 2009; Morehouse, 2009). Human trafficking is a multidimensional threat (Nair, 2010: 40) and deprives people of their human rights and freedom, increases global health risks and stimulates the growth of organised crime (U.S. Department of State, 2008: 5). The 'complexity' of human trafficking therefore manifests in various ways.

With regard to the history of slavery and in conducting an analysis of the present-day conceptualisation of human trafficking, Mollema (2013: iii) notes that human trafficking is a highly complex concept and that there are a variety of approaches to understanding the notion of human trafficking. In her book on the intersection of the transnational drug trade and human trafficking in South Africa, Friedman (2014: 131)

indicates that the complexity of the crime is revealed in the myriad of ways in which it is established, whilst Frankel (2016a: 4) points to the dynamics of trafficking, which are imprecise for a variety of reasons. These dynamics, according to Frankel (2016a: 4-5), are idiosyncratic, complex and contingent upon a host of shape-shifting factors that range from the characteristics of a victim to the efficiency of the entire criminal justice system. In South Africa, the enduring impact of decades of racial division continues to detract from the value of life for all people in the new democratic theatre. For Van der Watt and Van der Westhuizen (2017: 219), the complexity of human trafficking emerges from a range of interacting factors that include the nature of the crime as a process rather than an event; the range of perpetrators, from individuals to large international organisations; the apparently endless number of ways in which people are exploited; and the variety of social, economic and cultural factors that intersect.

The question may be asked 'Do we need another study on human trafficking for sexual exploitation?' when the need for studies on areas such as labour trafficking is widely communicated (Dragiewicz, 2015; Walsh, 2014). In response to such a question, one does not need to look too far before establishing that the knowledge base regarding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation globally is deeply fragmented. This is especially the case in South Africa. As will be deconstructed in Chapter 2, the structural limitations in both the South African landscape and the actual efforts to respond to the crime inhibit the potential to grasp the multilayered and intricate 'whole' of the phenomenon. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation continues to be a pressing concern and, despite the array of perspectives from which human trafficking has been explored, "*there are more discoveries to be made*" (Ikeora, 2016: 10). Horne (2014: ix) points to the "*demand-driven phenomenon*" of trafficking of women and children for commercial sexual exploitation, which lies in the "*expansion and ever growing sexual entertainment industry*". Still, Horne (2014: 332) argues, a substantial knowledge vacuum exists as to the exact extent and nature of the crime in South Africa.

The U.S. Department of State's Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report (2017: 362-365) points to a number of shortcomings in South Africa's response to human trafficking. South Africa does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of human

trafficking and reports over the past five years have consistently identified South Africa as a source, transit and destination country for men, women and children subjected to human trafficking for sexual exploitation and labour (U.S. Department of State, 2017: 362-365; U.S. Department of State, 2016: 340; U.S. Department of State, 2015: 308; Swart, 2012: 62). In addition to a severe lack of funding for counter-human trafficking activities, poor record keeping and administration around the issue of statistics, official complicity and corruption, and the dominance of a number of international syndicates that continue to operate with impunity are some of the concerns raised (U.S. Department of State, 2017: 362-365). Despite the rapid expansion of counter-trafficking efforts, the minimal trafficking convictions in South Africa also remain a disturbing reality (Capazorio, 2017; Kruger, 2016: 54-55). In a new low for South Africa's counter-trafficking efforts, the latest U.S. Department of State TIP report (2018: 388) has pointed out that, for the second consecutive year, the government's lack of sufficient funding for efforts to combat human trafficking has prevented front-line responders from fully implementing the current legislation. As a consequence, South Africa has been downgraded to the Tier 2 Watch List.

Ideological fault lines, agendas and unsustainable claims regarding human trafficking for sexual exploitation are also problematic as the tension between abolitionist and preservationist agendas continues to simmer. Those that adopt an abolitionist stance have often been accused of sensationalising the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and of proffering 'lies', exaggerating and fuelling moral panic (Skosana & Wilkinson, 2017; Chiumia & Wilkinson, 2013), whilst preservationist perspectives diminish the estimations about the scope of the problem, call for more evidence-based research and argue for the decriminalisation of the sex trade (Palmary, 2016; Gould, 2014; Gould & Richter, 2010). These contending perspectives about the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be unpacked in Chapter 2.

However, one sweeping claim that contributed to the curiosity-infused conceptualisation and methodological decisions in this study was made in the paper entitled 'Sex Trafficking and Prostitution in South Africa' by Gould (2014: 200), who concludes with the assertion that:

“...it would appear that international pressure to comply with the Palermo Protocol as well as to improve South Africa’s status on the US State Department’s ranking list, contributed to the creation of sex trafficking as a social problem in South Africa.”

In stark contrast to the day-to-day realities of police investigators, social workers and prosecutors who work on human trafficking cases, the same paper (Gould, 2014) calls into question elemental truths about the crime. These include the use of deception and force as means of recruitment into the sex trade, the prominence of drugs and addiction as control methods over persons in prostitution, and the role of poverty and vulnerability as predisposing factors that play into the hands of traffickers. Even the likelihood *“that there are many child prostitutes”* in South Africa is diminished by Gould (2014: 199), who found *“little evidence”* to substantiate the aforementioned *“popular notions”*.

In a similar vein, Palmary (2016: 53) tracks the *“invention of trafficking as a preoccupation in South Africa”*. She attempts to deconstruct how and why trafficking matters in contemporary South Africa and points to *“post-apartheid moral orders”* that dictate the aforementioned preoccupation over other forms of violence. Both Palmary (2016) and Gould (2014) underscore problematic shortfalls in research methodologies and expose blemished claims around the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation by those that adopt an abolitionist orientation. However, these authors fail to provide a functional grasp of the definition of trafficking and, in fact, seem to truncate the definition and clearly disregard its scope and purpose. This intrinsically exposes a failure to understand how human trafficking for sexual exploitation manifests at grassroots’ level, whilst actual cases are undercounted and the scope of the problem largely underestimated.

The researcher found these claims about both prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa puzzling, problematic and contrary to his own continuous micro-level experience with the phenomena over the past 16 years. It is also the researcher’s ongoing investigative experience that justice for many victims remains an elusive destination as many continue to fall through man-made cracks solidified by corruption, lack of knowledge, ignorance and obscured agendas. These

perspectives around the framing of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa will be unpacked in Section 2.6.3.

1.3 TOWARDS MEANING-MAKING, NOVEL PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSITIONS

As will be argued in this study, the themes and complexities that make up human trafficking for sexual exploitation, both globally and in South Africa, can be considered as emergent properties from countless micro-level interactions and bottom-up processes that collectively enable the status quo. Human trafficking as a messy, dynamic and complex crime cannot be studied from an air-conditioned office in the ivory towers of academia, nor will sanitary gloves and laboratory coats get researchers close to an emic perspective of the web of life that oxygenates and perpetuates the crime.

Against this backdrop the researcher was most interested in the actual lived experiences and voices of participants who engage hands-on in the day-to-day realities of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Not only those who are formally mandated to investigate the crime were considered in this study, but also journalists, civil society, victims of the crime and those who perpetrate it. What do they say? Why is human trafficking for sexual exploitation such a complex crime to investigate? And, in trying to grasp the knowledge vacuums and ideological chasms in the discourse, the researcher was intrigued to find out whether sex trafficking was really 'created' as a social problem in South Africa as a means to appease international obligations? From a complex systems perspective, all these issues that contribute to the intricate 'whole' of the phenomenon are important.

It is the contention of the researcher that South Africa's counter-human trafficking journey is still in a state of infancy and so is the research that should be generated to bring about desired change. Fundamental knowledge and experiences that can be uncovered and translated into strategies to effectively combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation remain hidden. Up until now, a few dominant voices, 'experts' and 'knowledgeable' key informants, and almost regurgitated reflections from police, prosecutors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), responding to linear interview schedules, have commanded the understanding of this intricate monster

called human trafficking. The need exists not only for new perspectives and taken-for-granted 'voices' to be unearthed and heard, but also for the application of innovative and even unconventional research methodologies in the endeavour to uncover them.

Following this chapter's introduction to the study, a comprehensive deconstruction of the multifaceted global and local landscape within which those selected as participants in this study investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be provided in Chapter 2, after which the research methodology employed will be presented in Chapter 3. Threaded by philosophical and phenomenological insights by thought leaders such as Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Max Van Manen, the novel perspectives sought in this study will be fertilised with the lived experiences of 91 participants from 15 different vantage points at its crux. The participants, their vantage points and verbatim extracts of their lived experiences will be introduced and presented in Chapter 4.

In moving towards the interpretive stages of the study, complex systems theory will be deconstructed and operationalised in Chapter 5 in a meaning-making endeavour to better understand the intricacies of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. According to Van der Westhuizen (2015: 13), the complex systems approach "*has not been used extensively in human trafficking research*". Williams (2009: 416) points out that human trafficking has "*all the characteristics of a complex system*" and states that those endeavouring to respond to this crime must "*create a system that looks remarkably similar to the one they are trying to destroy*". This study is the first to employ complex systems theory in conceptualising the multipronged investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. It is also the first study to include such a voluminous number and diverse range of participants. These participants make up the Investigation Complex System (ICS) and partake in a continuum of investigative activities aimed at combating the Trafficking Complex System (TCS). In harmony with the arguments of several authors (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014; Uprichard & Byrne, 2006; Guhathakurta, 2002; Luhman & Boje, 2001), who advocate the use of narratives in relation to understanding complex systems, the researcher considered the lived experiences, accounts, stories and assigned meanings shared by participants towards framing a complex systems understanding of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

In Chapter 6, the phenomenological essence of participants' lived experiences will be presented and considered, when the themes, ideas and principles from complex systems theory will be used in a proposed application to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Recommendations and research directives are also presented in Chapter 6 as the closing chapter.

1.4 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Malterud (2001: 485) describes the aim of research as the production of information that can be shared and applied beyond the study setting. The principal aim of scientific research, according to Denscombe (2002: 11), is to merge the power of rational thought and systematic investigation to produce new knowledge. Aims may also include the understanding of properties and relationships and the confirmation of findings by other researchers. The overarching aim of this study was:

To understand (*verstehen*¹) the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation through the lived experiences of participants who have first-hand knowledge of the phenomenon.

Kumar (2014: 262) notes that the objectives of a study should be clearly stated and specific in nature, each delineating only one issue.

The objectives of this research were:

- To explore the lived experiences of multipronged stakeholders, including civil society, victims and traffickers, regarding the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation;
- To determine what are the multilayered complexities and realities inherent in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation as experienced by all stakeholders, including civil society, victims and traffickers;

¹ *Verstehen* is a German term for the interpretive understanding of human interaction that attempts to comprehend human behaviour through the emic perspectives of participants in a study (Simon & Goes, 2011).

- To explore the relevance of complex systems theory for the multipronged investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in understanding the lived experiences of stakeholders, including civil society, victims and traffickers; and
- To determine the value of complex systems theory in contributing to a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The explicated research aim and objectives are now followed by the presentation of the research question and sub-questions that underpinned this study.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

Once the purpose of the research is conveyed, the focus is directed to the research questions (Mason, 1996: 15), which should communicate the fundamental nature of the enquiry and which are ultimately addressed by the research (Denscombe, 2002: 31; Mason, 1996: 15).

The research question is:

What are the lived experiences of participants in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, and what value does complex systems theory have for understanding their experiences, whilst contributing to a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy into human trafficking for sexual exploitation?

The research sub-questions are:

- What are the lived experiences of multipronged stakeholders, including civil society, victims and traffickers, in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation?
- What are the multilayered complexities and realities inherent in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation as experienced by all stakeholders, including civil society, victims and traffickers?

- What is the relevance of complex systems theory for the multipronged investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in understanding the lived experiences of stakeholders, including civil society, victims and traffickers, within the complex systems theoretical framework?
- What is the value of complex systems theory in contributing to a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation?

The research aim, objectives and questions flow from an endeavour to understand more clearly all the issues that relate to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The researcher's reflexive autobiographical problem statement will be presented in the next section.

1.6 REFLEXIVE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PROBLEM STATEMENT

Owing to the hermeneutical phenomenological slant of the study, as is discussed in Chapter 3, and the researcher's personal and ongoing experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, which led to an interest in the topic, the researcher drafted an autobiographical problem statement. The autobiographical problem statement elaborates on the researcher's experience with the phenomenon under investigation, highlights incidents that led to puzzlement about the topic and addresses the concept of reflexivity (Creswell, 2013: 226, 228). The researcher's background, prior knowledge and biases with regard to the study phenomena are interconnected with the research and influence data generation and analysis. Explicating the aforementioned issues is therefore crucially important at the outset of the study (Rodgers & Cowles, 1993). Qualitative research inevitably requires an "*investment of the self*" (Birks, 2014: 24). The autobiographical problem statement serves as a catalyst drafted reflexively by the researcher to highlight his position, shows the reader what underpinned the engagement with participants and the approach taken to collecting and analysing data, and informs the way in which the findings are presented (Birks, 2014: 25).

As a characteristic of a good qualitative study and a contribution to research rigour, the research should reflect the history, culture and personal experiences of the researcher. The autobiographical problem statement provides insights into how the

researcher's history, gender, culture and lived experiences inform all aspects of the qualitative assignment, from his choice of questions posed to how data is collected, to how he formulates an interpretation of the situation and to what he expects to obtain from conducting the research (Creswell, 2013: 54-55). This was particularly important in the study of a complex social problem that resembles an ideological minefield where perspectives contend and concessions are largely absent. The autobiographical problem statement is presented in the first person.

1.6.1 Background and Childhood

I am a white Afrikaans male and 38 years of age in 2018. Growing up in a middle-class South African family with a father in service of the government as a police official, I recall being a curious young boy and familiar with issues subsumed under the apartheid-era meta-narrative. These included issues of race, racism, safety and security, the 'bush war', crime and violence, communism, rugby and, as displayed by my father, the honour of being a policeman and serving your country. Spending much time in front of the television, I found great inspiration in the fictitious life of boxing legend Rocky Balboa (Rocky Balboa, 2016), and meticulously studied the Vietnam War through the lens of Oliver Stone's 1986 film 'Platoon' (Platoon, 2016) and Stanley Kubrick's 1987 film 'Full Metal Jacket' (Full Metal Jacket, 2016). The knowledge I gained of the Vietnam War and the mistakes made by the US military whilst engaging an unknown and hidden enemy I still use in presentations, where I juxtapose the US approach to this war with counter-trafficking efforts and the 'war' on human trafficking.

Growing up in a Christian family and having my first God-experience at the age of seven, I recall the familiar feeling of profound joy when sharing the gospel through the spread of mustard seed scripture cards. I vividly remember the excitement I felt when receiving thank you calls from strangers who had found a scripture card and our home telephone number in their post-box. Making a difference and influencing the lives of others therefore became an attractive prospect at a tender age. With a passion for rugby and cricket, my first memory of a deep emotive experience was of not being selected for provincial colours in primary school. Upon deeper reflection I now realise that much of the emotion emanated from a sense of disappointing others, including my dad, close friends and family members, who believed Marcel would be the next Springbok rugby scrumhalf. My dad remained my superman throughout my childhood

and the Charlie Dicks' song 'Medals for Mothers' (Dicks, 2016) still rings in my ear when I think of my mom during those years.

1.6.2 Life, Military and Early SAPS Career

With no intake for the South African Police Service (SAPS) during my senior certificate year, I was left with three career options: soldier, pastor or professional musician. The separation and subsequent divorce of my parents, no funding for graduate studies in music, and a period of experimentation with alcohol and parties not entirely congruent with the life of a pastor nudged me to opt for military training in 1998. It was a year of momentous life experience, in which I had to confront the hurt of my parents' divorce, deal with character insecurity and major depressive spells and, most of all, learn that God is indeed very real and desires a relationship with me.

A career in the SAPS became a reality in October 2001 when I was sworn in as a police official. The privilege of earning a fixed income and being able to fund graduate studies allowed me to start studying towards a National Diploma: Policing. What can only be described as a paradigm shift in my worldview, and a critical reflection on my position as a white male in a country critically injured by racism and human rights' abuses, came into being. I questioned my own embedded prejudices and harboured subtle resentment against role models in my life that had remained passive during the times when injustice prevailed. I thought of a time when South Africa was burning whilst the privileged white minority clung to the ancient Afrikaans slogan '*Vir Volk en Vaderland*' [For Nation and Fatherland]. In a reflective opinion piece about past and prevailing white racism in South Africa, I later wrote:

“Social media and public commentary on online news websites are saturated with racial slurs and intolerance. This is where the faceless ‘brave’ can be found buffered by ridiculous pseudonyms and cyber confinement. Obsessively musing over the ‘good old days’, their divisive tongues sow discord whilst they falsely claim to represent the views of the ‘oppressed’.”

(Van der Watt, 2015a)

Two books and one relationship impelled the aforementioned tipping point towards critical self-reflection. The books were the Bible, which I began studying after committing my life to Christ in 2001, and a graduate studies in policing textbook

Policing and Human Rights (Nel & Bezuidenhout, 1997). I was seized with an inexplicable excitement about the prospect of facilitating justice as a police official. This new knowledge and a sense of purpose infused a much-needed resilience for police work in a country notorious for crime and violence. My beautiful wife, Karolien, became a trusted companion, inspiration and reminder of the valuable work that I was doing.

1.6.3 Exposure to Human Trafficking

My operational career in the SAPS began in June 2002, when I was first confronted with the reality of human trafficking in Port Elizabeth. At the time, knowledge about human trafficking and how it manifested in society was almost non-existent. Criminal acts related to human trafficking were dealt with under different pieces of legislation due to the lack of legislation that addressed the crime of human trafficking. This led to incidents of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation being addressed as cases of prostitution and public nuisance whilst victims would often find themselves in a vicious cycle of abuse and exploitation with little hope of justice. Some of these experiences were documented by me in a social justice blog:

“[I] recall countless pleas for ‘mercy’ and ‘help’ by drug induced and often physically scarred women who claimed that they were ‘forced’ or brought to the city against their will. I occasionally felt sorry for them. ‘Sometimes their tears seem real’, I recall telling a colleague at the time who quickly reminded me that we had a job to do.”

(Van der Watt, 2017)

Force and coercion experienced by ‘prostitutes’ were commonplace, and so was the toxic chemistry of drugs, manipulation and fear induced by their pimps. Many of the girls, some minors, came from other provinces to the Eastern Cape and often pleaded to be released as they *“do not want to do this job”*. During my early SAPS career between 2002 and 2005, it was frequently part of crime prevention strategies to arrest as many ‘prostitutes’ as possible when there were no serious complaints coming in. More ‘prostitutes’ arrested meant better success logs, which in turn allowed for more praise being showered on commanders and the unit as a whole. I regretfully look back on this era with annoyance at my own ignorance and lack of knowledge.

1.6.4 Investigating Human Trafficking

My concern about and interest in crimes committed against women and children grew during my time as a frontline police officer and served as a stepping stone for the next chapter in my SAPS career. I joined the Port Elizabeth Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences (FCS) Unit in December 2005. During my time at the FCS Unit, I recall cases of women from other provinces who reported incidents of rape by men with whom they had recently become acquainted. Ruses such as false job offers and various forms of force and deception that precipitated rape incidents were by no means anomalies. Some of these cases bore remarkable similarities to the elements of trafficking defined in subsequent pieces of legislation.

In January 2008 I was tasked with assisting in a contentious missing person case involving a 15-year-old minor, Janice Kakora, who had gone missing from a Port Elizabeth beach on 31 December 2007. Outrage by the community at the manner in which the preliminary investigation was handled was reported to police management and I was eventually assigned to take over the investigation. What started out as a missing person investigation eventually morphed into the investigation of what appeared to be part of a Nigerian syndicate responsible for the trafficking in persons between Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein and Pretoria. The missing teen was never found, but the investigation into her disappearance led to a greater national awareness of the reality of human trafficking and the identification of and assistance to numerous other victims of trafficking.

The Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007 came into force on 16 December 2007 and criminalised the trafficking in persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The SAPS soon realised the multilayered complexities presented by the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and acknowledged the importance of a multidisciplinary response. I soon became immersed in numerous investigations of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and was confounded by the intricacies inherent in a quest for justice. Realising that any measure of success is virtually impossible without multi- and interdisciplinary participation, I took the initiative and started raising awareness about the reality of trafficking in Port Elizabeth and further afield. This included extending invitations to different governmental departments, NGOs and communities to self-funded presentations on the issue.

Invaluable relationships were nurtured during these engagements, which became integral to subsequent investigations and service provision to victims of human trafficking.

The case of *S v Ndukauba and 5 others* emerged from the lengthy investigation into the disappearance of 15-year-old Janice Kakora. This matter highlighted the multilayered complexities that are faced by investigators and stakeholders who are mandated to make a discipline-specific contribution to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Some of the investigative challenges included the large geographical area of investigation, intimidation of victims and witnesses, complex relationships between victims and perpetrators, drug dependency of victims and witnesses, corruption, judicial proceedings and institutional bureaucracies. The case of *S v Ndukauba and 5 others* was also characterised by the subversive nature of organised crime and the coordination of parallel investigative activities amongst a range of stakeholders. As investigator, I was responsible for facilitating a process of communication and decision making between multiple stakeholders whilst having to be sensitive to their discipline-specific challenges. This principle does, however, resonate with all stakeholders who are directly, or indirectly, involved in the process of investigation. Multiple variables therefore have to be considered by investigators in formulating an investigative strategy and deciding on the ultimate goal of the investigation. In harmony with Gallagher and Holmes (2008) and Nair (2010: 40), I acknowledge the importance of an effective multidisciplinary response to cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. However, in practice, and supported by the lack of convictions in human trafficking cases locally and internationally, an effective criminal justice response is an intricate undertaking.

In February 2011 I left the employ of the SAPS and took up a position as lecturer in the Department of Police Practice at the University of South Africa (UNISA). During October 2011 I began volunteering as human trafficking case manager for the National Freedom Network (NFN), where I am responsible for responding and providing assistance to cases of human trafficking incidents. In the past seven years since October 2011, I have received, responded to or facilitated action in more than 600 reports that relate to human trafficking. My role often includes meeting with witnesses

or informants, compiling reports, doing surveillance and obtaining statements. This means that I remain involved with activities related to investigation, intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing in consultation with the relevant agencies, which include the SAPS, Department of Home Affairs (DHA), Department of Social Development (DSD), National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), NGOs and civil society.

1.6.5 Awards, Contribution to Knowledge and Community Engagement

I gained international recognition for my work in counter-human trafficking and received numerous awards and commendations for the investigation of the crime. These include awards from the National Police Commissioner, Rotary International, ADT Security and a nomination as a finalist in the Police Star of the Year competition. For my contribution to the field of counter-human trafficking, I received an unreserved endorsement from E. Benjamin Skinner, fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School CARR CENTER for Human Rights Policy, Massachusetts, USA, and author of 'A Crime So Monstrous' (Skinner, 2008). A number of human trafficking cases and related issues that I dealt with received extensive media coverage (**ANNEXURE 1**), which added an additional layer of complexity to the investigation process. In 2014 I was awarded a position in the 'Top 35 under 35 Africans' by the Young People in International Affairs (YPIA), for which my contribution to the field of counter-human trafficking was a determining factor. My work has been presented at a number of local and international conferences and platforms and I have participated in 87 television and radio interviews on the issue of human trafficking since 2009. Community engagement and knowledge dissemination amongst multidisciplinary agencies involved in counter-human trafficking work remains a passion for me. I am part of multiple platforms, both in South Africa and internationally, where I engage with actual incidents, discussions and responses to issues within the broader human trafficking theatre. These platforms include:

- Human trafficking case manager for the NFN (ongoing since October 2011);
- Member of the Gauteng Human Trafficking Task Team (ongoing since October 2011);
- Member of the Gauteng Rapid Response Team for Human Trafficking (ongoing since 2012);

- Member of the National Intersectoral Committee for Trafficking in Persons (ongoing since July 2015);
- Project Manager for UNISA's community engagement project 'Tshireletso' on human trafficking (for period February 2013 to December 2015); and
- Research Director and founding member of the Global Resources Epicenter against Human Trafficking (GREAT) (ongoing since October 2013).

I therefore occupy the fortunate position of both practitioner and researcher and remain immersed in the multilayered complexities associated with the investigation into human trafficking. From an academic perspective, I have been the fortunate recipient of two separate scholarships, which have fundamentally influenced my research in terms of quality, scope, resources and disposable time in which to complete the research. The first scholarship received was from the South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) on 6 June 2012 for training in social science research methodologies towards the completion of doctoral studies. The programme took place in seven block periods for a total of eight weeks over a period of one year between September 2012 and September 2013. During this period my research proposal and methodology were refined, critically reflected upon and had to be defended during a live *viva* in front of fellow PhD students and an international panel of social scientists. I completed the programme with an overall 'excellent' rating.

The second scholarship I received was the Academic Qualification Improvement Programme (AQIP) on 17 June 2014. The programme is a competitive research scholarship that aims to assist UNISA permanent academic staff to pursue senior qualifications, masters and doctoral degrees, on a full-time basis. I started with the scholarship on 5 January 2015, which enabled me to work on my doctoral study on a full-time basis. Furthermore, the AQIP financial assistance towards fieldwork allowed for the research to be conducted on a national level and for an above-average number of multistakeholder participants to be included in the study. I am eternally grateful for these opportunities that were offered to me.

On 6 November 2017 I testified as an expert witness in the case of *S v Benjamin Obioma Abba and Another* after being requested by the state to assist the court in understanding dynamics around the issues of *modus operandi* and control methods

employed by traffickers (De Lange, 2017). The case was heard in the Gauteng North (Pretoria) High Court. Judgment in the matter was delivered on 14 December 2017, during which two Nigerian nationals were convicted of crimes related to human trafficking (Venter, 2017). I introduced my PhD research during my court testimony and highlighted themes emanating from my study that were consistent with the case before the court. In a comprehensive judgment, Judge Ronel Tolmay mentioned my PhD study, including the methodology and the variety of perspectives it offers on the complex crime of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The judgment made favourable reference to my testimony, which served as corroboration of the accounts provided by both victims in the matter. I have since provided expert court testimony in a number of cases related to human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

1.6.6 Faith in God

Finally, and most importantly, I believe in the God of the Bible (John 1: 1, 14), consider myself an ambassador for Christ (2 Corinthians 5: 20) and pursue Godly wisdom (James 3: 17) in my work. I strive to know God, and to make Him known. I often fail dismally and do so more than I would like to admit. I acknowledge the increasingly pluralistic nature of academia and the broader global village in which we are vested, and also realise the many controversies associated with an unashamed and unequivocal statement of faith in God. Duly acknowledging the view amongst some that a tension exists between postmodernism and Christianity, I consider postmodernism and constructivism as the most suitable approaches for addressing the problem explored in this research. The complexity and multilayered standpoints and 'truths' associated with combating human trafficking for sexual exploitation have made these perspectives worthy arrows in my knowledge-generation quiver, and I have used them in my attempt to facilitate a fresh and non-reductionist understanding and response.

1.6.7 Contextualising the Problem and Purpose of the Research

With reference to the ongoing discourse surrounding the complexities inherent in the combating of human trafficking, and the fragmented understanding of the current state of affairs in South Africa as will be detailed in Chapter 2, I endeavoured to establish the lived experiences of those who have first-hand experience with the investigation

of actual incidents of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. My background and ongoing experience with the investigation of the crime have prompted deeper questioning and the need for further exploration. Some of my own questions that could be considered as the impetus for this study are:

- Why, after 14 years of international obligations, has South Africa still not prosecuted any international syndicates?
- What makes the investigation and subsequent prosecution of human trafficking for sexual exploitation cases so difficult?
- With all the claims and hype around the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa, where is the concomitant statistics and evidence to back this up?
- Why are there discrepancies between my personal lived experience with the reality of the phenomenon over the past 16 years and the claims made by preservationists and pro-prostitution lobby groups? What are these discrepancies? Was sex trafficking really 'created' as a social problem in response to international obligations?
- Are there any hidden, unspoken or undocumented issues that could be revealed, concretised and acted upon?
- What contribution do the multiple perspectives of the multistakeholder contributors to the investigation and prosecution process make?
- Are there any taken-for-granted perspectives and knowledge that can benefit our human trafficking combating efforts?
- Is there potential for harnessing complexities instead of being perplexed by them?
- Can a new way of thinking, understanding and response be developed? Can new meanings be found by considering the complex systems theoretical lens?

The aforementioned questions prompted a sense of wonder and a nudging curiosity in me as researcher. Gadamer (1975: 299) argues that "*understanding begins when something addresses us*". Hermeneutic phenomenologist Martin Heidegger (1976: 17) puts it as follows:

"We must learn thinking because our being able to think, and even gifted for it, is still no guarantee that we are capable of thinking. To be capable, we must before all else incline toward what addresses itself to thought – and that is that

which of itself gives food for thought. What gives us this gift, the gift of what must properly be thought about, is what we call most thought provoking.”

The experiences and pre-understandings that I explicated in this reflexive autobiographical problem statement underpinned and impelled this research (see also: Crowther, Ironside, Spence & Smythe, 2016: 4). In the next section, a number of concepts will be discussed and operationalised to familiarise readers with and invite them on this sense-making journey.

1.7 KEY CONCEPTS

It is important for researchers to operationalise and define the terms they use in order to assist readers in understanding the particular meaning of the terminology employed in a study. This is particularly important if the readers are not familiar with the particular field of study (Creswell, 2003: 143). The researcher deemed it prudent to explicate how his thinking had evolved about the central issue in this research: participants' lived experiences regarding the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Furthermore, by explicating the operational meanings of concepts, the impetus behind embracing a robust philosophical perspective will become clear as will the reason for including participants beyond the criminal justice system in this study. For the purpose of this section, the notion of 'lived experience' will first be operationalised, followed, second, by the concepts 'investigating' and 'investigation' of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Third, an overview of the Heideggerian view of 'truth', which has significance in the hermeneutical phenomenological approach (detailed in Chapter 3), will be presented. Fourth, ideologically infused concepts used in discourses around the sex trade and human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be clarified. This will be followed, fifth, by an operationalisation of the concepts 'Investigation Complex System' and 'Trafficking Complex System', followed by the concept 'subsystem'. These concepts are discussed below.

1.7.1 'Lived Experience'

Exploring participants' lived experiences regarding the complex endeavour of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation was central to this study. Here it becomes important to distinguish between 'human experience', which is the chief

epistemological foundation of qualitative research, and 'lived experience', which, according to Van Manen (2014: 39), is translated from the German word *Erlebnis* and contains special methodological significance. Van Manen (2014: 39) states that the etymology of the English word 'experience' does not include the meaning of 'lived' and is derived from the Latin word *experientia*, which denotes 'trial', 'proof', 'experiment' and 'experience'. However, the German term for experience, *Erlebnis*, inherently contains the word *Leben*, which denotes 'life' or 'to live'. Thus, the verb *erleben* accurately means 'living through something'. Van Manen continues to explain that lived experience brings life to the paradoxical moments and aspects of experience as people live through them as part of their mortal existence (Van Manen, 2014: 39).

From the researcher's personal paradoxical and 'living through' experiences with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, these lived experiences may relate to multiple perceptions and perspectives, insinuations and nuances, convoluted emotions, lack of understanding, ignorance, arrogance, fragmented communication strategies, good practice, bad practice, bureaucratic challenges and contending decision-making processes and mandates. At times, the researcher's sense of reality was indeed experienced as "*uncertain, excessive, hazy, mad, bewildering, perplexing, [and] unintelligible*" (Van Manen, 2014: 68). It is by no means the purpose of this research to provide answers or establish the truth of things. Rather, its purpose is slanted towards prompting deeper reflection, discovering alternative meanings and generating new questions, which stem from 'living through' the efforts to investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

1.7.2 'Investigating' and 'Investigation' of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

The researcher's understanding of investigation was born of his training and experience as a law enforcement officer in the SAPS and the general rhetoric around criminal investigation. According to Marais (1992:1), criminal investigation involves:

"the lawful tracing of people and instruments which may, directly or indirectly, contribute to the reconstruction of a crime situation and supply information about the people involved in it...in this process an attempt is made to move from the known to the unknown."

Marais argues that *“crime investigation is a process of identification of people and physical objects from the time the crime is committed until the guilt of the perpetrator is either proven or disproven in court”* (Marais, 1992: 1). Stelfox (2009: 1) states that criminal investigation involves *“locating, gathering and using information to bring offenders to justice, or to achieve one of the other objectives set for it by the police service, such as victim care, intelligence gathering or managing crime risks”*.

Notwithstanding that they bring to the fore some key pillars in the process of criminal investigation, these definitions fail to adequately represent the researcher’s practical experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The definitions radiate oversimplification and inadvertently fuel the illusion of control by mandating investigators to follow a linear process to achieve a proportional outcome. This reductionism is particularly evident in the definition of crime investigation by Van Rooyen (2007: 6) as the *“systematic, organized search for the truth”*, which is, accordingly, *“a process that entails actions such as observation and enquiry for the purpose of gathering objective and subjective evidence about an alleged crime or incident”*.

It is the contention of the researcher that the aforementioned definitions of criminal investigation, which is the subject of international concurrence, fall short of addressing the complex and nuanced undertaking of crime investigation, especially the crime of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. This type of crime is steeped in hiddenness, deception and multiple truths. A further influencing factor is the ambivalence of ‘agency’ in terms of the issue of prostitution. Furthermore, a constant battle of wits between organised criminals and law enforcement and, most importantly, a range of different stakeholders in the counter-trafficking response, each with their own history, mandate, motivation and, sometimes, obscured agendas, make the *“systematic, organized search for the truth”* seem increasingly elusive.

Human trafficking, which is deconstructed in Chapter 2 as a multilayered complex social problem that intersects with numerous disciplinary boundaries, therefore necessitates the incorporation of a range of perspectives emerging from more than one discipline (Laczko, 2007: 42). In formulating the research problem and research questions, the multiple and different stakeholders involved in investigating human trafficking were considered. This led to the removal of the adjective ‘crime’ and to a

focus solely on the concept of ‘investigation’. Carrier and Spafford (2004: 2) define investigation as a process that develops and tests hypotheses to answer questions about events that occurred, whilst Gunter and Hertig (2005: 1) point to a “*systematic fact finding and reporting process with a multi-disciplinary characteristic covering, amongst others, the law, sciences and communications*”.

The focus on ‘investigation’ and ‘investigating’ allowed for congruency between the concepts used by the researcher and the net was now cast wider to include a broader range of participants and perspectives. In addition to traditional stakeholders such as police officials, investigators, prosecutors and social workers, who contribute to the criminal justice response to human trafficking, this study included participants from, amongst others, civil society, NGOs, shelters, health services, media, international organisations, victims of trafficking and those with experience of past and present inner workings of organised crime, human trafficking and the sex trade in South Africa. The stringent sampling criteria and strategy used are explicated in Chapter 3, whilst the participants and their respective subsystems are introduced in Chapter 4. Thus, not only those mandated with the ‘criminal’ investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation were considered important in this study, but also a range of others who directly or indirectly contribute to the ‘investigation’.

Duly considering the aforementioned definitions of ‘criminal investigation’ and ‘investigation’, and including the variety of participants and the complexity of the phenomenon explored in this research, the concepts ‘investigating’ and ‘investigation’ as employed here include the following definitional elements and activities:

- a process that develops [which is]
- systematic and systemic [and involves]
- an organised search, research and exploration [with a]
- multi- and interdisciplinary characteristic [that is attuned to]
- subtle nuances, paradoxes, multiple truths and realities [which seeks]
- to find new meaning [and]
- uncover, learn and report about something complex and hidden

These elements and activities were employed in this study’s search for Heidegger’s truth as *alētheia*, which will now be discussed.

1.7.3 Heidegger's View on 'Truth' as *Alētheia*

The question of how truth is defined remains at the centre of traditional discussions about truth (Halbach, 2011). Typical misunderstandings about truth exist, which, according to Gelven (1990: 14), inhibit any philosophical endeavour to successfully isolate what truth is. At first sight, the concept of truth appears to be perfectly clear and simple (Gupta, 2011: 1). However, a "*family of problems*" is found in the paradoxes that emerge from the interaction of predicates such as truth, knowledge, necessity, past truth and future truth (Halbach, 2011: 341). Even in a given context, Woermann and Cilliers (2012: 453) assert that care should be taken not to fix meaning. Every context is affected by complexities and is therefore open to further description and a change in meanings as interpretation of the context changes. These authors warn against establishing ethical positions or stopping "*the movement of signification in the name of truth*". This is most important to consider within the context of present-day "*geopolitics in which Western ideals all-too-often pass as universal ideals*" (Woermann & Cilliers, 2012: 453).

Van Manen (2014: 342) makes reference to the distinction drawn by Heidegger between two notions of truth: *veritas* and *alētheia*. As a Roman word for truth, *veritas* is founded on the idea of justice, which requires a person to apply some law or reasoning to facilitate a clear distinction between what is the case and what is not the case, and between what is true and what is false. *Veritas*, according to Heidegger, brings certainty and clarity as to what is righteous and just. Truth as *veritas* is also "*pragmatic, technical, and bureaucratic*" (Van Manen, 2014: 342).

From a criminal investigation perspective, where the search for truth as *veritas* applies, the researcher's ongoing experience has led to the conclusion that the aforementioned definitional emphasis on 'proof', 'facts' and 'truth' contributes to voluminous information, perspectives, lived experiences, nuances and even actual cases of human trafficking being ignored, invalidated, and not investigated due to their incongruence with a specific notion of 'truth'. The power to investigate, or not to investigate, often rests in the hands of a single police official, detective or prosecutor who interprets the essence of 'truth'. During a criminal trial, for example, the eventual presentation of concrete and admissible evidence collected by an investigator is of

utmost importance when proving *prima facie* that an accused person is guilty of a crime (Joubert, 2014: 19). This inevitably requires witness testimony that is truthful.

However, as argued in this study, the linear piecing together of evidence and truths as nuts and bolts is a reductionist strategy that falls short of understanding the ‘whole’ of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Different shades and slants of truth may in fact exist, which, collectively, exceed the sum of the parts when considering the whole. How the problem is perceived and understood is therefore vitally important as this is what informs framing, decision making and, ultimately, who, what, when, why and how something will be considered by an investigator or any stakeholder that participates in the investigation process. An understanding of truth as *alētheia* may add value to any investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation, including the search for truth as *veritas*, and could enlighten the endeavours by stakeholders to grasp the whole of the phenomenon.

Martin Heidegger draws on the Greek word *alētheia* to describe truth as unconcealment (Crowther et al., 2016: 3), which does not rely on an adjudication process between true and false in terms of rigid principles (Van Manen, 2014: 342). Heidegger (1977: 127-128) asserts that if scholars:

“translate alētheia as ‘unconcealment’ rather than ‘truth’, this translation is not merely more literal; it contains the directive to rethink the ordinary concept of truth in the sense of the correctness of statements and to think it back to that still uncomprehended disclosedness and disclosure of beings...”

Gelven (1970: 130) refers to Heidegger’s claim that the essence or nature of truth is disclosure (*Erschlossenheit*) and, in his commentary on Heidegger’s *Being and Time*, considers ‘truth’ to mean something similar to ‘exposure’, ‘nakedness’, ‘disclosure’ and ‘opening up’ (Gelven, 1970: 130). This truth about being, which Heidegger calls *Erschlossenheit* (disclosure), is, according to Richardson (2012: 83), more basically true. It is the final truth and the experience of insight that Heidegger “*most valued, pursued and tried to convey*” (Richardson, 2012: 83). In a discussion on ‘the principle of history of effect’ (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), hermeneutic philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer asserts that people are constantly in the claws of and affected by history if they attempt to understand a historical phenomenon, such as human trafficking in this

research, from the historical distance representative of their hermeneutical situation. As it is of great relevance to this study's underpinnings, the researcher considered Gadamer's wisdom as he continues his discussion on *Wirkungsgeschichte*:

"It [history] determines in advance both what seems to us worth inquiring about and what will appear as an object of investigation, and we more or less forget half of what is really there – in fact, we miss the whole truth of the phenomenon – when we take its immediate appearance as the whole truth."

(Gadamer, 2013: 311)

Therefore, phenomena in the theatre of hermeneutic phenomenology, as discussed in Chapter 3, are never completely concealed or unconcealed to anyone, and the purpose is not to determine a hierarchy of truths where one version of truth is considered more important than the other (Crowther et al., 2016: 3). Heidegger's 'unconcealment' (*Unverborgenheit*) thus represents "*an opening in the midst of concealment. It is the bringing to an unobstructed vision – and the bringing to this out of, and within a larger context of, concealment*" (Richardson, 2012: 263). With the researcher aware of largely unknown paradoxes that might be lurking behind existing paradoxes of truth (see: Halbach, 2011: 341), it is this knowledge that the researcher hopes to generate from this research – unconcealment and an unobstructed vision. Truth in terms of *alētheia* is not a definitive affair, but more of a perpetual and complex interaction between displaying and concealing (Van Manen, 2014: 343). The researcher thus subscribed to a search for knowledge that is not acquired in the objective pursuit of truth, "*but rather a process of working towards finding suitable strategies for dealing with complex phenomena*" (Woermann & Cilliers, 2012: 450).

1.7.4 Concepts within the Sex Trade Discourse

Ideologies that underpin the discourses around prostitution law (decriminalisation, regulation, partial or total criminalisation), the nature of the sex trade, and perspectives on the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation are often reflected in the language used and the arguments submitted in defence of a specific position (Dempsey, 2017: 61; Raphael, 2017: 4-9; Richter, 2017; South African Law Reform Commission, 2017; Van der Westhuizen, 2015: 17-22; De Das Kropiwnicki, 2012: 257). As practitioners, the participants in this study were largely ignorant of these

loaded ideologies and their influence on language as evidenced in academic discourses. In the following section the researcher will highlight some of these laden terminologies and express his view and position on the arguments raised.

1.7.4.1 'Prostitution' and 'person in prostitution'

The terminology 'prostitution' and 'sex work', and the person-centred terms 'prostitute' and 'sex worker', invariably intersects with discussions around prostitution legislative models and the multifaceted discourses around human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Participants in the research used these terms interchangeably. In agreement with over 300 human rights' groups and anti-trafficking advocates worldwide, the researcher believes that the terms 'sex work' and 'sex worker' were created by the sex trade and its supporters to *"legitimize prostitution as a legal and acceptable form of work and conceal its harm to those exploited in the commercial sex trade"* (Anon, 2014). Similar views were held by the South African Law Reform Commission (2017: xvii-xviii), which pointed out that prostitution is not congruent with the international definition of 'decent work'. It was also highlighted that the *"superficially attractive short-term financial benefits"* have not been shown to emancipate women out of chronic poverty and economic disparity (South African Law Reform Commission, 2017: xvii-xviii).

From the researcher's own experience with the sex trade over the past 16 years, he held the view that the term 'sex work' is not an accurate reflection of the lived experiences of women and men in the South African sex trade and chose to use the term 'prostitution' as defined by the South African Law Reform Commission (2017: 25-26). Narrowly defined, prostitution denotes:

"...the conduct of any person who engages the sexual services of a person 18 years or older for financial or other reward, favour or compensation or such person 18 years or older who offers or agrees to provide a sexual service for financial or other reward, favour or compensation, irrespective of whether the sexual act occurs or not."

(South African Law Reform Commission, 2017: 26)

With regard to the concept 'sex worker', the researcher agreed with global human rights' groups and anti-trafficking advocates that pointed out that the term incorrectly

suggests that the person in prostitution is the primary actor in a lucrative sex trade and “*renders invisible and unaccountable its true beneficiaries*”, which include, amongst others, traffickers, pimps, brothel owners and the buyers of sex (Anon, 2014). The researcher did, however, hold an alternative view from the South African Law Reform Commission (2017: xii), which retained the term ‘prostitute’. Instead, the researcher chose to use the term ‘person in prostitution’ as the reference to ‘prostitute’ “*stigmatises and conflates the person in prostitution with the criminal activity inflicted on her or him*” (Anon, 2014). Therefore, when the researcher’s voice is reflected in the study, he will make reference to ‘prostitution’ instead of ‘sex work’, whilst referring to a ‘person in prostitution’ rather than a ‘sex worker’. When presenting the voice and lived experiences of the participants in the study, the verbatim terminology employed by the participant cited will be used.

1.7.4.2 ‘Victim’ and ‘survivor’ of human trafficking

Sometimes used interchangeably, ‘victims’ of human trafficking and ‘survivors’ of human trafficking are the most prevalent terms that are used in human trafficking scholarly work to describe people that have been trafficked (Balgamwalla, 2016; Cary, Oram, Howard, Trevillion & Byford, 2016; Tsutsumi, Izutsu, Poudyal, Kato & Marui, 2008; Harrison, 2006). In her study, Van der Westhuizen (2015: 18-20) illuminates the nuanced discussion around the term ‘victim’, pointing out that this term has been criticised by some scholars as pejorative and naïve. She does, however, agree with Swart (2014), who warns against the premature use of the ‘survivor’ terminology.

The researcher was not able to clearly delineate and distinguish in which context to use the term ‘victim’ of human trafficking, and when ‘survivor’ is a more appropriate term. The same challenge was experienced by Van der Westhuizen (2015: 18-20) in her study, in which she rejected the exclusive use of either term when representing her own voice. For the researcher, this challenge was compounded by the complex lived experiences shared by participants who had experienced cruel exploitation at the hands of traffickers, as well as experiences by participants who continued to engage with trafficked individuals long after their ordeal had ended. In harmony with Van der Westhuizen, the researcher chose to use the terms ‘victim of trafficking’ and ‘trafficked person’ when presenting his own voice in the study. When presenting the voice and

lived experiences of the participants, the verbatim terminology employed by the participant cited will be used.

1.7.4.3 'Pimp' and 'trafficker'

Prickly and frictional arguments around the nature of relationships between persons in prostitution and their pimps or traffickers bear glaring similarities to the ideological contentions between preservationists and abolitionists (Marcus, Horning, Curtis, Sanson & Thompson, 2014; Van San & Bovenkerk, 2013; Gould, 2011; Zhang, 2011). Marcus, Sanson, Horning, Thompson and Curtis (2016: 48) divide these arguments into two broad camps. At the one end of the spectrum, they refer to some scholars and practitioners who consider prostitution as inherently oppressive in nature and state that those holding this view attribute "*nearly superhuman coercive powers*" to pimps and other third parties whilst claiming that their activities are omnipresent in prostitution. At the other end of the spectrum, Marcus et al. (2016: 48) point to existing evidence that does not indicate that prostitution is inherently oppressive or that brutality is an intrinsic factor infused by third parties. The researcher disagrees with such an oversimplified and dichotomous representation of these complex relationships.

Elrod (2015: 978) submits that the similar methods that traffickers and pimps use suggest that the sex trafficking and prostitution industries are not as disparate as some believe. In contrast to dichotomous representations of third-party actors in the sex trade, Elrod proposes that the reprehensibility and culpability of pimps and traffickers' conduct be positioned along a continuum based on the degree of coercive and exploitative behaviour employed. At the one end of the spectrum is what he refers to as the 'benevolent' pimp and at the other is the ruthless trafficker. He concludes that pimps do not engage in conduct at either end of the continuum, but rather in the grey areas between 'benevolent' pimp and forced sexual slavery. Such actions, according to Elrod (2015: 982), could be classified as human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The researcher agrees with the argument put forward by Elrod (2015). His argument is not only consistent with the researcher's own experience with the phenomenon, but it accurately reflects the convoluted nature of pimping and trafficking as subversive criminal activities.

Participants in the research used the terms ‘pimp’ and ‘trafficker’ interchangeably. The researcher will employ the terminology ‘trafficker’ when presenting his own voice in the study since participants were well versed with the elements of the crime and since human trafficking for sexual exploitation was the key focus area of the research questions. When presenting the voice and lived experiences of the participants, the verbatim terminology employed by the participant cited will be used.

1.7.4.4 ‘Buyer’

The most frequent terms used by participants when referring to people who pay for or reward a person in prostitution were ‘clients’, ‘Johns’ and ‘customers’. The researcher opted to follow the decision by the South African Law Reform Commission (2017: xiii) to use the relatively neutral term ‘buyer’ instead. This was informed largely by the reasons put forward by the South African Law Reform Commission, which highlighted that reference to ‘client’ or ‘customer’ might be perceived as lending credibility to such actions or basically legitimising the act of paying for sex. During conversations with participants, the researcher used the same term as was used by the participants, but when presenting his own voice in the study the term ‘buyer’ will be employed. When presenting the voice and lived experiences of the participants, the verbatim terminology employed by the participant cited will be used.

1.7.5 Complex Systems Concepts

As mentioned, complex systems theory is comprehensively discussed in Chapter 5, with a proposed application of the complex systems theoretical framework as a strategy for investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation presented in Chapter 6. In addition, from the outset of this research, concepts that contain the spirit of complex systems theory are employed before the theory is deconstructed and operationalised in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. These concepts are outlined below.

1.7.5.1 Investigation Complex System (ICS)

The 91 participants and their 15 subsystems that were included in this study formed part of the Investigation Complex System (ICS) and are introduced in Section 4.2. The ICS consists of a large network of elements, which includes police officials, investigators, prosecutors, social workers, citizens, departments and organisations to

name but a few. All of these stakeholders directly or indirectly contribute to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. As elements of the system, they interact in a complex manner and do not have a central point of control. This gives rise to emergent complex behaviour, which is exhibited by the ICS at a macro level. Every participant in this study was allocated an abbreviated code to which selected verbatim quotes were attributed and which communicated their relevant subsystem (see Section 3.3.3). Participants from the sex trade (Sex Trade Professional (STP) 1 to STP 10) and victims of trafficking (VOT 1 to VOT 5) were considered part of both the ICS and the TCS as they were able to offer insights from their lived experiences that relate to both complex systems.

Participants from the sex trade shared experiences that directly or indirectly, past or present, contributed to criminal activities related to human trafficking. They also shared experiences of how they had successfully or unsuccessfully offered knowledge, information or assistance to the ICS in the process of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The same principle applies to victims who were able to offer insights from their lived experiences into the inner workings of the TCS that emanated from their past exploitation by traffickers, but who formed part of the ICS at the time of the interviews, during which they shared their lived experiences with the investigation into the crime. This is consistent with complex systems theory, which states that elements of different systems can be in several systems and can connect or withdraw from those systems (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014: 33). Complex systems therefore interpenetrate, which makes an unequivocal distinction of their boundaries very difficult.

1.7.5.2 Trafficking Complex System (TCS)

The Trafficking Complex System (TCS), as the adversarial system that is investigated by the ICS, was not explicitly deconstructed in this study, but included participants from the sex trade (STP 1 to STP 10) and victims of trafficking (VOT 1 to VOT 5). The lack of a clear explication of this complex system is partly due to the hidden populations and subsystems that make up this complex system, and the vast number and variety of perpetrators, known and unknown, who directly or indirectly carry out the crime. Significant insights related to the constituent elements of the TCS were, however, gleaned from participants and subsystems that were included in this study,

with a visual snapshot of the TCS provided in Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5. Constituent elements of the TCS included traffickers; brothel owners and staff members; pimps; drug dealers; persons in prostitution; victims of trafficking; corrupt public-, police- and law enforcement officials; ‘Johns’ or buyers of sexual services; recruiters; transporters; funders; politicians; corporates; embassies; and civil society, to mention a few. As elements of the TCS, they interact in a complex manner and do not have a central point of control. Similar to the inner workings of the ICS, these complex interactions give rise to emergent complex behaviour, which is exhibited by the TCS at a macro level.

1.7.5.3 Subsystems

Complex systems consist of “*entangled systems of systems of systems*” (Johnson 2010: 115), with each complex system comprising numerous subsystems or “*organs*” (Cilliers, 2001: 143) that form part of the whole. The term ‘subsystem’ will be used when reference is made to the internal structures of the ICS and TCS. The ICS subsystems may include the different state departments such as the SAPS and the DSD, or NGOs and coalitions that make up the ICS. As subsystems these can again be considered in terms of their own subsystems, which include different groups, departments or sections, each consisting of smaller groups or, again, subsystems consisting of different people. An example could be the SAPS as a subsystem within the ICS. The SAPS consists of visible policing, crime intelligence, and the Hawks, as subsystems within the SAPS, which may contribute to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Each of these subsystems is again cascaded into different subsystems, which may include different units. Each subsystem has its own rules, boundaries, unique characteristics and even culture. Membership in subsystems can change over time.

The same principle applies to the TCS, which consists of multiple overlapping criminal enterprises as subsystems and a host of individual role-players that perform numerous sub-activities, which again make up various subsystems. Referring to ‘systems of systems of systems’ when describing complex systems and their numerous subsystems therefore makes conceptual and intuitive sense when explaining the internal structures of the ICS and the TCS.

1.8 CHAPTER LAYOUT

In keeping with the complex systems theoretical perspective embraced in this study, the researcher made every attempt to avoid reductionism and a linear presentation of research on a problem that is immensely complex. In terms of chapter layout, this meant structuring the study into six chapters, with Chapter 4, on the lived experiences of participants; Chapter 5, on the deconstruction of complex systems theory; and Chapter 6, on the essence of participants' lived experiences and the proposed application of complex systems theory, particularly voluminous and lengthy. The study continues with the following chapter layout.

Chapter 2: The chapter situates South Africa's human trafficking context within the global theatre. It presents an overview of human trafficking scholarship, whereafter an ecological perspective is offered on South Africa as the landscape within which the participants in this study engage with activities related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Chapter 3: The research methodology employed in this study is explicated in this chapter. A qualitative approach and the use of hermeneutic phenomenology within a broader postmodernist and constructivist positioning are also explained. Procedures for data collection and data analysis, and efforts to ensure ethical and accurate research are described.

Chapter 4: This chapter presents the lived experiences of the 91 participants and their 15 subsystems in this research with regard to the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The chapter starts off by introducing the participants and their respective subsystems, whereafter their lived experiences are categorised into five themes, each of which contains textural and structural descriptions.

Chapter 5: Complex systems theory is deconstructed in this chapter. The theory is complemented with illustrations from the participants' lived experiences as reference for how the theory can be considered and integrated into the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The chapter thus stimulates the interpretive dimension of the study. The theory is positioned as cornerstone in support of the researcher's anti-positivist stance and critique of modernist attempts to address complex social problems such as human trafficking in a complex and globalised world.

It is argued that a grasp of complex systems thinking increases agility in volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA) environments and allows stakeholders to harness complexity instead of being constrained by it. Conventional thinking is challenged and a more holistic, ecologically sensitive alternative conceptual framework is presented.

Chapter 6: The final chapter starts off with a summary of the preceding chapters, and is followed by the presentation of the phenomenological essence of participants' lived experiences with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The phenomenological essence, as the crux of participants' lived experience, then serves as the springboard for the proposed complex systems application to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and represents the apex of this study. Recommendations and research directives are then presented followed by the conclusion of the study.

1.9 SUMMARY

This chapter provided an introduction to the research. It started off by introducing the complex intricacies around the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and highlighted ongoing knowledge apertures. The search for novel perspectives and propositions was then introduced, after which a rationale was provided for a comprehensive exploration and understanding of the lived experiences of people actually involved in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The research aim, objectives and questions were then stated. Consistent with the hermeneutic phenomenological philosophy and the quest for accuracy in the research, a reflexive autobiographical problem statement by the researcher was offered, which explicated his prejudices, presuppositions and pre-understandings as the point of departure for the study. The chapter then moved to an operational clarification of key concepts that are central not only to the substantive dimension of the study but also to its philosophical underpinnings. Finally, the chapter layout as the structure of the research was presented. In Chapter 2, the South African landscape as it relates to human trafficking will be deconstructed and positioned within the larger global context.

CHAPTER 2 FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL: SOUTH AFRICA'S HUMAN TRAFFICKING ECOLOGY IN THE GLOBAL THEATRE

The trafficking of women and children for commercial sexual purposes lies in the...ever growing sexual entertainment industry, which is most importantly a demand-driven phenomenon...still today, very little is known about the true extent and nature of this phenomenon of human trafficking in South Africa.

(Horne, 2014: 332)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a global overview of human trafficking as a complex phenomenon and endeavour to present a 'whole' understanding of the landscape within which this study was conducted. It is not the purpose of this chapter to provide a comprehensive literature study on the entire universe of knowledge that is currently available from the profusion of literature that exists. Rather, the chapter sets the scene for an understanding of the many-hued and shape-shifting factors that enable, make up, impact on and interpenetrate with human trafficking as a multifaceted social problem.

Key aspects of the global human trafficking discourse will be deconstructed, with a predisposed focus on what contributes to this phenomenon's complexity. From the global perspective as the backdrop, the chapter will move to the local by reviewing the current South African landscape within which the human trafficking narrative is playing out. An ecological view will be explored that considers not only those themes, issues and factors that have a direct bearing on the human trafficking discourse, but also the structural and more nuanced aspects that are important to consider from a complex systems theoretical perspective. This ecological exploration of the South African human trafficking landscape, as context, will therefore allow for a more informed understanding of the environment within which both the ICS and TCS function, and within which participants in this study live, experience, generate meaning and investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

2.2 HUMAN TRAFFICKING: A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

In the following section a broad thematic overview will be provided on specific issues that interpenetrate with this research.

2.2.1 A Complex Phenomenon

As the subject of much empirical research, academic debate and advocacy, human trafficking has been deliberated by a range of disciplines and perspectives that intersect and engage with the issue (Lopez & Minassians, 2017: 2; Laczko, 2007: 42; Lee, 2007: 1-2). Fields such as criminology, politics, law, human rights, sociology, gender and public health are but some of these, with the problem interpreted as, amongst other things, human trafficking as slavery, illegal migration, transnational organised crime, a threat to national sovereignty and security, a labour issue, a violation of human rights or a combination of the aforementioned issues (Lee, 2007: 1-2). Transnational human trafficking has also *“raised deep divisions on issues of principles, theories, perceptions, and the strategy to address it”* (Sawadogo, 2012: 95). The phenomenon is convolutedly shaped by, and linked to, global migration dynamics, including the *“interests, capacities, and structures of nation states, international and non-governmental organisations, private companies and criminal groups”* (Danziger, Martens & Guajardo, 2009: 261).

As an international problem, human trafficking is by no means a recent phenomenon (Kabance, 2014: 5; Allais, 2013: 42; Morawska, 2007: 93) and occurs in and between many countries throughout the world (Franco, 2015: 438). With the exception of Antarctica, it has affected every continent on the globe and continues to exist throughout the history of mankind (Kabance, 2014: 5). More than 100 years of global concern regarding the trafficking in human beings have been documented, with Aromaa (2007: 13) pointing to a meeting that took place as early as 1913 between alliances of anti-trafficking groups that discussed human trafficking combating strategies in Madrid.

A variety of exploitative purposes emanate from human trafficking, which include sex trafficking, forced labour, forced begging, forced marriage, involuntary domestic servitude, the harvesting of organs, trafficking in body parts and child soldiering (Prinsloo & Ovens, 2015; Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011: 51-54; Cluver, Bray & Dawes,

2007: 259). As trafficking is a global crime, victims of trafficking can be found in the world's restaurants, fisheries, brothels, farms and homes, among many other forms of exploitative activities (UNODC, 2012: 1). Human trafficking for sexual exploitation and forced labour is one of the most rapid growth areas of international criminal activity and one that is of increasing concern to the international community (UNODC, 2012: 1; Miko, 2003: ii). The trafficking of men, according to Allais (2013: 40), is a reality that is underreported due to men traditionally being overlooked as potential victims of trafficking.

The complexities associated with human trafficking as a phenomenon and the inherent challenges linked to efforts to combat the problem are indeed multilayered and enmeshed. The criminal and subversive nature of the crime (Kingshott, 2015; Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), 2010: iv; Nair, 2010: 40) is often enabled and perpetuated by corruption (Swart, 2011: 26; Transparency International, 2011: 1; UNODC, 2011: 3; UN.GIFT, 2008: 2). Broader focus on the nexus between corruption and human trafficking is much needed (Transparency International, 2011: 1) as corruption is a fundamental reason for the continuation of trafficking and the ability of traffickers to operate with impunity (Whittles, 2017: 12). Furthermore, corruption facilitates the crime and serves as a catalyst for the flow of people by destabilising democracies, deteriorating the rule of law and stalling development. As an operational requirement, trafficking relies on pay-offs to police, judges and ministers at all levels (Transparency International, 2011: 1). Police, immigration officials and the prosecution also habitually fail to identify victims of trafficking (Farrel, Owens & McDevitt, 2014: 139; Shrivankova, 2006: 230) whilst victims themselves often don't consider reporting as an option due to the perceived, and often real, disincentive for approaching the authorities (Holmes, 2010: 6). The underreporting of the crime is also fuelled by the complex relationships that frequently exist between victims and the perpetrators of human trafficking (Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011: 148; Holmes, 2010: 7).

The conflation of trafficking and prostitution (South African Law Reform Commission, 2017: 72; Berman, 2010: 105; Gould, 2010a: 32; Zheng, 2010: 2) is another compounding factor to both an understanding of human trafficking as a complex phenomenon and the formulation of combating efforts. The conflation of trafficking and prostitution is also one of the prickly issues that make up the complex global narrative

around prostitution legislation (South African Law Reform Commission, 2017: 72; Tyler, 2015; Cho, Dreher & Neumayer, 2013: 75; Jakobsson & Kotsadam, 2013: 16), which clearly fits in with Zheng's (2010: 2) reference to complicated processes in which anti-trafficking, human rights and social justice are intersected. The author underscores opposing definitions of human trafficking and the complex ways in which the intertwined configurations of race, gender, ethnicity and nationality muddle the current dominant discourse on trafficking (Zheng, 2010: 2). Harmful and distorted cultural practices frequently intersect with the crime of human trafficking (Prinsloo & Ovens, 2015; Van der Watt & Ovens, 2012: 19; Ngcukana, 2009: 1; Olujuwon, 2008: 25) and may include the trading of young daughters for the payment of family debt. Daughters are subsequently bounded by labour to support families or forced into child marriages (Olujuwon, 2008: 25). The demand for exploitative services, socio-economic instability, social dislocation and gender inequality in transitioning countries (Sawadogo, 2012: 102; Bermudez, 2008: 12; Haynes, 2004: 223; Singh, 2004: 343) also nurture an environment in which the crime of human trafficking thrives.

The varied and multilayered harms that are experienced by victims of trafficking are significant. Vandenberg and Skinner (2015: 7) point to the fact that victims do not experience harm in “*stovepipes*”, but rather that their physical, mental, emotional, legal and financial needs all merge into one. Control and power over victims are unequivocally a key characteristic of human trafficking (Stuurman, 2004: 5), which costs the victim greatly as they are harmed both psychologically and physically (Shelley, 2012: 243). As highlighted by Dando, Walsh and Brierly (2016: 1):

“...in contrast to historical slavery systems characterised by whips, chains, and physical imprisonment, modern day slavery is less overt, typically with no obvious visible signs of restraint. Rather, psychological abuse, coercion and mental manipulation play a powerful role in forcing modern day slaves to work in a variety of industries.”

A range of manipulative, violent and threatening acts is commonplace in most trafficking scenarios (Aronowitz, 2009: 58) and includes a variety of abuses such as the confiscation of travelling documents, fraud, deception, linguistic and social isolation, assaults, rape, fears of deportation, and threats of harm to family members (Lopez & Minassians, 2017: 10; Aronowitz, 2009: 47; Logan, Walker & Hunt, 2009: 12;

Haynes, 2004: 226; Kelly, 2002: 34; Hughes, 2000: 635). Debt bondage (Moore & Goldberg, 2015: 27; Kreston, 2007: 41; Hughes, 2000: 633), a control measure widely used by traffickers to subjugate victims, is defined in the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery. It is described as:

“the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined” (United Nations, 1956).

The administration of drugs by traffickers is commonly used either to create an addiction among victims or to fuel existing dependencies (Shelley, 2012: 241; Aronowitz, 2009: 47; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007: 344; Haynes, 2004: 226). Drugs are used to recruit new victims, and to retain them in a subjugated state whilst optimising their exploitation (Shelley, 2012: 241). The use of ‘juju’² or voodoo rituals as a control mechanism over trafficking victims has also been documented (Dunkerley, 2017; Van der Watt & Kruger, 2017; Baarda, 2016; Taliani, 2012; United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), 2010: 38; Mojeed, 2008; Aghatise, 2004; Van Dijk, 2001). The use of juju ceremonies creates multilayered domination by the trafficker and compounds the subjugation of the victim (Tondo & Kelly, 2017; Baarda, 2016: 259; Taliani, 2012: 598).

In the first attempt to empirically differentiate methods of control over victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, Ioannou and Oostinga (2015) explored Canter’s Victim Role model (Canter & Youngs, 2012; Canter, 1994), used in studying violent interpersonal offences such as rape and sexual homicide, to interpret and differentiate between sex trafficking control methods by classifying these into the ‘victim as object’, ‘victim as vehicle’ and ‘victim as person’ modes. From a sample consisting of 137 victims of human trafficking and data originating from 37 completed criminal

² An oath-taking ceremony, usually led by a juju priest, takes place during which samples of human tissue from the victims such as menstrual blood, nails, as well as scalp, underarm and pubic hair are collected. These have symbolic meanings which are used to manipulate the victim and instil acute fear and a belief that harm will come to them should they renege on the oath undertaken during the ceremony.

investigations, Ioannou and Oostingha (2015: 43) found that the most dominant method of control, which occurred in almost three-quarters of the cases, was the 'victim as object' mode. This mode relied on physical forms of control and included the use or threat of physical violence, surveillance, confinement, isolation of the victim, debt bondage and confiscation of travel documents. The 'victim as vehicle' control mode was one in which the emphasis was on emotional and psychological control, with a lack of concern or compassion for the suffering of the victim as characteristic of this form. Finally, the 'victim as person' style was one where control was attained through manipulation and which pulled together a coercive rather than physical force approach to control the victim with a form of empathy scarcity based upon a general undervaluing of the individual. The victim remained a person to be handled and manipulated (Ioannou & Oostingha, 2015: 44).

Human trafficking therefore represents a truly global problem, with the subjugation of one human being by another as its essence. Many forms of human trafficking exist and victims of the crime can be found in almost every global industry imaginable. It is also common knowledge that the problem is complex and multifaceted with no clear solution. In the next section one of the most contentious and frustrating questions regarding human trafficking will be discussed, which is: 'How big is the problem really?'

2.2.2 Scope, Nature and Extent of Human Trafficking

The need for estimates on the scale of human trafficking and the accompanying challenges in producing these estimates have been discussed extensively (Fedina & DeForge, 2017; Raphael, 2017; Steinfatt, 2011; De Cock, 2007; Gozdziaak & Collet, 2005; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003). Human trafficking is one of the fastest-growing global crimes, with the gathering of statistics on the actual scope of the problem known to be one of the most challenging endeavours (Stop the Traffik, 2016). With reference to the absence of hard data in human trafficking, Gallagher (2014) points to the fact that "*human exploitation takes many forms, occurs largely among hidden populations, and is notoriously difficult to find, let alone quantify in any meaningful way*". This is ascribed to the complex nature of human trafficking, which makes it difficult to gather reliable data to document local, regional and global prevalence (U.S. Department of State, 2016: 10).

Trafficking in persons, along with arms and drug trafficking, ranks among the top three largest criminal activities in the world. Olujuwon (2008: 23) refers to an increase in human trafficking and states that every year millions of individuals, mostly women and children, submit themselves to servitude via deceit or force. Slavery persists and it is estimated that as many as 27 million men, women and children around the world are victims of what is now termed 'human trafficking' (Tatlow, 2013; U.S. Department of State, 2012: 7). Estimates of the actual scope of the problem abound and recently increased to some 45.8 million people enslaved in 167 countries worldwide (Walk Free, 2016). Some of the most often quoted global estimates regarding the scope of human trafficking are highlighted by Kreston (2007: 36). These include:

- 12.3 million people are trafficked worldwide at any given time;
- 1.2 million children are exploited through trafficking, both domestically and internationally, for all purposes, globally; and
- Data from the United States (US) suggests that between 600 000 and 800 000 individuals are trafficked internationally each year.

As a central empirical thesis for their work, Savona and Stefanizzi (2007: 3) posit that the volume of human trafficking is greater than in the past and the actions that fuel it are more complex and sophisticated. An increase in reports of human trafficking and reference to the problem as a rising threat have also been documented globally (Bulman, 2017; Mortlock, 2016). There remains a flagrant hiatus in knowledge of the prevalence of human trafficking amongst different sectors of society. This knowledge vacuum affects responses at all levels and makes it virtually impossible to gauge the impact of counter-trafficking work (Steinfatt & Baker, 2011: ii). With reference to a problem of unknown size, Albanese (2007: 57) argues that the ability to deliver useful numbers has been overshadowed by the desire to estimate the incidence of human trafficking. Notwithstanding the obvious reality of human trafficking as a problem on a global scale, statistical data on the phenomenon is exceedingly inadequate everywhere in the world (Savona & Stefanizzi, 2007: 2). The scarcity, unreliability and non-comparability of existing international and national data are major problems when studying and combating human trafficking. Accurate information, especially on the volume of the crime, is also non-existent (Fedina & DeForge, 2017; Aromaa, 2007: 20). In the context of labour trafficking, Zhang, Spiller, Finch and Qin (2014: 66) argue

that current anti-trafficking campaigns face a credibility problem without the support of reliable estimates. The authors highlight the expensive nature of and methodological challenges in undertaking empirical research on labour trafficking (Zhang et al., 2014: 66).

Concerns regarding sensationalistic representations, flawed research methodologies and hype around the issue of human trafficking have been raised by a number of authors (see: Van der Watt & Kruger, 2017: 82; Kinney, 2015: 87; Haynes, 2014; Weitzer, 2014; Chiumia & Wilkinson, 2013; Zheng, 2010: 5; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005) as the phenomenon “*continue[s] to capture the imagination of the global public*” (Goździak, 2015: 23). Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005: 17) warn against inferences made based on limited data and draw a nexus between incongruous methodologies and descriptions of the phenomenon that have little to do with reality.

Research in the field of human trafficking is compounded by a number of factors. Arguably the most pressing challenge is the so-called ‘hidden populations’ that constitute the study of human trafficking. These may include persons in prostitution, traffickers, victims/survivors or illegal immigrants (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005: 18). The two characteristics of hidden populations highlighted by Heckathorn (1997: 174) are, first, the absence of a sampling frame, which leads to an unknown size and boundaries of the population, and, second, a sturdy concern for privacy as members of hidden populations are usually involved in stigmatised or illegal behaviour, prompting either a lack of cooperation from individuals or the provision of unreliable answers to protect their identity. The fact that human trafficking is an underreported crime also contributes to the paucity of data on the problem as the majority of cases remain undiscovered (Chiumia & Wilkinson, 2013; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003: 183). Other factors that contribute to data paucity include the frequent failure by authorities to identify victims of trafficking (Shrivankova, 2006: 230), the notion of trafficking as a clandestine activity, and the problem of unreported incidents due to victims’ reluctance to approach authorities or their inability to do so because of intimidation and fear of retaliation (Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011: 148; Laczko, 2005: 12).

The geographical dispersion of victims is significant. Between 2010 and 2012 victims with 152 citizenships were identified in 124 countries across the globe. Furthermore, 510 trafficking flows were detected globally. These enumerated trafficking flows are

considered to be the absolute minimum as the number is based only on cases reported to the UNODC and excludes the hidden, dark number of trafficking cases (UNODC, 2014: 37). These numbers increase in the most recent UNODC report, which was based on 34 000 victims of trafficking that were detected between 2012 and 2014. For this period, victims from around the world with approximately 160 different citizenships were detected in or repatriated from about 140 different countries. For the same period a total of more than 570 trafficking flows were detected. This is a significant increase from the 460 trafficking flows that were detected for the 2007 to 2010 period and the abovementioned 510 trafficking flows that were detected globally for the period 2010 to 2012 (UNODC, 2016: 39-40).

Estimated global profits emanating from forced labour and human trafficking suggest these trades to be exceptionally lucrative. In what is considered to be one of the most authoritative studies by the International Labour Organization (ILO), Belser (2005) approximates the global profits made from forced labourers exploited by private enterprises or agents to reach US\$ 44.3 billion every year, of which US\$ 31.6 billion is generated from victims of trafficking. More than US\$ 15 billion is made from people trafficked and forced to work in industrialised nations (Belser, 2005). These profits serve as a lure for individuals, groups and organisations involved in national and transnational crime (Chibba, 2014: 314).

2.2.3 Human Trafficking as Organised Crime

With due consideration given to a variety of conceptions of human trafficking (slavery, organised crime, prostitution, migration and human rights) as highlighted by Lee (2007), and being cognisant of human trafficking as an imprecise, contested (Lee, 2007: 19) and “*slippery concept*” that is difficult to pin down (Gould, 2006: 19), this research had a large overlap with the criminal justice theatre and was ecologically sensitive to the aforementioned conceptions. Similar to human trafficking, ‘organised crime’ has become a contentious and universal term with different meanings ascribed to it by different people (Hübschle, 2015: 38; Nkwi, 2015: 5; Goga, 2014: 63; Aromaa, 2007: 16). The characteristics of organised crime become clear when considering the definition of an organised criminal group. The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) defines an organised criminal group in Article 2 (a) as a structured group of three or more persons that was not randomly

formed, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit (United Nations, 2000b).

The nexus between human trafficking and organised crime has been documented by a number of authors (Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017; Nkwi, 2015; Holmes, 2010; Albanese, 2007; Lee, 2007; Savona & Stefanizzi, 2007; International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2006: 7), with Roelofse (2011: 3) of the view that it is practically impossible to separate the two. Roelofse refers to the intertwined crime underworld, which is oxygenated by proceeds emanating from drug trafficking, the sale of counterfeit products and the sex trade (Roelofse, 2011: 3). Weaknesses in international transportation and customs security procedures are exploited by modern organised criminals whilst border policing efforts fail to stay abreast of developments in international commerce. The items that are smuggled around the world by specialised criminal networks range from narcotics, counterfeit goods and stolen goods to bulk cash and humans (Bjelopera & Finklea, 2011: 11).

Shelley (2012: 242) underscores the budding conjunction of the drug and human trade, which emanates from drug syndicates penetrating the businesses of smuggling and trafficking, rather than smuggling organisations entering into the drug trade. The low cost of entering into the trafficking business and the potential to mask one business within another are reasons for this convergence (Shelley, 2012: 242). The human trafficking enterprise is usually well coordinated and can make up a range of actors and divisions of labour, which include arrangers and investors, recruiters, employment agencies, brothel and business owners, transporters, corrupt public officials and protectors, informers, guides and crew members, enforcers, debt collectors, money launderers and supporting personnel and specialists (Joarder & Miller, 2013: 1332; Singh, 2004: 343; Schloenhardt, 1999: 217-219). Furthermore, varying ways of organising the trafficking operations exist, with distinctive skillsets, assets and capacities among perpetrators (UNODC, 2014: 45).

In a study of large-scale Eastern European smuggling and trafficking networks, Leman and Janssens (2007: 1377) found these groups to be flexible entities made up of smaller, expendable organisations. They employ easily available and disposable personnel that are often part of a well-organised network that links several continents.

This fluidity also enables groups and networks to change, expand or shrink over time in response to a variety of factors (UNODC, 2014: 45). Similar findings emanated from a study by Campana (2016) into a Nigerian transnational human trafficking network, which did not appear to be a unified organisation but rather a collection of mostly independent actors. No indication of a centralised accounting system existed and activities appeared to be largely externalised. Evidence from the study of the Nigerian network suggested that the traffickers adopted a more sophisticated model, which was based on role specialisation and the division of labour (Campana, 2016: 82).

Bjelopera and Finklea (2011:1) underscore the complex nature of organised crime as a phenomenon and highlight that criminals transform their operations in ways that increase their reach whilst compounding efforts by law enforcement to combat them. More-networked structural models are implemented by criminals who internationalise their operations whilst becoming more skilled in the use of technology. Bjelopera and Finklea (2011: 1) point out that these cellular and networked structural models are preferred for their flexibility, which makes it difficult for law enforcement to infiltrate, disrupt and dismantle conspiracies. Many modern-day organised crime groups opportunistically form around specific, short-term schemes whilst outsourcing segments of their operations rather than keeping them all 'in-house' (Bjelopera & Finklea, 2011: 1).

In response to the question: 'How organised are the traffickers?', the International Association of Chiefs of Police (2006: 7) and UNODC (2014: 45) posit that perpetrators and their levels of organisation range from one individual who is responsible for trafficking one victim to large-scale networks that are able to move many victims from one continent to another and to exploit them for extended periods of time. The boundaries between different possible scenarios remain unclear. Nair (2010: 40) refers to the clandestine nature of human trafficking activities, where acts of commission or omission are usually camouflaged under the facade of a legal activity. He continues by stating "*what one sees could at best be the tip of the iceberg*" and ascribes the clandestine nature of activities to the fact that human trafficking is an organised crime.

2.2.4 Combating Human Trafficking

As yet, no country has emerged as a pioneer in responding effectively to human trafficking; most countries respond by trial and error and “*on the run*” (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008: 318). The lack of successful prosecutions in cases of human trafficking appears to be a global reality (Kruger, 2016: 54). As of 2010, of the 117 nations that signed the Palermo Protocol, 62 nations have yet to convict a single trafficker (O’Callaghan, 2012: 67). The US State Department reported that only 9,460 trafficking cases were criminally prosecuted globally in 2013, whilst only 135 civil cases were brought by victims against their traffickers in the US between 2003 and 2015 (Vandenberg & Skinner, 2015: 6). In 2014 it was reported that only four in ten countries had ten or more yearly convictions. Nearly 15% of these countries had no convictions (UNODC, 2014: 13).

The statistics below, from the US Department of State (2017: 34), provide a recent and insightful overview of estimates regarding prosecutions, convictions and the number of victims identified for the period 2009 to 2016. The estimates were derived from global law enforcement data provided by countries that contribute to annual data collection by the US Department of State. The fluctuation in aggregated data is ascribed to the hiddenness of the crime, shifting global events and government efforts, and the lack of standardised reporting structures at national levels. The statistics provided in parentheses relate to labour trafficking prosecutions, convictions and the number of victims identified.

Table 2.1: Global prosecutions, convictions and victims identified: 2009 to 2016

Year	Prosecutions	Convictions	Victims identified
2009	5,606 (432)	4,166 (335)	49,105
2010	6,017 (607)	3,619 (237)	33,113
2011	7,909 (456)	3,969 (278)	42,291 (15,205)
2012	7,705 (1,153)	4,746 (518)	46,570 (17,368)
2013	9,460 (1,199)	5,776 (470)	44,758 (10,603)
2014	10,051 (418)	4,443 (216)	44,462 (11,438)
2015	19,127 (857)	6,615 (456)	77,823 (14,262)
2016	14,897 (1,038)	9,071 (717)	66,520 (17,465)

Source: U.S. Department of State (2017: 34)

These numbers clearly pale against the estimated scope, nature and extent of the problem globally. Furthermore, with the estimated 404 642 victims identified over the eight-year period reflected and only 42 405 convictions resulting from 80 772 prosecutions, the argument that human trafficking is a low-risk crime becomes more vivid. Characterised as “*a crime of vast impunity*” (Kangaspunta, 2015: 82; UNODC, 2014: 52), the freedom with which traffickers continue to operate and the concomitant lack of prosecutions are indeed disconcerting (Vandenberg & Skinner, 2015: 6; UNODC, 2014; Murray, 2006: 126). The lack of positive case identification globally and the limited number of successful prosecutions are problematic when considering, first, the voluminous resources directed at combating human trafficking and, second, the estimates suggesting the enormity of the problem (Kangaspunta, 2015: 83–84; U.S. Department of State, 2015: 48; Farrel et al., 2014: 141).

The concept of ‘prosecution’ is in itself a complex endeavour and a multidimensional process that consists of a continuum of activities (Nair, 2010: 146). Nair begins with the identification of offenders and refers to activities such as registering the crime at the police station; investigating the crime in an organised, systematic and professional manner; investigating the crime from an ‘organised crime’ perspective; and prosecuting the offenders in a court of law by marshalling the evidence and ensuring that their conviction takes place. Prosecution also involves undertaking post-conviction measures, which include confiscation of assets, closing down the places of exploitation, paying compensation to the victims and ensuring that the offenders do not indulge in crimes thereafter. Prosecution includes several stakeholders, including investigators, supporting officials, supervisory officials, prosecutors, forensic scientists, psycho-social counsellors, lawyers, teachers, correctional service providers, executive magistrates, welfare officials, labour officials and judicial officers (Nair, 2010: 146).

Van der Watt and Van der Westhuizen (2017: 226-227) note a “*less than favourable track record*” by criminal justice systems around the globe in addressing human trafficking convincingly. Without a resolute criminal justice response, human trafficking will continue to be a low-risk, high-income activity for criminals (UNODC, 2014: 1). A constant adversarial relationship between the criminal justice system and trafficking networks exists, which Williams (2009: 423) describes as a “*battle of wits*”. The battle

of wits that Williams describes was also clearly evident between the ICS and TCS in this research. Echoing the idea of complexity in describing human trafficking, Gallagher and Holmes (2008) highlight eight essential elements of an effective national criminal justice system response to human trafficking. These are:

- A comprehensive legal framework, in compliance with international standards;
- A specialist law enforcement capacity to investigate human trafficking;
- A general law enforcement capacity to respond effectively to trafficking cases;
- Strong and well-informed prosecutorial and judicial support;
- Quick and accurate identification of victims along with immediate protection and support;
- Special support to victims as witnesses;
- Systems and processes that enable effective international investigative and judicial cooperation in trafficking cases; and
- Effective coordination among international donors.

The eight essential elements of an effective national criminal justice system, as highlighted by Gallagher and Holmes (2008), give credence to the argument by Nair (2010: 40) that human trafficking is a multidimensional threat which therefore requires a multidimensional response. Agility and the capacity for adaptability and flexibility are therefore vital components of the criminal justice response (Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 227; Williams, 2009: 423). As an organised crime type, human trafficking involves multiple abuses and abusers and requires special skills and efforts to combat and prevent. Effective law enforcement requires for several counter-trafficking activities to be attended to simultaneously, which requires synergy and involvement of numerous role-players. Role-players include police; prosecution; welfare and health; agencies that run shelters, protective homes and children's homes; civil society partners; and the media (UNODC, 2007: 6).

Verhoeven and Van Gestel (2011: 149-150) state that criminal investigation is always based on making choices and refer to the summative of those choices made by the investigation team and public prosecutor as the investigation strategy. The authors argue that the specific characteristics of human trafficking in the prostitution business require a specific method, which will ultimately influence the investigative strategy to be applied. The Human Trafficking Reference Guide for Canadian Law Enforcement

(2005: 21-25) refers to three major investigative approaches to human trafficking and a coexisting parallel approach. The three major investigative approaches are not mutually exclusive and include:

- Reactive – With this approach the victim serves as the point of departure into the investigation;
- Proactive – This approach focusses on generating intelligence through the use of, amongst others, unconventional or special investigative techniques; and
- Disruptive – This is a police-led option and is used when the first two options are not possible.

The coexisting parallel approach focusses on the financial investigation, where the golden rule is: *“Follow the money and you will find the trafficker”* (Human Trafficking Reference Guide for Canadian Law Enforcement, 2005: 25). Verhoeven and Van Gestel (2011: 149-150) point out that there is a lack of empirical research on the practice of criminal investigations into human trafficking, but highlight the notion that criminal investigations into human trafficking are more testing than other criminal investigations due to their tedious and complex nature. Stelfox (2009: 1-2) states that criminal investigation involves locating, gathering and using information to bring offenders to justice, or to achieve the objectives set for it by the police service. Stelfox continues by highlighting that the objectives of criminal investigation have changed so that they now also include a number of developments that effectively increase the complexity of this type of investigation, such as victim care, community reassurance, intelligence gathering, disruption of criminal networks and management of a wide range of crime risks. These developments as referred to by Stelfox (2009: 1-2) are some of the challenges encountered during a response to human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Verhoeven and Van Gestel (2011: 149-150) point to specific characteristics of human trafficking in the prostitution business. The first of these is the complex relationship between victim and perpetrator. The second is that, unlike other crimes, human trafficking is not a single or static incident, but more a process that involves multiple offenders and incident scenes. Trafficking operations are often organised in multiple layers and take different forms. This contributes to the challenges faced by investigators.

The Human Trafficking Reference Guide for Canadian Law Enforcement (2005: 7) highlights that the investigation and prosecution of trafficking offences are both complex for very similar reasons. These complexities include the need to rely on the services of interpreters and translators, the possible intimidation of victims and witnesses, corruption and, due to the nature of the crime, the frequent need to rely on evidence collected abroad. The prosecution of trafficking offences therefore poses new and difficult challenges for the judiciary. The principal challenge in prosecuting domestic sex traffickers or 'pimps' is described by Zack (2011: 1) as the act of removing victims from their present environment for a sufficient period, during which they can come to terms with the fact that they are victims and need assistance. Similarly, Verhoeven and Van Gestel (2011: 148) refer to a complex relationship that often exists between victims and perpetrators of human trafficking, where victims are often too afraid to file a report. Shrivankova (2006: 230) points out that police, immigration officials and the judiciary habitually fail to identify victims of trafficking. Misdiagnosis of human trafficking is evident when women trafficked for sexual exploitation are viewed as prostitutes and those trafficked into forced labour are treated as illegal migrants. Thus, when the victim as primary source of information is being treated as a criminal, the prospects of identifying, investigating and successfully prosecuting a case of human trafficking diminishes.

Human trafficking, as an organised crime that is mostly hidden and is complicated by subversive methods used by perpetrators, requires similar methods to be used by investigators (Albanese, 2011: 278). Special investigative techniques are endorsed by Article 20 of the UNTOC (2000b). These methods may include electronic or other forms of surveillance, undercover operations and controlled deliveries. With reference to these investigation techniques as alternative methods of obtaining evidence and information, Joubert (2013: 355) mentions the use of undercover police agents that join specific crime syndicates, the setting up of traps³ where the dealer is unmindful that the 'buyer' of an illegal substance or service is actually a police official, and the interception of communications⁴ through wiretapping where suspects are unaware

³ In South Africa, section 252A(1) of the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 authorises a law enforcement officer to make use of a trap or to engage in an undercover operation to detect, investigate and uncover the commission of a crime.

⁴ In South Africa, the Regulation of Interception of Communications and Provision of Communication-related Information Act 70 of 2002 makes allowance for such interception in specific circumstances, substantiated by reasonable grounds.

that their telephone communications are recorded and listened to by the police. Albanese (2011: 278) refers to these types of special investigative techniques as the characteristic difference between organised crime investigations and investigations of other crimes. As “*tools*”, the use of these special investigative techniques involves more planning, organisation and time-intensive effort than traditional investigative techniques (Albanese, 2011: 278). This is because these tools are applied to investigate criminal behaviour that also is better planned and organised than traditional crimes.

Coordination between role-players is, however, not a simple task. With reference to the continuing efforts to increase organisational capacity within social services that identify and refer victims of human trafficking, Wolf-Branigin, Garza and Smith (2010: 424) underscore the delay in positive outcomes caused by the challenges faced by social service practitioners when dealing with “*entangled law enforcement and criminal activity systems*”. Stoll, Edwards and Mynatt (2010: 1) studied the inter-organisational coordination and awareness in a non-profit ecosystem. These authors highlight how non-profit organisations grapple with the significant complexity added by having to cooperate across international borders and local jurisdictions. Furthermore, the mobile nature and jurisdictional dynamics of a trafficking scenario necessitate coordination amongst both non-profit organisations and legal establishments for service provision and the prosecution of traffickers. The authors make reference to one case study where 21 different organisations were enumerated that had to be involved in the identification, intervention and subsequent rescue of a 15-year-old victim of sex trafficking (Stoll et al., 2010: 1).

Zimmerman, Hossain and Watts (2011: 328) highlight that multilateral and cross-sector coordination in anti-trafficking strategies is not common. These authors argue that human trafficking is a violation that occurs over multiple geographic and legal boundaries, but actions are often targeted at the place of exploitation. Although law enforcement has led anti-trafficking efforts, trafficking is a fundamental issue for other sectors, such as immigration, labour and health, and development and trade (Zimmerman et al., 2011: 328). Human trafficking cannot be sufficiently addressed as a distinct issue (Danziger et al., 2009: 295) and requires a unified effort to conquer (Franco, 2015: 438).

2.2.5 Gaps in Research and Methodology

A number of authors (Dempsey, 2017: 61; Raphael, 2017: 1; Greenfield et al., 2016: 152; Vandenberg & Skinner, 2015: 7; Weitzer, 2014: 6; Choo, Jang & Choi, 2010: 168) have highlighted the lack of high-quality research on human trafficking and underscored the shortage of an evidence basis in much of the discourse, policymaking, and enforcement surrounding the issue. Weitzer (2014: 6) critiques “*much of the popular writing*” on human trafficking and highlights its shortfalls in terms of its sensationalistic and anecdotal nature. Weitzer continues his critique by pointing towards scholarly publications that are either general overviews of the problem or a critique of the literature. With reference to research into human trafficking, Di Nicola (2007: 49) posits that knowledge develops gradually and sometimes slowly.

Goździak and Bump (2008: 9) call for new and innovative methodologies, still in their infancy, to be used in researching human trafficking as a complex phenomenon that is too intricate for sufficient knowledge to be generated with only one methodology (Lazos, 2007: 99; Adepoju, 2005: 89). Researching human trafficking, Lazos (2007: 99) argues, “...*necessitates the application of all types of methods that are available in the social sciences*”, whilst Weitzer (2014: 6) underscores the need for micro-level research, which has:

“... advantages over grand, macro-level claims – advantages that are both quantitative (i.e., identifying the magnitude of trafficking within a measurable context) and qualitative (i.e., documenting complexities in lived experiences) – and is better suited to formulating contextually appropriate policy and enforcement responses”.

Farrel et al. (2014: 139) posit that there appears to be a knowledge vacuum as to the true nature of the crime or the extent to which anti-trafficking approaches are in fact effective. Like any complex socio-legal problem, Murray (2006: 126) contends, the question of *how* to actually deal with human trafficking attracts a variety of different viewpoints. Expending equal energies on understanding the problem and its source, Murray argues, is a more challenging and responsible approach than taking preventative measures. As discussed later in this chapter, there appear to be significant shortcomings in South Africa’s human trafficking combating efforts. Even

though some studies have been conducted on the nature of the crime in South Africa, there appears to be a void in comprehensive research presenting a multiplicity of actual ‘voices from the field’ – those people immersed in the day-to-day realities of investigating human trafficking, as well as those with an emic perspective of how the crime is perpetrated.

In harmony with the views offered by Murray (2006: 126) and Weitzer (2014: 6), this study expended a fair amount of energy on understanding these experiences at a micro-level, which provided insights into why approaches at a macro-level are, in fact, falling short. Murray’s reference to a “*variety of viewpoints*” indeed came to fruition in this study. Understanding these viewpoints and experiences is thus important. In a quest to enhance outcomes for victims as a vulnerable population, Wolf-Branigin et al. (2010: 424) propose a non-linear approach that uses the lens of complexity theory as a model for reducing human trafficking demand.

Walker (2007: 557) calls for a shift in criminal justice and criminology research beyond theories based on linear analysis to include theories based on methodologies that are more appropriate for studying complex human behaviour. The author stresses the importance of setting aside strictly linear models in favour of fractal behaviour, complex systems and non-linear analysis. Arguing in favour of the viability of complex systems science [theory] in criminal justice and criminology research, Walker (2007: 557) proposes a shift in the way people think – theoretically, methodologically and statistically. In bridging the gap between theory and practice, Osterburg and Ward (2010: 5) underscore the need for investigators to be equipped with knowledge about complex systems, societal differences and organisational theory whilst Leary and Thomas (2011: 66) argue that policing should be concerned with complexity as it can offer a deeper level of understanding of the environment within which policing functions. Referring to the changing role and responsibilities of the criminal investigator over the past ten years, Osterburg and Ward (2010: 5) emphasise, most importantly, “*the changing role of the investigator as a specialist, educated and trained to be knowledgeable about complex systems, societal differences and organizational theory*”.

In response to the aforementioned views, which underscore the need for new and innovative methodologies, and the importance of acknowledging complexity, this

research presents a theoretical and methodological shift by, first, exploring the complexity of lived experiences by multipronged stakeholders involved in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and, second, considering the value of complex systems theory in facilitating a ‘big picture’ understanding of the concomitant non-linear intricacies of the investigation process.

2.2.6 A Sociological Perspective on Human Trafficking

Concomitant with, yet secondary to, the use of complex systems theory during the interpretation phase of this research, a sociological perspective on human trafficking will be considered and interwoven into the researcher’s approach to looking at, and dwelling with, the data generated in this study. According to Moloney (2015: 28), a sociological perspective compels stakeholders to explore human trafficking as if it were a diamond with multiple facets. Each time the human trafficking issue is picked up and analysed, it should be flipped over, turned around, and rotated to reveal and inspect a new facet. It is important to appreciate and analyse the multiple, interrelated facets of social problems, such as human trafficking, that define sociology and the sociological perspective. Without disregarding the importance of individual decisions, beliefs and attitudes, the sociological approach moves beyond the individual. Collins (1998: 2) asserts that *“there is a sociology of everything”*.

Sociology, as the scientific study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behaviour (American Sociological Association, 2002: 1), is of particular importance to the study of human trafficking. Human trafficking is a *“deep and dense sociological abyss”* (Van der Watt, 2015b), and measures to combat the problem cannot be dissociated from the plethora of political, economic, social and cultural factors that all intersect at some point (Moloney, 2015: 42; Van der Watt, 2015b). In this sense, human trafficking can be considered as an emergent property of a landscape that provides all the required ingredients for the problem to flourish and perpetuate. Culture is therefore an important dynamic to consider when studying human trafficking. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011: 121) liken culture to a fabric that is interwoven with several colours – each colour of the fabric represents aspects such as customs, practices and beliefs. A sociological perspective on human trafficking would therefore fall short if the *“powerful influence of culture”* or the cultural

settings within which the phenomenon occurs are not reflected upon (Moloney, 2015: 29).

By utilising the 'sociological eye' (Collins, 1998), the taken-for-granted configuration of relationships between elements could be appreciated more readily. Efforts could follow to uncover veiled meanings and hidden transcripts suggestive of a problem that begs to be recognised, systematically unpacked and understood by actors involved in the prevention of human trafficking, victim support services and the criminal justice system. In a discussion of the sociological perspective of human trafficking as a global social problem, Moloney's (2015: 28) metaphorical reference to the human trafficking 'diamond' concurs with Collins' (1998: 3) 'sociological eye', which does not attempt to reduce the complexity of the problem being studied, but does provide a fresh perspective and special angle on reality. A relevant example can be found in the use of juju in the perpetration of human trafficking. Juju, as an arcane and subversive control mechanism, is another slant to the multifaceted human trafficking 'diamond' that calls for further exploration and research (Van der Watt & Kruger, 2017: 82). Such knowledge is fundamental to the understanding of human trafficking as a complex phenomenon that is in a constant state of flux and adaptability by criminals who conjure up new tools to subvert and circumvent efforts by law enforcement (Bjelopera & Finklea, 2011: 1, 11; UNODC, 2006: ix).

The focus of this chapter will now shift from the global to the local. A brief historical overview of slavery, oppression and trafficking in South Africa will be provided, after which the current South African context will be explored. The discussion will then home in on the human trafficking narrative as it is situated in the general South African context.

2.3 SLAVERY, OPPRESSION AND TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Probably the earliest foreign contact with the South African shore was in 1488 when a Portuguese ship, under the command of Bartholomew Dias, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed at Mossel Bay. The foundation of the Cape Colony subsequently followed in April 1652 with the arrival of three ships under the command of Jan van Riebeeck. They were tasked with setting up a permanent base in Table

Bay for provision purposes to Dutch East India Company ships that passed and re-passed the Cape to and from Batavia (Ross, 2010: 169, 174). Williams (2016) points to the fact that Jan van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape with two slave girls from Abyssina (Ethiopia). Williams highlights that, over the period of slavery in South Africa, enslaved people came from four main regions. These were:

- Africa (including Mozambique and East Africa): 26.4%
- Madagascar and the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius, Réunion and Rodrigues): 25.1%
- The Indian sub-continent and Sri Lanka (Ceylon): 25.9%
- The Indonesian archipelago: 22.7%

As in many places, the study of history has the power not only to restate South Africa's identity in radical ways, but also to provide truths of how the country was shaped over hundreds of years and *"how history has been lived with complexity and contradiction and not with the easy lull of slogans"* (Williams, 2016). South Africa's colonial and political past can by no means be exempted from a contextual discussion of issues that relate to human trafficking and modern-day forms of slavery. Zibi (2014: 214) asserts that the early foundations of colonial South Africa and modern commercial activity in South Africa were cemented through the abuse of human rights. These abuses include the 17th Century movement of slaves from Indian, Malayan and Indonesian origin to South Africa and the landing of Ceylonese slaves at the Cape of Good Hope to relieve the need for agricultural labour and construction activities in the colony. In addition, the Dutch East India Company infused the market with slaves from elsewhere on the African continent and the Far East. An estimated 63 000 slaves were imported to the Cape of Good Hope between 1652 and 1808 (Allen, 2014: 114). In the first half of the 19th Century, the Cape Colony became not merely a colony of European settlement based on coerced black labour, but one capable of expelling the agricultural amaXhosa from their land, annexing it and driving them into the colony for work (Legassick & Ross, 2010: 253).

Hamilton, Mbenga and Ross (2010: xii) point to the mid-1880s as the time during which virtually all of what later would become the Union of South Africa was brought under the control of either the British colonial government or one of the Afrikaner republics. This meant that the last of the African societies had lost their independence by this

stage, and virtually all the inhabitants of the region now became subject to one of these powers. In a scrutiny of several substantive policies pursued by consecutive South African governments between 1910 and 1960, Loveland (1999: xv) refers to the legal arguments used to support the deployment of “*irredeemably evil*” policies as “*feeble and mendacious*”. Loveland asserts that some politicians who governed South Africa in the 1950s were insane rather than evil.

Whilst in place since the 17th Century, social, economic and legislative components of segregation between Europeans and non-Europeans culminated in the government policy of apartheid from 1948 and intensified social and economic constraints on non-White South Africans (Moultrie, 2005: 217). This policy included the apartheid government’s homeland policy, aimed at relocating all black South Africans to rural and semi-urban settlements in ten Bantustans (Coles, 1993: 714-718), which contributed to lower socio-economic levels in these former homelands (Seekings, 2007: 26). Carter (1954: 297) recognises the practice of migratory labour and the forced removal of black South Africans to demarcated areas as another factor in the social structures of these populations that eroded the essence of family institutions. Cemented in the history of South Africa, segregatory practices thus served as a conduit for the existence of the humiliation and oppression evident in poverty, inequality, racism and gender-based violence in present-day South Africa. These factors were recognised by participants in the doctoral study by Van der Westhuizen (2015) as prominent contributors to the presence of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

Born of this colonial context and history of oppression, the story of Saartjie Baartman (1789–1816), who was taken from Cape Town to London, is probably one of the first documented and oft-quoted historical cases of trafficking in persons. As a heart-rending victim of the colonial era and a symbol of its oppressive system (Tobias, 2002: 107), Baartman was taken to England in 1810, apparently without official permission, by a ship’s surgeon named Alexander Dunlop. On arrival in England she was publicly exhibited as ‘The Hottentot Venus’ (Kirby, 1954: 319), presented as a wild beast, caged and humiliated (Tobias, 2002: 107). The degradation suffered by Saartjie Baartman led the African Association in London to take her captors, Hendrik Cezar and Alexander Dunlop, to court with allegations that she must have been taken from

her country without her consent and that she *“doubtless had no desire to be exhibited...that her appearance of compliance was the result of menace and ill-treatment”* (Tobias, 2002: 107). Multiple and contradictory reports suggested that Baartman eventually died as a person in prostitution (Kerseboom, 2011: 68; Tobias, 2002: 108).

A second prominent case, and one of the most enduring unsolved mysteries in the crime history of South Africa, involved the Apartheid-era disappearance of six young girls in the late 1980s. The alleged perpetrators, Gert van Rooyen and Joey Haarhoff, were linked to the disappearance of the six girls after a young schoolgirl, Joan Booysen, escaped from Van Rooyen’s house, dubbed the ‘House of Horrors’, situated in Capital Park, Pretoria. During the subsequent police investigation, both Van Rooyen and Haarhoff fled during a police pursuit and allegedly committed suicide. The six girls were never found. Conspiracy theories and allegations of high-level political complicity surfaced, with some witnesses claiming that they were threatened not to speak out on the matter (Steyn-Barlow, 2006; Ferreira, 1990: 1; *Ontvoering-drama – buurvrou se onthulling...*, 1990: 1). Reports of international ‘white slave trade’ came to the fore after a Johannesburg-based woman, who worked in the international sex industry, claimed that one of the girls was abducted into the sex trade with links to China and Taiwan (*Taiwan sal SAP help...*, 1991: 4). Other reports also highlighted police actions where traffickers involved in ‘slave trading’ and drugs were stopped at the Jan Smuts International Airport (currently OR Tambo) as they were in the process of trafficking girls to Taiwan (Van der Westhuizen, 1991: 4). The Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Pik Botha, confirmed reports received by his department of illicit recruitment practices and warned citizens to check the veracity of agencies before accepting offers.

As a Hawks investigator, the researcher became involved in 2010 in the aforementioned Gert van Rooyen investigation after allegations of a police cover up and other wrongdoings were communicated by a police informant, a sibling to one of the missing victims and a complainant that alleged that she had escaped from the house linked to the case in 1986. Voluminous correspondence by the family requesting answers in the criminal investigation was sent to political leaders, senior police officers, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the late President Nelson

Mandela over a period of two decades. The researcher completed a six-month investigation into allegations of irregularities, after which another written request from the sibling of the missing victim was handed over by the researcher to the National Police Commissioner and the head of the Hawks. At the time of this writing, a formal response to the sibling of the missing victim is yet to be provided. In 1992 Paul Scott-Crossley, the father of one of the victims, stated: *“The police owe us an answer...they owe South Africa an answer”* (Steyn-Barlow, 2006: 143). It has been 28 years – the family and South Africa are still waiting.

In their paper pointing towards the *“disturbing prevalence of sexual slavery in South Africa”*, Woolman and Bishop (2006: 385) introduce their arguments by highlighting that people continue to be exploited despite the fact that the galley ships are gone, the holding cells on the Cape Verde islands have been turned into museums and the positive law that clearly condones traditional forms of chattel slavery has been almost completely abolished. History should never be forgotten and cognisance of this should be taken in paving the way forward. The discussion will now move to the present-day South African landscape as the context within which modern forms of slavery, better known as human trafficking, persist. This landscape is also the setting within which this research study was completed between 2012 and 2017.

2.4 SOUTH AFRICA: THE CONTEXTUAL LANDSCAPE

South Africa can be considered to be part of the cradle of humankind;⁵ with people living in the region for as long as there have been humans on earth (Hamilton et al., 2010: xi). After more than two decades of South African constitutionalism, the country must continue to confront challenges and issues of injustice as there remains a need for collective commitment to a project of transformation *“that is still only partially realized”* (McDougall, 2016: 35-36). Delpont, Koen and Mackay (2007: 32) suggest underlying factors and the *“quest for a means of survival”* as the impetus that makes

⁵ Recent scientific discoveries of fossils in the Dinaledi Chamber in the Rising Star cave system, named *Homo naledi*, have again shed light on South Africa’s rich history of human life and existence (Berger, Hawks, De Ruiter, Churchill, Schmid, Delezene, Kivell, Garvin, Williams, DeSilva, Skinner, Musiba, Cameron, Holliday, Harcourt-Smith, Ackermann, Bastir, Bogin, Bolter, Brophy, Cofran, Congdon, Deane, Dembo, Drapeau, Elliott, Feuerriegel, Garcia-Martinez, Green, Gurtov, Irish, Kruger, Laird, Marchi, Meyer, Nalla, Negash, Orr, Radovicic, Schroeder, Scott, Throckmorton, Tocheri, VanSickle, Walker, Wei & Zipfel, 2015).

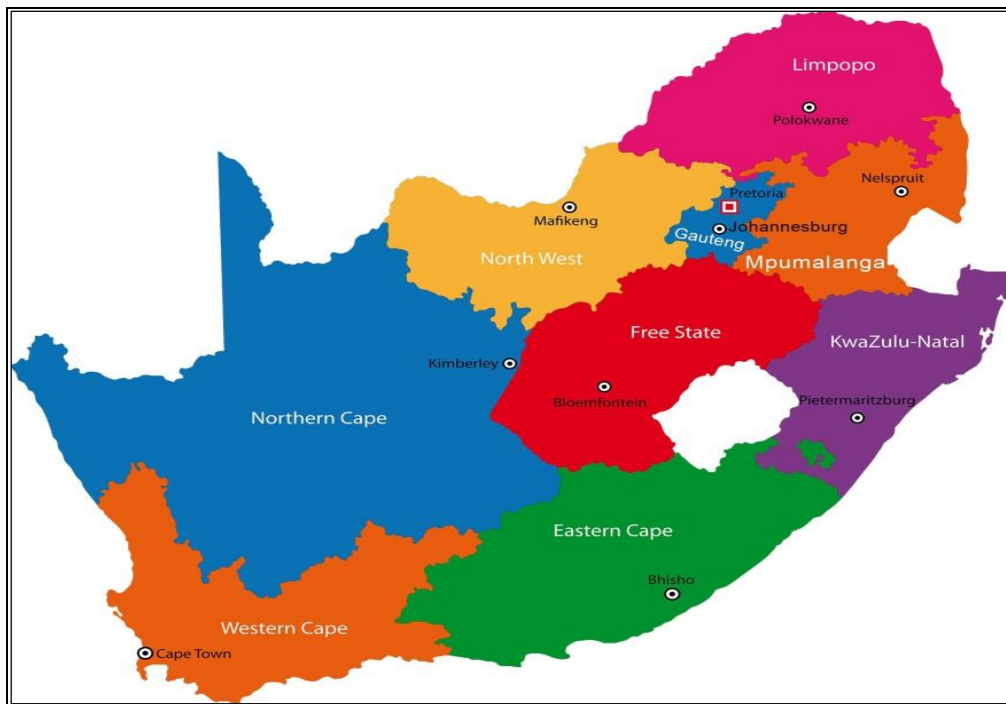
women and girls particularly vulnerable to trafficking in South Africa. In the same vein, Van der Watt (2015b) underscores the significance of structural issues such as racism, poverty, unemployment, education and inequality – *“all of which interpenetrate at some point”*. This chapter endeavours to satisfy the call that *“any interrogation of complex systems should bring context to the fore”* (McPherson & McGibbon, 2014: 176). This is in line with the aim of the thesis of offering a complex systems interpretation (see Chapter 5) of, and application (see Chapter 6) to, the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The South African context and sociological considerations will now be explored and positioned as the theatre within which human trafficking in South Africa is embedded, camouflaged and experienced by participants in this study.

2.4.1 Population and Geography

South Africa occupies the southern tip of Africa, with a long coastline stretching more than 3 000 km and a surface area covering 1 219 602 km². The country shares common boundaries with Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland, while the Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho is surrounded by South African territory in the southeast (Tibane & Honwane, 2015: 2). In 2011 the population of South Africa was documented as 51 770 560 (51,8 million) people, with males comprising 48,7% of the total population and females 51,3%. The 2015 mid-year population estimate was 54,96 million (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The country consists of nine provinces (The nine provinces of South Africa, 2016):

- The Eastern Cape
- The Free State
- Gauteng
- KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)
- Limpopo
- Mpumalanga
- The Northern Cape
- North West
- The Western Cape

Figure 2.1: Provinces of South Africa



Source: South Africa Map (2017)

The most densely populated province in South Africa is Gauteng, with approximately 12,91 million people (23,9%) residing in this province. The second largest population numbers can be found in KZN, with 10,69 million people (19,8%). The Northern Cape, with a population of approximately 1,17 million people (2,2%), is the most sparsely populated despite being the largest province, with 361 830 km² of land. Approximately 30% of South Africa's population is younger than 15 years old and about 4,54 million people (8,4%) are aged 60 or older. Of those who are younger than 15, approximately 3,66 million (22,7%) live in KZN and 3,05 million (18,8%) live in Gauteng (Tibane & Honwane, 2015: 2).

2.4.2 Governance and Politics

Issues related to governance and politics during the period of this research between 2012 and 2017 were not only profoundly erratic but also unprecedented in the country's post-1994 chapter. A number of low points and controversies that marred the sphere of governance and politics during this period were documented (**ANNEXURE 2**) and considered by the researcher as some of the cornerstone events that point to South Africa as a compromised state. Despite the country being labelled a peace-loving nation where government fosters an inclusive society (Zuma, 2015: ii),

racism and xenophobia abound, with the government also being implicated in fuelling these ills (Cox, 2017; Jannah, 2017; Solidarity, 2017; Erasmus, 2015).

The country's 1996 Constitution represents a break from the past, where parliamentary sovereignty has been done away with and the Constitution now considered the supreme law (Mtshaulana, 1997: 18). As a constitutional democracy, South Africa has a three-tier system of government and an independent judiciary. The national, provincial and local levels of government all have legislative and executive authority in their own spheres (Tibane & Honwane, 2015: 202), and are defined in section 40 of Chapter 3 in the 1996 Constitution as distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. Operating at both national and provincial levels are advisory bodies drawn from South Africa's traditional leaders (Tibane & Honwane, 2015: 202). It is a stated intention in the Constitution that the country is run on a system of cooperative governance, with the principles of cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations set out in section 41(1) of Chapter 3 in the 1996 Constitution. It requires "*all spheres of government and all organs of state within each sphere*" to:

- a) *"Preserve peace, national unity and the indivisibility of the Republic;*
- b) *Secure the well-being of the people of the Republic;*
- c) *Provide effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government for the Republic as a whole;*
- d) *Be loyal to the Constitution, the Republic and its people;*
- e) *Respect the constitutional status, institutions, powers and functions of government in the other spheres;*
- f) *Not assume any power or function except those conferred on them in terms of the Constitution;*
- g) *Exercise their powers and perform their functions in a manner that does not encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of government in another sphere; and*
- h) *Cooperate with one another in mutual trust and good faith."*

In May 2014 the African National Congress (ANC) secured a fifth successive election victory with a majority, mustering 62,15% of the vote. This was a reduced majority win over 2009's 65,9% of the vote (Quintal, 2014). Notwithstanding some key areas of progress and tangible milestones reached by the ruling party (Mashego, 2016; Zuma

says ANC is making progress..., 2016; Zuma, 2015: ii), what has followed the 2014 election has been an era of power characterised by compromises and an unequalled wave of Constitutional conundrums and concerns. With the ostensible transformation of the ANC from a rule-regulated party into an organisation in which dynamics are mostly shaped by personal interests, Lodge (2014: 1-2) points to a number of neo-patrimonial indicators, which include the use of public powers for personal interests, factionalism and the acquisition of business interests. Beresford (2015: 228) states that there is mounting evidence in South Africa of informal patronage-based political networks functioning in parallel with, and sometimes in opposition to, the impartial political institutions of the state. Political leaders are said to derive support and legitimacy by distributing patronage through “*informal, deeply personalized patron-client networks built upon mutual expectations of reciprocity*”, instead of being held accountable by voters in an impersonal fashion through the formal political domain (Beresford, 2015: 227).

South Africa’s democracy was, however, described as “*alive and kicking*” (Allison, 2016) after the country’s highest court found that the President had failed to respect the Constitution in the long-awaited Nkandla judgment. This judgment dealt with the spending by the government on President Jacob Zuma’s homestead, which amounted to at least R246 million (Makatile, 2016). In his judgment (*Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others; Democratic Alliance v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others* [2016] ZACC 11), Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng contextualised the important role of President Jacob Zuma in South Africa’s constitutional democracy:

“He is a constitutional being by design, a national pathfinder, the quintessential commander-in-chief of State Affairs and the personification of this nation’s constitutional project.” (para. 20, p. 13)

In the words of Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng: The President thus failed to “*uphold, defend, and respect the Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic*” (para. 28, p. 17).

Du Preez (2016) describes the Nkandla judgment as a “*major political earthquake that has irrevocably changed the political landscape*”, with South Africans likely to feel the

“aftershocks” for years to come. This was the kind of ruling, Grootes (2016) asserts, that *“at a stroke, re-establishes the rule of law over politicians”*, with Allison (2016) noting that South Africa’s institutions, and the checks and balances built into the Constitution, *“are more than capable of rising to the challenge”*. During a panel discussion to mark 20 years of the adoption of the Constitution in Parliament in 1996, former President Thabo Mbeki described the Constitution as a *“national contract for all South Africans”* and asserted that there would be more social intervention by ordinary South Africans to defend the Constitution if they were more familiar with its contents (Mabotja, 2016).

Not too long after the landmark 2016 Nkandla judgment by Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng, the dawn of 2017 unveiled a myriad of ignominies and strains which few oracles would have been able to predict. An explosive report, ‘Betrayal of the Promise: How South Africa is being stolen’, was released by the Public Affairs Research Institute in May 2017. The report details how President Zuma’s power elite has constructed and fused a cooperative relationship between South Africa’s constitutional state and a shadow state as a means of executing a ‘silent coup’. This new era in South Africa, as proposed in the report, is defined by four major public incidents: the 16 August 2012 Marikana Massacre, the April 2013 landing of the Gupta plane at the Waterkloof Air Base in Pretoria, the attempt to entice the former Deputy Minister of Finance to sell the National Treasury to the shadow state in 2015, and the reshuffle of Cabinet in March 2017. The report also argues that *“from about 2012 onwards the Zuma-centred power elite has sought to centralise the control of rents to eliminate lower-order, rent-seeking competitors”* (Bhorat, Buthelezi, Chipkin, Duma, Mondli, Peter, Qobo, Swilling & Friedenstien, 2017: 2).

The report claims that the ‘ultimate prize’ was control of strategic structures such as the National Treasury to gain control of the Financial Intelligence Centre, the Chief Procurement Office, the Public Investment Corporation, the boards of key development finance institutions and the guarantee system (Bhorat et al., 2017: 2). The so-called Gupta Leaks, which reveal how parastatals and politicians have been captured (Umraw, 2017); attempts by opposition parties to either remove or impeach President Jacob Zuma (Dentlinger, 2017); the ANC leadership succession debate (Grootes, 2017; Macharia, 2017); and prominent investigative journalist Jacques

Pauw's (2017) book, *The President's Keepers*, which details almost incredible corruption by President Jacob Zuma and his cronies, were issues that dominated the sphere of governance and politics during the latter part of 2017.

2.4.3 Economy

With South Africa ranked as an upper-middle income country by the World Bank, its economy is currently one of the largest on the African continent (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Southall (2016: 84), however, stresses that the government is presiding over a stagnant economy with costs that are escalating and revenues that are falling. Concomitantly, Southall argues, public corporations, constrained by cronyism and incapacity, are becoming a growing burden to the exchequer. Fears of a looming financial crisis have also been voiced with the then finance minister, Pravin Gordhan, cutting South Africa's growth forecast for 2016 to 0,9%, down from 1,7% and conceding that the economy was struggling with shrinking growth and high levels of unemployment (South Africa's economy 'in crisis', 2016). The issue of government debts has also been raised by Haslam (2014), who warns that South Africa is finding itself on a dangerous path of increasing its debts and incurring perilously high trade deficits; he states that lessons from Zimbabwe "*cannot be ignored*".

South Africa's 2016 credit ratings' dilemma by ratings agencies Moody's, Standard & Poor's and Fitch, and the near miss of a 'junk status' rating by Moody's, brought the South African economy into sharp focus (Joffe, 2016; Lindeque, 2016; Ngcobo, 2016). The role of South Africa's political upheaval during 2016, with specific reference to the firing of Finance Minister Nhlanhla Nene under highly questionable circumstances, and the Nkandla scandal as compounding factors on economic risks, also became increasingly vivid (Junk status appears to be just a matter of time, 2016). These warnings appeared to have gone unheeded as simmering concerns became a reality when Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan and his deputy, Mcebisi Jonas, were fired by President Jacob Zuma on 30 March 2017 (Brand, 2017; Hartley, 2017; Lekabe, 2017). In the days that followed, South Africa was downgraded to junk status, first by Standard & Poor's (Child, 2017) and then by Fitch (Green, 2017). Both downgrades came within a space of four days.

South Africa has been known to be the continent's second-largest economy since Nigeria rebased its gross domestic product (GDP) data in early 2014. Nonetheless, South Africa appears to have slipped into third position, with data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) suggesting that Egypt has overtaken South Africa – mainly due to the rand's continued slump (SA's economy drops into third place in Africa, 2016). As it stands, South Africa is arguably one of the world's worst-performing major economies, with a key risk being a period of stagnation that could strain the country's political and economic institutions to a breaking point (Holodny, 2016).

2.4.4 Human and Social Issues

Poverty is a key development challenge in social, economic and political terms in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2016), with poverty, inequality and unemployment referred to by Zuma (2015: ii) as the 'triple challenge', which government continues to address. Unemployment for the third quarter of 2017 currently stands at 27,7% (Statistics South Africa, 2017). According to Cronje (2016), CEO of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR), in a national opinion survey of public attitudes to race, empowerment and other policy issues commissioned by the IRR during 2015, South Africans were asked to identify the two most serious problems not yet resolved since 1994. The two most pressing issues identified were unemployment (indicated by 55,9% of South Africans) and crime (indicated by 28,8% of South Africans). The survey responses (see Table 2.2 below) were not prompted and respondents were at liberty to list any issue that was important to them.

Table 2.2: IRR national opinion survey of public attitudes

Most serious unresolved problems	Total	Black	Coloured	Asian	White
Unemployment	55.9%	58.6%	57.1%	43.7%	37.9%
Crime	28.8%	26.0%	33.4%	51.7%	39.8%
Housing	19.7%	20.8%	21.0%	11.2%	12.5%
Service delivery poor or slow	14.7%	16.2%	11.2%	10.7%	7.5%
State corruption/incompetence/nepotism	14.0%	11.4%	16.9%	12.1%	32.2%
Education/teachers/fees/overcrowding	10.1%	9.8%	10.2%	13.3%	11.9%
Water supply	8.1%	10.0%	1.3%	3.7%	0.8%
Roads	5.0%	5.9%	0.9%	1.9%	2.7%
Racism/xenophobia/reverse apartheid	4.7%	3.9%	4.9%	7.9%	9.5%
Drugs/gangs/ganglords	4.2%	4.0%	9.6%	2.3%	1.8%

Source: Cronje (2016)

The researcher found the results of the opinion survey quite telling of what matters to whom in South Africa’s structurally unequal society, where class and race remain predisposing factors that determine the well-being of its people. Despite ‘resolute’ endeavours to foster nation-building and social cohesion as foundations for nurturing a united, non-sexist and non-racial society (Zuma, 2015: ii), February (2016) concludes, 22 years after freedom, that transitions are imperfect as deepening levels of inequality have exacerbated race and class divisions. With reference to South Africa’s education crisis, Spaul (2015) highlights that most black children still receive an education that dooms them to the ill-fated segment of society, where poverty and unemployment are the order of the day. Social inequality is thus reinforced whilst children inherit the social station of their parents. In a Western Cape study, Chetty (2015: 63) refers to the educational inequality in schools as a moral issue and not merely an economic one. Poor schooling, Chetty (2015: 63) asserts, not only fuels race and class inequities, but derails poor youth *“away from academic mastery, independence and democracy, toward academic ignorance, dependence and civic alienation”*.

Gender-based violence against women (Mpumlwana, 2016; Kruger, 2004) and concerns about the well-being of South African children are still widely reported on (Fuzile, 2016; Optimus Study, 2016). Government, according to Zuma (2015: ii), has given prominence to these issues, with the total emancipation of women from past discrimination steadily gaining momentum (Zuma, 2015: ii). Sadly, however, when a Deputy Minister of Higher Education is implicated in the videoed assault of a woman in a Sandton nightclub (Lebitse, 2017; Merten, 2017), or when a Minister in the Presidency allegedly harasses a junior staff photographer for nude pictures (Essop, 2017; Skade, 2017), the commitment of government to curbing gender-based violations becomes increasingly dubious.

South Africa is also entangled in the global drug problem (Van Heerden & Minnaar, 2016: 16; Friedman, 2014). The term 'drug problem', which relates primarily to the global demand for illicit drugs, has been expanded in the South African context to comprise the demand for all types of dependence-forming substances. These include alcohol, substances such as a variety of prescription and over-the-counter medication, and illicit substances like cannabis, cocaine and heroin. The term 'substance abuse problem' is therefore preferred (Central Drug Authority, 2013: 20). The interconnectedness between drugs, gangs and violence is also underscored by Petrus (2015: 194).

Furthermore, migration is a key demographic process in determining the age structure and dispersal of provincial populations. For the period 2011-2016 it is estimated that approximately 241 758 people will have migrated from the Eastern Cape; Limpopo is estimated to have experienced an out-migration of nearly 303 101 people. During the same period, Gauteng and Western Cape are estimated to have experienced an inflow of migrants of approximately 1 106 375 and 344 830 respectively (Tibane & Honwane, 2015: 2).

2.4.5 Crime and Justice

With reference to the fear of crime that continues to be reported by a substantial segment of the South African population, Roberts and Gordon (2016: 58) point to the proliferation of gated communities, increasing reliance on private forms of policing, demands for retributive justice and escalating forms of cohesion targeted at perceived

external threats such as foreign nationals. South Africa needs no introduction to the global narratives of violence and crimes against women and children. With reported sexual offences at 51 895 cases, and incidents of murder totalling 18 673 for the 2015/2016 period (South African Police Service, 2017), the country's infamy in this arena is unquestionable (Van der Watt, 2016a; Collins, 2013: 35). A number of concerns (Masiloane, 2014; Gould, Burger & Newham, 2012; Altbeker, 2005) have been raised regarding the reliability of South Africa's crime statistics (South African Police Service, 2017) that are released annually. These are, amongst others, the reporting by the police of 'total sexual crimes', which include 59 separate offences that range from prostitution to rape. Increases or decreases in such a broad category of crime are not very helpful and "*cannot tell us much*" (Africa Check, 2014). Available data does, however, paint a concerning picture about the state of justice in South Africa.

Sexual offences, many of these perpetrated against children, are of particular concern, with copious numbers of media reports reminding South African citizens that these crimes often occur on their proverbial 'doorstep' (Van Wyk, 2012: 1; Van der Berg & Scholtz, 2011; Carlisle, 2010: 7; Mphande, 2007: 1; Viljoen, 2005: 2). This notoriety includes a reference to South Africa as the 'rape capital of the world' (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002: 1231), with the country having one of the highest rates of rape reported to the police globally (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrel & Dunkle, 2009). Furthermore, Jewkes and Morrel (2010: 2) confirm that South Africa's rate of rape has been found to be the highest of any Interpol member country, with more than 55 000 rapes reported to the police annually. The government does not have a good track record of responding to these issues and has previously been blamed for routinely failing to investigate, prosecute and punish such violence (Human Rights Watch, 1995). Studies indicate that only one in 13 women reported non-partner rape and, overall, only one in 25 rapes are being reported to the SAPS (Gender Links and the Medical Research Council, 2010). The daunting reality of serial rape cases, which remain undetected, also shows some staggering numbers. The DNA laboratory has officials monitoring 'hits', where two or more cases linked to the same perpetrator are identified. Between October and December 2012, the DNA laboratory identified 477 series of rapes (Labuschagne, 2013) and, between April and June 2015, at least 333 series of rapes (Labuschagne, 2015).

The Optimus Study (2016: 11) presents the findings of research that was designed specifically to estimate the annual incidence and lifetime prevalence of child sexual abuse and maltreatment in South Africa. Prior to this no nationally representative data on the extent or impact of child sexual abuse existed. The study drew on two data sources. The first was a population survey that was conducted with a sample of 15- to 17-year-old adolescents recruited nationally from schools (4086 participants) and households (5631 participants). The second was an agency component that consisted of a series of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with frontline staff and agency directors that serviced communities or geographical spaces and that were identified through the sampling process. The study found that 35,4% of young people had experienced some form of sexual abuse at some point in their lives. This meant that a total of at least 784 967 young people in South Africa had been victims of sexual abuse by the age of 17. In 2015 alone, a total of 351 214 cases of sexual abuse had occurred among 15 to 17 year olds. Other findings of the 2016 Optimus Study include:

- In the school survey, boys (36,8%) were found to be slightly more likely than girls (33,9%) to report some form of sexual abuse;
- The mean age at which girls first experience sexual abuse was 14. Boys typically reported their first experience to be at the age of 15;
- 11,7% had experienced someone trying to force them to have sex;
- 15,7% had had a sexual experience with someone of 18 or older;
- In the school survey, 42,2% of respondents had experienced some form of maltreatment (whether sexual, physical, emotional or neglect); and
- 82,0% reported experiencing some form of victimisation (whether criminal victimisation or exposure to family or community violence).

The question 'When will this country act?' is posed in an editorial response by *The Star* newspaper to yet another rape of a five-year-old girl. The editor poignantly refers to the age-old cultural adage 'It takes a village to raise a child', and concludes by stressing that people "*have to face up to the reality that our village is rotten to the core*" (Anon, 2012: 1).

Corruption is widely recognised amongst South Africans from all walks of life as one of the most serious threats posed to the country's hard won democracy and prospects for sustainable socio-economic development (Beresford, 2015: 226). Corruption is,

however, by no means a post-1994 phenomenon. As highlighted by Lodge (1998), apartheid era South Africa experienced corruption on multiple levels, which included widespread incidents of bribery in civil service, extensive venality to avoid oil sanctions, and scandals relating to arms procurement. Overwhelming evidence confirms that corruption is indeed an ever-present reality with far-reaching consequences that systemically affect all levels within the political system (Lodge, 1998: 159) and South African society (Olutola, 2014; Naidoo, 2013; Hamilton, 2011; Keightley, 2011; Minnaar, 2003; Lodge, 1998). With reference to the “*seemingly unending stamina*” of corruption in South Africa, Keightley (2011: 368) states that the corporate sector is by no means immune from involvement in corruption. Testimony to this are the May 2016 reports (Forde, 2016; Penny, 2016) on ‘dodgy dealings’, a ‘money-making racket’ and large-scale dubious practices which linked bank staff, liquidators, law firms, prominent individuals and financial advisors to the Auction Alliance scandal.

The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), based on expert opinion from around the world, measures the perceived levels of public sector corruption worldwide on a scale from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). South Africa ranked 61st on the CPI in 2016, with a score of 44, which had remained unchanged since 2014 (Corruption Watch, 2016: 12-13; Quintal, 2016). The 2015 African edition of the Global Corruption Barometer, a partnership between Transparency International and Afrobarometer, reported that 58% of people in sub-Saharan Africa think that corruption has escalated. South Africa ranked as one of the three worst performers, with 83% of people saying that corruption has increased (Transparency International, 2015: 6).

With reference to a ‘symbiotic relationship’ between corruption and organised crime in South Africa, Minnaar (1999) points to the post 1994-era South African experience, which has shown a number of thought-provoking developments in terms of the incidence of corruption and the growth of organised crime. Goga (2015) characterises the South African organised criminal economy as being largely sustained by unsophisticated and ad hoc criminal networks in corrupt symbiotic relationships. Acknowledging the existence of sophisticated and structured criminal groups, Goga (2015) underscores that these are not the only form of organised criminality and refers to more ‘unsophisticated’ networks such as housebreaking gangs, cellular phone

thieves, second-hand metal dealers and cable thieves that also fuel the South African organised criminal economy.

The emergence of cross-cutting criminal networks that seamlessly breach boundaries prompts Shaw (2015: 7) to argue that South Africa has “*no place in the global criminal economy*” since the networks and movements that make up this economy hardly acknowledge the presence of these national boundaries. The permeating theme of corruption emerges once again as Shaw (2015: 7) implicates state institutions as “*key vectors*” of criminal flows. This happens in a contradictory fashion – some directing criminal flows for private gain, and some directing or attempting to halt them in the public interest.

Escalating concerns about South Africa’s crime situation (Davis, 2015), a flawed response and incompetence within the ranks of the SAPS (Burger, 2015; Newham, 2015; Burger, 2014) meant that 2016 was greeted with a ‘Back to Basics’ campaign by the SAPS. The Back-to Basics approach to policing focusses on every police officer doing the basics of policing properly and consistently and is linked to the three fundamental functions of policing: crime prevention, crime investigation and crime intelligence (Bateman, 2016; Frykberg, 2016).

Amongst the myriad of crime and justice issues headlining 2017 were the implicit link between State Security Minister David Mahlobo, a Chinese brothel and a rhino-horn trafficker (Penny, 2017; Watson, 2017); suspended National Police Commissioner Riyah Phiyega found guilty of serious misconduct (Gallens, 2017; Huffington Post, 2017); and acting National Police Commissioner Khomotso Phahlane being implicated in a “*dodgy car deal*” and investigated by the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (Mashego, 2017: 1-2).

Some inspiration from South Africa’s continued battle against crime, corruption and injustice can, however, be drawn from the Nkandla judgment (*Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others; Democratic Alliance v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others* [2016] ZACC 11), in which Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng referred to the Public Protector as follows:

“She is the embodiment of a biblical David, that the public is, who fights the most powerful and very well-resourced Goliath that impropriety and corruption by government officials are. The Public Protector is one of the true crusaders and champions of anti-corruption and clean governance.” (para. 52, p. 27)

From the broader South African contextual landscape, the chapter will now progress to the specific issue of human trafficking. South Africa’s ratification of the Palermo Protocol, the milestone international treaty on the issue of human trafficking, served as the launch of South Africa’s counter-human trafficking journey. The section that follows will provide an overview of the Palermo Protocol and South Africa’s legislative response.

2.5 FROM PALERMO TO THE PREVENTION AND COMBATING OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS ACT 7 OF 2013

The eventual operationalising of South Africa’s Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act in August 2015 was the highlight of a long post-Palermo Protocol journey, characterised by significant delays and a fragmented response to a problem of unknown scope (Sello, 2015; Pearson, 2013; Kruger, 2012; Bardine, 2010). It is beyond the scope of this research to deconstruct South Africa’s legislative framework;⁶ instead, it provides a snapshot of South Africa’s legislation, its history and the context within which the participants’ lived experiences, captured in this study, exist.

2.5.1 The Palermo Protocol

Human trafficking resurfaced as an issue during the mid-1980s, impelled by a rejuvenated feminist movement, concern over changing migration flows, HIV/AIDS, child prostitution and child sex tourism (Pharoah, 2006: 3). It then rose to prominence during the 1990s (Pharoah, 2006: 3; Legget, 2004: 1). Up until the early 1990s, trafficking was mostly considered to be a form of human smuggling and a type of illegal migration (Laczko & Gramegna, 2003: 179). Despite the extensive and contemptible history of human trafficking, it has only recently become a major political issue for the

⁶ See <http://www.gov.za/documents/prevention-and-combating-trafficking-persons-act>

international community and the focus of comprehensive international rules (Gallagher, 2010: i).

On 15 November 2000, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted the Convention against Transnational Organised Crime along with three protocols that served as additional instruments to supplement the Convention. These protocols covered the issues of trafficking in persons, smuggling, and illicit firearms, which were also opened for signature (Allain, 2014: 113). The international community began meeting in 1999 to draft the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Miko, 2003: 15), which took into account that there was *“no universal instrument that addresses all aspects of trafficking in persons”* (United Nations, 2000a). After adoption, the Convention and protocols were formally signed in Palermo, Italy, in December 2000 (Miko, 2003: 15).

Notwithstanding the incorporation of the term ‘trafficking’ into a number of international legal agreements, it was not until December 2000 that it was defined in international law (Gallagher, 2010: 12). The Palermo Protocol, considered the landmark treaty on human trafficking (Kruger, 2010: 190), is generally taken as the point of departure when individual nations begin to draft their own legislation (Kreston, 2014: 21). Noteworthy is the fact that the Palermo Protocol is not a human rights’ instrument, but was designed to facilitate cooperation between countries to combat organised crime (Shoaps, 2013: 933; Anderson & Andrijasevic, 2008: 136; Miko, 2003: 15). It signifies an agreed-upon international definition of trafficking (UNODC, 2006: ix; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003: 180) and accepted standards for prosecution, protection and prevention, which should underpin and harmonise national legislation against trafficking with other countries’ trafficking laws (Raymond, 2001: 4).

Article 3(a) of the 2000 Protocol defines human trafficking as follows:

“Trafficking in persons’ shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the

exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

The Palermo Protocol came into force on 25 December 2003 (Pharoah, 2006: 1) and was subsequently ratified by South Africa on 20 February 2004. As one of the 117 countries to have ratified the Protocol, South Africa was now bound to develop laws to protect the victims of trafficking and prosecute offenders in a manner appropriate to the seriousness of the offence (Bermudez, 2008: 19–20; Pharoah, 2006: 1). According to Kruger (2016: 58-59), the Palermo Protocol has two main purposes. First, it supports the ‘3P’ approach to combating human trafficking, which involves the prevention of human trafficking, the prosecution of traffickers and the protection of victims. Second, it aims to encourage cooperation amongst member states in fulfilling these aims. Cho (2015: 87) points out that the so-called 3P processes not only focus on reducing the incidence of human trafficking, but also promote the protection of victims’ human rights.

The fact that a legal and widely accepted definition of human trafficking exists by no means serves as a panacea for successfully addressing the issue from a legal perspective (Emser, 2013: 15). As highlighted by Zheng (2010: 2), dominant post-Palermo discourses have conflated trafficking and prostitution, underscored mobility restraints of certain populations and defined those trafficked as ‘victims’. Many countries have taken measures such as police rescues, enforced rehabilitation, and deportation of those considered trafficking ‘victims’. Intrinsic to the United Nations definition of trafficking, Zheng (2010: 2) argues, is a moral panic that any migrant woman working in the sex industry is a trafficked victim. Zheng qualifies this assertion with reference to the definition that suggests exploitation to include “*at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation*” and the consent of the trafficked victim, which is rendered “*irrelevant*” (United Nations, 2000a). There remains a fair amount of disagreement regarding how human trafficking should be defined and where the focus should be in assessing whether an individual fits the profile and has actually been trafficked or not (Emser, 2013: 15; Emmers, Greener-Barcham & Thomas, 2006: 492). The protocol makes provision for different forms of exploitation; however, trafficking in persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation will

be the focus of this research. It involves the recruitment, transportation and exploitation of an individual and manifests in a variety of forms that include:

- Forced prostitution, pornography or any other forced sexual practices (Bermudez, 2008: 34);
- Brothels and massage parlours (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2006: 6);
- Non-brothel-based sexual exploitation, where commercial exploitation takes place under the facade of some other genuine activity, such as beer bars, friendship clubs, tourist circuits and beauty parlours (Nair, 2010: 20).

The following sections will briefly look into the different legislative instruments that serve to combat the perpetration of human trafficking in South Africa.

2.5.2 Common Law, Statutory Crimes and Interim Legislative Provisions

Before South Africa's implementation of any legislation related to aspects of human trafficking, reliance was placed on provisions in common law. According to Kruger (2010: 418-431), common law crimes applicable to activities in a human trafficking scenario include:

- Abduction
- Kidnapping
- Murder and attempted murder
- Culpable homicide
- Common assault
- Assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm
- Extortion
- *Crimen injuria*
- Criminal defamation
- Fraud and related crimes

Kruger (2010: 436) further submits that the crime of slavery, as recognised in international customary law, is also part of South African law and may be used in appropriate cases to prosecute perpetrators responsible for human trafficking activities. Kruger does, however, acknowledge the application limits of slavery, as a

crime, in cases of human trafficking (Kruger, 2010: 437). In an era when knowledge about the complex crime of human trafficking was still sorely lacking, different elements of the crime and associated offences were therefore subsumed under the aforementioned common law crimes. The problem was that a 21st Century crime cannot best be dealt with by laws written in the 1900s (Kreston, 2007: 40). Statutory crimes are covered by legislation and can be used for the prosecution of activities in the human trafficking process. The following statutory crimes are referred to by Kruger and Oosthuizen (2012: 297-315):

- Riotous Assemblies Act 17 of 1956
- Identification Act 68 of 1997
- Immigration Act 13 of 2002
- Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997
- Child Care Act 74 of 1983
- Prevention of Organised Crime Act 121 of 1998
- Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act 12 of 2004
- Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act 140 of 1992
- Human Tissue Act 65 of 1983
- National Health Act 61 of 2003
- Films and Publications Act 65 of 1996
- Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957
- Intimidation Act 72 of 1982
- International Co-operation in Criminal Matters Act 75 of 1996

With reference to the absence of comprehensive counter-trafficking legislation, Kruger and Oosthuizen (2012: 325) point out that the existing common law crimes and statutory offences, at the time, were a significant tool for prosecuting criminal conduct during the human trafficking process.

As interim human trafficking legislative provisions, the Children's Act 38 of 2005 and the Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007 both contained transitional provisions dealing with specific aspects of trafficking in persons pending the promulgation of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill (Kruger, 2010: 482). These transitional provisions were a means for South Africa to bring its domestic laws and policies in line with the obligations in terms of the international and regional treaties. Pithey (2004: 8)

posits that both these pieces of legislation could successfully be used in the prosecution of perpetrators when individuals have been removed from where they want to be (geographically) and forced to provide sexual services to other persons. Pithey adds that these legislative pieces can also be used to prosecute those who benefit financially from these services. However, Kreston (2007: 45) points to the scope of the mandate as an inherent constraint of these pieces of legislation. Its limitations include the fact that it applies only to child victims of trafficking (Children's Act 38 of 2005) or to victims, both children and adults, who have been trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation (Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007).

2.5.3 The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013

The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons (PACOTIP) Act was enacted in July 2013 (Kreston, 2014: 24), with the law eventually coming into effect on 9 August 2015 (Kruger, 2016: 55; President Zuma signs new Trafficking Act into law, 2015). The trafficking legislation now gives domestic legal effect to South Africa's international obligations under the Palermo Protocol (Mollema, 2014: 247). Furthermore, it operationalises a "*single codified piece of legislation*" to refer to when dealing with the issue of human trafficking and should be of particular value to under-trained prosecutors (Legget, 2004: 4). As a means to address the problem of human trafficking comprehensively, it is emphasised by Aransiola and Zarowsky (2014: 513) that the human trafficking legislation may not eradicate human rights' abuses associated with trafficking, but has the potential to improve the rights afforded to victims that are rescued. The Act now enables the prosecution and appropriate punishment of perpetrators, the protection of and provision of assistance to victims of human trafficking, and the prevention of human trafficking (Kruger, 2016: 65).

The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons (PACOTIP) Act 7 of 2013 comprises ten chapters and includes a schedule on repealed and amended laws. Chapter 1 deals with definitions, interpretations and objects of the Act, whilst Chapter 2 addresses all issues related to prosecutions and includes offences, penalties and matters related to extra-territorial jurisdiction. Matters related to victims of human trafficking, which include identification and protection of victims, accreditation of service providers and repatriation, are dealt with extensively from Chapters 3 to 7.

Chapters 8, 9 and 10 address general provisions, administration and implementation of the Act, as well as miscellaneous matters.

The offence of 'Trafficking in Persons' is defined by section 4(1) in Chapter 2 of the PACOTIP Act as follows:

“Any person who delivers, recruits, transports, transfers, harbours, sells, exchanges, leases or receives another person within or across the borders of the Republic, by means of–

(a) a threat of harm;

(b) the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion;

(c) the abuse of vulnerability;

(d) fraud;

(e) deception;

(f) abduction;

(g) kidnapping;

(h) the abuse of power;

(i) the direct or indirect giving or receiving of payments or benefits to obtain the consent of a person having control or authority over another person; or

(j) the direct or indirect giving or receiving of payments, compensation, rewards, benefits or any other advantage, aimed at either the person or an immediate family member of that person or any other person in close relationship to that person, for the purpose of any form or manner of exploitation, is guilty of the offence of trafficking in persons;

4 (2) Any person who–

(a) adopts a child, facilitated or secured through legal or illegal means; or

(b) concludes a forced marriage with another person, within or across the borders of the Republic, for the purpose of the exploitation of that child or other person in any form or manner, is guilty of an offence.”

Also important here is the definition of 'abuse of vulnerability' as deconstructed in section 1 of the Act as a means through which a person can be mobilised for subsequent exploitation. According to this definition, 'abuse of vulnerability' for purposes of section 4(1) means

“any abuse that leads a person to believe that he or she has no reasonable alternative but to submit to exploitation, and includes but is not limited to, taking advantage of the vulnerabilities of that person resulting from–

- a) the person having entered or remained in the Republic illegally or without proper documentation;*
- b) pregnancy;*
- c) any disability of the person;*
- d) addiction to the use of any dependence-producing substance;*
- e) being a child;*
- f) social circumstances; or*
- g) economic circumstances.”*

The aforementioned vulnerability considerations reflect the South African social context and feature prominently in numerous past and ongoing reports, investigations and prosecutions of human trafficking in the country. Interestingly, though, despite the prominence of this loaded definition in both the Palermo Protocol and South Africa’s PACOTIP Act, it is not deconstructed or aired in preservationist-slanted research on the issue of prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa. This calls into question the essence of arguments that attempt to diminish the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa (see: Palmary, 2016; Gould, 2014; Gould, 2011; Gould & Fick, 2008) and that dismiss the multilayered and subversive complexities that fundamentally impact on the contested debate around ‘agency’ and ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ participation in the sex trade. These perspectives will be reflected on in Section 2.6.3 below.

In her comparison of the PACOTIP Act with international prosecution standards, Kruger (2016: 84) describes the legislation as an *“innovative and invaluable tool”* and a *“sharp prosecution sword”* equipped to terminate impunity for multiple trafficking agents who benefit from the lucrative exploitation of human beings. The legislation gave effect to an increase in the number of cases entering the criminal justice system and the time has now come to use the legislation optimally and establish good case law (Whittles, 2017: 13).

This section provided a contextual overview of the Palermo Protocol and how South Africa responded to its obligations after ratifying the Protocol on 20 February 2004. The use of common law and statutory legislation in an attempt to address human trafficking, and the subsequent and interim legislative provisions were then discussed. The PACOTIP Act was introduced and reflected upon as an effective prosecution tool for comprehensively addressing human trafficking in South Africa. In the next section, South Africa's post-Palermo narrative will be explored.

2.6 SOUTH AFRICA'S POST-PALERMO NARRATIVE

Following on from the discussion of South Africa's geographical, political and social landscape, and the country's commitment to the Palermo Protocol and legislative framework, the discussion will now focus on available scholarly literature and writings around some key themes that relate to the issue of human trafficking in the country. A significant knowledge vacuum around the issue of human trafficking in South Africa continues to exist, and comprehensive and in-depth research remains scant, with much that is left to be explored. This section will, first, provide a broad overview of the current human trafficking body of knowledge in South Africa, followed, second, by an outline of ongoing debates around the scope, nature and extent of the problem. Third, the contentious and sometimes disputed interrelationship between prostitution, human trafficking and the sex trade will be discussed, followed, fourth, by a reflection on the issue of missing persons in South Africa, which continues to receive scant consideration in the general discourse around human trafficking in the country.

2.6.1 Human Trafficking in South Africa: An Overview

South Africa is known to be a source, transit and destination country for men, women and children exploited for a variety of purposes by local and international organised crime syndicates and loose local networks of various sizes (U.S. Department of State, 2018: 390; Whittles, 2017; Frankel, 2016a; U.S. Department of State, 2013; HSRC, 2010; Bermudez, 2008; Cluver et al., 2007: 259). Root causes of this problem in South Africa include permeable borders, poverty, lack of employment, gender discrimination, and a lack of knowledge and information on the issue of trafficking (UNESCO, 2007: 32-38). Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is the most documented type of trafficking both locally and internationally (Swart, 2012: 65).

Organised crime operations also conduct other illicit operations such as drug trafficking, prostitution and the selling of counterfeit goods (Roelofse, 2011: 3). “*Widespread*” and “*rampant*” trends in South Africa referred to by Warria (2017: 684-685) include child sex tourism, forced marriage amongst teenage girls and sex trafficking, which “*thrives*” in mining camps.

Despite numerous reports of human trafficking in South Africa, successful investigations and subsequent convictions remain negligible (Kruger, 2016: 54-55). During August 2017, members of Parliament expressed apprehension regarding the low conviction rates of human trafficking cases affecting women and children. With the majority of victims being women and teenage girls, one ANC MP, Thandi Memela, was quoted as stating that she was “*disturbed*” by the poor conviction rates and lenient sentences (Capazorio, 2017).

The TIP report by the U.S. Department of State (2017) highlights numerous shortcomings in South Africa’s efforts to prosecute and convict traffickers successfully. Despite significant efforts by the South African government, the state still does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. According to the report the government severely under-budgeted for the implementation of the PACOTIP Act and did not comprehensively monitor or investigate forced child labour or labour trafficking of adults in the mining, agricultural, fishing and construction sector. Public officials allegedly complicit in cases of human trafficking were not prosecuted, and the SAPS was widely criticised for a lack of victim identification. Furthermore, the South African government made little progress in prosecuting traffickers linked to international syndicates involving Thai, Chinese, Russian, Bulgarian and Nigerian traffickers, who control the commercial sex trade in numerous South African cities (U.S. Department of State, 2017: 362-363). Even though police regularly evacuated alleged victims of sex trafficking, investigations against the perpetrators were not always initiated (U.S. Department of State, 2013: 333-335). As mentioned earlier, South Africa was downgraded to the Tier 2 Watch List in the most recent U.S. Department of State TIP report (2018: 388) owing to the government’s lack of sufficient funding for efforts to combat human trafficking, which has prevented front-line responders from fully implementing the current legislation.

In their study in which a number of lived experiences by stakeholders in the South African criminal justice system are explicated, Van der Watt and Van der Westhuizen (2017: 225) point to reductionist strategies by criminal justice practitioners, which inhibit an understanding of the whole and syndicated nature of trafficking operations in the country. Emser and Francis (2017: 3), on the other hand, mention a lack of formalised structure in South Africa's counter-trafficking governance. The aforementioned governance is "*fraught with operational and institutional challenges*", which give effect to poor coordination and leadership, and overreliance on ill-equipped provincial mechanisms mandated to prevent and combat human trafficking.

The lack of understanding of trafficking amongst both lay and professional people was identified as an inhibitor to the effective combating of human trafficking (HSRC, 2010: ix). Furthermore, as a regional phenomenon in southern Africa, the extent to which the trafficking of men exists and the purposes for which its victims are trafficked suffer from a similar lack of attention (Allais, 2013: 40). The legal discipline has, according to Van der Westhuizen (2015: 8), made a substantial contribution to knowledge about South Africa's human trafficking legislative framework. Numerous studies that cover multilayered strata and arguments within the South African legal and legislative arena have been conducted (Kruger, 2016; Prinsloo & Ovens, 2015; Dafel, 2014; Kreston, 2014; Mollema, 2014; Mollema, 2013; Kruger, 2012; Sigfridsson, 2012; Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011; Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011; Kruger, 2010; Mashiyi, 2010; Najemy, 2010; Koyana & Bekker, 2007; Kreston, 2007; Rotman, 2005; Legget, 2004). As discussed earlier, the PACOTIP Act is now operational⁷ and is deemed to be an effective prosecuting tool that meets international prosecution standards (Kruger, 2016: 84).

Prominent texts on the issue of human trafficking in South Africa range from biographical accounts by victims sharing their lived experiences (Grootboom, 2016; Hough-Coetzee & Kruger, 2015) to an exposé of the transnational drug trade's connection with human trafficking in South Africa (Friedman, 2014). Friedman (2014) meticulously documents how numerous South Africans end up in international prisons

⁷ Unfortunately, the protection and assistance measures regarding foreign victims of trafficking in the Act, namely sections 15, 16 and 31(2)(b)(ii), have not come into operation yet. This was explained in the 'Commencement of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2013 (Act no. 7 of 2013)' Proclamation R 32 Government Gazette no. 39078, 7 August 2015.

in countries as far afield as Thailand, Brazil, India, Nepal, China, Mozambique and Mauritius. As a conservative figure, over 1000 convicted South African drug mules are detained abroad (Friedman, 2014: viii). Many of these South Africans were duped or coerced into the trafficking of drugs by syndicates comprising South African and Nigerian nationals, and Friedman emphatically calls for these cases to be reconsidered as incidents of human trafficking. Friedman (2014: xi) elaborates on the significance of criminal power and political corruption as compounding factors, and on the incompetence and complete indifference of the public servants and police officials mandated to heed the plight of their citizens detained in a foreign country (Friedman, 2014: 120).

The most comprehensive text written on the issue of human trafficking in South Africa thus far is Frankel's (2016a) *Long Walk to Nowhere: Human Trafficking in Post-Mandela South Africa*. Apart from the detailed and multifaceted discussion on human trafficking, the text provides the first seminal insights into issues concerning the bane of labour trafficking, illicit mining, farm labour and domestic servitude in South Africa. Frankel (2016a: 2) points to the hidden domain of transactions in human beings that subsists "*behind the façade of an iconic constitutional democracy*" and argues that some of the worst variations of trafficking and modern slavery continue unabated behind the gracious surface of the 'rainbow' nation (Frankel, 2016a: 3). South Africa is said to have a perfect climate for human trafficking, with Frankel (2016a: 4) deconstructing the enabling environment and concluding that it would be quite bizarre if South Africa did not have a trafficking problem. Frankel (2016a) also corroborates and complements the findings by Friedman (2014) about the nexus between the international drug trade and human trafficking in South Africa. He points to a growing proportion of South African females who are forced into drug trafficking systems and end up in international prisons (Frankel, 2016a: 38). In his final analysis, Frankel (2016a: 254) quite woefully discusses a range of internal and external factors that not only enable significant business opportunities for traffickers, but guarantee that the "*ruthless sale of people, arms and drugs*" can be expected as a scourge in South and southern Africa in the foreseeable time to come.

Valuable insights into the modus operandi of traffickers in the South African context were gleaned from a Masters study by Pardhoothman (2015), who found that there

are many similarities in how the crime is perpetrated locally and in other countries around the world. An increasing number of doctoral studies have also come to the fore. With a focus on South Africa's efforts to combat human trafficking, Kruger (2010) offers a legal perspective whilst Mollema (2013) conducted a comprehensive diachronic and modern-day overview of the prevention and punishment of human trafficking in South Africa, and included a comparative analysis of legal systems in the US, Germany and Nigeria. Mollema (2013: iii) also notes that colonisation, the institution of slavery and South Africa's history of apartheid have impacted on modern human trafficking in the country.

In a Political Science doctoral study by Emser (2013), which used complexity theory to conceptualise the politics of human trafficking in South Africa, the research focussed on first establishing the existence of a fundamental set of claims regarding human trafficking in South Africa. It then set out to ascertain the tension between formal responses and the political, moral or institutional agendas of participants and, third, how this manifests within the KZN human trafficking task team and in other similar settings. The KZN intersectoral task team was used as a case study, with participant observation and semi-structured interviews with 39 role-players as methods of data collection. A firm contribution of the study was the analysis of the impact of politics, in the form of discourse and agendas, on the response to human trafficking.

In her Police Science doctoral study, Horne (2014) critically analyses how human trafficking for sexual exploitation can be identified, with the purpose of developing practical guidelines for use during the identification of the crime. Acknowledging the range of role-players in the criminal justice system, the *“centre of [the] study was concentrated on the SAPS”* as one of the key role-players (Horne, 2014: 331). With 26 participants included in the study, the contribution was rooted in the creation of knowledge surrounding the identification of human trafficking for sexual exploitation incidents in South Africa and the presentation of useful practical guidelines for the identification of the crime (Horne, 2014: 335).

Complexity theory and Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development were used by Van der Westhuizen (2015) in her Psychology doctoral study, which focussed on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape. A sample of ten participants was included in the study, with whom open-ended and unstructured interviews were

conducted as data-collection method. The two main themes that emanated from the ten participants' perspectives relate to the significance of non-linear interactions between traffickers and trafficked persons, and the 'major' impediment posed by the lack of witness credibility and its compounding effect on human trafficking prosecutions (Van der Westhuizen, 2015: xiv).

2.6.2 Scope, Nature and Extent of Human Trafficking

South Africa is no exception when it comes to problematic discourse surrounding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking in the country (Emser & Francis, 2017; Skosana & Wilkinson, 2017; Van der Watt, 2015b; Chiumia & Wilkinson, 2013). This research identified a number of permeating themes that have dominated the discourse around the issues of scope and prevalence of human trafficking in South Africa over the past 14 years since 2004. These themes include, first, a large number of media statements that refer to numerous incidents of trafficking or trafficking-related exploitation, brothel raids and related law enforcement actions, victim narratives and rescues, all of which suggest, quite convincingly, that human trafficking is in fact an enormous modern-day social ill that South Africa is grappling with. Second, and with due consideration to the hidden nature and hidden populations associated with studying human trafficking, there appears to be a lack of rigorous research that explores, or makes any significant efforts to quantify, the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking in South Africa. Concomitantly, the number of arrests and successful human trafficking convictions appear disproportionately low in comparison to reported cases and the estimated scope of the problem as portrayed in the media or other trafficking-related literature in South Africa. Third, a persistent, and often vociferous, response from a small group of scholars and pro-prostitution advocates arguing that human trafficking is overwhelmingly exaggerated as a problem in South Africa and often conflated with 'sex work'. It is argued that unsubstantiated reports are fuelled by a lack of evidence-based research, 'moral panic' and an anti-prostitution agenda.

In response to the dearth of research on human trafficking in South Africa in the six-year period following the advent of the Palermo Protocol in 2000, Pharoah (2006: 2) underscores the urgent need for research that establishes the full scope of human trafficking in South Africa. In a monograph that aimed to inform and motivate more extensive and representative research in South Africa, Pharoah (2006: 23) reported

that no official statistics on human trafficking in South Africa exist. Furthermore, only a small number of studies were found that explored the issue of trafficking in South Africa. These studies drew almost entirely on three sources of primary research, which were Molo Songololo (2000a), Molo Songololo (2000b) and Martens, Pieczkowski and Van Vuuren-Smyth (2003).

Notwithstanding the lack of well-explicated statistics on the scope of human trafficking in South Africa in these three sources, Martens et al. (2003: 107) estimate that between 850 and 1100 Thai victims of trafficking arrive in the country annually, whilst at least 1000 Mozambican victims are recruited, transported and exploited in this way every year, earning traffickers approximately ZAR 1 million annually (Martens et al., 2003: 128). In its study, Molo Songololo⁸ (2000a: 27) refers to an estimated 28 000 child prostitutes in South Africa. In questioning the drive by South Africa to create specialised human trafficking legislation, Legget (2004: 1) states that human trafficking *“calls to mind images of children being snatched from the streets into dark panel vans, stowed in the holds of cargo ships, and dumped in a foreign brothel or work camp far from their mothers’ arms”*. Notwithstanding human trafficking being a horrific crime, Legget (2004) argues that the actual scale of the problem in South Africa remains a mystery.

On 15 May 2004, South Africa won the bid to host the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup (South African History Online, 2011). This was indeed a good news story for the ten-year-old South African democracy and, in conjunction with South Africa’s then recent ratification of the Palermo Protocol, signified the dawn of a new chapter in the country’s human trafficking narrative. This period was characterised by significant awareness-raising efforts around the issue of human trafficking, which progressively intensified as the 2010 Soccer World Cup drew closer. Statistics on the scope of human trafficking increasingly became an area of contention, with snowballing concern being raised around the ‘nexus’ between an increase in human trafficking and major sporting events (like the forthcoming Soccer World Cup). Sanpath (2006:120) pointed to *“thousands of women and girl-children that are trafficked into South Africa every year”* and underscored concerns raised by NGOs that this *“already high number”* would escalate

⁸ Molo Songololo is a designated child protection organisation based in the Western Cape whose main target group and beneficiaries are children and youth between 10 and 17 years of age from poor rural and urban communities (see <http://www.molosongololo.com/>).

“drastically” during South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup. The notion of 40 000 prostitutes being trafficked into South Africa became commonplace in discourse surrounding the Soccer World Cup (Tacopino, 2010; The Telegraph, 2010), with estimations of the volume of people that would fall victim to human trafficking before the World Cup escalating to as many as 100 000 people (Gould, 2010a). Other reports related to the Soccer World Cup suggested that South Africa’s children were “under threat” and quoted child rights’ experts, NGOs and trafficking authorities, who warned parents to be on high alert for syndicates targeting children, “particularly those aged five to 15, as ‘products’ and ‘cargo’ with lucrative price tags” (Laganparsad, 2010).

In May 2013, the Salvation Army told daily newspaper *The Star* that awareness around the issue of child trafficking in South Africa was lacking and highlighted that the 2010 figure of 20 000 to 30 000 child prostitutes now stood at 45 000 (Mkize, 2013). In an October 2013 *Times Live* report, experts estimated that 30 000 children were being trafficked in South Africa every year, with half of them being under the age of 14. It was also reported that “black South African girls are being trafficked to Germany and the Netherlands, where they are seen as exotic” whilst “in Hong Kong, they want white girls” (Masombuka, 2013). Persistent media reports and coverage of incidents that appear to fall within the legislative ambit of textbook human trafficking cases continue (Dube, 2016a; Dube, 2016b; Forrester, 2016; Narsee, 2015; RDM News Wire, 2015; Thelwell, 2014; Thelwell & Van der Merwe, 2014; Hosken, 2013).

In Horne’s (2014) research, 18 police participants from the SAPS revealed that 132 human trafficking-related cases were investigated by them over a period between 2007 and 2011. In response to the scarcity of reliable data on the scale and character of human trafficking in South Africa, the LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness Index (LexisNexis, 2015: 4) was created, which serves as an approximation, using the Nexis database service to track and analyse the volume of news articles related to human trafficking in South Africa. For the period January to December 2014, the LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness Index identified 432 unique articles published by the South African media. Some of the key approximations include:

- 93 potential victims trafficked into and within South Africa during the reported period, based on the 432 South African media reports; 76 of these potential victims were adults while 17 were children;
- 54 potential victims of migrant smuggling with the end purpose of exploitation. This represents more than half (58%) of all potential victims identified;
- 24 potential victims of sexual exploitation; 16 were women and 8 were girls;
- 6 potential victims of forced labour. All were females (5 adults and 1 minor);
- 2 potential victims of forced marriage; and
- 2 potential victims of body part trafficking (ritual killing or *muti*⁹ purposes).

The 2016 Global Slavery Index (Walk Free, 2016) found that South Africa has an estimated 248 700 people living in conditions of modern slavery, of whom 43% were or are subjected to commercial sexual exploitation in a sex industry thriving on the street, in brothels and in private residences. Nigerian sex trafficking syndicates operating between the provinces of North West, Gauteng and KZN were identified in the report. Other findings include an estimated 10 600 women as victims of forced marriage and more than 200 000 workers subjected to forced labour in the country. Of the 200 000 estimated forced labourers, an estimated 11% of victims are exploited in construction, 5% in farming and 8% in drug production. Most recently, the 2018 Global Slavery Index (Walk Free, 2018) found that South Africa has an estimated 155 000 people living in modern slavery, with the country positioned at 110 out of 167 on the Prevalence Index Rank. The disparity between the 2016 and 2018 estimations brings little comfort in the quest to answer the question: ‘how big is the problem?’ Rather, it reinforces the notion that the complexity and hidden nature of the crime prevent the phenomenon from being accurately quantified.

A number of authors have criticised the lack of evidence-based studies and assertions around the issue of human trafficking in South Africa, its estimated scope and the research methods that underpin these studies (De Gruchy, Quirk, Richter & Veary,

⁹ The word ‘*muti*’ is a Zulu word which means medicine. The use of *muti* is usually linked to the belief that it will improve an individual’s or community’s circumstances. It is mostly advocated by a traditional healer. Body parts are often included in *muti* as they are considered more powerful than the usual ingredients as they contain the ‘life essence’ of a person. The usual ingredients may include herbs, roots, plant material, sea water and animal parts. It is traditionally believed that the removal of body parts whilst the victim is alive increases the ‘power’ of the *muti* because the person’s life essence is then retained in the body parts (Labuschagne, 2004: 192-193).

2015; Quirk & Richter, 2015; Wolfson-Vorster, 2015; Chiumia & Wilkinson, 2013; Gould, 2010b). In a critique of Walk Free's 2014 Global Slavery Index's extrapolation protocol, which "*verges on the ludicrous*", Gallagher (2014) points to flaws in the calculation of slaves in South Africa. The index worked out its calculations on the country on the basis that South Africa is 70% like Western Europe because "*historically, South Africa has been culturally similar to western, democratic nations*" and 30 per cent like Africa. The 30% African extrapolations were taken from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Niger and Namibia (Walk Free, 2014).

In what could be regarded as the first critical journalistic inquiry into the veracity of numbers used by some of those in the South African anti-trafficking field, Chiumia and Wilkinson (2013) found these claims to be exaggerated and unsubstantiated. Nearly two years later, the South African DHA cited the oft-quoted '30 000 children trafficked annually' statistic as a prompting factor for introducing onerous Visa regulations for children travelling into and out of the country. The statistics and concomitant claims were once again interrogated, as a result of which Wilkinson (2015) found that only 23 victims were detected by the government in a three-year period. However, Major-General Liziwe Ntshinga from the Hawks stated that the SAPS dealt with "*a lot more human trafficking cases*" than the statistics reflected, which indicated a major statistical vacuum (Sello, 2015). In 2017, the Hawks' Major-General Sylvia Ledwaba was quoted as briefing Parliament's multiparty women's caucus that 176 victims had been recorded for the 2016/17 cycle. Of these, 117 were from Malawi, 27 were South African nationals, and the remaining victims came from Thailand, Congo, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. In another 2017 reference to trafficking-related statistics, the DSD's Mr Buti Kulwane informed delegates at a human trafficking workshop in KZN that a total of 228 victims of trafficking had been accommodated in South African shelters between April 2014 and March 2016 (Kulwane, 2017). Notwithstanding the arguably inconsistent statistics provided by various government sources, there appears to be an increasing volume of trafficking victims identified.

The available numbers are disproportionately lower than the 30 000 figure that has been widely quoted and this has again brought the problematic statistical issue into sharp focus. With reference to "*inflated guesstimations*" that continue to be used by anti-trafficking campaigners, Van der Watt (2015b) warns that these create a credibility

dilemma, detract from a helpful conversation around the issue and frustrate efforts to understand the multilayered realities of the problem in South Africa.

Table 2.3 below reflects data obtained from the SAPS as it pertains to human trafficking cases reported on the Crime Administration System (CAS) system between 1 January 2006 and 12 December 2017. At the time the statistics were received by the researcher he was informed that they had not been filtered and had been taken as is from the system. Further data integrity needs to be done on these reported cases such as considering whether these offences were captured under the correct Acts. Some cases are investigated by the Detective Service, including station detectives and detectives attached to the FCS unit, whilst other cases are investigated by the Hawks.

Table 2.3: Reported TIP cases: 1 January 2006 to 12 December 2017

Province	Children's Act 38 of 2005 ¹⁰	Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007 ¹¹	Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013 ¹²
Eastern Cape	0	24	212
Free State	1	15	72
Gauteng	3	63	810
KZN	3	17	378
Limpopo	1	7	160
Mpumalanga	2	19	176
North West	2	13	101
Northern Cape	0	7	33
Western Cape	2	23	190
TOTAL	14	188	2 132

Source: DPCI (2017)

¹⁰ The Act has been operational since 1 January 2006. The cases reflected are those committed in terms of sections 284 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005.

¹¹ The specific section in the Act was operational between 16 December 2007 and 8 August 2015. The cases reflected are those committed in terms of section 71 of the Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007.

¹² The Act has been operational since 9 August 2015. The cases reflected are those committed in terms of sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013.

When considering the apparent low number of cases reported under section 71 of the Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007, and notwithstanding the aforementioned caveat by the SAPS regarding the data integrity of the available statistics, it does appear as if there was a significant increase in reporting in the two-year period after the PACOTIP Act came into operation on 9 August 2015. The collection of reliable data in South Africa is clearly problematic (Horne, 2011: 26) whilst an urgent need exists for a database that reflects national-level data (HSRC, 2010: x). Official national statistics on successful human trafficking prosecutions in South Africa also do not exist (Kruger, 2016: 55). Notwithstanding the lack of reliable numbers, Van der Watt (2015b) argues that the problem is rampant in South Africa and posits that the situation may in fact be far more chronic than anticipated. He states that society's justifiable preoccupation with numbers does little to promote understanding of human trafficking as a confluence of complexities. It is this complexity that denies scholars the convenience of an unambiguous and quantified understanding of the problem (Van der Watt, 2016b: viii; Van der Watt, 2015b). In his assessment of human trafficking as systemic in South Africa, Frankel (2016b) highlights that South and southern Africa are fast entering the 'club' of the ten biggest and most profitable human trafficking routes in the world. Exact numbers on the scope of the problem are difficult to attain, yet Frankel (2016b) asserts that this is likely to be substantial.

2.6.3 Prostitution, Human Trafficking and the South African Sex Trade

Discourses around the issue of prostitution and human trafficking, and the intersection of these issues, are laced with contention. Notwithstanding this being representative of the broader international debate, South Africa's chapter is particularly vociferous given the current context and tension between preservationist and abolitionist agendas (see: Raphael, 2017) around the decriminalisation of the sex trade in South Africa. These two fundamental philosophical positions on the issue of prostitution are respectively grounded in a variety of contending arguments, yet both claim to hold in high regard the best interests of the person in prostitution. Those with a preservationist orientation promote the 'sex work' agenda and maintain that it can be a legitimate choice of employment where the decriminalisation of prostitution enhances and supports the rights of women (Bonthuys, 2012: 13; Fick, 2006: 17; Gould, 2006: 21). Preservationists have also criticised those of abolitionist orientation of fueling moral

panic and supporting an anti-prostitution agenda (Gould, 2010b: 32). On the other hand, the abolitionist stance considers even consensual prostitution as exploitative and a human rights' violation where a context, created by patriarchy, muddles the notion of choice or agency (De Das Kropiwnicki, 2012: 236; Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011: 55). Those of abolitionist orientation are also vocal about the day-to-day realities of human trafficking, are well represented on human trafficking task teams in South Africa and, as mentioned earlier, have been implicated in making unsubstantiated claims about the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking in South Africa.

Prostitution or 'sex work' is, at present, a crime in the country (Albertyn, 2016) but the difficulty in policing the issue has led to its unofficial decriminalisation (Bird & Donaldson, 2009: 44). Gould (2011: 531) describes the indoor sex industry in South Africa as being made up of three kinds of brothels. These are short-term establishments where rooms can be rented by the hour by street-based persons in prostitution. In-house persons in prostitution also work from these establishments. Secondly, there are brothels that advertise in the public domain as 'escort agencies' or 'massage parlours' and that employ persons in prostitution who meet their clients in a bar area where they gather together. The third kind of agency is found in residential areas and consists of houses that are rented by a brothel owner, who frequently happens to be a woman. These establishments are difficult to identify from the street as they do not advertise with signage on the outside of the house and clients are serviced by the women in the bedrooms of the house (Gould, 2011: 531).

With significant efforts on the go to decriminalise prostitution in South Africa, the eyes of the globe are pinned on the country's imminent decision that may make the Republic the next Germany or Holland (Crowcroft, 2017; Diu, 2013). The promotion of a glamorous sex trade has many wondering (Kishan, 2016), particularly following claims that the balance is at present seemingly weighted towards decriminalisation (Albertyn, 2016). The debate surrounding prostitution is by its very nature complex and contentious (South African Law Reform Commission, 2017; Van der Watt, 2014b: 10; South African Law Reform Commission, 2009: 2; Luiz & Roets, 2000: 21) with no simple solution (Kenny, 2015). A number of legal options for prostitution law in South Africa were presented by the Law Reform Commission (South African Law Reform Commission, 2009; Bonthuys, 2012: 25). These include total criminalisation,

representative of the current legal position; partial criminalisation, which is in line with the Swedish model where clients, pimps and brothel owners are criminalised; non-criminalisation, where sex work is legal; and regulation, where sex work is legal and specific aspects related to health and employment conditions are regulated. Key themes in the current South African debate revolve around the issue of sex workers' equitable access to health care (Pretorius, 2016), health risks and concerns (Doctors for Life, 2016; Bird & Donaldson, 2009: 45), abuse and violence towards persons in prostitution (Furlong, 2016; Fick, 2006). The global discussion is underpinned by a number of themes that contain conflicting views between preservationist and abolitionist stances, which are expressed through a distinctive and loaded lexicon (CATW, 2014; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014).

In a deconstruction of the movement to decriminalise sex work in the South African context, Wojcicki (2003: 84) highlights that most of those in favour of decriminalisation during the apartheid era were white, as black South Africans had neither the power nor adequate access to media platforms to make their positions known. With the ending of apartheid, the dynamics of the prostitution debate changed in several ways. First, the advantageous shift of law enforcement from public order policing to the policing of serious and violent crimes became a fundamental part of the debate. Second, the movement to decriminalise sex work in the post-apartheid period had now incorporated the human rights' lexicon and language that was enshrined in South Africa's Constitution. This became evident in conversations and writings about 'sex work' and 'sex workers'. Third, the voice of black South Africans emerged and a counter-discourse came to the fore. This discourse suggested that prostitution and the decriminalisation of prostitution were both immoral and "*un-African*" and the decriminalisation process was halted in 1998 due to this view (Wojcicki, 2003: 85).

The contested interrelationship between human trafficking and prostitution adds an additional layer of intricacy to this debate. Raphael (2017: 16) rightfully argues that research on human trafficking for sexual exploitation is difficult enough, but, when positioned in the aforementioned context, the challenges are compounded. It remains important, though, that prostitution and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation not be equated (Huisman & Kleemans, 2014: 216; Zheng, 2010; Cameron, 2008: 80). When contemplating the operation of the sex industry and its influence on

human trafficking, Cameron (2008: 80) advises that a broad perspective on the issue is not lost. Outshoorn (2015) points to deep divisions within feminism about prostitution and human trafficking and posits that different feminist groups have conflicting views on such basic issues as the definition and nature of prostitution, and its relationship to trafficking (Outshoorn, 2015: 12). A fundamental weakness in the sex worker's rights framework (the preservationist perspective) that is pointed out by Outshoorn (2005: 146) is that, in practice, it is often difficult to distinguish between forced prostitution and voluntary sex work. An example might be where some adult women who entered prostitution as minors characterise it as their choice as adults. Or, other income-generating options may be so constrained as not to present a meaningful alternative (Outshoorn, 2015: 13). Abolitionists claim that the legalisation of prostitution will increase the supply of and demand for such services. The argument that sex trafficking will increase when prostitution is legalised also originates from this philosophy. Juxtaposed with this view, preservationists often claim that, by legalising prostitution, the position of persons in prostitution and the transparency of the prostitution sector will improve, with a concomitant reduction and even eradication of sex trafficking (Huisman & Kleemans, 2014: 216).

Gould (2014: 199) draws conclusions from two South African studies (Gould & Fick, 2008, and Richter & Delva, 2010) that reflect a gamut of working experiences for those involved in prostitution that question the central contentions within the abolitionist movement. With reference to the South African context, Gould (2014: 199) continues by stating that there is *"little evidence to substantiate"* the widely held notions that:

- *"It is common for deception and force to be used in recruitment into prostitution;*
- *There are many child prostitutes;*
- *Trafficking results from clients' demands for young and foreign prostitutes;*
- *Rural women and girls and those from poor backgrounds are attractive targets for traffickers;*
- *The sex industry is dominated by organised criminal groups;*
- *Sex workers are typically controlled through drugs and addiction; and*
- *Foreign sex workers are trafficked in significant numbers into the South African sex sector."*

In her paper entitled 'Sex Trafficking and Prostitution in South Africa', Gould's (2014: 200) concluding assertion that sex trafficking appears to have been created as a social problem in South Africa remains, as mentioned in Section 1.2, quite mindboggling and in stark contrast to the lived experience of practitioners and stakeholders that participated in this research. In a comprehensive and meticulous investigation into the methodology, interpretation of human trafficking and the conclusions made by Gould (2014) and Gould & Fick (2008), a number of shortfalls are identified by Dempsey (2017). Dempsey points out that Gould (2014) has "*radically truncated the scope of the definition*" of human trafficking and has even gone so far as to "*exclude cases involving the use of force*" (Dempsey, 2017: 73-74). Furthermore, in the study by Gould and Fick (2008), three case studies ('Sarah', 'Chantal' & 'Xing Xing') were documented as cases not fitting the description of trafficking. In response, Dempsey, in applying the same set of facts to the definition of human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol, meticulously argues that Gould and Fick (2008) incorrectly coded the cases as not being trafficking and, thus, "*undercounted the prevalence of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation*" (Dempsey, 2017: 75-77).

In her chapter entitled 'Trafficking: new scandals of slavery amidst old regimes of power', Palmary (2016) similarly critiques dominant claims about human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa. In her tracing of the 'invention' of trafficking in South Africa, Palmary makes a number of valid points pertaining to sensationalist and unsubstantiated narratives about the scope of the problem in the country. She goes on to argue that international influence and anxiety about migration control have contributed to legislation that is incongruent with South African realities. This, Palmary argues, "*created a new way of conceptualising gender violence*" (Palmary, 2016: 77) that attends to certain forms of violence at the expense of others and in this way creates new categories of exclusion and entitlement. In her attempts to deconstruct South Africa's 'preoccupation' with trafficking, Palmary (2016: 55), similar to Gould (2014), appears to truncate the definition of trafficking radically and fails to explicate the comprehensive definition as set out in section 4 of the PACOTIP Act. Instead, Palmary refers to three criteria:

- That there is some movement or harbouring of a person;
- That a level of coercion and deceit is required; and

- That this must be for the purpose of exploiting the victim.

Also, no mention is made by Palmary of the ‘abuse of vulnerability’ as comprehensively deconstructed in section 1 of the Act. Palmary asserts that South Africa’s legislation “*does not take much account for [sic] issues like internal trafficking or labour trafficking*” (Palmary, 2016: 58), despite specific reference in the Act to forced labour and “*any form or manner of exploitation*” (South Africa, 2013). Palmary’s interpretation and understanding of South Africa’s PACOTIP Act lead her to assert that “*women are not deceived and coerced, but know perfectly well that their work will be exploitative*”. She states that women are in fact exploited, but concludes that this exploitation “*falls short of trafficking*” (Palmary, 2016: 73). This again is contrary to section 11(1)(b) of the PACOTIP Act, which clearly states that it is “*no defence*” to a trafficking-related offence if “*an adult person who is a victim of trafficking has consented to the intended exploitation*” (South Africa, 2013). The irrelevance of initial consent is also highlighted by the U.S. Department of State (2017: 17). In her final analysis, Palmary’s ostensible disregard for and lack of understanding of the Act and the multilayered complexities of human trafficking trickle through her assertion that South Africa’s PACOTIP law is based on “*mythology*” (Palmary, 2016: 77), qualified earlier in her text as “*common sense cultural belief*” (Palmary 2016: 64).

Most recently, Yingwana (2018: 197) arguing for the decriminalisation of sex work in South Africa, refers to “*numerous studies*” in South Africa which indicate that human trafficking in the sex industry “*is not a significant issue*” compared to other human rights’ violations. Here reliance is again placed on the ‘Selling Sex in Cape Town’ study by Gould and Fick (2008). With reference to the 2017 US TIP report, Yingwana (2018: 207) suggests that “*there is little to no empirical evidence to support*” the notion that South Africa is a source, transit and destination country for men, women and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking. This sweeping assertion by the author is not deconstructed or qualified. It also totally disregards the micro-level lived experiences of multi-disciplinary stakeholders who provide inputs into the annual US TIP report; the content of published and unpublished research; the increasing number of cases being reported; the escalating conviction rates in trafficking cases; and the plethora of media reports and investigative journalistic documentaries on the human trafficking phenomenon in South Africa. In a piecemeal fashion, Yingwana (2018: 208)

extracts chunks of the PACOTIP Act as a means to describe a ‘human trafficker’ as follows:

“[a]ny person who delivers, recruits, transports, transfers, harbours, sells, exchanges, leases or receives another person within or across the borders’ of South Africa through force, coercion and deception, with the victim being trafficked for exploitation purposes.”

Interestingly, ‘the abuse of vulnerability’ or any reference to its loaded definition in Chapter 1 of the PACOTIP Act is again omitted and the definition as operationalised by Yingwana truncated. Findings from focus group interviews are then shared by Yingwana (2018: 212-226), some of which contain the remarkable qualitative insight that human trafficking could very well be considered prevalent among sex workers, most of whose fragmented understanding of the crime relates only to *“some form of exploitation linked to movement”* (Yingwana, 2018: 216). The author continues:

“When sex workers listed their main challenges...human trafficking was not initially mentioned. However, when we started discussing trafficking in general, some began recalling trafficking cases they had heard of in the course of their work. A few even started sharing how they now suspected that they too might actually have been initially trafficked into sex work.” (Yingwana, 2018: 216)

A number of lived experiences shared by sex workers in the study by Yingwana (2018) beg further deconstruction and unconcealing, especially when they relate to children being harmed in the sex trade. These experiences include a statement by a local sex worker who refers to ‘Nigerians’ who sell drugs and *“use our children”* (Yingwana, 2018: 214) and respondents who *“also identified the stigma and abuse that filter down onto their children because of their sex work...”* (Yingwana, 2018: 214). Yingwana concludes with, amongst other things, calling on the South African government to *“decriminalise all aspects of consensual adult sex work”* and anti-trafficking organisations to stop the conflation of *“sex work and human trafficking”* (Yingwana, 2018: 228).

The ideological chasm between the preservationist and abolitionist perspectives on human trafficking, prostitution and the sex trade is clearly problematic, and so is any dismissal of the multilayered complexities of these phenomena by opting for an either-

or and reductionist approach. Noteworthy in the study by Yingwana (2018) is how the experiences of sex worker respondents reflect the seamless interpenetration of sex work and human trafficking. Problematic here are the use of a truncated definition of human trafficking and the resulting knowledge deficit on the part of sex worker respondents regarding the whole meaning and scope of their own lived experiences, the crime and its related abuses. The call for decriminalisation of 'consensual' adult sex work also becomes increasingly murky when the significant role of third party beneficiaries is ignored and 'the abuse of vulnerability' or any reference to its full definition in Chapter 1 of the PACOTIP Act omitted.

Fully cognisant of the complex narrative and politics around the South African sex trade, the researcher found the almost frantic attempts from some quarters to disqualify concerns about human trafficking for sexual exploitation as both bizarre and thought provoking. It prompted him to explore further possible reasons for both the denial, and the vociferous deflection from the issue, of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the face of mounting evidence. Not only do such biased assertions detract from an even-handed understanding of a complex problem, but they enable the subversive nature of the crime whilst perpetuating ignorance and the exploitation of people. The multilayered reality of trafficking and extreme abuses in the South African sex trade is, however, a verity (U.S. Department of State, 2017: 364; Forrester, 2016). Furthermore, the intersection of brothels and child sexual exploitation is by no means an anomaly (Umraw, 2015) as is evident in a number of trafficking convictions involving minor victims. In a study that documented the opinions of various role-players in the tourism sector on the planning and management of the sex work space in the City of Cape Town, examples provided of the harmful aspects of decriminalising sex work include an increase in related activities such as drug abuse, human trafficking, gangs and child prostitution (Bird & Donaldson, 2009: 44).

Other issues that may need further consideration in this discussion include the reality of child sex tourism (Spurrier, 2015), the intersection of the sex trade with a variety of criminal activities such as drugs and organised crime (Roelofse, 2011), and the 'blesser' phenomenon (Shamase, 2016). The most common assumption is that the 'blesser' phenomenon represents an indirect prostitution that occurs between 'the blessee', usually a woman, and 'the blesser', usually a male. Underpinned by unequal

power dynamics inherent in South Africa's patriarchal political economy, the blessee is understood to be a vulnerable woman who navigates economic challenges, whilst the male is usually of a more affluent standing and leverages his economic resources to obtain sexual favours (Deadly side to 'Blesser' phenomenon, 2016; Solontsi, 2016). Many have warned against the normalisation of the blesser phenomenon in South Africa and clearly sketch an interface between this practice and incidents of human trafficking for sexual exploitation (Harrisberg, 2017).

2.6.4 Missing Persons

The issue of missing persons and the exploration of a possible nexus with at least some incidents of human trafficking in South Africa have received scant attention. Chatterjee (2015) argues that not all missing persons' incidents relate to cases of human trafficking, but that all human trafficking cases are typically incidents where people are considered to be missing. People do not simply disappear and there is usually an underlying reason why a person goes missing. Such incidents could be considered as an emergent property of other issues at play (Association of Chief Police Officers, 2010: 11). Missing persons may include people who are lost due to a psychiatric or health condition (i.e. dementia), people under the influence of a third party (abduction or murder), or someone who unknowingly went missing (i.e. neglecting to call home). Voluntary incidents may include an adult person who leaves a family to start a new life or a child who runs away from home. Victims of trafficking may not trust authorities to provide assistance or may return to their traffickers as they fear their families may be harmed. Child abuse, sexual and labour exploitation, domestic violence and forced marriage also have associations with people going missing (Alys, Massey & Tong, 2013: 143).

South Africa's missing persons' narrative gained prominence in the late 1980s and early 1990s after the widely publicised case of the six missing girls linked to Gert van Rooyen and Joey Haarhoff (discussed earlier under Section 2.3). At that time reports of an increase in children disappearing and reported missing appeared in the media, with some of the earliest known statistics reported in a newspaper article by Roos (1991: 8) as 989 children (missing in 1988), 708 children (missing in 1989) and 2234 children (missing in 1990). The article, however, was unclear as to whether these figures represented children who were still missing at the time of publication.

According to the Missing Persons Bureau of the SAPS, a child goes missing every six hours in South Africa, which amounts to approximately 1450 missing children every year. Warrant Officer Dereck Reynecke of the Missing Persons Bureau (as cited by Mkize, 2013) points to limited resources as the greatest challenge to publishing cases of missing persons. He highlights that only three cases are broadcast a week on the SAPS' 'When Duty Calls' SABC 2 television broadcast, which amounts to 150 cases per year being broadcast for the entire South Africa. In Gauteng alone there are more than 1900 reported cases of missing persons, which, according to Reynecke, is indicative of a "*great shortfall*" (Mkize, 2013). Similarly, in 2015, SAFM, a national public radio station, reported a notable increase in children being reported missing and that this points to the SAPS' not having the required capacity to address these matters comprehensively (SAFM, 2015).

In July 2014, the case of Zindie Ribbink, whose children, four-year-old twins Dean and Jenna, were moments away from being abducted, made headlines in newspapers and social media. Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) footage of the incident was widely circulated in the public domain and clearly showed an unknown man and woman pushing a trolley with Zindie's children out of a shopping mall pharmacy, after which the two suspects were confronted by the mother. The suspects calmly walked away after the incident. A criminal case was not immediately opened by the police as the Ribbink family was told that insufficient evidence existed to justify a criminal investigation. Dale Ribbink, the husband of Zindie, subsequently conducted his own investigation and provided the SAPS with the CCTV footage and the registration number of the vehicle allegedly used by the suspects (Versluis, 2014).

Attempted abductions of children as young as two years old were widely reported on during 2015, when a pattern was identified at shopping centres in Pretoria where numerous parents narrated their public confrontations with abductors in a bid to stop their children from being snatched (Meijer, 2015: 2). Makhubu (2015: 1) points to poverty, the need for sexual gratification, retribution and human trafficking as the major factors that contribute to the high number of missing minors and underscores the problem of cases not being reported, which leads to a fragmentation in the understanding of the problem's actual scope. Angie Motaung of Bana Ba Kae¹³ in

¹³ A Pretoria-based NGO that works to address the needs of children from poor communities.

Pretoria West is quoted as stating that *“there could be as many as 1000 children missing from homes across the city...”*. She makes a sobering claim that *“some parents had too much else to worry about than run to the police to report missing children, in particular those in their teens”* (Makhubu, 2015: 1). Table 2.4 below presents data on missing persons in South Africa obtained from the SAPS Bureau for Missing Persons during this research.

Table 2.4: Reported missing persons: 1 January 2000 to 31 December 2015

Adults	
Reported missing from 2000/01/01 to 2015/12/31	49 346
Cancelled (found) from 2000/01/01 to 2015/12/31	25 543
Unaccounted for or still missing	23 803
Children (Under 18)	
Reported missing from 2000/01/01 to 2015/12/31	14 252
Cancelled (found) from 2000/01/01 to 2015/12/31	10 295
Unaccounted for or still missing	3 957

Source: SAPS Bureau for Missing Persons (2016)

A geographical breakdown of missing person’s cases was not available at the time statistics were obtained. However, feedback from provincial offices suggested the following ranking (SAPS Bureau for Missing Persons, 2016), from the province with the most reports to the province with the least number of reports of missing persons:

- Gauteng
- Western Cape
- KZN
- Mpumalanga
- Eastern Cape
- North West
- Limpopo
- Free State
- Northern Cape

At the time of the request to the SAPS for missing persons' data, a process of cleaning up the database was underway. Previously wanted persons and missing persons shared a database that mostly catered for wanted persons. Statistical reports were therefore never quite accurate concerning missing persons when received from the system and statistics were correlated by the SAPS with a hand count at the provincial offices. Efforts are now underway to conduct a physical audit, with the assistance of DHA data and other available data in order to get rid of especially old cases that might be obsolete on the system.

2.7 SUMMARY

The chapter provided both a holistic and ecological overview of the context within which the participants selected for this study lived, worked and investigated human trafficking for sexual exploitation. From a global perspective, a broad outline of the ongoing discourse around human trafficking was provided, which aimed to highlight the wide-ranging issues that underpin the complexity of human trafficking as a social phenomenon. Contentious issues regarding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking were discussed, which funnelled into matters related to human trafficking as organised crime, efforts to combat the problem and gaps in research. From the global the chapter moved to the local to delve into South Africa's history of slavery, oppression and trafficking, followed by a deconstruction of the South African landscape, which included a contextual discussion around geography and population, governance and politics, economy, human and social issues, and crime and justice.

The Palermo Protocol and South Africa's concomitant international obligations in terms of combating human trafficking were then reviewed, followed by a discussion of South Africa's legislative framework, which guides issues related to prevention, prosecution, protection and partnerships. An overview of South Africa's post-Palermo Protocol journey then followed. The discussion started out with a broad overview of scholarly literature and writings on human trafficking, after which specific issues were covered. These issues included the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking in South Africa, the contested interrelationship between prostitution, human trafficking and the sex trade and, finally, the neglected issue of missing persons. In the next chapter, the research methodology that underpinned this study will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research develops in you a way of thinking that is logical and rational and that encourages you to critically examine every aspect of your day-to-day situation. It helps you to understand and formulate guiding principles that govern a particular procedure in your practice ... This way of thinking develops in you a very different perspective to your work. Research develops this analytical way of thinking in you, and the knowledge of research methodology provides you with the techniques to find answers to your research questions.

(Kumar, 2014: 2)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out to present the methodology employed in this study. The preceding discussion on the constellation of intricacies that make up human trafficking served as impetus for the philosophical position and methodological decisions embraced by the researcher as he pursued novel perspectives on the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The postmodern philosophical worldview and social constructionism, which allow for the appreciation of a complexity of views, meanings and experiences of participants, are discussed. This is followed by an explication of the qualitative research design along with the phenomenological rationale, which positions lived experiences of participants at the centre of the study. The chapter is concluded with an elucidation of ethical considerations and the strategies employed to ensure the accuracy of the research.

3.2 PHILOSOPHICAL WORLDVIEW

Fouche and Schurink (2011: 308-309) state that the development and transformation of the research topic into a research design by qualitative researchers will be contingent upon their assumption of how reality should be viewed. Creswell (2009: 5) refers here to an intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and specific methods. He suggests that individuals preparing a research proposal or plan make explicit the larger philosophical ideas they adopt as this will motivate why a specific approach to

the research was selected. Numerous terms have been used by authors to describe the general theoretical assumptions, laws and techniques adopted by researchers. Two of the most widely used concepts are 'ontology' and 'epistemology'. 'Ontology' refers to the assumption held by the researcher regarding the 'nature of truth' whilst 'epistemology' refers to 'what it means to know' (Willis, 2007: 8).

Creswell (2009: 6) prefers to use the term 'worldview' in an all-encompassing manner when referring to ontologies, epistemologies, paradigms and broadly conceived research methodologies. A paradigm or worldview is "*a way of thinking about and making sense of the complexities of the real world*" (Patton, 2002: 69) and is defined by Creswell (2009: 6) as the general positioning about the world and the nature of the research embraced by the researcher. Four different worldviews discussed by Creswell (2009: 6) are post-positivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory and pragmatism. The researcher adopted the constructivism worldview due to the nature of the research.

Constructivism is described by Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988: 455) as a 'postmodern movement' and is alluded to by Sherman (2000: 52) as a postmodern philosophical school of thought. The nexus between postmodernism and constructivism is also confirmed by Fouche and Schurink (2011: 311), who position both in the same ontological and epistemological paradigm. Ontologically, postmodernism and constructivism ascribe to the idea that there is no real world or truth out there and that reality can only be known by those who experience it personally. On an epistemological level, postmodernism and constructivism hold the position that those who are personally experiencing the real world construct knowledge through a process of self-conscious action.

The philosophical worldview embraced in this study served to address the specific research problem under investigation. It was considered by the researcher as the most appropriate for understanding the multilayered realities of complex human beings who investigate a complex social problem in an increasingly pluralistic society. Postmodernism and constructivism will now be discussed.

3.2.1 Postmodernism

The study of human social life as the subject matter of the social sciences presents some challenges, which include its fluidity, the challenges presented in observing it and the inherent difficulty of measuring it precisely with laboratory instruments. In response to these challenges, social scientists have explored different avenues of approach to human phenomena as scientific subject matter. Gradually a few approaches have emerged, one of which is the postmodern approach (De Vos, Strydom, Schulze & Patel, 2011: 5). Connor (2004: 5) states that the questions raised by postmodernism were always questions of value whilst Rosenau (1992: ix) argues that postmodernism takes on issues that are fundamental for the future of social science. It questions causality, determinism, egalitarianism, humanism, liberal democracy, necessity, objectivity, rationality, responsibility and truth (Rosenau, 1992: ix). Various authors (e.g. Sim, 2005: vii; Cahoone, 2003: 1; Cilliers, 1998: 113) concur that an unequivocal or clear explanation of the term 'postmodern' is nonexistent and that the term is even 'impossible' to define (Cilliers, 1998: 113).

There are a number of misguided reactions as to what postmodernism connotes or represents (Cahoone, 2003: 1). These reactions to postmodernism are based on the different understandings of the word's meaning (Cilliers, 1998: viii). Sim (2005: viii) states that the first recorded use of the word 'postmodern' dates back to the 1870s and refers to a historical account of its use by the English painter John Watkins Chapman, who suggested that any art that transcends Impressionism, "*the revolutionary new art style of the period*", would be definable as 'postmodern painting'. Other historical references to postmodernism include the use of the term 'postmodern' in 1917 by the German philosopher Rudolf Pannwitz as distinguishing the contemporary scene from the modern with reference to a new form of militaristic and anti-humanist culture that was developing in war-torn Europe. In the 1920s and 1930s, the term was used by American theologian Bernard Iddings Bell, who viewed a postmodernist as someone who turned his back on the secular modern world and returned to religion (Sim, 2005: viii; Cahoone, 2003: 2). Sim (2005: viii) highlights that the use of the term by historian Arnold Toynbee shed light on an era of postmodernism when, in *A Study of History*, he wrote of the period from 1875 onwards as the 'post-Modern Age of Western history'. The postmodern world, an age marked by cultural

decline as evidenced in its two 'world' wars, was a less safe and welcoming place to live in than the modern world (1475–1875) it had replaced (Sim, 2005: viii).

Hicks (2004: 7) posits that the term 'post-modern' situates a historic and philosophical movement against modernism whilst Sim (2005: viii) concurs with this view and adds that it was only in the latter half of the 20th Century that it took on the precise meaning of a reaction against modernism and modernity. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 44) ascribe the origin of current debates between postmodernists and modernists in social theory to the influential Lyotard critique of modernism. Jean-Francois Lyotard (1926–98) was a professor of philosophy and published the most renowned philosophical formulation of postmodernism in 1979, entitled *La Condition Postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (English translation: *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, 1984). 'Postmodernism' is defined by Lyotard (1984: 260) as "*incredulity toward metanarratives*", grand stories about the world and the place of inquiry in it. Lyotard (1984: 259) argues that in a postmodern era social 'language games' no longer need metanarratives to justify the utterances made in them and that the modernist notions of justification, system, proof and the unity of science no longer hold.

In harmony with Lyotard (1984: 260), Rosenau (1992: 10) posits that postmodernism in the social sciences is, at least partially, a response to the perceived shortcomings of scientific social science. Similarly, Babbie and Mouton (2001: 44-45) state that postmodernists reject all appeals to metanarratives and commemorate the local, specific and different whilst they accept the nexus between inquiry and power as certain. These authors continue by highlighting that the critique of modernist social sciences is rooted in its rejection of two key tenets: the promise of a universal and objective positive science and its promise of an emancipatory science. Postmodern social theory rather supports the search for concrete, context-specific and historically situated narratives that are not divorced from the social and political interests of concrete people (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 45). Rosenau (1992: 8) contextualises the role of postmodernists in the 'social science enterprise' by juxtaposing it with those of modernist orientation:

"Post-modernists rearrange the whole social science enterprise. Those of a modern conviction seek to isolate elements, specify relationships, and formulate a synthesis; post-modernists do the opposite. They offer

indeterminacy rather than determinism, diversity rather than unity, difference rather than synthesis, complexity rather than simplification. They look to the unique rather than to the general, to inter textual relations rather than causality, and to the unrepeatable rather than the re-occurring, the habitual, or the routine. Within a post-modern perspective social science becomes a more subjective and humble enterprise as truth gives way to tentativeness. Confidence in emotion replaces efforts at impartial observation. Relativism is preferred to objectivity, fragmentation to totalization. Attempts to apply the model of natural science inquiry in the social sciences are rejected because post-modernists consider such methods to be part of the larger techno-scientific corrupting cultural imperative.”

The researcher's view of postmodernism is founded in the notion of eccentricity, which challenges the traditional lens of viewing phenomena. Postmodern thought has increased relevance in a globalised world characterised by fluidity, change and unpredictability, and is considered by the researcher as a catalyst that enables a paradigm shift from rigid and conventional thinking to a holistic approach in the study of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Sensitivity to complexity (Cilliers, 1998: 113; Rosenau, 1992: 8) is one of the important characteristics of postmodernism that holds significance for this study. The increasingly complex nature of criminal investigation (Osterburg & Ward, 2010: 5; Stelfox, 2009: 1-2), the inherent complexities of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation (Centre for Social Justice, 2013; Verhoeven & Van Gestel, 2011: 149-150) and organised crime (Bjelopera & Finklea, 2011: 1), and the multilayered complexities intrinsic to human trafficking make postmodern thought not only a viable ontological position but a necessary one that has not yet been explored in the conventional notion of 'investigating' the crime.

In addressing the research problem, the researcher also explored the value of complex systems theory, which fits within the postmodern paradigm, in an attempt to understand the lived experiences of participants with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The researcher therefore heeded the advice of Cilliers (1998: 112), who argues:

“Whether or not we are happy with calling the times we live in ‘postmodern’, there is no denying that the world we live in is complex and that we have to confront this complexity if we are to survive, and, perhaps, even prosper.”

Cilliers (1998: 113) continues by postulating that *“the postmodern approach is inherently sensitive to complexity, that it acknowledges the importance of self-organisation whilst denying a conventional theory of representation”*. Complex systems theory, discussed in Chapter 5, is therefore attuned to the postmodern paradigm as both approaches endeavour to understand complex phenomena by diverging from the analytical and reductionist approach.

3.2.2 Social Constructionism

The term ‘social constructionism’ is used as the operational concept in this research. The terms ‘constructivism’ and ‘social constructionism’ are often used interchangeably under the preferred generic term ‘constructivism’ (Andrews, 2012: 39). Young and Collin (2004: 375) similarly refer to the idiosyncratic use of terms like ‘constructivism’, ‘constructionism’, ‘constructive’, ‘constructivist’ and ‘social constructionism’. However, the authors underscore that constructivism focusses on meaning making and the constructing of the social and psychological worlds through individual, cognitive processes whilst social constructionism emphasises that the social and psychological worlds are made real (constructed) through social processes and interaction. ‘Constructivism’ and ‘social constructivism’ are similarly used in an interchangeable fashion by Creswell (2009: 6-9). Nevertheless, Creswell (2009: 8) concurs with the view of Young and Collin (2004: 375) regarding the focus of constructivism on the individual and that of social constructivism on the individual’s social interaction with others or ‘processes’ of interactions among individuals (Creswell, 2013: 25). The focus of this research on both individuals and their relationship with other stakeholders in the multidisciplinary investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation means that the term ‘social constructionism’ is used as an all-encompassing term. Willig (2008: 7) postulates that social constructionism has, in recent years, become an increasingly influential approach that draws attention to the fact that human experience, including perception, is mediated historically, culturally and linguistically. This means that the perceptions and experience of people should be understood as a

specific reading of their environmental conditions and not as a direct reflection of these conditions.

Young and Collin (2004: 377) highlight that a range of views is covered by social constructionism, from acknowledging how social factors influence interpretations to perceiving how the social world is constructed by social processes and relational practices. Social constructionism is concerned with how knowledge is constructed and understood and places great emphasis on everyday interaction between people and how they use language to construct their reality (Andrews, 2012: 44). Language is also underscored by Willig (2008: 7) as an important aspect of socially constructed knowledge. The same phenomenon and event can be described in different ways. Consequently, while such a phenomenon or event is perceived or understood in different ways, none of the ways of describing it is necessarily wrong. Willig (2008: 7) offers an example in the choice of describing a glass of water as 'half-full' or 'half-empty'. Both descriptions are equally accurate, yet one of them provides a positive interpretation of the situation ('half-full'), whereas the other emphasises absence and a lack ('half-empty').

Subjective meanings that individuals develop from their experiences are varied and multiple, which lead social constructionists to identify the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas (Creswell, 2009: 8). Creswell (2009: 8) furthermore highlights that it is a researcher's intent to make sense of the meanings others have about the world. He states that, rather than starting with a theory, inquirers generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning.

Willig (2008: 7) provides a summary of the research perspective of social constructionists and posits that it is concerned with identifying the various ways of constructing social reality that are available in a culture, to explore the conditions of their use, and to trace their implications for human experience and social practice. Creswell (2013: 25) highlights that phenomenological studies are amongst those in which the constructivist worldview is manifest.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A research design is a general strategy for solving a research problem (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 74) or a literal plan or blueprint of how the study will be conducted (Yin, 2011: 75; Berg, 2004: 31; Mouton, 2001: 55). Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 74) argue that a research design boils down to planning. They state that it provides the overall structure for the procedures that the researcher follows, the data the researcher collects and the data analysis the researcher conducts. Durrheim (1999: 29) describes a research design as a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between the research questions and the execution or implementation of the research.

3.3.1 Qualitative Research Design

The researcher used a qualitative research design as it was the most suitable for addressing the research problem, the aim and the objectives of the study. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 15), qualitative research:

“...is defined by a series of tensions, contradictions, and hesitations. This tension works back and forth between the broad, doubting postmodern sensibility and the more certain, more traditional positivist, postpositivist, and naturalistic conceptions.”

Qualitative research is both naturalistic and holistic and is therefore commonly used to explore phenomena inductively and provide ‘thick’ descriptions of them (Durrheim, 1999: 43). In this study, this design provided an open, flexible and unstructured mode of enquiry (Kumar, 2014: 14), which effectively allowed for the voices of interviewees to be heard. All qualitative approaches have two things in common. First, they focus on phenomena that occur in natural settings or in ‘the real world’ and, second, they involve capturing and studying the complexity of these phenomena. Qualitative researchers are rarely concerned with simplifying their observations, but rather acknowledge the multidimensional and multilayered nature of the issue they are studying and attempt to portray it in its multifaceted form (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 139). With reference to the qualitative research paradigm, Fouche and Schurink (2011: 308) highlight that the qualitative researcher is concerned with understanding rather than explanation, with naturalistic observation rather than controlled measurement and with the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of an insider as opposed to

that of an outsider, which is predominant in the quantitative paradigm. Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 140) and Peshkin (1993: 23-29) highlight that qualitative research studies serve one or more of the following purposes:

- Description: Qualitative research studies can highlight the multifaceted nature of certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems or people.
- Interpretations: Qualitative research studies enable a researcher, first, to gain new insights into a particular phenomenon; second, to develop new concepts or theoretical perspectives about the phenomenon; and/or, third, to discover problems that exist within the phenomenon.
- Verification: Qualitative research studies allow a researcher to test the validity of certain assumptions, claims, theories or generalisations within real-world contexts.
- Evaluation: Qualitative research studies provide a means through which a researcher can judge the effectiveness of particular policies, practices or innovations.

Fouche and Schurink (2011: 312-313) identify and discuss five of the most important qualitative research designs for the applied human sciences as being: narrative biography, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study. The epistemological position of the researcher in this study is twofold. First, data is contained within the lived experience and perspectives of stakeholders involved in the multipronged and micro-level investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and, second, because of this, the researcher will engage with these stakeholders in collecting data. The anti-positivist stance of the researcher therefore requires of him to engage with research participants as opposed to the logical positivism position, where the researcher is detached from the phenomena being studied (Welman & Kruger, 2001: 7). The researcher identified the phenomenological research design as appropriate for this study.

3.3.2 Phenomenology

Researchers are surrounded by quests for structure and certainty in an uncertain world (Spence, 2016: 2). Harmonised with the spirit of complex systems thinking, phenomenology is quite different and aims for *“fresh, complex [and] rich descriptions of a phenomenon as it is concretely lived”* (Finlay, 2009: 6). A phenomenon, as the

focus of a phenomenological inquiry, may include an emotion such as fear, loneliness, jealousy or anger. It can also be a relationship, a marriage, a job, a programme, an organisation or a culture (Patton, 2002: 104-105). As a branch of postmodernism, phenomenology endeavours to overcome a purely subjective or personal understanding of consciousness in favour of systematic reflection on lived experience (Seltzer-Kelly, Cinnamon, Cunningham, Gurland, Jones & Toth, 2011: 17). Phenomenology is essentially a philosophic method of questioning (Van Manen, 2014: 29) and is described by Wertz (2005: 175) as a *“low-hovering, in-dwelling, meditative philosophy that glories in the concreteness of person-world relations and accords lived experience, with all its indeterminacy and ambiguity, primacy over the known”*.

Clearly rooted in phenomenology is the postmodernist argument that knowledge and reality do not exist apart from discourse (Orleans, 2000: 2104). Orleans highlights that the notions of constructionism, situationalism and reflexivity are at the core of phenomenology and cites Bourdieu (1992), who states that postmodernism’s emphasis on the representational world as reality constructor further exemplifies the phenomenological bent towards reflexivity (Orleans, 2000: 2104). Similar to other forms of postmodernism, Seltzer-Kelly et al. (2011: 17) argue that phenomenology includes a radical critique of the modern ideal of objectivity. However, phenomenology presents the novel idea of ‘intersubjectivity’, which contributes fundamentally to this study. With due consideration to the converging notions between this study and the study of Seltzer-Kelly et al. (2011), where complex interactions with ‘others’ are explored through a lens of complexity, the idea of intersubjectivity as explicated by Seltzer-Kelly et al. (2011: 17) is important for this study:

“While each person is inherently subjective in the sense that they have a personal perspective that cannot be escaped, intersubjectivity acknowledges that each person can come to a mutual understanding not only of the subjectivity of others, but that one’s own self is an “Other” in other people’s experience. Each person, that is, recognizes that he or she is both a subject of one’s own perspective and an Other in every other person’s perspective. We are all subjective and therefore subject to bias and insensitivity towards others, but since we all are subjective, we can establish a basis upon which meanings

may be communicated and shared even though each other person's perspective is fundamentally irreconcilable with our own."

A foundational question that phenomenology seeks to answer is provided by Patton (2002: 104) as 'What is the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon for this person or group of people?' Similarly, Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 145) state that a phenomenological study tries to answer the question 'What is it like to experience such-and-such?' The authors highlight that, in some cases, the researcher has had personal experience related to the phenomenon in question and wants to gain a better understanding of the experiences of others. Phenomenology is concerned with the 'life world' of individuals and takes an interest in how it is developed and experienced by them. 'Life world', a term frequently used in phenomenological discourse, refers to a person's conscious and lived experience of the world and everyday life (Fouche & Schurink, 2011: 316; Cerbone, 2006: 51; Welman & Kruger, 2001: 181).

Welman and Kruger (2001: 181) posit that people develop their true meaning from their life world and by existing they give meaning to their world. People are dependent on their world for their existence and vice versa. When trying to gain an understanding of what holds meaning for individuals at a given time, the researcher needs to understand not only behavioural acts, but also thinking, feelings and perceptions (Theron, 2003: 10), and how they describe their personal experience of a phenomenon, judge it, remember it, make sense of it and talk about it to others (Patton, 2002: 104). Lester (1999: 1) states that the purpose of a phenomenological approach is to highlight the specific and to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation. In harmony with Lester (1999: 1), Willig (2008: 52) highlights the interest of phenomenology in the world as it is experienced by human beings within particular contexts and at particular times, rather than in abstract statements about the nature of the world in general. This normally translates into gathering 'deep' information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing such information and perceptions from the research participants' point of view (Lester, 1999: 1). Similarly, Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 145) posit that phenomenology refers to a

person's perception of the meaning of an event, as opposed to the event as it exists external to the person.

A phenomenological study, as a qualitative research design, is therefore a study that attempts to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular phenomenon. Phenomenological approaches are powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom (Lester, 1999: 1). Van Manen (2014: 29) characterises the phenomenological method as a matter of bids, attempts and hopeful risks, whilst Moran (2000: 4) describes phenomenology as a "*radical, anti-traditional style of philosophising*" that underscores the attempt to find the truth of matters and to describe phenomena as they manifest themselves to consciousness and the individual experiencing them.

In harmony with Moran (2000: 4), it is argued by Lewis and Staehler (2010: 1) that phenomenology is not concerned with 'speaking about things', but rather with the way in which things manifest themselves, and therefore it tries to describe the nature of appearance as such. Phenomenology thus focusses not on *what* appears, but on *how* it appears. With reference to phenomenology, Lewis and Staehler (2010: 1) and Willig (2008: 52) state that appearances cannot simply appear in splendid isolation. These authors highlight that appearances appear to something, accepted to be human 'consciousness', and this occurs as people engage with the world around them. Willig (2008: 52-53) argues that every object and subject presents itself to a person as something, and its manifestation as this or that something constitutes its reality at any one time. The appearance of an object as a perceptual phenomenon varies, depending on the perceiver's location, context, angle of perception and mental orientation (e.g. desires, wishes, judgements, emotions, aims and purposes). This is referred to as 'intentionality' and allows objects to appear as phenomena. Meaning is therefore not something that is supplementary to perception as a postscript; instead, perception is always intentional and therefore constitutive of experience itself. This means that, from a phenomenological perspective, it is not at all surprising that different people can, and do, perceive and experience (what appears to be) the 'same'

environment in radically different ways (Willig, 2008: 52-53). Creswell (2013: 81) argues that the type of problem best suited for phenomenological research is:

“One in which it is important to understand several individuals’ common or shared experiences of a phenomenon. It would be important to understand these common experiences in order to develop practices or policies, or to develop a deeper understanding about the features of the phenomenon.”

This statement by Creswell (2013: 81) holds much relevance for the research problem being addressed in this research. It is the experience of the researcher that the different stakeholders that contribute to, and experience, the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation often have diverging objectives, which could be influenced by numerous factors. These factors may include organisational rules and policies; availability of resources; norms and values; ideologies, perceptions and beliefs regarding issues of drug abuse and prostitution; opinions regarding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation as a crime worth prosecuting; and varying levels of resilience, which is a fundamental requirement for addressing this complex phenomenon. These multilayered complexities, and the need for constructive communication amongst the various stakeholders involved in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, call for the acknowledgement of the sentiments highlighted by Seltzer-Kelly et al. (2011: 18). Seltzer-Kelly et al. argue that *“we cannot; therefore, ever judge a person as lesser than we are merely because their perspective is different from ours...every perspective is unique and uniquely valuable, in a way that simply cannot be compared by any objective manner”*. Stakeholders who fail to consider these implicit and explicit nuances when formulating an investigative strategy may be accosted by insurmountable challenges during both the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking for sexual exploitation cases.

In light of the discussion above, and in harmony with Creswell (2013: 81), this research established an in-depth understanding of the common and shared experiences of stakeholders investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. In this way it pursued the development of practices and policies that gain a deeper understanding about the features of the phenomenon. At its core, therefore, this research embraced a description of things as they appear, with a focus on participants’ experience as lived (Finlay, 2009: 9). Creswell (2013: 79-80) distinguishes between two approaches to

phenomenology: transcendental phenomenology, developed by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), and hermeneutical phenomenology, developed by Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). The focus of the transcendental phenomenological approach is more on a description of the experience of participants, whereas, in hermeneutical phenomenology, the research is orientated towards both lived experiences and hermeneutics, which denote interpreting the ‘texts’ of life (Reiners, 2012; Duranti, 2010; Dowling, 2007).

3.3.2.1 Hermeneutic phenomenology

Interpretation, according to Wertz (2005: 175), may be necessary to “*contextually grasp parts within larger wholes, as long as it remains descriptively grounded*”. An interpretive dimension was therefore added to this study, which represents the researcher’s choice of hermeneutic phenomenology rather than the transcendental phenomenological approach. Hermeneutic phenomenology emerged from the work of philosophers such as Heidegger, Gadamer and Ricoeur (Spence, 2016: 1; Finlay, 2009: 11). According to Smythe, Ironside, Sims, Swenson and Spence (2008: 1393), the pursuit of Heideggerian (hermeneutic) phenomenology is not to offer answers, for answers inhibit and neutralise thinking. The quest is rather to

“...invite readers to make their own journey, to be exposed to the thinking of the authors and to listen for the call on their own thinking... [It seeks to] persist in questioning – always wondering about what still lies hidden, what was closed down in coming up with ‘this interpretation’, what else is to be thought. To invite is to gift without assuming one can pre-guess what the other will receive. Every person reading the research report will take away their own thoughts, already connecting their past experience with future possibilities of the ‘thisness’ of their own situation.”

With reference to Heidegger’s views on truth, Richardson (2012: 83) points to authenticity that is ‘bound up’ with phenomenology, which suggests that the aim of phenomenology is not just descriptive, but also ‘valuative’. Lester underscores that phenomenological methods are particularly useful at bringing to the fore the experiences and perceptions of individuals from their own perspectives and, therefore, at challenging structural or normative assumptions. In adding an interpretive

dimension to phenomenological research, such experiences and perceptions can be enabled as the basis for practical theory while informing, supporting or challenging policy and action (Lester, 1999: 1). Silverman (2013: 17) opines that a more substantial achievement is possible than merely providing some kind of “*experiential comfort blanket*”. Silverman underscores the importance of drawing out appropriate implications from personal stories and moving from the personal to the practical.

According to Finlay (2009: 11), hermeneutic phenomenology acknowledges the entrenched being of people in the world of language and social relationships, and the inexorable historicity of all understanding. As Finlay articulates, “*we experience a thing as something that has already been interpreted*”. As a qualitative methodology, hermeneutic phenomenology is valuable when exploring the meanings of a phenomenon with the purpose of understanding the human experience (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 202). It “*provides glimpses of the meaning that reside within human experience*”, with researchers working towards the appreciation of unconcealed aspects of phenomena that are rarely discerned, described or accounted for (Crowther et al., 2016: 1-2). It accommodates the “*culturally and historically situated, dynamic, and interactive nature of our thinking, being and doing*” (Spence, 2016: 2), with the chief intention to “*illuminate essential, yet often forgotten, dimensions of human experience in ways that compel attention and provoke further thinking*” (Crowther et al., 2016: 2).

This is what the researcher set out to achieve in this study. Of fundamental importance was an acute understanding of the participants’ lived experiences and day-to-day realities. In harmony with an understanding of their experiences, an effort was made to establish what could be learnt from these experiences and to understand their implications for South Africa’s broader human trafficking combating efforts. A hermeneutical phenomenological approach was therefore used in this research, where the researcher was involved in interpreting the meaning of participants’ lived experiences. The lived experiences of participants, presented in Chapter 4, will be distilled through the lens of complex systems theory in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will present a proposed application of complex systems theory to a strategy for human trafficking investigation imbued with the essence of the participants’ lived experiences.

Generally, phenomenology attempts to cast off theory in the sense of abstractive science. However, Van Manen (2014: 67), in the same vein as Lester (1999: 1), asserts that phenomenology may also invite theory when exploring a human phenomenon or event. Such instances include, first, when phenomenology brings in theory to demonstrate where the assurance of theory falls short of fulfilment. And, second, phenomenology may bring in theory where both intersect in the understanding of human phenomena. From the researcher's study of phenomenological philosophy and the spirit of complex systems theory employed in this study, he agrees with Morçöl's (2005: 2) observations regarding the emerging phenomenological orientation in complexity theory, which has "*serious epistemological implications*". Some complexity theorists, according to Morçöl (2005: 14), cite phenomenologists as supporting their views, whilst others make claims that are consistent with the core belief of phenomenology. Morçöl (2005: 7) also makes reference to Heidegger's circular reasoning, the notion that understanding relates to 'being-in-the-world', and the principle that interpretation and meaning are derivatives of understanding.

Finally, the researcher's affinity to phenomenological philosophy and its hermeneutic school of thought is best articulated through Van Manen's (2014: 67) reference to phenomenology's 'primacy of practice'. Pointing to a range of professional practitioners from diverging disciplines who are intrigued by phenomenology, he states that the insights offered by phenomenology "*speak not only to our intellectual competence, but also to our practical capabilities*". Rather than technical skills and abilities, phenomenology nurtures ethical sensitivity, thoughtfulness, interpretive talents, and tact in professional relations, situations and activities (Van Manen, 2014: 68). These are indeed much-needed emergent properties to be employed in the quest for *alētheia* when studying the complex issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

3.3.2.2 Reflexivity and the position of the researcher

Hermeneutic phenomenology does not require researchers to undertake the bracketing of their own preconception or theories (Smythe et al., 2008: 1392; Lowes & Prowse, 2001) as is the case with Edmund Husserl's notion of *epoché* in transcendental phenomenology (Creswell, 2013: 80; Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 146; Lewis & Staehler, 2010: 14). In fact, Finlay (2009: 12) points to those of hermeneutic

phenomenological sensibility who “*deny it is possible, or even desirable, to set aside or bracket researchers’ experience and understandings*”. Rather, the significance of the existing world and its meanings for the researcher is included in the research process (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 203). From the outset of the study, the researcher realised that coming to understand his own history with the investigation of human trafficking, including his own prejudices and presuppositions, as well as how these and those of others influenced the research journey, would be a “*difficult and on-going challenge*” (Spence, 2016: 3).

Reflexivity is defined by Birks (2014: 25) as “*an active process of systematically developing insight into your work as a researcher to guide your future actions*”. When researchers depart down the path of subjective intervention, they need to consider their role both methodologically and epistemologically (Cole, Chase, Couch & Clark, 2011: 141). Creswell (2009: 177) points out that the inquirer in qualitative research is involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants. With reference to reflexivity and the role of the researcher, Creswell (2009: 177) explains that inquirers will proceed to explicitly and reflexively identify their biases, values and personal background elements, such as gender, history, culture and socio-economic status that may shape their interpretations formed during a study. Gaining entry to a research site and the ethical issues that might arise are also elements of the researcher’s role. Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 312) posit that qualitative researchers engage with reflexivity as their data collection has unavoidably been influenced by their own assumptions and values. Qualitative researchers therefore acknowledge, in a transparent manner, their biases and consider how these may have affected what they did, the data that was collected and how they interpreted their results.

As endorsed by Birks (2014: 25), the researcher used reflective journaling and memo writing, which provide a written record of how reflexivity was employed in this study. Journal entries and memo notations by the researcher included his thinking, decision making and actions, and feelings and frustrations as well as those presented by research participants. Scheduled meetings, agendas and outcomes, extensive notes on unexplored aspects of the study and ‘to do’ lists were also recorded. A written record of reflexivity is contained in the following formats and facilitated an audit trail:

- **PhD progress journal:** Operationalised on 13 March 2012 and contains dated entries regarding meetings with the researcher's promoter, conceptualisation of the study, thinking processes and decision making, and agendas and notes emanating from meetings with critical friends, co-coders and counter-trafficking practitioners;
- **PhD field note journal:** Operationalised on 5 October 2012 and starts off with detailed handwritten notes deconstructing key aspects highlighted by Anne Gallagher in her 15 June 2009 presentation entitled 'Prosecuting and adjudicating trafficking in persons cases in Australia: Obstacles and opportunities' (Gallagher, 2009). These notes helped the researcher to craft a more sophisticated research problem and questions whilst identifying permeating challenges and shortcomings in the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases in the South African context. This journal resembles a typical 'dirty' notebook and was a close companion during every participant interview undertaken in this study. Notes, thoughts and observations during these interviews were captured in this notebook;
- **PhD operations document:** Operationalised on 1 November 2014 and consists of an electronic Word document that served as a comprehensive electronic diary containing, among others, an activity log that documented any changes, increasing word count and general progress in chapters. It was used to record areas, themes and specific questions that needed to be explored with a dated entry when a task was completed. Interviews conducted were written in, with a log of interviewee names and associated pseudonyms, date on which interviews were conducted and the length of each interview. Problems encountered in the research journey and notes on emotional outbursts, fears and significant statements by participants were recorded. Naming conventions of cities, provinces and towns were documented as were pseudonyms allocated to brothels, criminal organisations, perpetrators and victims. This document was password encrypted and totalled 186 pages with 44 077 words; and
- **ATLAS.ti (version 7) Memo Manager:** Operationalised on 17 February 2016 and consisted of multiple memo entries, which represent an audit trail of all issues, considerations and general notes emanating from the data analysis process and transcribed interviews. Memos are "*independent objects that can be linked to other objects or used as free, stand-alone memos. Memos can also be assigned as primary documents*" (ATLAS.ti 7 Quick Tour, 2012: 35). The memos that were created and used throughout the data analysis process included: key

considerations and additional questions to explore; juju codes; my journal; participant reflexivity; themes and sub-themes: phenomenology; themes and sub-themes: complex systems; and themes and sub-themes: researcher observations.

The autobiographical problem statement, as the cornerstone of the researcher's reflexive commitment, is presented and discussed in Section 1.6.

3.3.3 Population and Sampling

The research design provides the framework for the collection and analysis of data from a population (May, 2011: 98). The population encompasses the entire collection of units from which the researcher wishes to draw conclusions (Welman & Kruger, 2001: 18) and refers to all the people or phenomena that will be studied and from whom a sample will be selected for the research (Somekh & Lewin, 2011: 327). The population may be characterised into different social groupings, which are selected according to the research topic (May, 2011: 98). The population relevant to this research includes all multipronged stakeholders that have first-hand experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa. This includes all police investigators, prosecutors, social workers, magistrates, civil society role-players and NGOs, victims and perpetrators, victim support agencies, law enforcement agencies and journalists that have had some or other interaction with the process of investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Conducting a study of the entire population would not be feasible for the researcher. Lewin (2011: 222) rightly points out that time, costs and accessibility often prohibit the collection of data from every member or about every item in a population. Sampling and selection, according to Mason (1996: 83), are principles and procedures used to identify, choose and gain access to relevant units that will fit in or relate to the relevant wider population or universe and for data generation by any method. The researcher took note of criticism often levelled against sampling and selection of 'key informants', 'experts' or 'knowledgeable' participants in human trafficking research without justifiable or explicated selection criteria. He therefore deemed it important to elucidate the following selection criteria used in this study:

- An operational understanding of the legal definition of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. This was confirmed telephonically by the potential participants'

providing a brief overview of their experience, or during the pre-interview discussion and rapport-building session. Conversations or interviews that did not meet this requirement were not included;

- Three years' lived experience with any aspect of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Owing to the complex systems perspective in this study, as discussed in Chapter 5, the investigative experiences included those that were part of a formally mandated position such as police investigators or prosecutors, as well as those experiences by members of civil society, victims or perpetrators in the sex trade who directly contributed to the investigation process and had first-hand experience of how the phenomenon was investigated. Three participants (Department of Justice (DOJ) 1, DSD 2 and SAPS 1) each had two years' experience and one participant (STP 10) had one week of experience and fell short of this requirement. They were, however, included in this study owing to their unique perspective and operational experience, as explicated in Section 4.2;
- The experience of the participants had to relate to cases of either child trafficking or human trafficking for sexual exploitation related to adults where a measure of criminal organisation and sophistication was evident in aspects such as a criminal group of two or more people; the international-, regional- or interprovincial movement of people; or cases that presented non-linear complexities;
- Maximum exposure to the broader ICS and TCS in South Africa, including interactions with other role-players in the broader South African landscape, which served as the environment within which they investigated human trafficking for sexual exploitation; and
- Confirmation by at least three other independent sources or role-players in the ICS community that the prospective participant had the required measure of credibility and experience sought in this study. This criterion did not, however, apply to all participants from 'hidden populations' such as victims and professionals in the sex trade.

Owing to the fragmented nature of human trafficking response strategies in South Africa, in conjunction with the lack of specialisation and dedicated agencies and individuals who are responsible for addressing the multidisciplinary response to human trafficking for sexual exploitation, the researcher made use of both purposive- and snowball sampling. Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 145) highlight that

phenomenological researchers depend largely on a sample of participants that is meticulously selected. Purposive sampling is a widely used sampling method in qualitative research and entails the deliberate choice of participants because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study (Creswell, 2013: 156) and furthermore provide the most relevant and plentiful data (Yin, 2011: 88). ‘Snowball sampling’ refers to the identification of cases of interest from people who know others with information (Marshall & Rossman, 2011: 111). May (2011: 101) highlights that snowball sampling has value when a population is widely distributed or elusive. In snowball sampling, May continues, initial contact may be made with a member of the population who will lead the researcher to other members of the same population. The researcher is cognisant that generalisation will “*not really*” be legitimate as postulated by May (2011: 101), due to the unidentified size of the population.

What can be considered a philosophy that infused the sampling in this study is the notion of ‘The Wisdom of Crowds’, as devised by James Surowiecki. Surowiecki (2005: xi-xiii) narrates the story of Francis Galton and shows that, under the right circumstances, it is the crowd that is wiser than even society’s smartest individuals. One key principle of the wisdom of crowds is that “*we don’t always know where good information is*” and therefore, in this study, it was considered smarter to “*cast as wide a net as possible*” (Surowiecki, 2005: 276). It is the view of the researcher that excessive faith is often placed in a chosen few who ought to have the answers to combating human trafficking in South Africa. This is mirrored in the same ‘experts’ and ‘rigorous studies’ frequently quoted on various platforms and often results in the same sanitised, reductionist and armchair views being superimposed on a very dirty, messy, complex and dynamic social problem. Sadly, it does not stop there and cascades down to grassroots’ research undertaken, with the same ‘key informants’ or ‘experts’ being interviewed and much evidence being regurgitated or repackaged.

As argued by Surowiecki (2005: 278), “*even brilliant experts have biases and blind spots*” and often “*don’t know when they don’t know something*”. It is the view of the researcher that the disconnect in South Africa’s human trafficking narrative, and the complexity of the problem, can be better understood by also exploring the lived experience of those participants previously overlooked in studies such as those by

Gould and Fick (2008) and Gould (2014). A similar sampling principle was applied in a study by Hideg (2004: 82) into complex social systems, in which opinions other than those considered typical were also taken into account. With reference to the “*gradual pluralisation*” of society, Hideg (2004: 82) underscores that opposing views and ideas are an “*inseparable*” part of the system. Instead of being suppressed, opposing views and alternative thinking should be “*brought out into the open*”.

The researcher was familiar with most of the prominent individuals responsible for counter-human trafficking work in South Africa and had already begun compiling a name list of possible participants of this research as far back as 13 March 2012, which can be considered the date on which the official documentation journey for this study originated. The name list was regularly updated over the entire period of the study, with a high turnover rate of dedicated counter-human trafficking individuals noted, especially amongst investigators of the SAPS. Despite the prominence of some individuals in the South African ICS context, the aforementioned criteria were still used as a means to ensure that those with the most appropriate measure of experience were selected for the study. No predetermined sample size existed. With reference to sampling in qualitative research, Kumar (2014: 248) underscores the importance of diversity rather than a focus on sample size. Usher and Jackson (2014: 188) note that recruitment in phenomenological research continues until data saturation is achieved, with Creswell (2013: 157) providing some examples of sample sizes in phenomenological research that vary from 1 participant to 325 participants.

From the start of the research in March 2012, the researcher’s sense-making and learning journey involved numerous formal and informal conversations and interviews with a range of stakeholders in both the ICS and the TCS. These stakeholders included persons in prostitution, criminal elements involved in the sex trade and organised crime, and offenders successfully prosecuted and sentenced for crimes related to trafficking in persons. These interviews and conversations continued throughout the research period, it informed the researcher’s decision making and was conducted in addition to the interviews with selected participants that was included in this study. The sense-making and learning journey also included visits to brothels and various locations in, amongst other cities, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, Bloemfontein, Rustenburg, Pretoria and Johannesburg, which were implicated by

stakeholders in the ICS as places of exploitation. Credible information related to criminal activities or any form of exploitation identified by the researcher was reported to the relevant platforms in his capacity as NFN case manager and member of relevant task teams.

A total of 120 participants, all of whom were considered acceptable according to the selection criteria, were interviewed during the course of the research. However, owing to logistical considerations and strategic decision making to keep the study within a manageable scope, only 91 participants were included in the study and these were categorised into 15 subsystems. Purposive sampling was used in the selection of 63 participants and snowball sampling in the selection of 28 participants.

In addition to participants that represented the eight essential elements of an effective national criminal justice system response to human trafficking as highlighted by Gallagher and Holmes (2008), the researcher included victims of trafficking, perpetrators or related professionals in the sex trade, and investigative journalists who had reported on human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The experiences of participants and their respective subsystems related to a continuum of engagements with the investigation process and included unique vantage points on the phenomenon being investigated. Despite some overlapping of perspectives, experiences and mandates of individual participants and the subsystems they were part of, the selection criteria facilitated a step towards a 360 degree complex systems understanding and perspective of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The following 91 participants and their 15 subsystems, mentioned alphabetically, were included in this study:

- City law enforcement – CLE (2 participants)
- Civil society – CS (10 participants)
- Department of Home Affairs – DHA (3 participants)
- Department of Justice – DOJ (2 participants)
- Department of Social Development – DSD (6 participants)
- Health Services – HS (1 participant)
- International – INT (5 participants)
- Media – MED (3 participants)

- National Prosecuting Authority – NPA (7 participants)
- Non-Governmental Organisations – NGO (11 participants)
- Ports of entry – POE (4 participants)
- Sex trade professionals – STP (10 participants)
- Shelters – SHT (9 participants)
- South African Police Service – SAPS (13 participants)
- Victims of trafficking – VOT (5 participants)

The Pretoria office of Interpol, whose role it is to assist the SAPS in the prevention and investigation of transnational crime, was invited to participate in this study. Despite an initial interest in participating in the study being expressed during a telephonic conversation with the researcher, subsequent email correspondence unfortunately did not bear fruit in identifying participants for this research. Interpol was therefore not included as a subsystem in this research. Descriptions of the participants, including their roles in and years of experience with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation, and the methods by which they were sampled were documented (**ANNEXURE 3**). Each subsystem that the participants form part of is introduced in Chapter 4.

3.3.4 Data Collection – Unstructured and In-depth Interviews

Data, as the basic material with which researchers work (Durrheim, 1999: 45), necessitates access to documents, people and places as a prerequisite for successful research (Denscombe, 2002: 70). Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 74) distinguish a good researcher as someone who is eclectic and willing to draw on whatever sources seem to offer productive methods or evidence for addressing the research problem. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the veracity of claims regarding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the South African context has been widely questioned by some prominent scholars. It was therefore important for the researcher to generate an understanding of the essential nature of the multipronged investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation through those who had first-hand experience of the phenomenon of interest (Usher & Jackson, 2014: 188).

Lester (1999: 2) argues that a variety of methods can be used in phenomenologically based research. These include interviews, conversations, participant observation,

action research, focus meetings and analysis of personal texts. Lester highlights a general principle of minimum structure and maximum depth whilst underscoring the establishment of a good level of rapport and empathy as critical to gaining depth of information (Lester, 1999: 2). In line with this sentiment, the researcher's background and exposure to human trafficking issues since 2002 have allowed for numerous relationships to develop over the past 16 years. As part of an intricate network of well-connected and experienced counter-human trafficking stakeholders, these relationships served as a catalyst for access to the relevant participants that were included in this study and for achieving the desired level of depth as mentioned by Lester (1999: 2).

The extent to which the researcher continued with data collection was dictated by the notion of data saturation. Saturation, according to Corbin and Holt (2011: 116), represents the point in the research process where the researcher establishes that categories are completely and well developed in terms of their properties and dimensions. The authors highlight that data collection cannot go on forever and much of what a researcher discovers after a while becomes superfluous. Despite the resources available to the researcher in terms of the AQIP scholarship he had received, he had to make a judgement, based on time and money, about when to stop collecting data (Corbin & Holt, 2011: 116).

Notwithstanding that new forms of qualitative data continually emerge in literature, Creswell (2013: 157-158) argues that all forms of data can be grouped into four basic types of information: observations, interviews, documents and audio-visual materials. Unstructured and in-depth interviews were the primary method of data collection utilised by the researcher. The diversity of participants, and their experiences and perspectives offered, fed into the researcher's endeavours to be eclectic (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 74) and to add validity to the findings of the research through triangulation (Creswell, 2013: 251).

Flexibility in terms of structure, content, question wording and order is considered the chief strength of unstructured interviews in qualitative research (Kumar, 2014: 177). An example of an unstructured interview is phenomenological interviewing, which is described by Marshall and Rossman (2011: 148) as a specific type of in-depth interviewing grounded in the philosophical tradition of phenomenology. It is concerned

with the study of lived experiences and the way in which those experiences are understood to develop a worldview. Whilst resting on the supposition that there is a structure and essence to shared experiences that can be narrated, the purpose of phenomenological interviewing is to describe the meaning of a concept or phenomenon that several individuals share (Marshall & Rossman, 2011: 148).

Lengthy interviews, usually between one and two hours in length, are a fundamental data-collection technique on which phenomenological researchers depend (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 145). After numerous conversations, field notes and meetings and after attending the SANPAD academic programme, which contributed to the conceptualisation of this study, the researcher began the interviews with selected participants in March 2015. Following agreement with participants on the date, time and place of the interview, the researcher proceeded by introducing himself, which was followed by an initial rapport-building conversation. The conversation revolved around a discussion of the purpose of the research, the informed consent form (**ANNEXURE 4**) and the process that would follow subsequent to the interview, which included the use of a professional transcriptionist and maintaining confidentiality.

An 'actor attribute' form (**ANNEXURE 5**) was also completed during the initial rapport-building conversation with participants, which included basic biographical details, their years of experience with the issue of human trafficking, professional background information, and their motivations for working in this specific field. One question in the actor attribute form was: 'what informs your work (experience) on this issue?' The answers to this question provided some insightful information. For victims of trafficking and professionals and perpetrators in the sex trade, this question was contextually translated and phrased to mine a combination of information. For victims of trafficking, their motivations for continuing in counter-human trafficking efforts, and for professionals and perpetrators in the sex trade, their motivations for participating in the sex trade were mined. Furthermore, for both victims of trafficking and actors and perpetrators in the sex trade, their motivations for disclosing and engaging in this research were unearthed. Some of these responses are included in Chapter 4, where the different participants and their respective subsystems are introduced. The actor attribute form was, on occasions, completed subsequent to the interview when time was limited or when unforeseen circumstances necessitated this.

A voice recorder was used to record interviews, with each interview characteristically starting with the researcher reminding participants that the conversation was being recorded. The interview was prompted by the following open-ended questions:

- What have you experienced in terms of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation?
- What contexts/situations have typically influenced/affected your experiences of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation?

The textural and structural dimensions of the questions (see: Creswell, 2013: 193-194) were explained by the researcher before the subsequent conversation began. Consistent with hermeneutic phenomenology, the researcher entered the interview space assuming that the experience shared by a participant is an account of their understanding of their experience and recognised that the whole experience would never be told or heard as truth is never fully revealed (Crowther et al., 2016: 3). Van Manen (2014: 54) notes that people generally share opinions, views and perceptions much more easily than sensitive experiential accounts. Care was therefore taken from the outset of initial communications with participants about the research study, until the actual interview to build a deep sense of trust and understanding in order to reach those sensitive experiential landscapes that each participant had journeyed. The researcher listened attentively as participants described their everyday experiences related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and remained alert for subtle yet meaningful cues in participants' expressions, pauses, questions and occasional sidetracks (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 145). Despite the use of audio-recording to capture the interviews, the researcher continued to make notes, personal reflections and observations in his PhD Field Note Journal (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003: 132-133).

As the research was a phenomenologically informed study that was conducted in the context of a multicultural environment with participants from various nationalities, cultures and backgrounds, the researcher employed a variety of micro skills for effective communication, as emphasised by Usher and Jackson (2014: 189). These included being respectful, active listening, use of questioning in various forms, clarity in speaking, reflective communication, being comfortable with silence and allowing enough time for participants to respond. Application of the TED principle (Walker,

2017), which stands for **T**ell, **E**xplain and **D**escribe, proved to be a handy tool during the interview and allowed the interviewees to relax and communicate more effectively with the researcher. The TED principle was usually applied when initial 'surface level' responses emerged (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003: 141), and during the second and third wave of iteration when the researcher reflected on his field notes and sought clarity regarding relevant aspects of interviewee responses. The researcher also had a complex systems characteristics form (**ANNEXURE 6**) at hand, which he reflected upon at the end of each interview and which contained the main tenets of complex systems theory explicated in Section 5.8. The complex systems characteristics form allowed for the identification of relevant theoretical themes that emerged during the interviews and complemented the phenomenological philosophy with a deeper understanding of the lived experiences shared by the participants (see: Van Manen, 2014: 67).

The unstructured and in-depth interviews allowed for flexibility, interactivity between researcher and interviewees, and a range of probes that facilitated a depth of answers in terms of penetration, exploration and explanation (Legard et al., 2003: 141). The typical interview represented an informal yet focussed conversation where the participant did most of the talking, with the researcher doing most of the listening (see: Spence, 2016: 3; Usher & Jackson, 2014: 189; Leedy & Ormrod, 2013: 146). The 91 interviews were made up of:

- 81 face-to-face interviews with 85 participants. Three of the 81 face-to-face interviews consisted of 2 or more participants being interviewed simultaneously. These included Participants NGO 4 and NGO 5, who requested to be interviewed together as they felt more 'comfortable' in doing so. Time constraints and official responsibilities on the part Participants DSD 5 and DSD 6 were provided as reasons for being interviewed together. Participants CS 7, CS 8 and CS 9 were all homeowners in a suburb where human trafficking activities were taking place and they requested that the interview with them was conducted as a collective;
- One conference call with two participants (INT 4 and INT 5) who were not available for face-to-face interviews. Participant INT 4 preferred to participate in the research together with Participant INT 5, who was no longer positioned in South Africa. The relevant documentation (proposal, ethical clearance, informed consent and actor

attribute form) was forwarded to the participants, after which a date was arranged for the conference call and interview. The completed informed consent forms were emailed back to the researcher;

- Three Skype interviews with Participants STP 2, MED 2 and MED 3 respectively. The relevant documentation (proposal, ethical clearance, informed consent and actor attribute form) was forwarded to the participants, after which a date was arranged for the Skype call and interview. The completed informed consent forms were emailed back to the researcher. Participant MED 3 provided an elaborate response of her experience with the phenomenon via email, which served as the platform for the aforementioned Skype interview. All Skype interviews conducted in this research were also recorded and subsequently transcribed; and
- One comprehensive email response and subsequent telephone interview with Participant NPA 5. This was preceded by the relevant documentation (proposal, ethical clearance, informed consent and actor attribute form) being forwarded to the participant. The completed informed consent form was emailed back to the researcher. An in-person conversation subsequently followed with Participant NPA 5, during which the substance of the telephonic interview and email conversation was affirmed.

A number of important annotations were made during the interviews, which the researcher deemed important to document. In one interview (STP 5), the researcher made a note during the closing minutes of the interview regarding a possible exaggeration on the part of the interviewee, who offered an explanation that, at least for the researcher, could not be considered reasonably frank. The researcher reflected on Crowther et al. (2016: 3), who refer to cases of exaggeration that speak to what is understood and felt as important by the teller to highlight in any given moment. Coming to "*grasp the mind of the participant*" is therefore not possible, nor can the researcher "*recover the past as it actually was*" (Koch, 1998: 1188). One participant (NPA 6) was not comfortable with the interview being voice-recorded. This was communicated by the participant to the researcher during the initial rapport-building conversation. A PhD Field Note Journal entry was made accordingly, with the request also documented on the signed informed consent form dated 27 May 2015. Extensive notes were made during the interview, with additional interview notes made during subsequent counter-

trafficking task team meetings. The final transcription was sent via email to the participant (NPA 6) for perusal, which the participant approved.

Working with and doing research on the experiences of victims of trafficking require a number of ethical considerations, which the researcher adhered to and which will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.4: 'The ethical dimension of the study'. No minors, whether participants in general or victims of trafficking, were included in this research. Extensive notes on practical interview arrangements, discussions and dynamics during interviews with victims were made in the PhD Field Note Journal to meet the aforementioned ethical requirements.

The first interview was conducted with a participant (VOT 1) that was known to the researcher. An established relationship of trust existed and therefore the researcher was aware, through previous engagements, that the participant showed emotion and became passionate when sharing her experiences. The researcher arranged for a qualified counselling psychologist, Andria*¹⁴, who was a friend and experienced in working with complex trauma, to accompany him to the interview. The participant (VOT 1) was consulted and agreed to the presence of the psychologist during the interview. The participant chose her 'favourite restaurant' as the interview venue. During the final stages of the interview, the participant became emotional after sharing her frustration, which emanated from a lack of urgency by authorities to investigate her case. Andria* was able to console and helped VOT 1 to reflect on her emotion through a number of clarifying questions emanating from extensive note-taking during the interview. The researcher had a number of subsequent conversations with the participant, who communicated a sense of empowerment when talking about her experience whilst finding meaning and comfort in working with children and serving others.

Participant VOT 2 was also known to the researcher. The interview with VOT 2 was conducted at her place of residence and in the presence of her husband, whom she described as her best friend. The participant's husband freely contributed to the conversation and, at times, was requested by VOT 2 to provide context and personal insights from his vantage point. What stood out for the researcher during this interview was the frequent use of humour by VOT 2 to describe severe harm and unsettling

¹⁴ Pseudonym.

experiences. The presence of her husband clearly contributed to the safe environment and richness of information that was gathered during the interview. The researcher remained in contact with VOT 2 through his role with the NFN. She still found meaning and purpose in community service and human trafficking-prevention activities.

Participant VOT 3 was introduced to the researcher by members of the counter-trafficking community. An initial telephonic conversation was the first contact made with VOT 3, during which the purpose of the research was communicated. An initial date, time and place were not agreed upon during the first telephonic conversation as it merely served as an introduction and rapport-building endeavour. During a subsequent telephonic conversation, the participant (VOT 3) mentioned that her employer knew of the researcher and that she therefore felt comfortable to meet in person. The interview with VOT 3 took place in a coffee shop, chosen as the venue by the participant and located adjacent to her place of employment. Before the interview began, the researcher again confirmed whether the participant was at ease to engage in the interview on her own. She responded in the affirmative and highlighted the purpose of the research as the impetus for her participation. The researcher made a follow-up phone call to the participant after the interview as a gesture to enquire how she was doing. A number of subsequent telephonic conversations with the participant followed, which addressed a combination of issues related to her well-being, work in counter-human trafficking and updated reflections on the research.

Participant VOT 4 was introduced to the researcher by Participant CS 3. Participant CS 3 had been involved in providing assistance to VOT 4 after her eight-year ordeal at the hands of traffickers. The interview with VOT 4 was conducted at the place of her employment and in the presence of her confidant CS 3. CS 3 freely contributed to the conversation and, at times, was requested by VOT 4 to provide context and personal insights from her vantage point. VOT 4 credited her faith in God, a support network at church and friends such as CS 3 for her ongoing well-being, her ability to serve others and her endeavours to raise awareness about the issue of human trafficking.

Participant VOT 5 was introduced to the researcher during a meeting between the NFN and the support personnel of the care facility where she was accommodated as a victim of trafficking. The purpose of the meeting was to network and discuss possible

collaboration and partnerships between the care facility, who provided psychosocial services to victims of trafficking, and the NFN. Owing to alleged experience of corruption by the SAPS and the broader criminal justice system, neither VOT 5 nor the support personnel at the care facility had any intention of approaching the authorities to pursue VOT 5's matter criminally. The researcher shared some insights gleaned from his ongoing research and enquired whether VOT 5 would be interested in participating in the research, contingent upon a subsequent informed decision by her and the support personnel. The informed consent form was emailed for their perusal whereafter the support personnel responded via email the following day stating that VOT 5 would be happy to participate. A date was identified for two weeks later and the researcher again confirmed consensus from all parties before the interview took place in the presence of a support team member. Participant VOT 5 was vocal about her sense of being loved and cared for by the support personnel, credited her faith in God as the source of being hopeful about the future and shared her ambitions of reaching out to others who continue to be trapped in the claws of human trafficking.

The length of interviews ranged on a continuum from 27 minutes as the shortest, with Participant SAPS 13, to 2 hours 39 minutes as the longest, with Participant STP 5. The average length of the interviews was 75 minutes. Audio recordings of the interviews were saved on a password-encrypted personal computer, with duplicate copies saved on an external hard drive. The diverse group of participants, and the complex, multi-angled experiences they shared regarding the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, made a novel contribution towards achieving the aim of this research.

3.3.5 Data Analysis

Poggenpoel (2000: 344, 352) states that there is no one way of performing data analysis. In qualitative data analysis, according to Poggenpoel, the researcher should be able to account logically for the stages in data analysis and should base final conclusions on generated data. The researcher must also be able to utilise reasoning strategies, such as analysis, induction, synthesis and intuiting to be able to identify themes, categories and subcategories (Poggenpoel, 2000: 344, 352). Hermeneutical phenomenology and the researching of human experience take time and effort (Spence, 2016: 2). As a result, the researcher consistently had to remind himself to

avoid temptations to indulge in reductionism and found comfort in knowing that “*good research rarely moves smoothly*” from A, the research topic, to B, the findings (Silverman, 2013: 99). The use of data in hermeneutic phenomenology is fundamentally concerned with “*surfacing meaning and sharing human experiences*” in ways that resonate with listeners and readers (Crowther et al., 2016: 4).

The researcher drew insights and perspectives from a range of authors regarding the more general aspects of qualitative data analysis and the analysis of data in hermeneutic phenomenology. Patton (2002: 433) points out that each qualitative study is unique and therefore the approach to data analysis is also unique. Owing to the multiple vantage points offered by the participants, and the voluminous amount of messy data that was generated, the researcher embraced a comprehensive, non-linear and iterative six-phased data-analysis process, as follows:

- Phase 1: ‘The wonder years’
- Phase 2: From murky to muddled; from muddled to meaningful
- Phase 3: First wave coding
- Phase 4: Second wave coding
- Phase 5: Essence, textural and structural description
- Phase 6: In pursuit of *alētheia*, interpretation and invitation

Interpretation of the data, as an “*unending process*”, took place parallel to the six-phased data-analysis process and developed concurrently with the researcher’s interviews, observations and writing (see: Crist & Tanner, 2003: 205). The researcher embraced meditative rather than calculative thinking throughout the data-analysis process and dedicated himself to a “*sustained and uncertain, cyclically iterative, journey of reading, listening, thinking, questioning, writing, and rewriting*” (Spence, 2016: 6).

The abovementioned non-linear and iterative data-analysis process will now be explicated.

3.3.5.1 Phase 1: ‘The wonder years’

This phase represents the period from the conceptualisation of the study on 13 March 2012 (PhD Progress Journal entry) until the first phase of 71 interviews was completed

on 3 September 2015. The dominant emotions experienced by the researcher during this phase were a convergence of exhilaration, curiosity, frustration and a sense of 'just maybe' this research could bring about new understandings and reveal deeper meanings from participants' actual lived experience. It was a period and process of 'wondering', which, according to Ellingson (2013: 426), "*enables researchers to explore options throughout the duration of qualitative projects as new opportunities, insights, and relationships develop*".

In excess of 100 formal and informal conversations related to the research took place over this period as the researcher tried to refine his ideas and generate some preliminary questions, which were documented in the researcher's reflexive autobiographical problem statement. Not only did these 'moments of significance' change or alter the course of the researcher's thinking during the continuum of the research from planning to execution, but they also helped him to reflect critically on his own bias, presuppositions and personal learning process (see reflexive autobiographical problem statement in Chapter 1). Most of all, the cumulative impetus of these moments made him realise that human trafficking is indeed a confluence of complexities and an amalgamation of inconsistencies. Owing to the impromptu nature of many of these conversations, the researcher did not even attempt to keep a log and specific details of every single conversation. However, the following conversations were amongst those that were recorded and served as crucial tipping points and 'light bulb' moments in the conceptualisation and implementation of the study.

Dr Kobus Jonker, 22 March 2012: In March 2012 the researcher, in his capacity as case manager for the NFN, was contacted by an informant who was part of a satanic coven in Gauteng and who wanted to hand over video footage of alleged rituals where trafficked children were harmed. These allegations corroborated previous anecdotal accounts in South Africa documented by the HSRC (2010: 16). The researcher had a subsequent interview with renowned expert on occult-related crimes, Dr Kobus Jonker, to establish the viability of a study to explore the nexus between child trafficking and occult-related crimes. Dr Jonker asked a number of critical questions, which allowed alternative ideas to emerge. Moving away from the occult, with its deeply obscured hidden populations and practices, the critical conversation with Dr Jonker gave impetus to a new trajectory in the researcher's thinking processes.

Dr Juanida Horne, 1 June 2012: Dr Juanida Horne, a colleague of the researcher at the Department of Police Practice at UNISA, was approached for a discussion as she was in the process of finalising her doctoral study on human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The working title for the current research at that stage was ‘*A critical discussion on investigative essentials for successful prosecution in human trafficking cases*’. From a research perspective, Dr Horne’s experience with the field was therefore recent and this allowed the researcher to learn from her experiences related to administrative challenges in accessing research populations, research methodology strategies and areas of knowledge that remained concealed. The researcher went back to the drawing board and continued his reading, writing and rewriting.

Prof. Carol Allais, 9 October 2012 and 5 November 2012: Prof. Carol Allais was the research leader and managing editor of the then recently released research report *Tsireledzani: Understanding the dimensions of human trafficking in South Africa* (HSRC, 2010). As a sociologist, Prof. Carol Allais provided invaluable insights into human trafficking as a “*crosscutting problem*” that affects “*every level of society*” and underscored that not one entity on its own can come up with the solution to combat the problem. Prof. Allais also highlighted the significant role played by corruption in the perpetration of human trafficking in South Africa. These two conversations with Prof. Allais served as a fundamental shift in the researcher’s thinking to include participants from civil society – ordinary citizens who experience human trafficking in their community and contribute to the investigation and reporting processes. Prof. Allais’ encouragement “*... you will make a contribution to theory, practice and knowledge*” remained with the researcher and served as a reminder of the importance of theory in creating meanings and better understanding complex social phenomena.

Dr Amanda van der Westhuizen, 17 October 2012: Dr van der Westhuizen is a friend, who in 2015 completed a doctoral study on human trafficking in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, using complex systems theory (Van der Westhuizen, 2015). She had previously introduced the researcher to complexity theory concepts on 22 September 2011 and had explained the relevance and practical implications of this theory for human trafficking as a complex social phenomenon. The significance of this initial conversation about complex systems cohered and eventually led to the exploration of complex systems theory in the current research. This conversation also included the

importance of being reflexive in the research as Dr van der Westhuizen was acquainted with the researcher's past experience and ongoing work in human trafficking investigations.

Prof. Wouter van Beek and Prof. Urmilla Bob, 11 – 15 February 2013: Discussions with Prof. van Beek and Prof. Bob, both lecturers on the SANPAD programme, revolved around the research methodology used in this study. The value of exploring complex systems theory, historically a positivist and natural sciences theory, in the social sciences arena was also recognised and the approach welcomed. Tips and best practices regarding phenomenological interviews and data analysis were shared and noted by the researcher. The researcher grew in conviction that a focus on the actual lived experiences of participants was the most suitable way to understand the complexities involved in investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

From the outset of the research conceptualisation, data analysis as proposed by Silverman (2005: 150) was conducted by the researcher. Silverman argues that data analysis, in its broadest terms, should already start from 'day 1'. The researcher "*kick-started*" his data analysis by following four of the five strategies proposed by Silverman (2005: 150):

- The researcher initiated the data-analysis process by analysing data that was already available in the public sphere. Data sources included newspapers, radio and television programmes and observations in communities, which all bear evidence of the complexity and multilayered challenges presented by the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation;
- The researcher asked for advice and engaged in discussions with his supervisor regarding his initial ideas and problem formulation of the research. The researcher's experience with the SANPAD programme and discussions with local and international scholars made a significant contribution to a refined problem formulation and research methodology;
- The available data was analysed as it was gathered; and
- The researcher continuously asked key questions about his data.

At the outset of the interview process, the researcher made sure to return to some of the interview audio recordings and notes to evaluate his interview techniques critically.

Additional lines of enquiry were recorded and these guided subsequent interviews and sampling considerations to “*provide deeper and richer understanding*” (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 203-204). The researcher made use of a professional transcription service to assist with the process of transcribing the interviews. A confidentiality agreement was signed with both the primary transcriptionist, who conducted the English transcriptions, and her relevant employees, who were mandated with the Afrikaans transcriptions (**ANNEXURE 7**). Audio recordings of the interviews were uploaded onto a secured and encrypted site used by the professional transcriptionist, after which an acknowledgment of receipt was emailed back to the researcher.

Transcribing is an activity performed either by researchers themselves or by personnel not involved in the research (Kowal & O’Connell, 2014: 67). The researcher’s decision to make use of a professional transcription service was a reasoned and reflective decision prompted by a number of factors. These included “*the vast complexity involved in this transfer to the written code*” (Kowal & O’Connell, 2014: 65) and the multiple pitfalls that present themselves to the inexperienced and untrained transcriber (Kowal & O’Connell, 2014: 70). The researcher also considered his own entrenched position in the study (as per his reflexive autobiographical problem statement), and the deep, dense and sometimes emotional encounters during the interviews. He therefore thought it prudent to avoid the “*transcripts becoming more a self-revelation of the transcriber*” (Kowal & O’Connell, 2014: 67). The quality offered by a professional transcription service, the incubatory distance from (and only in) the transcription process, and the availability of detailed journal entries and audio recordings for subsequent quality checks made the decision a strategic and viable one.

3.3.5.2 Phase 2: From murky to muddled; from muddled to meaningful

Phase 2 of the data-analysis process started on Friday 18 September 2015 and concluded on Friday 29 January 2016. After receiving the transcriptions back from the transcriptionist, the researcher read through the transcriptions and checked their accuracy whilst listening to the audio recordings (Patton, 2002: 441). This process took a significant amount of time as the researcher once again relived the interview through listening to the audio recording and following the interview progression by reading the interview notes documented in his PhD Field Note Journal. A continuous process of dwelling in the data now started. All 71 interviews were sanitised by

removing the names of people, cities, organisations and any other indicators that might have shed light on the identity of the participant. The aforementioned names were replaced by pseudonyms. The PhD Operations Document was used to make extensive notes emanating from the interviews being relived by the researcher. The password-protected PhD Operations Document was also used to keep a list of pseudonyms and the corresponding original text that appeared in the interview transcript.

This phase of listening, writing, correcting, comparing (with notebook), relistening and rewriting proved to be invaluable as the researcher now began to get a glimpse of the complexities of experiences shared by the participants. Personally, the researcher found this process to be emotionally taxing as the meticulous relistening to conversations, expression of emotions, and the sharing of sometimes traumatic lived experiences and observations by participants touched him more than he had anticipated. This second phase of data analysis can be described as a progression from murky to muddled and from muddled to meaningful. By now the researcher had started identifying recurring experiences that would very likely translate into themes as the data analysis process continued. The transcriptions were now sanitised and suitable for coding.

3.3.5.3 Phase 3: First wave coding

Transcriptions were changed from a Microsoft Word format and saved in a Rich Text Format (RTF) as required by the Atlas.ti 7 data-analysis software. All transcriptions were then loaded as primary documents onto Atlas.ti 7. The researcher engaged with the first wave of coding over a period of three months between 1 February 2016 and 30 April 2016, during which a total of 551 initial codes were generated.

3.3.5.4 Phase 4: Second wave coding

A second wave of coding began on 16 July 2016 and involved the identification of central concerns, exemplars and paradigm cases as described by Crist and Tanner (2003: 204). Central concerns, important themes and meanings that unfolded for specific participants were identified. Each participant's specific orientation in a situation allowed for a variety of these to emerge. Exemplars are "*salient excerpts that characterise specific common themes or meanings*" (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 204)

across participants. Exemplars are “*parts of stories...that have similar meanings*” (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 204) within participants’ experiences. The researcher then identified paradigm cases that were “*particularly compelling*” (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 204) and to which he later returned for examination from a different perspective. These were coded as ‘poignant statements’ and totalled 206 occurrences.

The additional 20 interviews that were conducted during 2016 and 2017 followed the same process explicated in Phase 1 to Phase 4. Transcriptions, coding and inclusion of data from these interviews were completed during August 2017. A total number of 91 participants’ lived experiences were therefore considered for Phase 5 and Phase 6 of the data-analysis process.

3.3.5.5 Phase 5: Essence, textural and structural description

Creswell (2013: 76) submits that the basic purpose of phenomenology is “*to reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence*”. The final result, as argued by Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 146), is a general description of the phenomenon as seen through the eyes of people who have experienced it first-hand. The focus is on common themes in the experience whilst duly considering diversity in the individuals and settings studied. Lester (1999: 2) highlights that a challenge for many phenomenological researchers is that the research generates a large quantity of interview notes, tape recordings, jottings or other records, all of which have to be analysed. Lester continues by stating that analysis is also necessarily messy, as data does not tend to fall into neat categories and there can be many ways of linking between different parts of discussions or observations. When analysing the data obtained from the unstructured and in-depth interviews, the researcher used Creswell’s (2013: 193-194) simplified version of Moustakas’ (1994) phenomenological analysis:

- The researcher’s personal experiences with the phenomenon under study were described. The researcher provided a full description of his own experience with the phenomenon in the form of a reflexive autobiographical problem statement. For the purpose of this study, which contains a hermeneutic slant, the reflexive autobiographical problem statement did not only serve to direct the focus of the

researcher to the participants, but also allowed for leverage in reflective expression and subsequent interpretation;

- A list of significant statements was then developed. The researcher looked for statements in the interviews about how individuals experienced the topic. Significant statements were then listed and each statement was treated as having equal worth. The researcher worked to develop a list of non-repetitive, non-overlapping statements;
- Thirdly, significant statements were grouped into larger units of information, called 'meaning units' or themes;
- Next, a description of 'what' the participants in the study had experienced with the phenomenon was written down. This is referred to as a 'textural description' of experience, namely 'what happened', and includes verbatim examples;
- The textural description was then followed by writing down a description of 'how' the experience happened. This is called 'structural description' and involves the inquirer reflecting on the setting and context in which the phenomenon was experienced;
- Finally, the researcher wrote a composite description of the phenomenon by incorporating both the textural and structural descriptions. This passage served as the 'essence' of the experience and represents the culminating aspect of the phenomenological study, which is presented in Chapter 6. Creswell (2013: 194) highlights that this is typically a long paragraph that tells the reader 'what' the participants experienced with the phenomenon and 'how' they experienced it (i.e. context).

Phase 6 of the data-analysis process homed in on the hermeneutic dimension of the research, which is presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

3.3.5.6 Phase 6: In pursuit of *alētheia*, interpretation and invitation

Malterud (2001: 486) asserts that interpretation is an integral part of qualitative research. The interpretive process was approached as "*systematically as possible within a nonlinear methodology*", which streamlined and clarified the interpretations of the study (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 205). Since contextual effects were evident in this study, the researcher enhanced the validity of his interpretations by drawing on the experiences of those most involved in the research setting itself (see: Schneider, Ervin

& Snyder-Joy, 2001: 369). As the researcher began with the interpretive work from verbatim data, he attuned his thinking to reveal that which *“lies in, between, and beyond the words”* (Crowther et al., 2016: 4), whilst remaining close to the phenomenon of interest. He constantly and iteratively asked *“what is going on”* (Koch, 1998: 1183) throughout the research process. The analysis of data in hermeneutic phenomenology requires of the researcher to *“dwell within the data, awaiting glimpses of the phenomenon”*. It invites attention to the multiple meanings within the phenomenon being studied and draws the reader and listener into novel understandings (Crowther et al., 2016: 2-3). The researcher decided to include two periods in the research that served as states of incubation where he deliberately withdrew and contemplated what had been learnt and experienced during the course of the research. The first period took place from 8 July 2016 to 20 July 2016, and the second period from 18 September 2017 to 30 September 2017. Relevant journal entries were made in the course of these periods, during which the researcher waited and allowed space for awareness, intuitive and tacit insights, and understanding (Patton, 2002: 486). Ultimately, working with the data resembled an iterative process of *“reading, thinking, writing, re-reading, re-thinking, and re-writing”* (Crowther et al., 2016: 7).

With no single way of performing data analysis (Poggenpoel, 2000: 344, 352) and considering the voluminous amount of unstructured data and different vantage points, the researcher followed the aforementioned six-phased non-linear and iterative data-analysis process. A variety of reasoning strategies was used and the researcher was able to account logically for the stages in data analysis whilst basing his final conclusions on generated data. Working with the data towards a process of *alētheia* took significant time and effort (Spence, 2016: 2) and at no time was the researcher ignorant of the fact that the whole truth of participants’ lived experiences would remain largely elusive. Here Van Manen (2014: 343) strikingly leverages Martin Heidegger’s wisdom to explain that: that which becomes unconcealed, the *alethes*, reveals its presence to a person as something, but simultaneously withdraws, guards, shelters and conserves the truth in the process of withdrawal. For Heidegger, *alētheia* as disclosure is like a sunset or fireworks, which represent a *“complex and constant interplay between showing and hiding”*.

The lived experiences of participants in this study are presented in Chapter 4 whilst the interpretive dimension, which includes the introduction of complex systems theory, begins in Chapter 5. The essence of the participants' lived experiences is then presented in Chapter 6. This is followed by an application of complex systems theory to the essence of the participants' lived experiences in an endeavour to create new meanings, generate questions and invite the reader to consider novel perspectives and propositions on the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

3.4 THE ETHICAL DIMENSION OF THE STUDY

The necessary ethical clearance for this study was obtained from UNISA's College of Law Research Ethics Sub-Committee (**ANNEXURE 8**) on 24 February 2014. Mouton (2001: 239) highlights that ethical issues originate from people's interaction with other people and the environment whilst Denscombe (2002: 174-175) underscores a nexus between the idea of 'ethics' and the concept of morality. Denscombe continues by highlighting that at a practical level it deals with what ought, and ought not, to be done. The consideration of ethics in research is clearly explicated by Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 104), who caution that "*whenever human beings or other creatures with the potential to think, feel, and experience physical or psychological distress are the focus of investigation, researchers must look closely at the ethical implications of what they are proposing to do*". The ethics architecture of this study was informed by the Belmont principles and the Singapore statement on research ethics. These are briefly discussed below.

'The Belmont Report: Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research' (1978) has the identification of basic ethical principles that should underlie the conduct of research involving human subjects, and the development of guidelines to assure that such principles are followed, as the foundation of its existence. The Belmont Report (1978: 4-10) covers the following three basic ethical principles that are particularly relevant to the ethics of research involving human subjects:

- Respect for persons: The two basic ethical convictions incorporated into the principle respect for persons are, first, that individuals should be treated as autonomous agents who have the capability of deliberation about personal goals

and of acting under the direction of such deliberation. The second basic ethical conviction incorporated into the respect for persons is that persons with diminished autonomy are entitled to protection. Human beings who have a diminished capacity for self-determination should be respected and protected as they mature or while they are incapacitated. Some persons require little protection beyond making sure that they undertake activities freely and voluntarily whilst others may have to be excluded from activities that may cause them harm.

- **Beneficence:** In the context of the Belmont Report, beneficence goes beyond efforts to secure the well-being of individuals. In a stronger sense, beneficence is understood as an obligation. Two general rules have been formulated as complementary expressions of beneficent actions. First, these actions include 'do not harm' and, second, they maximise possible benefits and minimise possible harms.
- **Justice:** The idea of justice is introduced by means of the rhetorical question 'who ought to receive the benefits of research and bear its burdens?' This relates to 'fairness in distribution' or 'what is deserved'. An injustice occurs when some benefit to which a person is entitled is denied without good reason or when some burden is imposed unduly.

The Singapore Statement on Research Integrity was developed as part of the 2nd World Conference on Research Integrity, 21-24 July 2010, in Singapore, as a global guide to the responsible conducting of research. This statement underscores the notion that the value and benefits of research are vitally dependent on the integrity of research (Singapore Statement on Research Integrity, 2010). The principles enshrined in this statement are:

- Honesty in all aspects of research;
- Accountability in the conducting of research;
- Professional courtesy and fairness in working with others; and
- Good stewardship of research on behalf of others.

In dealing with participants, the researcher took note of the following categories of ethical issues and implications, as stipulated by Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 105-108):

- Protection from harm: The researcher did not expose research participants to undue physical or psychological harm. Interviews were conducted in a safe environment and in the comfort of an agreed upon venue suggested either by participants or by the researcher himself. No pressure, tacit or implicit, was exerted on participants to participate or answer in a specific manner. Research permission from the relevant government departments included in this study was obtained and the researcher ensured that all participants from these departments had the approval of management to participate in the interviews (**ANNEXURE 9**). No prior written approval for participation in this study was necessary for Participant CLE 1, who, as the most senior official attached to a municipal law enforcement agency, also provided permission for Participant CLE 2 to participate. Participant HS 1 and Participant POE 4 were referred to the researcher by – and received permission from – their provincial human trafficking task team coordinator to participate in the study. Both Participant INT 4 and Participant INT 5 were granted permission by their embassy and respective line managers to participate in the study.
- Voluntary and informed participation: The researcher informed the participants of the nature of the study to be conducted and gave the participants a choice of whether to participate or not. The researcher informed participants of their right to withdraw from the study at any time.
- Right to privacy: The researcher showed respect for the participants' right to privacy and did not disclose responses received from the participants. The researcher protected the identity of participants by referring to them as 'participants' in the dissertation (Denscombe, 2002: 175). A number was also allocated to each of the participants. One incident that posed a threat to the confidentiality of one of the participants originated from the services offered by the professional transcriptionist used in this research. The incident was contemporaneously reported to the researcher by the transcriptionist, recorded and immediately contained, after which UNISA's College of Law Ethics Committee was informed. The incident was comprehensively documented, whereafter a memo¹⁵ was drafted and signed by the participant, who agreed to continue in the research.

¹⁵ The memo is not included as an annexure to this research because of the sensitive information that it contains. If needed, it can be independently verified by the chairperson of UNISA's College of Law Ethical Review Committee.

- Honesty with professional colleagues: The researcher reported his findings completely and honestly. No misrepresentations pertaining to the research were made and the researcher did not mislead others about the nature of his findings. The researcher took cognisance of, and guarded against, plagiarism (see: Repanovici, Barbu & Cristea, 2008: 74) and gave the necessary credit to the authors' work used in this research.

The researcher studied the UNISA policy on research ethics (UNISA, 2007: 1) and worked in accordance with the following aims of the policy:

- To contribute to an ethical and scientific intellectual culture of UNISA;
- To ensure that the rights and interests of human participants are protected. This is particularly important where information gathered has the potential to invade the privacy and dignity of participants, and where participants are vulnerable owing to their youth, age, poverty, disease, ignorance or powerlessness;
- To ensure that the research is ethical in the increasingly diverse research areas of qualitative and quantitative research; and
- To ensure that the ethical and scientific soundness of the research is not compromised where lack of funding limits opportunities for research and forces cost-saving procedures.

During the interviews with victims of trafficking, the researcher relied on his extensive investigative interviewing training related to victims of sexual offences and on his past and ongoing investigative experience with victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. He was also familiar with the convoluted debates and different feminist perspectives around issues of sex trafficking, prostitution and agency, and took particular caution to navigate the 'ethical minefield in human trafficking research' (Zhang, 2016). A number of scholarly works were consulted (Siegel & De Wildt, 2016; Lobasz, 2009; Harrison, 2006; Cwikel & Hoban, 2005) that related to the aforementioned issues and that informed the researcher's efforts to safeguard the psychological and physical well-being of this population.

3.5 ACCURACY OF THE RESEARCH

Altheide and Johnson (2013: 407) warn against a positivistic view of validity that works well in *“a different social universe where there are not multiple perspectives, vastly different methods and materials with which to work, and myriad uses and audiences”*. Meanings are created and interpreted by human actors in a complex social world through a process of interaction that contributes to the *“construction, reification, and resistance of social reality”*. Any method or effort that invalidates these social complexities, and tries to reconfigure the world to conform to a specific model, is *“folly, will lack credibility and is doomed to failure”* (Altheide & Johnson, 2013: 407).

The researcher drew on the insights offered by Creswell (2013), Denscombe (2010) and Silverman (2005) in their discussions of issues related to the validity and reliability of research. Silverman (2005: 223) highlights that several social researchers have invalidated the concern for reliability and validity as it *“arises only within the quantitative research tradition”*. In response to this sentiment, Silverman argues that there is no point in concluding a research dissertation unless researchers can demonstrate to their audience the procedures used to ensure the reliability of their methods and the validity of their conclusions (Silverman, 2005: 224). In harmony with Denscombe (2010: 143), the researcher uses the concept ‘accuracy’ as a pervasive theme and catalyst for discussing the notions of validity and reliability and Creswell’s (2013: 257) methodological ‘standards of evaluation’ in phenomenological research. Denscombe (2010: 141) highlights the appeal attached to the notion of good research being accurate and rhetorically questions the value of inaccurate research.

3.5.1 Validation Strategies

Denscombe (2010: 143) posits that validity relates to the accuracy of the questions asked, the data collected and the explanations given. Denscombe continues by stating that validity normally relates to the data and the analysis used in the research. Creswell (2013: 250) uses the term ‘validation’ to emphasise a process rather than ‘verification’ or historical words such as ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘authenticity’. Validation in qualitative research is an attempt to assess the accuracy of the findings. It is a distinct strength of qualitative research in that the account made through the extensive time spent in the field, the detailed thick description and the closeness of the researcher to

participants in the study all add to the accuracy of the study (Creswell, 2013: 249-250). Creswell (2013: 250-253) discusses eight validation strategies and recommends that qualitative researchers engage in at least two strategies in any given study. The validation strategies outlined below, as proposed by Creswell (2013), were employed by the researcher in this study.

3.5.1.1 Prolonged engagement and persistent observation

The researcher built and maintained trust with participants whilst conducting the field research. Being part of the NFN, participating in human trafficking task team activities and assisting a number of NGOs and other institutions, including the SAPS, with ongoing investigations on a national basis allowed the researcher to remain embedded in the field. The researcher's emic perspective was further enhanced by his spending numerous hours on the streets and visiting known places and areas of exploitation. This was invaluable as he was able to check for misinformation that stemmed from distortions introduced by him, the participants, or other sources such as literature and media reports. Many of the participants that were selected to take part in this study became fellow confidants in efforts to combat human trafficking in South Africa. Thus, even at a personal level, the significance of complex systems theory and its emphasis on interactions and connections, and the workings of feedback loops, self-organisation and eventual emergence, became vividly apparent to the researcher. Complex systems theory is deconstructed in Chapter 5.

3.5.1.2 Triangulation

The researcher brought more than one source of data to bear on a single point (Marshall & Rossman, 2011: 252). Triangulation was a pervasive and iterative aspect of ensuring data accuracy that the researcher considered throughout the research. It reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 5) in which multiple and different sources, methods, investigators and theories are used to provide corroborating evidence (Creswell, 2013: 251). Creswell continues by highlighting that *"when qualitative researchers locate evidence to document a code or theme in different sources of data, they are triangulating information and providing validity to their findings"* (Creswell, 2013: 251). Owing to the frequent reliance in human trafficking research on a few professions and

'knowledgeable key informants', the researcher deliberately cast a wider net to include a multitude of perspectives and experiences from 91 participants and 15 different subsystems. Triangulation was therefore underpinned by a broad spectrum of literature, the sampling strategy and data analysis.

3.5.1.3 Peer review and debriefing

The researcher made use of two peer reviewers. According to Lincoln and Guba (in Creswell, 2013: 251), the role of a peer reviewer is similar to that of a 'devil's advocate' – an individual who nurtures honesty whilst asking hard questions about methods, meanings and interpretations. The researcher had multiple in-person meetings with the two peer reviewers, during which he made notes in his PhD Progress Journal of any issue that was deemed important by the peer reviewers for consideration.

3.5.1.4 Clarifying researcher bias

The researcher should, from the outset of the study, explicate, clarify and comment on past experiences, biases, prejudices and orientations that have likely shaped the interpretation of and approach to the study (Creswell, 2013: 251). In response to this, the researcher included an elaborate reflexive autobiographical problem statement and discussed and operationalised the concept of reflexivity. An audit trail of decision making and reflective journalling was captured in the formats explicated in Section 3.3.2.2: 'Reflexivity and the position of the researcher' above.

3.5.1.5 Member checking

Yin (2011: 310) defines member checks as a procedure through which a study's findings or draft materials are shared with participants. The 'checking' allows the participants to correct, or improve the accuracy of, the study whilst at the same time reinforcing collaborative and ethical relationships. The sheer scope of this study in both the number of participants and the geographical spread of their location made it impractical for the researcher to conduct member checking with every participant in the study. An alternative avenue was taken by identifying one participant per relevant subsystem and conducting an in-depth discussion about the relevant themes and key issues that emerged from the lived experiences of participants in that specific subsystem. The selected member checker per subsystem was a participant whose

contribution was deemed the most information- and experience rich and who could critically evaluate the interpretations and meanings assigned by the researcher, as well as any distortions that may have been introduced by him.

3.5.1.6 Rich, thick description

The researcher used rich and thick descriptions and systematically explicated how data was generated and analysed to reach the findings. The detailed descriptions of the participants and settings under study allowed the readers to make decisions regarding transferability (Creswell, 2013: 252). In Section 4.2: 'Introducing the participants', the researcher begins by introducing the subsystems that the participants were a part of and elaborates on the specific context in which they were embedded and vantage points they had to offer. 'Transferability' refers to ways in which "*the study's findings will be useful to others in similar situations, with similar research questions or questions of practice*" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011: 252). The researcher used the notion of transferability as a useful indicator of applicability. In harmony with O'Leary's (2004: 63) discussion on transferability, the researcher did not attempt to make 'claims' about populations, but endeavoured to highlight that lessons learnt are likely to be applicable in alternative settings or across populations. The indicator of transferability implies that the researcher provided a highly detailed description of the research context and methods so that conclusions regarding applicability could be made by those reading the research account (see: O'Leary, 2004: 63).

Finally, in striving towards optimal validity in this research, the researcher drew on the experiences of those most involved in the research setting itself (Schneider et al., 2001: 369). A stringent set of selection criteria is explicated in Section 3.3.3: 'Population and Sampling'. The selection included participants who had first-hand knowledge and experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A practical guideline offered by Durrheim and Wassenaar (1999: 62) was followed, which involves asking: 'How could I be wrong?' when evaluating the validity of the anticipated findings and conclusions. The researcher asked this question throughout the course of the research cycle.

3.5.2 Reliability

Denscombe (2010: 144) states that reliability concerns the methods of data collection and the notion that they should be consistent and not distort findings. Denscombe continues by highlighting that 'reliability' refers to the ability of a research process to provide results that do not vary from occasion to occasion and that do not vary according to the particular person undertaking the research. In his discussion on 'reliability perspectives', Creswell (2013: 253) highlights that reliability in qualitative research often refers to the stability of responses to multiple coders of data sets. Creswell promotes the practice of intercoder agreement, which is based on the use of multiple coders to analyse transcript data. Similarly, in a text on qualitative research by Yin (2011: 174), reference is made to 'reliability checks' in which two or more people are used for conducting coding.

In this study, the researcher used a professional research consultant as a co-coder and another consultant whose expertise lay in the use of Atlas.ti software when coding qualitative data. The co-coder assisted with the manual coding of the data and the identification of themes and made a significant contribution to helping the researcher formulate the essence of participants' lived experiences. The co-coder activities took place parallel to the researcher's coding using Atlas.ti software. The coding conducted by the co-coder is available and will be kept for a period of five years. Three meetings took place with the co-coder, in one of which a post-coding consensus discussion was held. The Atlas.ti expert provided insights into the general use and functioning of Atlas.ti software whilst critically appraising the researcher's coding practice. She furthermore provided valuable insights into, and suggestions for, the presentation of the data using the relevant Atlas.ti functionalities.

3.5.3 Methodological Standards of Evaluation in Phenomenological Research

Whilst conducting the research and writing up the thesis, the researcher was guided by Creswell's (2013: 260) recommended standards when assessing the quality of a phenomenological study. These evaluation standards, which are presented by Creswell in the form of questions, are placed in bold and italics below, following each of which the researcher explicates how these standards were adhered to.

Does the author convey an understanding of the philosophical tenets of phenomenology? Yes. An elaborate deconstruction of the phenomenological philosophy and tradition was provided by the researcher in Chapter 3 of this thesis. A distinction was made between Husserl's transcendental phenomenology and the hermeneutic stance embraced by Heidegger. The researcher then continued to provide justification for his adoption of the hermeneutic stance.

Does the author have a clear 'phenomenon' to study that is articulated in a concise way? Yes. 'Investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation' as the phenomenon under study was clearly articulated in Chapter 1. Any possibility of misinterpretation by participants was guarded against by including a description of Heidegger's reference to *alétheia*, denoting the notion of 'truth' as unconcealment, and *Erschlossenheit* (see Section 1.7.3), denoting a process of disclosure, which allowed for the capturing of a variety of experiences (both direct and indirect) related to 'investigating'. Van Manen's (2014: 39) deconstruction of the meaning of 'lived experience' was also provided, which allowed for a deeper understanding by participants of what the study sought to achieve.

Does the author use procedures of data analysis in phenomenology? Yes. The crux of the data analysis centred on Creswell's (2013: 193-194) simplified version of Moustakas' (1994) phenomenological analysis which was described in Chapter 3 and operationalised in Chapter 4, 5 and 6. Codes were created from transcribed data and combined into broader categories and themes. Both textural and structural descriptions of participants' lived experiences were illuminated with verbatim quotes from interviews. Continuously dwelling in the data, the researcher continued to iteratively read, think, write, reread, rethink, and rewrite as he awaited glimpses of the phenomenon and identified multiple meanings and experiences associated with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Does the author convey the overall essence of the experience of the participants? Does this essence include a description of the experience and the context in which it occurred? Yes. The overall essence of participants' lived experiences was written up in a detailed paragraph in Chapter 6. Both a textural and structural description of the experiences was written and the experiences were

explicated and positioned within the South African, and the broader international, context.

Is the author reflexive throughout the study? Yes. In addition to the reflexive autobiographical problem statement written by the researcher in Chapter 1, he continued to be reflexive throughout the study by explicating his views and disagreements where he deemed this was justified. The researcher also has an audit trail available in the form of journal entries, which provides insights into his thinking, reasoning, biases and decision-making processes.

In addition to the aforementioned methodological standards of evaluation in phenomenological research, as proposed by Creswell (2013: 260), the researcher also reflected on Van Manen’s (2014: 355-356) criteria for evaluating the phenomenological quality of a study. The criteria, their descriptions, and the researcher’s responses to the criteria are presented in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Criteria for evaluating the phenomenological quality of a study

Criteria	Description	Response
Heuristic questioning	Does the text induce a sense of contemplative wonder and questioning attentiveness – <i>ti estin</i> (the wonder what this is) and <i>hoti estin</i> (the wonder that something exists at all)?	Yes
Descriptive richness	Does the text contain rich and recognisable experiential material?	Yes
Interpretive depth	Does the text offer reflective insights that go beyond the taken-for-granted understandings of everyday life?	Yes
Distinctive rigour	Does the text remain constantly guided by a self-critical question of distinct meaning of the phenomenon or event?	Yes
Strong and addressive meaning	Does the text ‘speak’ to and address our sense of embodied being?	Yes
Experiential awakening	Does the text awaken prereflective or primal experience through vocative and presentative language?	Yes

Criteria	Description	Response
Inceptual epiphany	Does the study offer us the possibility of deeper and original insight and, perhaps, an intuitive or inspired grasp of the ethics and ethos of life commitments and practices?	Yes

Source: Van Manen (2014: 355-356)

Finlay (2009: 8) notes that a phenomenological method is sound if there is an appropriate nexus with some phenomenological philosophy or theory, and if its assertions about method are *“justified and consistent”*. Moving into the hermeneutic realm, Spence (2016: 5) argues that a worthy phenomenological thesis must ‘show’ and ‘tell’. The findings should *“constitute a contribution to the dialectic between human experience, science, reflective practice, and practical wisdom”*. Findings should provoke further contemplation and possible meanings as *“all understandings open to growth and change”* (Spence, 2016: 5).

A defining quality indicator in Heideggerian research, according to Lowes and Prowse (2001: 478), is a detailed elucidation of the interviewer’s preconceptions and reference to these throughout the research process. As with most qualitative studies, a large volume of research-generated data emerged over the course of five years. An elaborate and transparent audit trail was created by the researcher, which includes notations on the context in which the study was conducted, methodological decisions, data analysis procedures and self-awareness of the researcher. Such an audit trail is particularly important as a means of substantiating the trustworthiness of the research (Rodgers & Cowles, 1993: 219) and of conveying what was done to the reader (Malterud, 2001: 486). The interpretations in this study were submitted to a rigorous process of analysis which amplifies possibilities for interventions, policymaking, philosophy and research (Crist & Tanner, 2003: 205). A dialectical researcher’s engagement with philosophy, methodology and method, as encouraged by Spence (2016: 6), was practised, which exemplified the *“part-whole relationships”* that constitute hermeneutic scholarship to realise the internal congruence necessary for robust research.

3.6 SUMMARY

The chapter began by outlining the philosophical overview, in which postmodernism and constructivism were deconstructed and positioned as the most appropriate philosophical worldview for achieving the research aim and objectives that were set out by the researcher. Phenomenology and its hermeneutic school of thought were then discussed within a qualitative research approach, which allowed for the essence and meaning of participants' lived experiences to emerge whilst moving towards a place of 'unconcealment' as advocated by Martin Heidegger's hermeneutic stance. With due consideration to the wisdom of crowds, the sampling was presented and included a multipronged representation of participants that had first-hand experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The variety of participants included in the research also served as an enabler for this study's application of complex systems theory to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Data analysis, ethical considerations and strategies for ensuring the accuracy of the research were also discussed. The lived experiences of participants are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4 'LIVED EXPERIENCES': INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in the revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.

Mao Zedong

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to understand how phenomenological insights can serve as a catalyst towards a complex systems understanding of the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation, it is important to explore the lived experiences and day-to-day realities of stakeholders that make up the Investigation Complex System (ICS), whilst gaining insights into the adversarial Trafficking Complex System (TCS) that it seeks to combat. The participants whose lived experiences will be described in this chapter are counted amongst the large numbers of interacting elements that make up these systems in South Africa and that continually interact with each other and their environments.

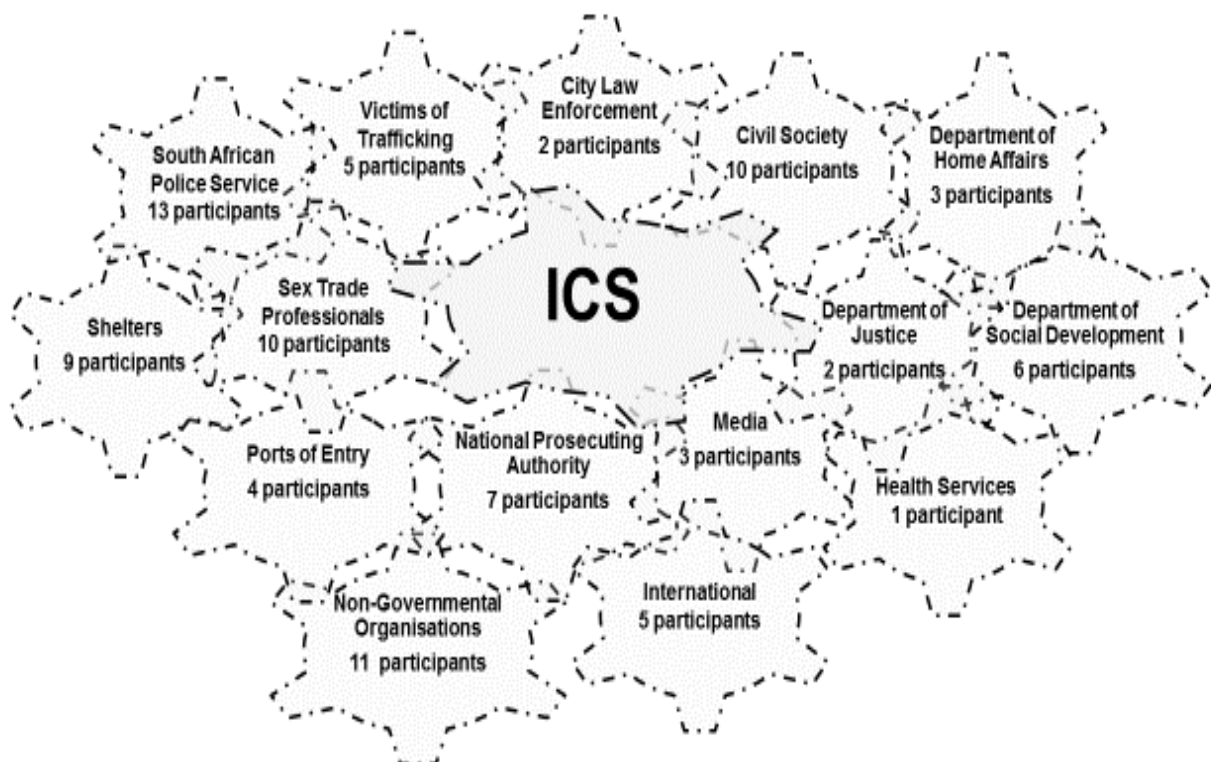
This chapter will introduce each of the 15 subsystems that were included in this study and that make up the interpenetrating ICS and the oppositional TCS. The complex lived experiences of the 91 participants that make up the respective subsystems and their unique perspectives on the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be presented and discussed. A selection of verbatim quotes that were considered by the researcher to be most expressive of the participants' lived experiences and emic point of view is given in *italics*, with an indication of the relevant transcript paragraph number allocated by the Atlas.ti 7 software. Paragraph numbers are not afforded to verbatim quotes in Section 4.2: 'Introducing the participants', below, as these were written down manually during the pre-interview and rapport-building conversations with participants. As a measure to ensure that the confidentiality and anonymity of participants are guaranteed, all identifiable data, including the names of participants, cities and provinces, and any reference to actions that can be linked to individual participants, was either sanitised or replaced with pseudonyms.

4.2 INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS

Each participant in this research, as a human being, is a complex system in and of themselves (see: Jennings, 2014: 42) and is made up of many different and interconnected elements. Participants thus bring with them a unique mix of experiences, relationships and stories. De Toni and Comello (2010: 15) affirm that this includes individual and collective experience, interconnections and causes, which intertwine and from which a complex life emerges. Congruent with the philosophy of the wisdom of crowds, the 360-degree perspective offered by participants on the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation allowed for novel insight into the complex nature of this endeavour.

Figure 4.1 below provides a 360-degree snapshot of the ICS, the 91 participants and the 15 subsystems that make up the ICS in this study.

Figure 4.1: The Investigation Complex System (ICS)



The 91 participants and the 15 subsystems will now be introduced alphabetically.

4.2.1 City Law Enforcement

The CLE subsystem consisted of two participants (CLE 1 & CLE 2) that had been selected due to their reported efficacy in dealing with the issue of prostitution, brothels and human trafficking by means of municipal by-laws in a major South African city. Both participants were highly recommended by other participants for inclusion in this study owing to their street-level experience with the phenomenon and concomitant interaction with a range of role-players and departments involved in ICS activities. Collectively the participants had 16 years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of eight years' experience per participant interviewed. The participants' experiences, perspectives and innovative responses to the issues of prostitution, brothels and human trafficking in a major South African city made a valuable contribution to the research.

When asked what informed their work on this issue, Participant CLE 1 alluded to the messiness that ideologies infuse into the human trafficking and prostitution narrative:

"I have developed a distaste for the [pro-prostitution lobby group name] sentiment on prostitution as it is false...Prostitutes are chewed up and spat out [and] responding to these issues is crucial."

Participant CLE 2, a law enforcement officer of whom a number of other participants had spoken glowingly, highlighted: *"I am a people's person...When people are exploited to benefit others financially I am angered."*

4.2.2 Civil Society

The CS subsystem consisted of ten participants (CS 1 to CS 10) that, in one way or another, had been, or continued to be, exposed to the reality of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa and actively contributed to the ICS. Collectively this group had 80 years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, with an average of eight years' experience per participant interviewed. Participants in this group had a broad range of experiences and perspectives that included living in close proximity to brothels and witnessing trafficking operations, receiving and managing reports of human trafficking incidents as leaders in their communities, interacting with response departments, providing *pro-bono* services to

victims of trafficking, and even having access to the homes of traffickers who continued to operate with impunity. This group represented everyday South African citizens who chose to move beyond the confines of 'observer' and actively work towards exposing the reality of the problem – often at great personal risk.

Five of the ten participants referred to their Christian faith as the factor that fundamentally informed their work on the issue of human trafficking. Participant CS 2 stated that he *“grew up in a caring environment with acceptance and think[s] everybody deserves that”*, whilst Participant CS 5’s *“passion for children”* was motivated by the fact that *“nothing happened to [a] case”* in which she had been *“a victim of molestation...it was not investigated”*. For Participant CS 6, his *“personal interaction with victims of TIP also compels [him]”* and he believed that he had a *“mandate to get involved with the marginalised”*. Participants CS 7, CS 8 and CS 9 were prompted by the safety of their children and community in their street to get involved in efforts to expose criminal activities flowing from brothels in their neighbourhood. Similarly, Participant CS 10 was concerned about the well-being of the South African child and his personal journey with a loved one trapped in the drug and sex trade.

4.2.3 Department of Home Affairs

The DHA subsystem consisted of three participants (DHA 1 to DHA 3). Collectively this group had 22 years’ experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of 7,3 years’ experience per participant interviewed. The participants had direct experience in a continuum of ICS activities that ranged from immigration-related investigations and assistance in criminal justice processes to intelligence gathering, law enforcement at ports of entries and task team activities at provincial and national level. In response to the question of what informed their work on this issue, all three participants unhesitatingly expressed the issue of passion. Participant DHA 1 highlighted his duty to investigate human trafficking in terms of his mandate, whilst Participant DHA 2 conveyed her *“interest in investigating syndicates”*, *“complex cases”* and *“getting to the main kingpin”*. For Participant DHA 3, *“striving towards providing equal treatment for both victims [of trafficking] and foreign nationals [as the possible perpetrators]”* is what informed her work on the issue.

4.2.4 Department of Justice

Two participants (DOJ 1 and DOJ 2) who acted as presiding officers in cases of human trafficking made up the DOJ subsystem. Collectively the participants had six years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of three years' experience per participant interviewed. Participant DOJ 1 had only two years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking cases, thus falling short of the three years' lived experience criterion set by the researcher. However, Participant DOJ 1 was included in the study because of his involvement and experience in a protracted bail application of six accused in a case of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Participants' direct experience with the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation related to criminal justice processes that affected human trafficking, which included presiding over comprehensive bail applications, a trial (only Participant DOJ 2), interactions between investigating officers and prosecutors, interactions between the state and the defence, and the consideration of testimony and evidence. The presiding officers therefore had a unique perspective on how the different parts and actions of the ICS consolidate into the bail application and trial.

Both participants cited their mandate as magistrates as underpinning what informed their work on the issue. Participant DOJ 2 added her *"responsibilities in terms of the Constitution and the oath"* that she had taken, as well as *"different pieces of legislation"*, as guiding her work. Noteworthy to the researcher was his observation that DOJ 1 and DOJ 2's sharing of their respective lived experiences was more detached, functional and formal than any of the other participants.

4.2.5 Department of Social Development

The DSD subsystem consisted of six participants (DSD 1 to DSD 6). Collectively this subsystem had 40 years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of 6,6 years' experience per participant interviewed. Participant DSD 2 had only two years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking cases, thus falling short of the three years' lived experience criterion set by the researcher. However, Participant DSD 2 was included in the study due to her leadership and coordination role, and her involvement in ongoing investigations and task team activities in a major province. All six participants had extensive experience in the screening of, and

provision of psychosocial support services to, victims of trafficking; task team activities; case consultations with investigators and prosecutors; training provision; and awareness campaigns.

In stark contrast to the functional responses offered by magistrates DOJ 1 and DOJ 2 (see Section 4.2.5 above), the contemplative nature and quintessential social work embodiment were evident in this group's commenting on what informed their work on the issue. Participant DSD 1 stated that she was *"both disturbed and inspired by numerous victim narratives"*. She credited her *"relationship with God"* as a stirring factor and cited Matthew 25:35 in the Bible: *"For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat ..."* Impelled by the *"social ills in our society"*, Participant DSD 2 had become involved in human trafficking work and drew inspiration from her aunt, who was a social worker. Participant DSD 3 had been won over by the urgency and significance of the problem and noted that her journey in human trafficking work

"...started out as part of my job description but I became increasingly passionate once I realised the importance of the work that I am doing."

"The quest for social justice" and *"a fair world"* (Participant DSD 4), a *"love [for] all sections of social work including human trafficking"* (Participant DSD 5) and the fact that *"not everyone has the stomach for this kind of work with human trafficking"* (Participant DSD 6) were some of the factors that had prompted participants to work in this field.

4.2.6 Health Services

The HS subsystem consisted of one participant (HS 1). The participant who made up this subsystem had 33 years' experience in the medical field, during which time he came across the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Participant HS 1 had extensive clinical experience in dealing with victims of sexual offences and participated in the study as a member of his provincial task team on human trafficking. On being asked what informed his work in the field of medicine and human trafficking, Participant HS 1 referred to his *"passion"* and the fact that he *"grew into the job"*.

4.2.7 International

The INT subsystem consisted of five participants (INT 1 to INT 5), three of which were associated with different international organisations and two participants who were human rights' experts at an embassy of one of the larger countries. Four of the five participants were actively involved in human trafficking investigation efforts in South Africa, whilst Participant INT 5 shared her lived experiences from a recent period during which she had been based in the country. Collectively this group had 45 years' experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of nine years' experience per participant interviewed. The participants had direct experience in a range of ICS activities that included prevention, training, participation in task teams, case management, criminal justice processes, international monitoring and evaluation, research and collaboration.

When asked what informed their work on this issue, the following responses by participants stood out as the most expressive and reflective of emic depth. Communicating her desire to *“tap into their humanity”*, Participant INT 2 explained:

“... [I] believe that my interactions with victims and pimps has a 'God-particle' to it; especially my interactions with victims of trafficking and their experiences.”

Participant INT 3 was clearly indignant at people who do not *“realise [or] invalidate that human trafficking is a reality”*. Working in South Africa as a foreign national, she could *“relate to feelings of isolation and loneliness”* as experienced by victims of trafficking. Participants of the international group were well known amongst most multi- and interdisciplinary stakeholders in the South African ICS community, interacted with most subsystems and were able to offer a unique global perspective on the research problem. Three of the five participants were foreign nationals working in South Africa.

4.2.8 Media

The MED subsystem consisted of three participants (MED 1 to MED 3) that had 19 years' collective experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of 6,3 years' experience per participant interviewed. Two of the participants (MED 1 and MED 2) were experienced journalists who had covered a range of human trafficking cases from a media perspective and had interacted with a number of

departments, organisations and informants in covering these cases. Participant MED 3 was an established photojournalist who had extensive international experience related to counter-human trafficking work. Her work in South Africa had focussed on documenting human trafficking for sexual exploitation in a number of large South African metros, including the investigation of harmful cultural practices that intersect with human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The collective experience of this group brought a range of perspectives and insights related to ‘the good, the bad and the ugly’ of responses to the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, including a measure of an insider’s view on the TCS.

Participant MED 1’s work on exposing human trafficking was prompted by the question *“What if your child was trafficked?”*. He was passionate about seeking justice and creating awareness so that *“people can look out for human trafficking”*. Both Participants MED 2 and MED 3 expressed compassion and justice as motivators for their work related to human trafficking. Participant MED 2 highlighted:

“I enjoy the investigative side of journalism...My mom was a human rights’ activist and that inspired me.”

The experiences from the MED subsystem were indeed valuable and offered a unique perspective on the intricacies inherent in the encounter between the ICS and TCS.

4.2.9 National Prosecuting Authority

The NPA subsystem consisted of seven participants (NPA 1 to NPA 7). Collectively this group had 54 years’ experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of 7,7 years’ experience per participant interviewed. This group consisted of the most experienced prosecutors in the South African context, some of whom had been involved in pioneering successful human trafficking investigations and subsequent prosecutions where harsh sentences had been imposed on convicted traffickers. The participants had direct experience in a range of ICS activities that included consultation with a broad spectrum of witnesses and victims of trafficking, guidance provision on reactive and proactive criminal investigations, asset forfeiture and prosecutions, participation in provincial and national task teams, policy development, and provision of training and awareness campaigns.

When asked what informed their work on this issue, four participants referred to their “*passion*” for the issue of human trafficking. Participant NPA 1 stated that she was prompted by her belief in justice, whilst Participant NPA 2 referred to human trafficking as “*an emotional issue*” that offended her sense of “*right and wrong*”. Speaking of victims of trafficking as a “*prime example of vulnerability*”, Participant NPA 5 mentioned her “*inherent personality [that] has a soft spot for children and the vulnerable*”. An interest in human trafficking as “*a human rights [and] gender issue*” was noted by Participant NPA 7.

4.2.10 Non-Governmental Organisations

The NGO subsystem consisted of 11 participants (NGO 1 to NGO 11) that had 59 years’ collective experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of 5,3 years’ experience per participant interviewed. The NGO sector in South Africa plays a significant role in the areas of awareness, prevention, communication and coordination activities and serves as the pillar for much of the ICS efforts taking place in the South African context. The participants in this subsystem had a diverse range of experiences that related to their work within the ICS. These experiences related to the identification of human trafficking incidents, managing of human trafficking reports and intelligence received from communities, communication and coordination between departments responding to cases, psychosocial support to victims of trafficking, prevention and awareness activities, and serving on provincial task teams.

Six of the 11 participants referred to their Christian faith and a calling from God as the underpinning factor that contributed to their work in combating human trafficking. “*...inspired by the example of Nehemiah in the Bible*” (Participant NGO 4) and “*called to be the salt and light of the world*” (Participant NGO 5) were specific reflections offered by participants. From her personal experience with a well-documented human trafficking case involving child victims of trafficking, Participant NGO 3 echoed:

“I believe human trafficking is a gross violation of human dignity...Pouncing on the vulnerable and using a human being to make money is unfathomable.”

Known for her valuable contribution to the field of complex trauma, Participant NGO 6 responded:

“I had a personal experience with trauma in the past [and] I want to use my trauma knowledge, theory and practice and bring it to the human trafficking table.”

“Driven by impact” and the need for “a great contribution” in the field of human trafficking was emphasised by Participant NGO 9.

4.2.11 Ports of Entry

The POE subsystem consisted of four participants (POE 1 to POE 4) that worked in three different sectors and were grouped together due to their experience and presence at South Africa’s ports of entry (land and sea). Participants POE 1 and POE 2 were attached to the SAPS Border Police and SAPS Crime Intelligence respectively. Participant POE 3 was an ex-SAPS member where she was responsible for ports coordination, whilst Participant POE 4 was a member of a provincial human trafficking task team and works in the area of information and intelligence management. Collectively, the four participants had 72 years’ experience investigating human trafficking, with an average of 18 years’ experience per participant interviewed. Participant POE 4 met the three years’ inclusion criteria for this research as he was a member of his province’s human trafficking task team. However, he made it clear that he had not engaged with many actual cases of trafficking; yet, he offered a unique perspective from his role as intelligence officer at three major South African borders.

The participants in this subsystem had experience in a range of issues and activities related to the ICS. These included, amongst others, experiences relating to the complex and mass movement of people, both legal and illegal, across South African borders, the grey-shaded interface between smuggling and human trafficking, and the modus operandi employed by traffickers. Three of the four participants had also served on provincial task teams and contributed to their activities.

On being asked what informed their work on this issue, Participant POE 3 stated that *“addressing human trafficking is part of [her] mandate as it intersects with border control and transnational crime”*. As a fairly new addition to his provincial task team, Participant POE 4 highlighted that he was *“positioned to see what is going on [on] our borders and believe something must be done”*. He also felt a *“responsibility in terms of the vulnerable”*. Participant POE 1 cited his extensive experience in tracing

perpetrators and his expertise to “*identify false documentation*” to combat human trafficking. As “*an issue that affects our families and our children*”, Participant POE 2 referred to his work as a “*passion*” and considered it “*a calling*”.

4.2.12 Sex Trade Professionals

The STP subsystem consisted of ten participants (STP 1 to STP 10) that had all been privy to an insider’s view of the sex trade and the exploitation of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Each participant’s experience included the time, past or ongoing, spent in the sex trade in various roles, which included brothel owners and managers, bouncers, members of organised crime syndicates, drug dealers, pimps and police informants. Collectively the participants had 97 years’ experience, with an average of 9,7 years’ experience per participant interviewed. Participant STP 10 did not meet the three-year criterion for inclusion in this study. However, her detailed and visceral recollection of a one-week stint as a receptionist in a brothel implicated in human trafficking made her experience, which shed light on the ambivalence of agency in and the subversive nature of the sex trade, a valuable addition.

Participants in this subsystem shared a range of experiences that related to the reality of the problem in South Africa, the modus operandi of traffickers, an unsatisfactory response to the crime by the criminal justice system, and corruption. When asked what informed their participation in the sex trade, a variety of responses, dependent on their vantage point and extent of criminal activity, was offered by the participants. Participant STP 1 stated: “*when you are in, you are in – you can’t just leave...The money is good and easy and I like the adrenaline.*” “*Very good...money*” was also mentioned by Participant STP 8, whilst Participant STP 3, a Nigerian national that had himself possibly been a victim of human trafficking, explained:

“I was desperate as I already spent all my money on Visas to Europe to play football when I was defrauded by a Nigerian and Cameroonian guy...I then came to SA to manage a soccer club and things did not turn out the way it was presented to me...I was presented with an alternative option and I took it.”

Participant STP 4 considered her business as “*a stepping stone*” for the ladies working for her and an opportunity for them “*to obtain a brighter future*”. Initially driven by

“*excitement, adrenaline*” and his “*skills as a bouncer*”, Participant STP 5 had now exited the South African sex trade and asserted:

“I think the truth of what is really going on must be exposed...People need to know what is happening.”

Participant STP 7 had been embedded in a West African syndicate that managed a brothel where young children were exploited and subsequently became a police informant. She stated that “*it was very disturbing being a witness to the events*” and decided to participate in the research to shed light on the reality of the problem. Participant STP 9, despite witnessing exploitation and incidents of human trafficking in the sex trade, considered herself “*pro-choice*” as a person in prostitution who advocated for the decriminalisation of the sex trade in South Africa.

4.2.13 Shelters

The SHT subsystem consisted of nine participants (SHT 1 to SHT 9) that had 62 years’ collective experience in the investigation of human trafficking, with an average of 6,9 years’ experience per participant interviewed. The participants’ direct experience with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation was informed by a number of factors, which included providing psychosocial services to victims of trafficking and communicating and coordinating activities between a number of ICS role-players such as police investigators, prosecutors and social workers from the DSD. Six of the nine participants were members of provincial task teams and coalitions. In addition to providing sheltering and services to victims, participants also played a significant role in issues relating to the safety of the victims and security measures at their relevant shelters. They also had unique perspectives on issues related to corruption and the *modus operandi* employed by traffickers.

As an impetus for their work in combating human trafficking, three of the nine participants referred to their “*passion*” for issues relating to “*justice*” and “*humanity*”, with their work in human trafficking as “*a calling*” and being “*Christian*” mentioned by five participants. Participant SHT 3 stated that she had become a social worker “*as result of the problems I encountered in the community*”. In expressing her outrage about the issue of human trafficking, Participant SHT 5 narrated how she came to the “*realisation that this is not merely a prostitution issue*”. She asserted that “*there is a*

bigger issue at play” and stated that she “*saw beyond that*”. Participant SHT 8 was motivated by “*the needs out there and the helplessness of people*”.

4.2.14 South African Police Service

The SAPS subsystem consisted of 13 participants (SAPS 1 to SAPS 13). Collectively this group had 103 years’ experience in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, with an average of 7,9 years’ experience per participant interviewed. Participant SAPS 1 had only two years’ experience in the investigation of human trafficking cases, thus falling short of the three years’ lived experience criterion set by the researcher. However, Participant SAPS 1 was included in the study due to her leadership and coordination role, and her involvement in ongoing investigations and task team activities at a national level. Ten of the 13 participants in this group were current or ex-investigators attached to the Hawks¹⁶ and Directorate for Special Operations (DSO), also known as the Scorpions.¹⁷ The remaining three participants were members of SAPS Crime Intelligence (Participant SAPS 7), the Missing Persons Bureau (Participant SAPS 12) and Visible Policing (Participant SAPS 13) respectively.

The participants’ lived experiences related to the multilayered complexities inherent in criminal investigations, policing, participation in task teams, criminal justice processes, and unique insights into organised crime and the functioning of human trafficking syndicates.

When asked what informed their work on this issue, ten participants voiced their “*passion*” for, amongst others, “*victims of human trafficking*” (SAPS 2), “*vulnerable communities like women and children*” (SAPS 4), “*justice*” (SAPS 11; SAPS 13) and “*investigation*” (SAPS 3; SAPS 8) into human trafficking and organised crime. Both Participant SAPS 8 and Participant SAPS 12 emphasised their work as “*a calling*”. An interest in human trafficking as an “*invincible crime*” (SAPS 1) and a concern regarding the influence of human trafficking “*on the community as well as its moral fabric*” (SAPS 7) were also voiced by participants. Participant SAPS 8 stated that he was prompted by the question “*how much worse can it get than human trafficking?*” He highlighted

¹⁶ Formally known as the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations (DPCI).

¹⁷ In a contentious move by the ANC government, this unit was disbanded in 2009 and replaced by the DPCI, better known as the ‘Hawks’ (Burger, 2015: 12; Clark, 2012; Mataboge & Faull, 2011).

human trafficking as a “*major moral issue*” and underscored the “*lack of empathy*” as a “*great concern*”.

4.2.15 Victims of Trafficking

The VOT subsystem consisted of five participants (VOT 1 to VOT 5) that had all been victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Each participant’s experience included the time spent in exploitation, as well as their subsequent journey towards healing and reintegration and their continued involvement in the counter-human trafficking field engaging in activities such as prevention and awareness creation. Collectively the five participants had 92 years’ experience, with an average of 18,4 years’ experience per person interviewed. They shared a range of experiences that related to harm they experienced as victims, the modus operandi used by traffickers, an unsatisfactory response to the crime and the plight of victims, and corruption.

All the participants voiced a common sense of responsibility to share their lived experiences to inform the ICS efforts in South Africa. As a past child victim of trafficking, Participant VOT 1 voiced a strong desire for “*finding the truth*” and to “*bring justice for victims and families who does not get answers to their questions*”. She pointed to “*deliberate attempts [by authorities] to conceal the facts of her case and other unsolved matters*”. For Participant VOT 2, it would be satisfactory “*if one person does not have to go through*” what she experienced. Participant VOT 3 strongly voiced:

“Justice is not being served on the issue of human trafficking...Prostitution becomes normalised and an acceptable alternative for those coming from vulnerable communities – this is not great...I have a passion for young and vulnerable people...it is these young people that traffickers target.”

A desire to “*help people and educate on where we are going wrong in working with the issue of human trafficking*” informed Participant VOT 4’s work on the issue of human trafficking. She believed that “*He [God] is the solution to the problem*”. To “*save souls*” and “*help drug addicts*” is what motivates Participant VOT 5 in her journey to raise awareness around the realities of human trafficking in South Africa.

The diverse range of perspectives and strata of experiences included in this study were not only invaluable in attaining a 360 degree understanding of the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation, but should be considered fundamentally non-negotiable in any endeavour to embrace a complex systems frame of reference, whilst journeying towards truth as *alētheia*. The researcher considers it undeniable that the exclusion of any one of the aforementioned vantage points, subsystems and participants in this study would have detracted from the cumulative richness generated by this research.

In the next section, the lived experiences of participants with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be presented within each of the five themes that emerged from the research.

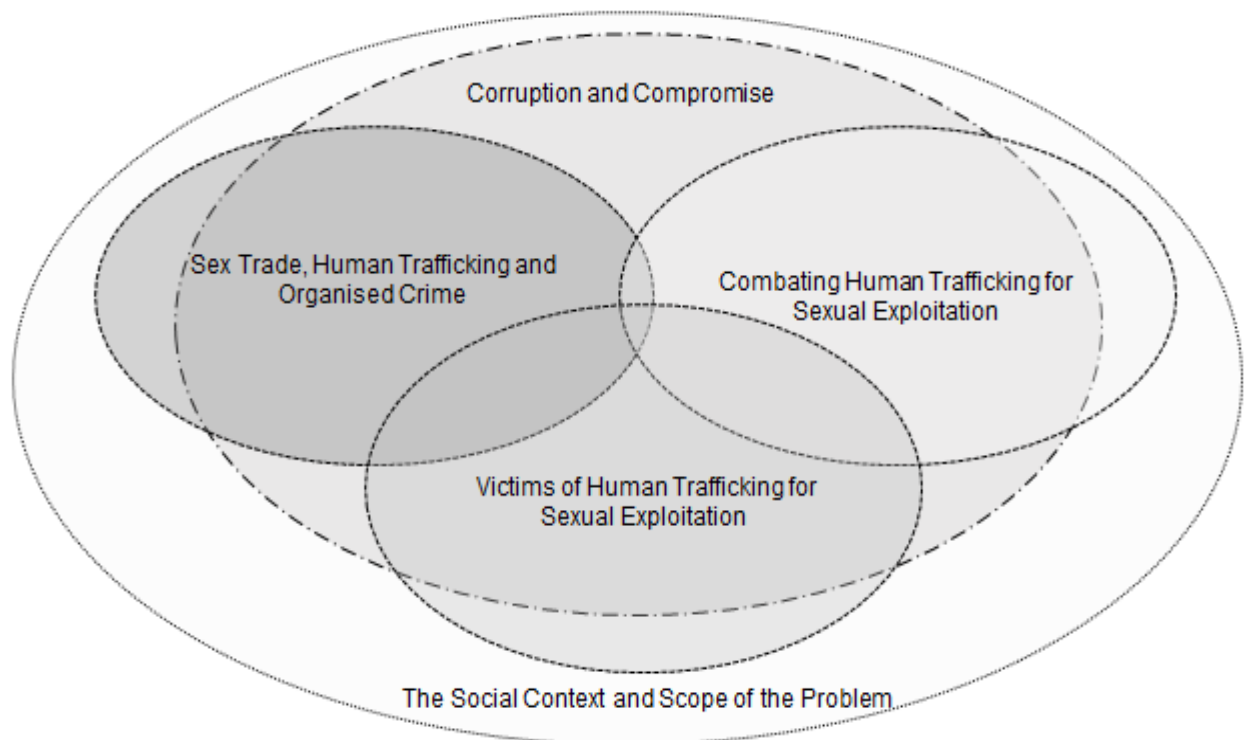
4.3 LIVED EXPERIENCES OF PARTICIPANTS

Five themes were identified from participants' lived experiences as they related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. These were Theme 1: Sex Trade, Human Trafficking and Organised Crime; Theme 2: Combating Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation; Theme 3: Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation; Theme 4: Corruption and Compromise; and Theme 5: The Social Context and Scope of the Problem. The complex and interwoven nature of the themes (see Figure 4.2 below) reflects the complexity of human trafficking as a phenomenon. The themes, as presented in this section, were therefore a means of providing some form of structure to the discussion and sense-making journey.

Every effort was made to present the lived experiences in a manner that guarded against the reductionist compression of complexity. From a complex systems perspective, it is important to note that the themes are in a continual state of interpenetration with each other and within both the ICS and TCS. Subsequent figures that portray each theme and its sub-themes individually (see Figures 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7) are overlaid over a faint imprint of Figure 4.2 to reinforce the interwovenness of participants' experiences.

The themes and their interpenetrating boundaries are illustrated in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Themes emanating from participants' lived experiences



The themes will now be presented and discussed.

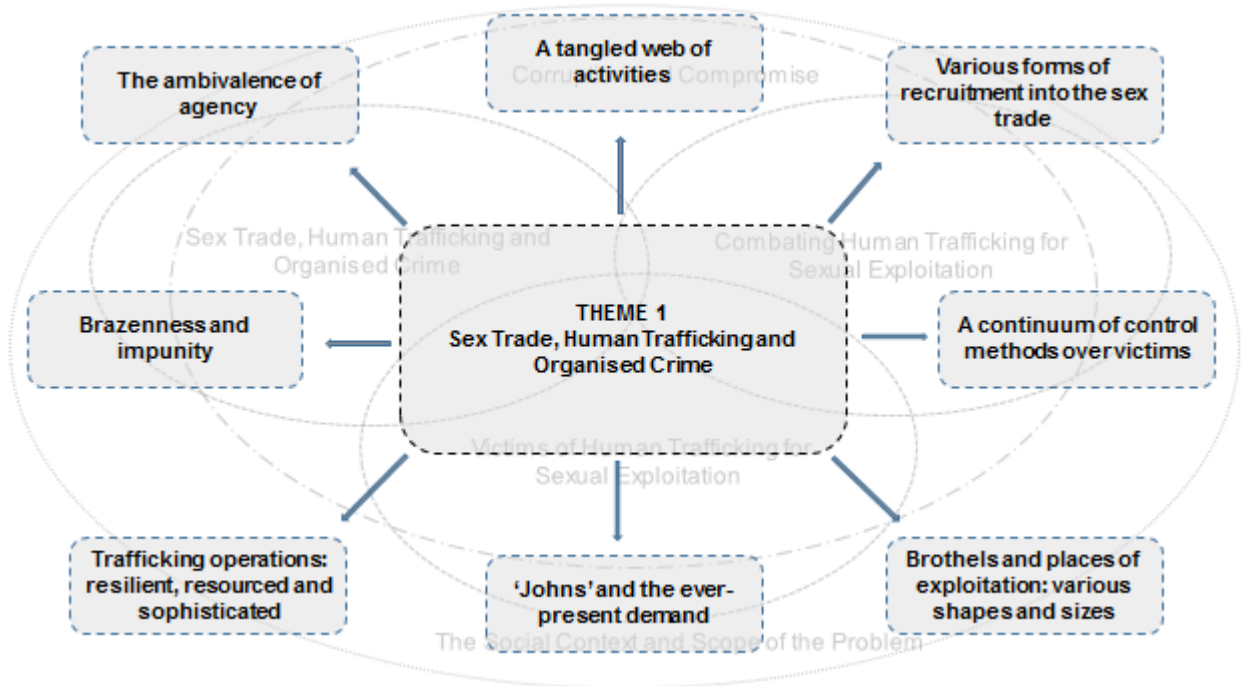
4.3.1 THEME 1: Sex Trade, Human Trafficking and Organised Crime

The essence of the first theme centres on participants' experiences related to the broader South African sex trade and the subsystemic intersection of prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation with a range of other crimes, criminal enterprises and social ills. In the adversarial battle of wits against the ICS, this theme typically represents the stronghold of the TCS. From decrepit and filthy rooms unsuitable for a *“rat”* (SAPS 3, para. 6) to live in, to high end gentleman's clubs and brothels *“camouflaged as guesthouses”* (VOT 3, para. 32), South Africa's sex trade appears to be a *“very tricky industry”* (VOT, para. 34) and a *“very risky business”* (STP 3, para. 68). Blurred boundaries between friend and foe and even darker shades of grey when trying to unpack concepts such as 'agency', 'voluntary' and 'involuntary', were an ever-present consideration that had to be navigated in understanding participants' lived experiences with this theme. The trafficking and sexual exploitation of men, women and children in the sex trade is, however, an undeniable reality and

ranges from small-scale linear operations to transnational organised crime.

Figure 4.3 below presents an overview of Theme 1 and its sub-themes.

Figure 4.3: Theme 1



4.3.1.1 A tangled web of activities

Contrary to the initial conceptualisation of this research, yet consistent with complex systems theory, it became increasingly clear to the researcher that issues and lived experiences of participants regarding human trafficking for sexual exploitation represented a multi-coloured and many-hued piece of fabric, rather than a masonic-shaded chessboard where boundaries were easily discernible. It was therefore clear that nothing happens in isolation and nothing can be understood in isolation; phenomena and incidents were linked to a vast number of other phenomena and incidents. The experiences of participants in this study suggested that the sex trade, human trafficking and organised crime in South Africa resemble a tangled web of intricate and interwoven activities that are not simply dissectible into disparate parts.

According to Participant SAPS 3, *“there’s a lot that’s involved”* (para. 2) in the sex trade and it has *“become such a lucrative business”* (para. 2) that is *“actually increasing and increasing”* (para. 2) annually. Participant INT 2 opines that *“we don’t*

realise the role that prostitution plays in everything else that's happening in the country" (para. 109). She stated that the money *"actually comes from the stuff that goes around prostitution"* (para. 115) and compared it to a cyclical process *"just like a whirlpool"* (para. 115). Believing that prostitution is *"over-waded towards criminal activities"* (para. 18), Participant CS 2 observed *"that there are not very many investigators that were involved in following up human trafficking crimes and prostitution and connecting the dots..."* (para. 26) Similarly, Participant CLE 1 asserted that the incidence of prostitution means that you:

"...start looking at the involvement of organised crime syndicates and the triads and others to see how it all sticks together and you start anticipating other contraband on the property like drugs." (para. 55)

A prosecutor (NPA 1) was of the view that the problem should not be framed and addressed as 'human trafficking', but rather as an *"organised crime problem"* (para. 88). She highlighted that *"none of the traffickers that you are dealing with are only human traffickers"* (para. 88), but argued that they are also involved in drug trafficking, fraudulent documents and *"four-one-nine schemes"* (para. 88). In agreement with this was another prosecutor, Participant NPA 7, who stated that the crime is not just about human trafficking, but rather organised crime and about *"the levels and the structures and how they function...'cause you can't do this kind of offences without being structured properly"* (para. 2). From her experience, people are involved in human trafficking because:

"...it leads to everything else. We know for a fact that in other cases money is possibly gone for terrorism...it's human trafficking to make money to do the drugs, the arms, the terrorism." (para. 66)

With regard to the financial motivation, Participant NPA 7 stated:

"...their incentive is money. They could care less that a client is satisfied or they meeting the demands of that suburb...It's all about the money they getting at the end of the day whether it's gonna fund their lifestyle, some other organisation, more power to them, fund a coup in another country, whatever it might be...It's not just they sitting back and taking the money from trafficking. It's being used. Whether it's buying influence, buying votes." (para. 70)

Corroboration for the aforementioned experiences and perspectives from members of the counter-trafficking community was found in the lived experiences of those in the sex trade and criminal underworld. Participant STP 1, an ex-brothel owner who himself had recruited “*kids from the street*” (para. 34) for his clientele that “*wanted younger stuff*” (para. 34), explained the structure of the syndicate he was currently part of. He elaborated on the activities, other than human trafficking, that they engaged with:

“The people that I am working for at the moment specialise in rhino horn, tusks, abalone, ATM bombings, diamonds, drugs, fraud, car theft, hijacking of trucks, dealing in illegal arms, explosives, endangered species trade.” (para. 36)

He continued:

“Each guys that works for the syndicate...or who is in charge of a certain section of the syndicate just operates in his section. But mainly it all comes together...” (para. 38)

Participant STP 2, who acted as a manager in a prominent brothel, referred to other well-known “*operations*” (para. 10) that “*were all connected to each other*” (para. 10). He provided insights into the large-scale distribution of liquor:

“...our hotel had a big storage facility...it looked like a liquor wholesaler back there. We had so much liquor we could...be a liquor store really. So we distributed all the liquor from the hotel to the different shops around [city] nightclubs, things like that, out of the hotel.” (para. 14)

He then continued to describe some of the more “*underground*” (para. 20) and “*secretive*” (para. 20) activities and referred to both the owner’s and his own role in these operations:

“...drug smuggling, he smuggled weapons. He was involved in a bunch of weird stuff. I’m not exactly sure what it all was but I know definitely gun smuggling because we had guns coming in from the police, we had a certain police officer, they called him [name], he would come in with a box of nine millimetres and we would take it from him and [name] just always said lock it in the safe in the back...” (para. 20)

A constellation of convoluted criminal activities, practices and lucrative enterprises intersects with and draws on the South African sex trade. A ‘tangled web’ was an image that came to the researcher’s mind to describe the TCS. However, “*a whirlpool*” is probably the most apt depiction. This expression was provided by Participant INT 2 and brings to mind a rapidly rotating mass of happenings into which a range of role-players, motivations and currents are drawn.

4.3.1.2 Various forms of recruitment into the sex trade

With due consideration that recruitment into the sex trade takes various forms, which may include non-deceptive and non-coercive means, the experiences shared by participants related to those that are typical of recruitment for sexual exploitation and, by definition, are a fundamental element of human trafficking as a crime. Manifold examples emerged in the research of how victims are recruited and trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Reference to the issue of ‘vulnerability’ permeated almost every aspect of the research and, with reference to recruitment into the sex trade, vulnerability appears to be the most significant predisposing factor. Participant NGO 6 highlighted that traffickers are “*baie slim*” [*very clever*] (para. 6) at identifying vulnerability, whilst Participant CLE 1 elaborated on what he had observed:

“...vulnerable women from poor communities being brought in usually under false pretence for domestic work, for more glamorous things like receptionist, modelling contract, studies, all manner of job which then turns out to be different...” (para. 6)

What “*really sticks out*” (para. 2) for Participant NGO 3 was that “*most of the people were attracted by the lovely offer of money and clothes and food and a place to stay*” (para. 2). This is “*very attractive*” (para. 2) to them and she likened it to “[*a*] *bee to a honey pot*” (para. 2), where some “*would actually fall for that kind of invitation*” (para. 2). Traffickers are also calculated, persistent and patient in their pursuit of a possible victim. With reference to Nigerian traffickers, Participant NGO 4 stated that “*when they go to rural communities*” (para. 10) they can “*work on one girl for two years*” (para. 10). They do this by

“...start defending them, playing the lover boy, and giving them money, clothes, and drugs. So as soon as the girls become addicted to drugs the girls cannot

do without them. Then they promise them just come live with me and the girls jump on that offer.” (para. 10)

Participant INT 2 provided another example:

“...we had one guy that was on social media with a girl for six months before they met...she had already built a relationship with him in cyberspace, she'd never seen the man, never seen him face-to-face, she'd only seen photographs of him and she had this conversation with him for six months he built that relationship with her...” (para. 165)

She elaborated on the role of social media:

“Even though he was a stranger to her but social media broke down that barrier and social media enabled him to build a relationship with her that was non-existent but she felt strong enough to leave home and go and meet him at a particular place even though she had never spoken to him” (para. 165)

The role of gangs in the recruitment of children for the sex trade also became apparent in the work Participant NGO 5 did in the community:

“...some of the young kids will tell me how they are being used. A twenty-one year old coming to tell me we're being used by the gangs to recruit girls of ages twelve...he told me clearly eighteen year old is too old for them...They recruit girls from ages twelve to seventeen. They recruit them by enticing them with anything that they can be enticed with and then start introducing them to the drug dealers and they give them food, clothing, money to take home...” (para. 4)

He described how “*some of the parents*” (para. 4) that “*see money coming in for bread*” (para. 4) encourage their children by telling them “*go to your boyfriend, get some money for us*” (para. 4). The complicity of parents as agents for the recruitment of their children into the sex trade was also shared by Participant STP 8, an ex-brothel owner and trafficker, who explained one interaction with a father who had brought his two 14-year-old twin daughters to his brothel for a job application. Not impressed with the conduct of the father, whom he labelled as “*fucked up*” (para. 179), Participant STP 8

was unwilling to reconcile himself with the risk of recruiting two 14-year-old minors and turned them away.

Numerous examples were provided by Participant STP 6 of how drugs were used in his town to recruit victims into the sex trade. As a recovering drug addict, he was well acquainted with the intersection of drugs, the sex trade and human trafficking. He explained a common practice by Nigerian drug dealers where their drug-using clients would ask for a “*present*” (para. 132), which suggested that the client “*het jy nou obviously nie geld nie*” [*obviously does not have money*] (para. 132) to pay for the drugs. A conversation might be initiated by the drug dealer, who then would ask the client: “*wil jy ekstra geld verdien?*” [*do you want to earn extra money?*] (para. 132). The drug dealer would then offer a sum of money, for example “*vyf [five] grand*” (para. 132), and tell the drug-using client “*dis wat ek soek*” [*this is what I want*] (para. 132) with reference to a specific description of a girl:

“...blonde hare, blou oë, dis die gewig en jy’s mos nie stupid nie. Jy kan mos kyk. Sulke groot borste.”

[...blonde hair, blue eyes, this is the weight and you are not stupid. You can look. This size breasts.] (para. 134)

Participant STP 6 commented:

“Ek as ’n druggie gaan enige iets doen. Ek gaan obviously dit doen want dis either free drugs of geld.”

[Me as a drug addict will do anything. I will obviously do it because it is either free drugs or money.] (para. 132)

He then explained how the recruitment takes place:

“Kyk ’n druggie ken ’n druggie. Ek kan in ’n plek inloop dan kan ek vi jou sê presies wie almal gebruik en as die girl die description pas en sy’s op drugs is dit vir my baie makliker. Koop haar om met drugs en ons gaan huis toe en ons gaan nie huis toe nie.”

[...a drug addict knows a drug addict. I can walk into a place and I can tell you exactly who uses and if the girl fits the description and if she is on drugs it is much easier for me. Entice her with drugs and we go home and we don't go home.] (para. 174)

Participant STP 6 also elaborated on how “sex chat” (para. 188) sites on cellphones and the “swingers” (para. 190) practice are used for recruitment of both drug users and non-drug users by means of “heroin” (para. 210) through injection. The recruitment of women internationally for the South African sex trade was shared by numerous participants. In a case of child trafficking and child pornography, Participant SAPS 4 explained how the trafficker recruited his victims. He would be:

“...sending one of his ladies to Malawi with cash. Then they need to go recruit females on that side, or children from fourteen years and up, to come and work on his farm as such. He never explained what the work is. Then he buys them bus tickets and sorts out the stuff to get over the border. Once they are here, they start working in the house and then slowly but surely he starts introducing them to the sex toys and that's how it begins.” (para. 4)

Regarding transnational recruitment, Participant SAPS 11 shared his experience of a case he investigated:

“How the situation would work was there would be agents who would recruit women in Eastern Europe, paint the picture of what a great destination South Africa was – the land of milk and honey – and as a waitress or bar lady they could make a small fortune. When they landed here they would very often have the same person who'd recruited them but there's a total character change...” (para. 4)

A Thai agent had approached Participant STP 8 during the 2010 Soccer World Cup period and, with her help, he had placed Thai women in his brothel. Participant STP 8 had also been approached by another agent, who had offered him Eastern European women at a cost of R100 000 per girl, but he had turned down the offer as it was too expensive (para. 153). Participant STP 2 explained the modus operandi of a trafficker associated with the brothel where he worked:

“...he’s a Afrikaner, boer. Really, he always made me think of he’s a farmer just the way he dressed, but he was the main trafficker. He had an ex-wife who was a Thai girl and she lived in Thailand with another guy, I can’t remember his name, but they were in Thailand and they were recruiting the girls for [Name]...So [Name] would pick them up in South Africa and they operated Thailand for him.” (para. 20)

A similar modus operandi was shared by Participant SAPS 8, who referred to a “South African” (para. 6) national who was in possession of “six different passports” (para. 6). An “absolute recruiter” (para. 6), he “would be recruiting South African girls” (para. 6) and “traffic them overseas” (para. 6) whilst “using his Chinese wife to target the Chinese girls and traffic them this way” (para. 6). Victims are therefore sourced in South Africa for exploitation elsewhere as well. Two such incidents where Participant CS 2 provided assistance to the relevant victims included “Belgium” (para. 6) and “Macau” (para. 10) respectively as destination countries where both victims were sexually exploited. In addition, Participant SAPS 8 noticed a trend in “girls being trafficked to Mauritius” (para. 28).

A detailed account by Participant STP 1 explained how two traffickers, who were part of his extended crime network, targeted areas such as the Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape or “small little towns where they know through experience that the children aren’t going to school, they’re in the streets the whole time” (para. 22). The two traffickers, a Sandton-based Pakistani national and a Johannesburg-based Lebanese national, made use of Nigerian nationals as “reps” (para. 22), to whom they also provided transportation and financial support (para. 22) to conduct the recruitment. They targeted:

“...young boys and girls between the age of eight and twelve, providing that they are healthy, and that this children sells for between eighty and a hundred and twenty thousand rand a kid. The kids are taken out, either drugged or not drugged, to the neighbouring countries and from there they are being flown to Saudi Arabia and other places from where the people that runs the whole story this side then gets paid if the customer is satisfied with the goods... (From my handwritten notes to Marcel confirmed in this interview): Their contact / destination person is [name] in the Kingdom Centre, Riyadh.” (para. 14)

Clearly not a linear method, the recruitment of human trafficking victims into the sex trade is more of a shape-shifting and nuanced occurrence. In the next section, the equally dynamic and nuanced operation of traffickers' control over victims will be explored.

4.3.1.3 A continuum of control methods over victims

Measures by traffickers to control their victims and instil compliance took a number of forms, which ranged from subtle manipulation, drug abuse and distortions of embedded belief systems to the use of brute force and violence. Participant CLE 1 explained it as follows:

“...it involves substance abuse and the subtle manipulation...of vulnerable women around income earning, the vulnerability of accommodation, not having accommodation, and making their access to accommodation, income, drugs, or benefits for family...subject to their compliance and cooperation with the aims of the trafficking.” (para. 6)

Speaking about the strategies used by traffickers, Participant NGO 6 reflected: *“Ons almal weet wat dit is om mense te manipuleer”* [We all know what it is to manipulate people] (para. 4). From his experiences of working in a prominent brothel, Participant STP 5 noted:

“There’s a lot of manipulation...they [are] manipulated from the agent’s side to here, when they get here.” (para. 69)

Apart from incidents where traffickers will *“take women and get them addicted to drugs, [and] physically hold them against their will”* (para. 4), Participant CLE 1 had *“very rarely”* (para. 4) observed *“involuntary incarceration or physical detaining”* (para. 4) of victims. Most of what occurs was described by him as a *“sliding scale of manipulation, coercion”* (para. 4), and *“...deceit, pressure, blackmail, withholding assets or children”* (para. 6). Others, like Participant DHA 2, shared incidents where Thai victims *“arrive here and then their documents are confiscated”* (para. 10). Being *“kept in a dark room at the back of that brothel”* (para. 10), they are *“not getting paid”* (para. 10) and *“not even allowed to vacate the premises”* (para. 10).

Participant STP 5 explained how a fine system would be imposed on women in a prominent brothel:

“[name] has invoked a lot of fines. So you come late, it’s a fine. When you not on the floor you get fined...you allowed six minutes for a normal lap dance downstairs and fifteen minutes at the top. So if you go over the time you gotta pay. So there’s a fine for that...if you don’t have the correct lingerie on and...if you don’t change during the night you get fined.” (para. 69)

The aforementioned fines that are imposed, and Participant SAPS 11’s reference to the “cost” (para. 4) incurred by traffickers to get victims “into the country” (para. 4), mean that victims “better start earning because they owe money” (para. 4). This, according to Participant SAPS 11, is where “you’ve got the debt bondage situation that comes into play...” (para. 4). Trafficking victims also showed Participant INT 2 their “little black book where their debt was written in” (para. 18). They were fined “every time they were sick, whether it was a menstrual cycle or whether it was flu” (para. 18). Participant SAPS 11 referred to one girl that “had gone off sick for a week or so and she had a thirty thousand rand fine that she had to pay” (para. 136). In one of his investigations, Participant SAPS 4 noted:

“If they [victims] don’t want to work, they must pay him [trafficker] back the money. He keeps their passports, they cannot move.” (para. 8)

Another example was provided by Participant SHT 6:

“One of the Nigerian girls we had in our safe house she said she owed nineteen thousand US dollars and a big chunk of that was for her passport and visa, I think that was about five thousand US dollars, and I told her passports and visas don’t cost that much and she got it pretty much overnight and she thought that was normal and I said no.” (para. 19)

A novel means of control in the South African context that emerged in this research was the use of juju by Nigerian traffickers as a spiritual or psychological control mechanism to subjugate victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Selected juju-related experiences shared by 23 participants in this research were documented by Van der Watt and Kruger (2017). With regard to the use of juju on South African

women, Participant NGO 1 noticed:

“...they were also under this juju...the guys took their blood, took their pubic hair, told them that you’re cursed and it was just as real for them as it is for the Nigerian girls. They were just as afraid of these things...So it’s not necessarily just the Nigerian girls, it’s the Nigerian pimps using it on local girls as well. It’s this local African girls predominantly...” (para. 159)

“*Drugs, the sex trade, [and] the trafficking*” (para. 118) are, according to Participant SHT 2, “*all one*” (para. 118). Participant NGO 4, a Nigerian national, stated: “*In Nigeria they [traffickers] use juju to hold the girls bound but here [South Africa] they use the drugs*” (para. 10). Drugs, according to INT 2, are one way through which girls are kept “*captive*” (para. 23), whilst Participant NGO 3 stated that “*invariably just about every victim is forced to take drugs*” (para. 2). Participant VOT 2, from a victim’s perspective, concurred and stated: you are “*beheer*” [controlled] (para. 21) and “*gehou*” [held] (para. 21) by drugs. Participant SAPS 1 provided some insights into the purpose for which drugs are used:

“...in most cases the pimps they make sure that the sex workers or prostitute they are depending on substances so that if there is no fix they know that they’ll come back to them...” (para. 12)

A police investigator, Participant SAPS 9, shared his experience with the issue of force feeding of drugs to victims of human trafficking:

“...the girls that we had, some of these girls are force fed drugs. They were force fed cocaine, they were force fed heroin, they used to tell us all these stories about them getting drugs and not one of them were getting the pure, pure products. They were getting the rubbish that...by-products.” (para. 4)

Arguably a more sinister purpose for which drugs are used was witnessed by Participant STP 6:

“...in ’n perseel waar ek gesien het hoe ’n drug dealer ’n meisie wat vermis aangemeld was vol heroine spuit waarna hy haar in die ceiling van die huis weggesteek het. Hy het dit gedoen want die polisie was oppad na sy huis toe.”

[...in a premises where I saw how a drug dealer injected a girl that was reported missing full of heroin whereafter he hid her in the ceiling of the house. He did this because the police were on their way to his house.] (para. 212)

The use of violence and harm as a means to control and to instil acute fear in victims was found to be almost common practice. This included extreme acts of violence such as “gang rape” (CLE 1, para. 4), burning with “strykysters” [irons] (CS 3, para. 126), “slaan met pype” [beatings with pipes] (CS 6, para. 36) and “tande uittrek” [the pulling out of teeth] (CS 6, para. 36). The harm experienced by trafficking victims at the hands of their exploiters was likened by Participant DOJ 2, a magistrate who presided over a successful human trafficking conviction, to “een honderd present...moderne slawerny” [one hundred percent modern slavery] (para. 17). She described the details of her case as almost resembling a “time warp” (para. 17). With reference to such incidents of violence and harm, Participant SAPS 5 expressed that trafficking victims will “tell you things that will make you not to sleep at night” (para. 4).

Participant VOT 4 described her trafficker as a “very rough” (para. 13) and “abusive guy” (para. 13) and knew she would “be beaten” (para. 13) if she stood “in the streets for more than an hour and don’t bring no cent” (para. 13). She reflected:

“...when I was on the streets we just lived in fear not knowing when are you gonna [be] beaten or what’s gonna happen to you and you just focus on getting business, you just focus on getting that money, just to make the guy happy.”
(para. 13)

Participant STP 2 described the typical use of “intimidation” (para. 8) when a girl “steps out of line” (para. 8). He described one incident that he had witnessed as follows:

“I saw a girl one night getting onto a table and starting to scream she doesn’t wanna be there and somebody needs to help her and things like that and she was quickly removed and taken to the back and I was off-duty but I was sitting in the back in the office counting money for the one cash register that needed to be refilled and things like that and they came in and it was the night manager and he worked for this company for years...and he hit this girl on the head with a bottle but he did it in a really weird way with the flat side of the bottle on the middle of the head on top so that her nose started bleeding...that told me this

isn't the first time he's done that but he scared her so much that that girl didn't say anything for the next couple of days. She just kept to herself, she kept quiet, and that's kind of the way they sort them out and keep them quiet is by intimidating and hurting them." (para. 8)

Participant CS 2's description of traffickers as "ruthless" (para. 28) and "soulless" (para. 28) resonated with articulations from other participants. Participant VOT 2 witnessed how "hulle van die meisies doodmaak" [they killed some of the girls] (para. 235) as "hulle nie in lyn was nie" [they were not in line] (para. 239). She had to look on "sodat jy kan weet dit is wat die volgende gaan wees...as jy dit sal dink om te kan uitkom" [so that you can know this is what is going to be next...should you think of getting out] (para. 239). A notorious brothel manager was described by Participant STP 2:

"...nobody questioned [name]. He's a very aggressive guy...I don't even know how to explain him. I think he's got some demons in him, to be honest. So nobody ever argued with him or took him on because he was crazy."

(para. 24)

The compliance of victims to the schemes and operations of traffickers is therefore an integral part of human trafficking operations. A dynamic range of control methods is used as the catalyst through which such compliance is effected and maintained. In the next section, the various manifestations of brothels and places of exploitation as shared by participants will be explored.

4.3.1.4 Brothels and places of exploitation: various shapes and sizes

Brothels and places of exploitation came in various shapes and sizes, according to the participants. A prominent brothel in South Africa was described by Participant STP 5, who expounded on its operational structure and a "lot of funny facets" (para. 54) to "move money" (para. 54):

"...what they do is their bar is one company. Their door is another company. So the entrance when you come into the club is one company...when you wanna go to VIP you gotta pay another entrance...to go up to VIP." (para. 48)

He continued:

“That’s [VIP entrance] another company...there’s about six other companies and each one is run differently, and then the accommodation is run separately. So now what happens is when the girl comes...her levy’s now two thousand eight hundred rand a week... there’s another company for that, so it’s not paying one company, and then obviously the girls get fined, where that money goes I don’t know.” (para. 50)

Participant STP 5 explained that the owner started another company “*bringing in all this lingerie*” (para. 69) from which “*all the clothes that the girls buy in the club have to come from*” (para. 69). The premises were described by Participant STP 5 as “*literally*” (para. 69) a “*mega-enterprise*” (para. 69) where girls “*eat*” (para. 69) and “*stay in the club*” (para. 69). An inconspicuous nightclub, also functioning as a brothel, was the theatre where Participant STP 7, as police informant, was embedded in a child trafficking syndicate. Children of “*not more than eleven years old*” (para. 66) were transported to the nightclub by SAPS members in a police vehicle. This usually happened on a “*Thursday, Friday, and Saturday*” (para. 74), either late at night or in the early hours of the morning. The nightclub had “*rooms upstairs*” (para. 70), where the children, who were constantly under supervision, would be escorted after a few dances. She reflected on coming to terms with what was going on in the nightclub:

“That’s what shocked me is how is this place allowing these little babies to come in? And then I started looking at it properly. These little babies are being forced into something they don’t know or they’ve been forced into something because some older man is perverse and then I realised, no, this is trafficking at its worst. At its worst. I’m like, shit, this is happening right in the nightclubs where people think it’s just normal and there’s a different world to this.” (para. 66)

Numerous examples of street-based or residential brothels were given by participants. Furthermore, the number of these brothels in relatively small geographical areas was indeed staggering. On 18 May 2017, the researcher was asked to attend a meeting between the community and the SAPS at a Johannesburg police station where 48 residential brothels in one neighbourhood had been identified as a source of prostitution, human trafficking, drug dealing and a range of other crimes. Similarly,

Participant SAPS 13 referred to 38 such brothels in a specific Pretoria neighbourhood (para. 38), whilst Participant STP 8 pointed to “*amper twintig huise in die dorp*” [*almost twenty houses in town*] (para. 18) in the city where he resided. He highlighted that his brothel provided a safer environment than “*privaat huise*” [*private homes*] (para. 18) in town where crimes such as robbery were a common occurrence. “*People know where their brothels are*” (para. 14) and “*neighbours are complaining*” (para. 14) said Participant NPA 2, yet “*no one was doing anything about it*” (para. 14). Responding to the “*it’s just a brothel*” (para. 14) sentiment shared by some, she cautioned that “*we don’t know what’s happening in that brothel*” (para. 14) and shared a recent personal experience outside the ambit of her work as prosecutor:

“I would never have thought there would’ve been a brothel down the road from my house, and it was all Thai girls but what they did, and it’s again things that worry me...all of these girls just were so merrily put on a plane and sent back home.” (para. 14)

A victim of trafficking, Participant VOT 3, described one such premises, which, from the outside, “*you’d think it’s just a building*” (para. 32) but “*it’s not*” (para. 32). Rather, it was a:

“...brothel where girls were upstairs, they had rooms, and downstairs there’s a hundred thousand Nigerians with double bunk beds and each one Nigerian had three or two girls that they’re gonna be taking out at nights to be prostitute and sell drugs.” (para. 30)

She stated that there was “*so much happening*” (para. 32) and described the premises:

“I can’t even count how many rooms there was. The building was literally broken down to be rooms for girls to be in and sleep and be busy with clients during the day...You’re busy with your eish, somebody else is busy and you’d think it’s just a building and it’s not. Inside there is a whole community of brothel and female exploitation.” (para. 32)

Participant VOT 4, a trafficking victim who had been recruited from a children’s home in one province at the age of 16 and moved to another province where she was exploited, stated that the trafficker that was involved in her recruitment and exploitation

had “a lot of places that they bring the girls” (para. 57) to. She stated:

“...when I moved in there it was two girls and then I was the third one and so then they had more places to put more girls.” (para. 57)

Another victim of trafficking, Participant VOT 2, provided a glimpse of how “*privaat huise*” [*private residences*] (para. 18) were used by Russian traffickers and organised crime members: “*op die ou einde moes ek sewentien privaate huise vir hulle hanteer*” [*in the end I had to handle seventeen private homes for them*] (para. 15). According to her, “*niemand is aan niemand getrou nie*” [*nobody is loyal to nobody*] (para. 19) and she mentioned going into “*survival mode*” (para. 19). She elaborated on new victims that were brought in and some of the activities that followed:

“Daar was Taiwanese meisies wat ek weet gehuman traffic is. Daar was seuns ook wat ek weet gehuman traffic is. Jy sien hoe dit gebeur. Jy sien hulle daar aankom. Jy weet nie waar hulle vandaan kom nie. Jy moet kyk wanneer hulle gerape word. Daar word films gemaak daarvan. Dit word herverkoop. Daar word foto’s geneem. Dit word herverkoop. Alle goeters maak geld...die [name of a gang] het ons voorsien van dwelms. Ons moes dit verkoop aan die kliënte. So hoe meer jy kan verkoop hoe meer populêr is jy, hoe meer gunste kan jy kry.”

[There were Taiwanese girls that I know were trafficked. There were boys too that I know were trafficked. You see how it happens. You see them arrive. You don’t know where they come from. You must look on as they are raped. There are films being made of it. That gets resold. There are photographs being taken. That gets resold. Everything generates money...the (name of a gang) supplied us with drugs. We had to sell them to the clients. So the more you can sell the more popular you are, the more favours you can get.] (para. 19)

Other references to forms of brothels and sexual exploitation activities included “*small scale people that are operating everywhere*” (DSD 3, para. 32) and “*Lolly Lounges*”¹⁸

¹⁸ ‘Lolly Lounges’ were so named because the shape of the glass bottle used to smoke substances like crystal methamphetamine and tik resembles the shape of a lollipop. Lolly Lounges are known for incidents of drug abuse and prostitution, as well as allegations of minors being used as sex slaves at these venues, which are located in a number of communities (see Tjale (2012) and Kubheka (2015)).

that are all over” (SHT 7, para. 44). In the next section, participants’ insights into the demand side of the sex trade will be explored.

4.3.1.5 ‘Johns’ and the ever-present demand

Participants provided insights and experiences related to the demand side of the sex trade and the ‘Johns’ who make use of these ‘services’. Participant INT 2 explained how she had received a call relating to a *“young girl at this flat”* (para. 47), who they subsequently discovered was a 16-year-old victim trafficked from one city to another one. About accompanying the police during a raid on the flat where the victim was found, she explained:

“...we walk into this flat, there’s sheets up and two double beds and there’s a white guy on this bed here, he’s drugged out of his mind, his laptop is there but his credit card is gone. So the policeman is saying to him what are you doing here? So he said, no, he was picked up by this prostitute by the stadium...and he had a wedding ring on.” (para. 47)

A number of experiences related to trafficking victims being rescued by the buyers of sex. One such buyer was *“horrified”* (para. 46) and *“cried”* (para. 46) after learning that the *“sixteen or seventeen”* (para. 2) year-old Thai girl he was seeing at a brothel was in fact there against her will. A prosecutor (NPA 7) relayed the version of events provided to her by a victim:

“...he didn’t know she was a victim of trafficking and so he had been with her a couple of times and one day he asked her why she seemed upset and she told him what had happened and at that point he helped her to basically get out of the place by claiming he was booking her out for the day.” (para. 2)

Similar to other experiences shared by victims and participants regarding *“police”* (para. 208) who visit brothels *“in uniform”* (para. 208), Participant SHT 3 spoke about a Thai victim at her shelter who was rescued by a uniformed police official who *“was a client”* (para. 218). She explained:

“...only after that he realised that, no, this is illegal. I’ve always thought that you were doing this willingly. I didn’t know that you were being forced to do this. And

now he rescued the girl.”

(para. 220)

Describing a case of transnational human trafficking, a police investigator (SAPS 11) provided insights on who some of the buyers were that visited a prominent brothel that was investigated:

“I have an office on the eleventh floor of the High Court building...and that’s where I took a lot of the affidavits and the interpreter...I think he was going down and he said he had one or two of these witnesses with him and the doors opened and a chap...I think he got in and he stood like a statue and the girls said he’s one of the clients. It stopped on another floor and what he said looked like an attorney or an advocate, maybe he was wearing his gown, had clients with him. He looked in and he said, no, we’ll take another lift and they said there is another one.”

(para. 158)

In addition to claims by girls that *“there were judges involved”* (SAPS 11, para. 164), they explained how VIPs were treated at the brothel:

“...you had high profile people who didn’t want to come in and mingle and be seen to be there and a bell would ring and they’d all have to go to the line-up room and these high profile people would then come in and select the girl.”

(para. 160)

Asked to explain what he meant by ‘high profile’ people when referring to buyers who visited his brothel, Participant STP 1, an ex-brothel owner and member of an organised crime syndicate, responded:

“I would say in my view a high profile person is usually a director of a company, a known politician, or somebody that is known to the general public.”

(para. 92)

Participant STP 5 also mentioned the profiles of people who visited the brothel where he worked. They ranged from international sport stars and *“billionaires”* (para. 18) that *“wanna impress the politicians”* (para. 18) and *“book out the girls”* (para. 18) to a senior local public official *“that was supposed to rid [city name] of crime”* (para. 124). Participant VOT 2 referred to numerous people in *“vertrouensposisies wat daar nie*

moet wees nie” [positions of trust that ought not to be there] (para. 37). Some of the people she interacted with included a cocaine-sniffing Minister (para. 138), a prominent South African legal expert known to be a paedophile but who *“nog net nie gevang nie”* [had not yet been caught] (para. 130), and a convicted police general that was a regular and came to “source” (para. 130) girls for his clients. What she described as *“die ergste”* [the worst] (para. 142) and *“hartseer”* [heartbreaking] (para. 142) was the *“dominees”* [parsons] (para. 142) and *“pastore”* [pastors] (para. 142) that visited the brothels.

Participant STP 4, the owner of two massage parlours, stressed that *“we don’t attract the bottom range of the clientele”* (para. 199) but pointed out, *“I don’t know my clients well, because I like to keep it discreet, I don’t keep record of who they are”* (para. 199). Clients spoilt her girls *“all the time”* (para. 199) as they were often showered with gifts that included *“dresses, shoes, and perfume”* (para. 199). When gifting the girls, she stated, clients *“don’t expect anything in return which is nice”* (para. 199). However, she did point out:

“...but then you do get clients where they do expect everything in return.”
(para. 199)

A broad range of sexual services and other demands from clients was shared by participants in the research. Participant STP 4 stated that *“a lot of clients”* (para. 157) had been *“banned...over the years”* (para. 157) if they *“ill-treat”* (para. 157) girls. She described some of her clients as *“older”* (para. 199) men that were *“feeling lonely”* (para. 199) and who were *“not getting enough attention from their wives”* (para. 199). These clients visited the salon *“where they can have a pretty girl give them a massage, rub their body on them, and feel all happy about it”* (para. 199). Other requests from clients included:

“I don’t know if you know what snowballing is? What he wants is a blowjob without [a condom] and then he wants to basically ejaculate into the lady’s mouth and then you must spit it out...Other things that they want is things like anal, bondage, where they just wanna be rough with the girls and where they are treated like whores and not massage therapists...”
(para. 159)

Apart from the typical sexual services offered in response to clients’ demands,

paraphilic requests by clients, such as the aforementioned ‘bondage’ spoken of by Participant STP 4, were also cited by Participants VOT 2 and VOT 3.

Participant VOT 2 mentioned, amongst others, “*bondage and discipline*” (para. 9) and apparent incidents of coprophilia and urophilia where she was “*ontlas*” [*defecated*] (para. 23) and “*gepiepie*” [*urinated*] (para. 23) upon. This brought “*grootste vreugde*” [*great joy*] (para. 23) to her abusers, who were “*hulle droom met jou uitlewe*” [*acting out their fantasies*] (para. 23). Sexually sadistic practices mentioned by VOT 2 also included “*gewelddadige pornografie*” [*violent pornography*] (para. 241) and “*asphyxiation*” (para. 241).

Participant VOT 3 referred to “*group sessions where different scenes were being played out in a house and with different groups*” (para. 77) and requests by clients for her to act:

“...like a girly nine year old boy. I had to sometimes shave my hair and be as skinny as you can be and he only preferred the other side of my sexual parts.”
(para. 77)

From an investigative perspective, Participant SAPS 4 provided some insights into the types of sexual demands that could be deduced from a case of child trafficking and child pornography that he had investigated:

“He would use the sex toys on them [children]: chains, whips, all those things. They would dress up, put lipstick, all those things. And then he would film it with his laptop and cameras that’s in the room itself. So that’s where it started. The day I executed the search warrant ...I think we got about thirty odd sexual toys, vibrators, all those things that was used, different size chains, your proper S&M equipment. Got the laptops with the cameras that was situated right for the bedroom...”
(para. 58)

Participant STP 7, who continued to do her own “*research*” (para. 319) into the South African sex trade, described the sex trade in her city as “*perverse*” (para. 309), with nobody being “*shocked anymore*” (para. 309). She stated that “*agencies*” (para. 290) made use of the internet to connect clients with “*abnormal*” (para. 311) practices and services, which included paedophilia and bestiality. The trafficking of minors and the

subsequent coordination of a *“paedophilia network...via the internet”* (para. 6) was also mentioned by Participant NGO 8. Reflecting on the normalisation of these occurrences, Participant STP 7 stated, *“It’s something you see and you just don’t even think about it...It’s what you call abnormal. For most of us, it’s normal now.”* (para. 296).

In addition to the references by 23 participants in this research to, amongst other things, ‘satanism’, ‘voodoo’, ‘juju’ and arcane victim-subjugation rituals and ceremonies undertaken by Nigerian traffickers, the intersection of satanic rituals and the occult with the sex trade was also mentioned by four participants (NGO 8, VOT 2, SHT 9 and STP 7). These experiences merit discussion as they do in fact point to the overlap of criminal and occult economies (systems) and a possible symbiosis between them. Participant VOT 2 and another woman had been picked up for a *“booking”* (para. 255) and subsequently participated in a satanic ritual. She had witnessed how the buyers mutilated the body of the other woman, who survived and still bore the physical *“scars”* (para. 255). What appears to be a synergistic relationship between Nigerian traffickers and satanic cults was described by Participant NGO 8. This relationship, which caters for a demand outside the ambit of the sex industry, was described by him as the *“discard process”* (para. 30) followed by Nigerian traffickers:

“...when the Nigerians reach a point of dissatisfaction with a girl, whether she’s too old and washed up, whether she’s gonna die anyways ’cause of organ failure from all the drugs, whether she’s disobedient and they just don’t wanna mess with her anymore, they offload her...” (para. 30)

He elaborated on Nigerian traffickers’ interaction with satanic cults:

“...there’s a huge Satanic cult activity...lots of covens and stuff around [city] and [city]. So what these guys do is they sell the girls to the Satanists and then the Satanists use them for sacrifice...So it’s a really effective way for them to do this. Let’s say a Nigerian tries to sell and the Satanists say, no...Then what the Nigerians do is they harvest the organs of the girl and then leave her for dead and then they sell the organs for juju, muti, whatever.” (para. 30)

These experiences shared by participants provide some valuable insights into the economics of supply and demand that underpins the sexual exploitation of trafficked

victims. The research also found trafficking operations to be resilient, resourced and sophisticated. This will be discussed in the next section.

4.3.1.6 Trafficking operations: resilient, resourced and sophisticated

Traffickers and their operations were found to be resilient, sophisticated and well-resourced for facilitating the various processes and activities involved. Very apparent in this research, redolent of the 'battle of wits' between the ICS and TCS, and as warned by a police investigator (SAPS 3) was the situation where *"as much as law enforcement has got intelligence networks, criminals also got intelligence networks"* (para. 8). A programme manager at a shelter (SHT 3), with 11 years' experience in the field of human trafficking, noted a progression from *"simple"* (para. 198) operations *"when it started"* (para. 198). But then, *"as time goes on"* (para. 198), she highlighted, it gets *"more sophisticated"* (para. 198). She declared that *"with human trafficking the traffickers are far much ahead than we"* (para. 198). From her experience on the streets, Participant NGO 4 stated that traffickers are *"super clever"* (para. 68). She explained a new trend she was observing in her area:

"...we even discovered that some of them are deciding not to rent houses. They buy big cars and so how you going to trace them? Which address are you going to use? They live in their cars because at night they're on the streets selling their girls and their drugs and in the morning they go to the gym where they register, take a shower, they look good with their big cars and all the girls like them." (para. 66)

A prosecutor (NPA 1) referred to the history and background of traffickers that fundamentally contribute to the sophistication of their modus operandi and decision-making processes. Referring to their *"level of sophistication"* (para. 68), she highlighted that *"they are doing everything that we do and more"* (para. 68). She explained:

"Your trafficker does not decide today I am going to be a trafficker from a [sic] innocent citizen to becoming a trafficker. The profiles of your traffickers in South Africa range from ex-KGB members who has done that as part of their jobs in the past and they are just doing it...and those things is involved in trafficking. They are trained spies and trained people in security and some of the accused

are police. So they have a security background...If you have money you have resources. You can appoint security personnel. You can appoint systems. And what we see around premises where trafficking is taking place that they have surveillance and counter-surveillance. People walking up and down...

(para. 68)

The aforementioned assertions by Participant NPA 1 concerning the sophistication of traffickers were further illuminated in the experiences of police investigator Participant SAPS 4 in his case of child trafficking and child pornography, where the accused “*planned*” (para. 116) his operations “*very, very well*” (para. 116). Significant to Participant SAPS 4 was:

“...how he [the trafficker] started compiling his network, the friendships that he started to build, how he started infiltrating the area...”

(para. 114)

These preparatory activities “*take time, it takes money*” (para. 114) and there “*must be a certain reason why that was done*” (para. 114). The trafficker went so far as to “*set up cameras in trees to monitor the roads to his house*” (para. 114) and put up “*security fences*” (para. 114), which allowed him to conduct his activities “*without interference from outside*” (para. 114). It was also not possible to “*just walk into the premises*” (para. 114) as they were “*secure and a far way to travel from the one gate to his house*” (para. 114).

The sophistication with which one syndicate operated in a residential area was evident in the account given by three participants (CS 7, CS 8 and CS 9). Described by Participant CS 7 as “*definitely a hell of a big syndicate that’s working together*” (para. 126) and “*people in the street that works with them*” (para. 126), the syndicate comprised both white South African males and Nigerian nationals. They installed “*security cameras*” (CS 9, para. 25) and “*monitors*” (CS 9, para. 25) on the roof, conducted counter-surveillance through roaming vehicles and had a “*watch-keeper or...gatekeeper*” (CS 7, para. 16) outside the premises. The Nigerian nationals were also able to “*speak fluently Afrikaans*” (CS 7, para. 18).

Counter-surveillance and meticulous security measures were in place in the nightclub where Participant STP 7 was embedded as police informant within a syndicate involved in child trafficking. Apart from the “*eight bodyguards*” (para. 182) that were

armed and roamed around in the nightclub, there were *“always women looking after [the] children”* (para. 62) that were being exploited. Ordinary patrons were also not allowed to dance in close proximity to the children and were abruptly blocked off if they did. Participant STP 7 described the atmosphere of tension in the nightclub:

“It’s dark and the only light is coming from the bars. And then you see, oh my word, there’s heads all around and, as [name of another police informant] and I are sitting, somebody’s come to sit next to us to eavesdrop. So you not safe. You definitely not safe. This place was never safe. So, when you thinking you have the luxury of speaking what you want, you gotta be kidding. You’re being watched.” (para. 182)

In a case described by Participant SAPS 13, insights into the financial component and access to firearms were gained. She described how a house was raided after complaints had been received from the public regarding girls that were screaming and being moved in and out of the specific residence. *“Vier tasse” [four suitcases]* (para. 30) of money, and firearms and ammunition were found on the premises. Participant SHT 2 described the Nigerian syndicates that he dealt with as *“extremely well-organised”* (para. 112) and not *“haphazard”* (para. 112). One prominent member of the syndicate *“used to do the preaching”* (para. 110) and was also the *“accountant and treasurer”* (para. 110) of a church where the tithing would be used for, amongst other things, *“guys”* (para. 110) that *“got arrested”* (para. 110) to pay *“for a lawyer or for bail or whatever”* (para. 110) was needed.

Participant VOT 2 provided a detailed account (para. 11, 147-186) of how she and other girls were flown out of South Africa to Russia on four occasions from Oliver Tambo International Airport by a prominent Russian organised crime member and trafficker without the required travel documentation:¹⁹

“Ek weet ek was vier keer in Rusland. Ek het nie ’n ID boekie [gehad nie]...niemand het vir my uit hierdie land uit geteken nie. My vraag vir jou is,

¹⁹ The possibility of such an incident occurring was tested with two senior participants (POE 1 and DHA 2). Participant POE 1 was sceptical (para. 138) during the interview on 2015-05-26 that this could in fact occur, but subsequently communicated with the researcher via sms on 2015-06-01 at 14:24, stating: *“Die storie van die rus vrou by ORT kan gebeur, het uitgevind” [The story of the Russian girl at ORT can happen, I found out]*. Participant DHA 2 responded by saying that such an incident was *“highly, highly possible”* (para. 46).

hoe kon dit gebeur het? Hoe kon ek vier keer uit die land uitgaan....ek het nie 'n paspoort gehad op daai tydstip nie?"

[I know I was in Russia on four occasions. I did not have an ID book...nobody signed me out of the country. My question to you is, how could this happen? How could I leave the country on four occasions...I did not have a passport at that time?] (para. 11)

The resourcefulness of traffickers was also evident in their attempts to conceal or deny the illegal provision of sexual services on their premises. In response to the claim by one brothel manager that he *"weet nie wat die meisies in die kamers doen nie"* [does not know what the girls are doing in the rooms] (para. 147), Participant SAPS 10 questioned him as to why he called a medical doctor to examine the girls' genitalia once a month:

"Vir wat? As hulle net massage doen, hulle het mos nie nodig om hulle onderlywe te gebruik daarvoor nie."

[For what? If they only provide massages, they don't need to utilise their lower bodies for that.] (para. 147)

Double beds, no sign of massage beds and copious numbers of condoms on the premises were indicators to Participant SAPS 10 that a brothel was being operated and he rhetorically questioned:

"...waarvoor gebruik jy kondome in 'n massage parlour?"

[...what do you use condoms for in a massage parlour?] (para. 153)

In cases that actually proceeded to an advanced stage of the criminal justice process, some participants noted that traffickers were tenacious in their efforts to escape prosecution. In one such case, Participant NPA 6 explained how the accused *"moved in with a major defensive strategy for which the NPA was not ready"* (para. 8). The accused also had *"an enormous pool of, what appeared to be, never ending resources"* (para. 8). In addition to a prominent legal expert who acted on behalf of the defence, the accused's defence team consisted of:

“...senior council, a junior advocate, a lawyer, one lady responsible for refreshments and catering, [and] groupies who carried files needed for court purposes.” (para. 8)

Participant SAPS 11 similarly referred to a case in which he was part of the investigation team and was astonished at the *“amount of money that the accused was prepared to throw at the matter...”* (para. 4) This included numerous *“civil actions that he either had directly launched or he’d initiated and was funded”* (para. 4). As investigating officer in this matter, Participant SAPS 11’s *“credentials were being continually put under scrutiny”* (para. 230) and he *“had to walk the straight and narrow continually”* (para. 230) in order to remain above reproach.

In the next section, the impunity and brazenness with which traffickers continue to operate will be explored.

4.3.1.7 Brazenness and impunity

Participants were confounded by the traffickers’ sense of brazenness and the impunity with which they were able to operate. The issue of brazenness and impunity was found to be closely related to the theme of ‘corruption and compromise’ and will again emerge in Section 4.3.4 below. With reference to one prominent trafficker, Participant CS 6 questioned how it was possible for someone to *“om mense te skuif deur die land asof dit skaakbord stukke is en niks gebeur nie” [move people through the country as if it is pieces of a chess board and nothing happens]* (para. 20). With reference to another prominent trafficker that continued to operate with absolute impunity, Participant STP 9 couldn’t understand why both an international organisation that worked in the field of counter-trafficking and the Hawks consistently returned to the same house to remove girls but did not address the trafficker, although the trafficker had been operating from *“the same house since two thousand and nine”* (para. 391). She explained the response from a sex worker *“sites coordinator”* (para. 393) when incidents at that address were reported:

“Once we say trafficking in [suburb], she goes, oh, my God, [name of trafficker], and she can basically lead you to the house and you’ll find the girl there.” (para. 393)

Participant SHT 1 noted that victims in her shelter *“from different parts of [name of province], even other provinces”* (para. 205), have communicated that they *“all know the same boss”* (para. 205). She stated that the victims *“met the same people”* (para. 207) on their *“journey”* (para. 207) and concluded that *“somewhere there’s a big syndicate going on”* (para. 207). She pointed respectively to *“two trends”* (para. 219) that shelter staff had picked up from interacting with the various victims, one which was that the *“same boss”* (para. 205) was involved in their trafficking and exploitation and the other the same hotel that *“a lot of Thai girls...come from”* (para. 225). Neither of the issues had been addressed and the hotel had been *“going on for years now”* (para. 229).

“I’m totally mad” (para. 14) and *“so angry”* (para. 14) was what was expressed by Participant CS 4 about the *“guy who is infiltrating our neighbourhood”* (para. 14) and *“policemen who are incapable of changing anything...”* (para. 14). Participant SAPS 13 was equally frustrated by the prevailing impunity and pointed to one incident where a *“gemerkte polisievertuig” [marked police vehicle]* (para. 44) was found parked *“binne in die garage” [inside the garage]* (para. 44) where a brothel was operating, whilst complaints regarding the brothel were simply ignored. When arrests were in fact made, Participant SAPS 13 pointed out that those arrested *“lag vir die polisie” [laugh at the police]* (para. 56). She provided one example of how an arrested person had taunted the arresting officer:

“I don’t care. I’m out tomorrow on street again. It’s fine, I can sleep tonight in jail. It’s fine.” (para. 56)

A social worker, Participant DSD 1, spoke about an ongoing investigation where a victim of trafficking was rescued, after which it became known that that there were *“two or three other girls”* (para. 4) who were *“still in captivity”* (para. 4) at the same premises. The social workers then consulted with a prosecutor, who subsequently instructed the Hawks: *“...react!; there’s enough information to act”* (para. 6). She continued with a sense of frustration: *“Up ’til today there was no visit done to that house...”* (para. 6). Such impunity was also clearly evident in how traffickers were brazenly able to interfere in ongoing investigations and criminal justice processes. A prosecutor,

Participant NPA 5, stated that a victim “*who was admitted to hospital for detox*” (para. 23) was “*physically removed by her trafficker*” (para. 23), whilst Participant SHT 6 explained “*how easy it is for the traffickers to get away if they really want to*” (para. 15), by referring to a case where a victim was intimidated:

“...imagine how frustrating that was for the prosecutor and for all of us. We’ve put so much time and effort and encouraged her [victim] not to give up and she’s made it this far and then at the last moment the traffickers just call her mum. One phone call to her mum, one phone call from her mum to her, and she doesn’t say anything. All that hard work and in the end the trafficker got away with it. They had to release the trafficker... the trafficker’s still at large.”

(para. 15)

For Participant CS 2, the impunity with which traffickers continued with their operations was also fuelled by a lack of “*proper training*” (para. 22) to “*identify the crime itself and to pick up the signs of those crimes*” (para. 22). This, he argued, “*opens up the doors for the criminals to carry on undetected*” (para. 22).

In the next section, the convoluted issue of ‘agency’ on the part of trafficking victims and persons in prostitution will be explored.

4.3.1.8 The ambivalence of agency

The issue of ‘agency’ as one of the most contentious and complex issues to deconstruct in the discourse around prostitution, the sex trade and human trafficking for sexual exploitation also clearly emerged in this study. Accurately deconstructing the issue of agency, and arriving at a clear articulation of the difference between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ participation in the sex trade, was a difficult undertaking. The researcher considered some views or experiences shared by participants, particularly those participants associated with the STP subsystem, to be inherently paradoxical when deductions were to be made around the issue of agency in specific scenarios. According to Participant CLE 1, “*there are persons who are involved in the trade who are there voluntarily*” (para. 2). He continued by stating that there is “*little interest from them in doing something else*” (para. 2). He qualified this sentiment by highlighting:

“You’ve offered them...an alternative, you’ve offered them an exit programme, they are where they want to be and I gave peace for that.” (para. 2)

Similarly, Participant NGO 5 stated that *“some of these girls...voluntarily...avail themselves”* (para. 26) to pimps in the sex trade. Echoing the views and position of other participants in this research, Participant SAPS 1 asserted that *“not all prostitution is human trafficking”* (para. 50) and stated that there are *“those girls who wants to be there who are just making a living for themselves”* (para. 50).

In line with complex systems theory and based on the researcher’s personal experience with the issue under study, he would argue that an oversimplified representation of agency is naïve when considering the deep and dense sociological abyss that interpenetrates the sex trade and makes up the phenomenon of human trafficking in South Africa’s historiographical context and ecology. As rightfully argued by Participant SHT 5,

“[It] is already a huge complexity of why someone would actually choose to sell themselves.” (para. 4)

Binary or dichotomous views based on mere ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ descriptions of agency were therefore set aside in favour of more nuanced verbatim extracts that better reflected the complexity of this fundamental aspect of the research. The researcher was, however, reminded by the heartfelt expression of Participant NPA 3 that:

“We’re not concerned with the woman that does it for her own pleasure and voluntarily and she’s got...good conditions. We’re concerned with the woman that’s exploited...” (para. 16)

As a journalist who had documented the lived experiences of a number of *“blatant trafficking”* (para. 27) victims on South African streets, Participant MED 3 referred to some of her experiences with persons in prostitution whose *“stories were not so obviously sexual exploitation stories”* (para. 29) but *“slightly more blurred and difficult to classify”* (para. 29). The difficulty of distinguishing between people who are voluntarily in prostitution and those who are in fact victims of human trafficking was a pervasive theme in this research.

The following verbatim extracts provide some insights into participants' experiences with regard to drawing such a distinction:

"They looked like young girls but I don't know how old they were. They could have been of consensual age, I'm not sure, but...my alarm bells went on. They weren't from South Africa and then they had locks on the outside of the doors."

(MED 2, para. 66)

"...there's still lots of prostitution and prostitutes going around that area. I find it disconcerting that I can't tell if that's a bona fide want-to-be prostitute or is that a prostitute who became a prostitute as a consequence of being trafficked?"

(para. 2)

"...en jy weet nie of sy dit doen omdat sy dit wil doen nie."

[...and you don't know if she does it because she wants to do it.]

(NGO 6, para. 2)

"...dit is moeilik partykeer om daai onderskeid te tref en om te weet... 'n mens moet...in diepte gaan kyk na dit om te kyk is dit nou regtig human trafficking of is dit nou maar nou net plein prostitusie."

[...it is difficult sometimes to draw that distinction and to know...a person must take an in-depth look to establish if it is really human trafficking or if it is just plain prostitution.]

(SAPS 6, para. 20)

"...because of the drugs and because of everything else that went with it. Some of them didn't even realise that they wanted to be rescued from where they were. It was a very challenging thing."

(SHT 2, para. 6)

As explained by Participant DSD 2, those who manage to "*strike a conversation*" (para. 100) with girls on the street soon realise that everything is not always what it seems. She described this situation:

"...They keep telling you that please not now. You'll get me into trouble. Now that I know about trafficking I'm definitely thinking that something was fishy...some might be doing it out of their own free will but I believe some might fall under human trafficking."

(para. 100)

Participant NGO 4 highlighted that *“we haven’t met one girl that said I’m enjoying it”* (para. 19). When praying with the girls on the streets, she stated that *“they ask us to pray a lot for other opportunities for jobs for them, other opportunities for income because they have children”* (para. 19). In the process of building relationships with girls on the street, Participant NGO 5 asked girls *“what do you want us to pray about?”* (para. 28) He communicated their response:

“And most of them will say I wanna stop. I want God to help me stop because I don’t enjoy it.” (para. 28)

Sharing his experiences with investigations into brothels, Participant SAPS 10 stated that he left his contact details wherever he went and had received calls from girls who said that they had a *“probleem” [problem]* (para. 145). He explained:

“Hulle wil nie meer as ’n sekswerker werk nie. Hulle wil nie dit doen nie of hulle word aangerand en...dan gaan [haal] ek hulle uit.”

[They no longer want to be a sex worker. They don’t want to do it or they are assaulted and then I go and take them out.] (para. 145)

A challenge to Participant SAPS 10 was that they *“wil nie ’n saak maak nie” [don’t want to open a case]* (para. 145) or that they *“gaan praat nie” [won’t speak]* (para. 155) as they *“sê hulle’s bang om...teruggestuur word na hulle land toe” [say they are scared to be sent back to their country]* (para. 155). Also sharing about his experience with investigations into brothels, Participant SAPS 11 highlighted that *“girls took it as a promotion if they could get out of the prostitution side and then just go over to the dancing side”* (para. 72), whilst Participant STP 5 explained that he had *“lots of fun”* (para. 70) watching some of the girls who *“are desperate for money”* (para. 70) having sex in the booths because they had a *“levy”* (para. 70) to pay. Some of the more nuanced views expressed by participants around the issue of agency can be drawn from the following verbatim extracts. According to Participant SAPS 2, some girls

“...end up being prostitutes not because they want to but because at home some of them they were molested when they were young, some of them the mother and the father they are drinking...” (para. 2)

She maintained that *“they were never given love so they want love where there is no love”* (para. 2). What was *“just so clear”* (para. 4) to Participant SHT 5 was *“looking to abuse that happened to the prostitutes before”* (para. 4). She drew a connection to such *“abuse”* (para. 4) in the past that would *“link them back to having low self-esteem, selling their bodies, I’m just an object, I’m nothing more than that”* (para. 4). With reference to *“most of the ladies”* (para. 225) that worked for her and in the wider *“industry”* (para. 225), Participant STP 4 stated that they *“do come from disturbed homes actually”* (para. 225). She elaborated:

“...they either come from broken homes or where they’ve been raped from their father or a boyfriend or from somebody. They always had traumatic experiences in their life or their mother got beaten up or they got beaten up.”

(para. 225)

She stated that *“something”* (para. 225) has *“always happened in their life”* (para. 225) before they *“land up in an industry like this”* (para. 225). Participant STP 4 maintained that the girls *“are happy within themselves”* (para. 225) and *“don’t mind actually making more money, getting out and then making...a better life for them...”* (para. 225). Reiterating that *“a lot of them do come from broken homes”* (para. 225), she continued to provide the background of two girls in the industry:

“I had this one case where this girl was telling me many years ago that her father and his friends and whatever would come over a lot and they would Jacuzzi and her and her sister had to always be naked and they were little, so she said that had a big impact on her life and stuff like that, and another girl told me when her mother died she had to be the mother and look after everyone and she saw what it was like to battle as a father and she never wants to be there.”

(para. 225)

Referring to a number of shape-shifting factors in their country of origin, Participant STP 5 referred to girls from Russia and Ukraine in South Africa’s sex trade, who were *“forced technically to get what they wanna get”* (para. 18). One example that is steeped in paradox was given by Participant STP 8 when he made reference to *“net” [just]* (para. 50) an *“escort agency”* (para. 50) that he owned before getting involved with trafficked Thai victims. He explained how clients engaged with his escorts:

“So jy moet basies betaal, jy kies die girl. Hulle sit met sulke nommertjies, dan kies jy deur so eenrigting venster en hulle (escorts) mag nie sê nee nie. So okay, ek wil nommer een hê, dan betaal jy vir nommer een, dan gaan jy na waarever [sic] jy wil.”

[So you must basically pay, you choose the girl. They each sit with numbers and then you choose through a one-way window and they (escorts) may not say no. So okay, I want number one, then you pay for number one, and then you go wherever you want to.] (para. 52)

When asked to explain what he meant by the girls may not say no, Participant STP 8 elaborated:

“Sy’t (STP 8’s business partner) met hulle (escorts) ’n werksooreenkoms gehad...as die kliënt jou kies, dan interview hy jou. Hy’t ’n paar minute wat hulle so in ’n sitkamertjie sit, en as...jy klaar met hom gepraat het, as jy klaar nou oor die Dos en Don’ts gepraat het en die geld en waarnatoe julle gaan, dan gaan jy. Jy kan nie dan kop uit trek nie.”

[She (STP 8’s business partner) had a working agreement with them (escorts)...if the client chooses you, then he interviews you. He has a few minutes where they sit in a lounge area, and if you are done speaking to him, if you are done speaking about the do’s and don’ts and the money and where to you will be going together, then you go. You can’t then choose to opt out.]

(para. 54)

In a similar vein, Participant STP 10 shared an experience she had had whilst working as a receptionist at a brothel that was investigated for human trafficking at the time of this research. Participant STP 10 recollected how during one of her shifts she had gone to the bathroom where she had found one of the girls crying. This girl asked Participant STP 10 whether she could see if *“iets fout is met haar”* [something is wrong with her] (para. 92). Participant STP 10 then noticed that there was *“bloed op haar broek”* [blood on her pants] (para. 92). This had resulted from a buyer that was so violent with the girl that she was in fact *“heeltemal oopgeskeur”* [entirely torn open] (para. 92). The girl told Participant STP 10 that she had to attend to the *“volgende afspraak”* [next appointment] (para. 100) but that she *“wil nie”* [does not want to] (para.

100). In a similar response to that of Participant STP 8, who referred to escorts who may not say 'no', Participant STP 10 concluded:

"... hulle het nie 'n keuse nie, hulle moet dit doen. Soos as jy geboek is, is jy geboek. Dit maak nie saak wat nie, jy moet gaan."

[...they don't have a choice, they have to do it. If you are booked, you are booked. It doesn't matter what, you have to go.] (para. 100)

The complex nature of 'agency' in the sex trade was articulated by Participant NGO 9, who pointed to those positioning a counter-narrative, such as pro-prostitution lobby groups and preservationists, that suggests that human trafficking is not really a problem in South Africa. She stated that they were *"misinformed not because they don't see the numbers but because they misunderstand what we're actually saying the issue is"* (para. 114). She explained that this misunderstanding was present even among people that worked in the field of human trafficking:

"...they think that because a woman is knowingly coming for prostitution that she can't be a trafficking victim and that is a big problem. They see trafficking is only trafficking if someone is brutally kidnapped against their will, tied to a bed, and raped. That is their idea of trafficking but what we're seeing it's someone who's consensually working in prostitution who's being controlled and profited off by someone else...There's partial deception is their means. They took away their documentation, issued a debt bond over them...the counter-countertrafficking narrative are advocating that it's a not a crime, that they're kind of speaking on behalf of women in the sex industry...what I've been seeing is, whether it's forced labour or sexual exploitation, it's seeing how can the most possible value be extracted out of poor people and how can we take that value for ourselves? A woman in poverty, the only way that she can make a considerable amount of money is through prostitution, at this point, unless she really exceeds the odds. And so, because she's poor and she's vulnerable, someone's extracting that value from her and that's the crime we targeting. It's not kidnapping, taking them across the world, and forcing them into the sex trade. That does happen but that's not the issue in its entirety and, as soon as

you kind of draw out the focus a bit, you start to see the entire issue a lot more clearly and the numbers seem to skyrocket.” (para. 114)

With reference to prostitution and pointing to “*organised crime people*” (para. 6) who have now “*exploited the situation*” (para. 18), Participant SAPS 3 stated that women are controlled either by “*substance abuse or by physical abuse or mental abuse, emotional abuse and stuff of that nature*” (para. 18). These are all “*mechanisms*” (para. 18) that “*organised crime syndicates are using and they know it and they can manipulate it*” (para. 18).

These aforementioned ‘mechanisms’, which relate to harm inflicted on victims and to substance abuse, will be explored in more depth in Section 4.3.3 below, which discusses Theme 3: Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation.

Theme 1 provided insights into the many-hued and interwoven nature of the sex trade, human trafficking and organised crime in South Africa. When considering the countless shape-shifting factors and intricacies presented in this theme, as well as the nuanced and tricky dynamics that intersect with the issue of control over victims, agency and the impunity with which traffickers seem to operate, the formidability and sophistication of the TCS become apparent.

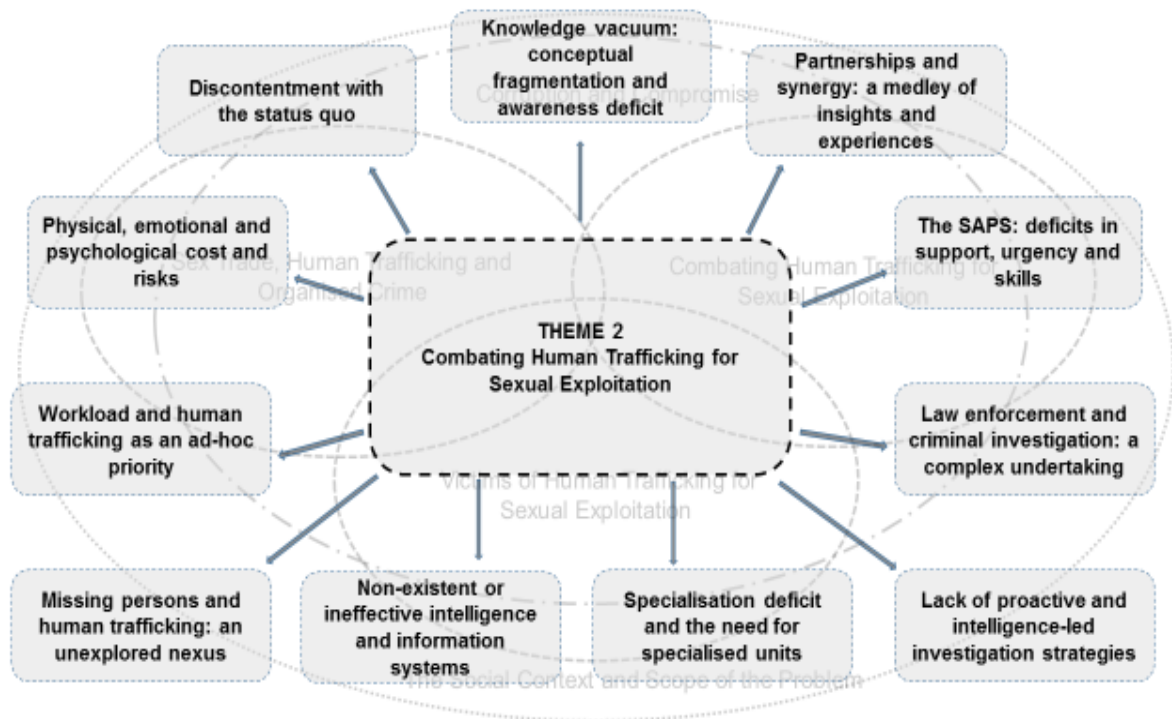
The next theme explores participants’ experiences as they relate to their efforts to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

4.3.2 THEME 2: Combating Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

The lived experiences of participants that directly or indirectly relate to the broad range of activities within the ambit of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation make up the second theme. In the adversarial battle of wits against the TCS, this theme typically represents the stronghold of the ICS. The researcher has been immersed in the ICS for the past 16 years and could therefore relate with much of the many-hued experiences shared by participants in this theme. From the constellation of lived experiences related to this theme, only the most prominent sub-themes are discussed here.

Figure 4.4 below presents an overview of Theme 2 and its sub-themes.

Figure 4.4: Theme 2



4.3.2.1 Knowledge vacuum: conceptual fragmentation and awareness deficit

At a conceptual level, it was clear that a measure of fragmentation exists within various subsystems of the ICS as to what actually constitutes the crime of human trafficking. Participant INT 4 saw this as *“being a major problem”* (para. 2) and pointed to such fragmented knowledge even among *“people who work in the sector”* (para. 2), which includes *“the NGO sector, ...the police sector”* (para. 2) and a prominent international organisation, from which he had heard *“incorrect definitions of trafficking”* (para. 2). Similarly, with specific reference to *“civil society and the NGOs”* (para. 98), Participant SAPS 1 shared her misgivings about the interpretation of human trafficking by maintaining, *“you mustn’t just shout human trafficking”* (para. 98). She called for a deeper understanding about what human trafficking is. Participant SHT 7 had also experienced human trafficking victims being brought to her shelter and, *“at the end when you do your investigation”* (para. 2), she had found that *“it’s something else”* (para. 2) and *“not necessarily human trafficking”* (para. 2). *“I think there is a lot of confusion”* (para. 76) was highlighted by Participant NPA 2, who agreed with the

definitional challenges and posited: *“I don’t think the act is gonna help us a lot with that”* (para. 76). She used an example to illustrate a possible conundrum when using South Africa’s new human trafficking legislation:

“...a normal kidnapping...and with a rape attached to it how are we going to draw the distinction between those kidnappings and rapes and what we consider to be human trafficking? Because, strictly speaking, if I look at the elements I can throw you with human trafficking happily. If you kidnapped someone for the purpose and you’ve raped them maybe once or twice I can prove that [human trafficking].” (para. 76)

Lack of knowledge and an awareness vacuum around the issue of human trafficking at every level of society were widely commented on by participants. *“You will be surprised how little people know about human trafficking”* (para. 88) was expressed by Participant NGO 3. The community, according to Participant SAPS 2, *“are not well informed”* (para. 2), whilst Participant POE 2 referred to the general public, who *“weet nie daarvan nie” [does not know about it]* (para. 42). According to him, the public *“sien dit in flieks en dit is maar daar waar dit bly” [sees it in the movies and that is where it stays]* (para. 42). The nexus between such a knowledge vacuum and the prevailing lack of statistics in South Africa was also alluded to by Participant NGO 10, who stated *“you’re not gonna report what you don’t understand”* (para. 47). This knowledge vacuum, according to Participant DSD 1, also leads some social workers to *“misdiagnose”* (para. 109) or *“misassess”* (para. 109) cases they come across. Participant INT 2 poignantly illustrated how an *“immediate breakdown”* (para. 139) in response to cases can occur, by referring to the complex decision-making processes that a police official in the community service centre is confronted with:

“...because the guy that’s standing behind that counter has got an incredible amount of influence as to what happens to that particular case...is it solicitation or is she a victim or is she a criminal? And who makes that choice? And when does that choice get made? And is this just a social crime or is this a trafficking crime? And it’s one little man behind a counter, who has got no knowledge of what’s going on, makes that decision and if he makes the right decision then all the things fall into place. If he makes the wrong decision then you and I don’t know anything about it.” (para. 139)

From her experience with reporting incidents of human trafficking to the SAPS, Participant INT 2 said that she had *“not yet met a guy that’s standing in the charge office that can explain to me or tell the difference between a victim of a crime as opposed to she is a criminal”* (para. 147). This point was further reinforced by Participant SAPS 2’s experience of the criminal justice system:

“My experience is that not every prosecutor understands human trafficking. Not every magistrate understands human trafficking. Sometimes you’ll go there with your case, you know when your facts are right, and then the magistrate will just say, no, can’t take this or the prosecutor would say I don’t see anything here and according to my experience there is something it’s just that he doesn’t understand.” (para. 2)

Described by Participant INT 1 as *“significant”* (para. 20) is a tendency in South Africa for people to be *“reluctant to ask other people for advice”* (para. 20) when they don’t know or understand. He noticed:

“...a certain percentage of embarrassment involved where people are seeing that they should be the experts, an organised crime investigating officer should be the expert leading this, but then when this case gets dropped into their lap, which they always do, it happens in the middle of the night...and you need to make decisions immediately but because of your own lack of knowledge and lack of ability to really deal with it you also embarrassed because you know that other people may criticise you for what you’ve done...I honestly think that that plays a role in that because people are embarrassed to say I made a mistake.” (para. 20)

He explained how the intersection of such a knowledge vacuum and pride compounds the quality and manner in which cases are being investigated:

“So I’m the colonel or the brigadier, I should know what I’m talking about but I don’t but rather than identifying my inability and potentially embarrassing myself I’ll rather keep on doing what I’m doing but then I say I’m keeping everybody else out because this is my investigation.” (para. 20)

It is thus clear that a knowledge vacuum still exists amongst both lay and professional people in South Africa around the issue of human trafficking. This significantly affects all other efforts to address the crime, which include the identification of the crime, investigation and prosecution, service provision to victims of trafficking and ongoing legislative policy implementation.

4.3.2.2 Partnerships and synergy: a medley of insights and experiences

The significance of partnerships and synergy amongst all stakeholders and subsystems in efforts to investigate and successfully address human trafficking for sexual exploitation was most poignantly articulated by Participant SHT 1:

“...we’re dealing with very clever, well-organised syndicates and I don’t think we’ll ever be able to beat them until we work in a very trusting, efficient network ourselves. We can’t individually fight them and so we have to become a syndicate, we need to be working together, but it means a lot of trust between each other and keeping each other...accountable, in the loop, informed.”

(para. 193)

This sentiment expressed by Participant SHT 1 was echoed by most participants in this research, who shared a diverse range of experiences and examples of how these partnerships and synergies are perceived, crafted and operationalised at micro-level. Integral to this was the emphasis on teamwork between the range of multi- and interdisciplinary actors who contribute to the investigation. The following are some verbatim extracts that bring across this pertinent point as emphasised by participants:

“...with human trafficking it’s a multi-sectoral approach. You’ve got different people from different backgrounds.”

(SAPS 9, para. 14)

“...we cannot perform that task alone. We need the other limbs in order to make it stronger.”

(CLE 2, para. 6)

“Unity. We have to work together...the counter-trafficking process and as a whole we are only gonna be as effective as our weakest links...”

(NGO 1, para. 153)

“Collaboration, that’s it. Everybody has a role to play. I can’t play all the Social Development roles. Whilst we try and refer and advise, I can’t. I can’t do the investigation, police have to do that. I can’t help trafficking victims after they come back, there’s organisations who do that.” (NGO 7, para. 98)

“The team approach. Despite teething problems – it is the only way to win this fight.” (NPA 5, para. 28)

“...we cannot do this alone...We need those other organisations to come and help, assist us so that we can have a right case.” (SAPS 5, para. 156)

“...sonder ons NGOs kan ons geensins, geensins klaarkom nie...as die NGOs nie daar was nie kan ons nie human trafficking gedoen het nie.”

[...without our NGOs we cannot, cannot manage...if the NGOs were not there, we would not have been able to do human trafficking.]

(SAPS 10, para. 3)

The spirit of the wisdom of crowds in partnerships and synergies became clear in the following exposition by Participant NGO 10:

“How can we expect a Hawks member to be a [sic] expert in trauma? How can we expect a local SAPS person to be an expert in investigating organised crime? But a local SAPS person will see something in his community that a Hawks member won’t but he can give that information to the Hawks member. [An] NGO will know and understand trauma better than what a Hawks member will so I can give my input into why is this statement not turning out the way that you need it? Why is it jumping around? I think there is so much wisdom in many voices or many inputs, if you wanna call it that way, to guide the way a case goes or investigations or even understanding human trafficking as a whole.”

(para. 123)

During an investigation into a possible case of trafficking at a major airport, Participant NGO 9 called the DHA and SAPS to sit in during a screening interview. The importance of this micro-level collaboration was explained by Participant NGO 9:

“...different aspects of the crime fall under the responsibility of different agencies and, if those agencies don’t work together, the crime is never really looked [at] in its entirety. And so that’s why it’s amazing for me to be able to have Home Affairs and police with me in the interview because then each of them get the full picture of what’s going on...” (para. 92)

Challenges and “teething problems” (para. 28), as highlighted by Participant NPA 5, were, however, a constant factor that had to be navigated and negotiated by participants and had an inhibiting impact on partnerships and synergy. According to Participant NGO 1, these include a “lack of accountability” (para. 127) amongst some actors in the counter-trafficking community and “blurred boundaries” (para. 127) regarding the respective roles, responsibilities and mandates of individuals and departments. Participant NGO 1 elucidated:

“...cases start falling through the cracks. So there’s no consistent follow-up, there’s no consistent push for a move forward in each case and it’s almost like you as DSD have brought up this case, it’s your case, you must just run with it and finish it off and you as SAPS brought up this case and so you must just run with it and finish it. So there’s no real let’s see how we can do this together.” (para. 127)

There also appeared to be a lack of knowledge amongst actors as to which provinces had active counter-trafficking task teams. As observed by Participant INT 3 during a training session she had presented in a specific province:

“...they don’t even know that they have a task team...I said do you have a task team? They said we don’t know. Do we have a task team? I said I don’t know. You’re supposed to know.” (para. 70)

On his task team, Participant SAPS 3 noted that “we lack SAPS involvement in it” (para. 74) and “we haven’t got one solid team or say representatives of each component to be there” (para. 74). Participant NPA 7 noted her experience on the task team she was a part of:

“...you can see that the resources are there, it’s been made available...but then things are just not gelling for some reason.” (para. 60)

With reference to an “*accountability deficit*” (para. 21), Participant INT 4 stated that there seems to be an “*allergy to accountability in South Africa where nobody wants to look someone in the eye and say you’ve failed, you’re fired...*” (para. 21). He contextualised:

“The individuals are not using the skills that they were trained on, not following the laws they were trained on, and their supervisor doesn’t even pick up on the failure, let alone address the failure with the employee and so unless somebody’s basic supervisory functions are improved and people are held accountable for their failure, particularly when it’s a law that they’re required to enforce, you really aren’t gonna see changes.” (para. 21)

The high turnover rate of designated individuals that represented government departments on task teams was raised by numerous participants and deemed not only to have a constraining effect on partnerships and synergy, but also to invalidate the importance of networked relationships in activities related to investigations. “*My heart just sinks...*” (para. 33) was expressed by Participant NGO 10 when she thought about the ever-present possibility of losing a task team colleague in whom she had invested time and energy. Participant NGO 1 shared her experience:

“...we’ve been through three [SAPS] provincial coordinators in the space of less than six months. There’s someone brand new in position now, I don’t know who she is.” (para. 74)

She explained why this is important to consider:

“...the problem is you work so hard to build up relationship and trust with that person because they’re your point of contact really or one of the main points of contact and that’s the person that we are relying on to look at our information, to take it seriously, to decide what needs to happen next, and then communicate with us and if they’re constantly changing it’s really hard to do that, to keep starting from scratch every time a new person steps into that role and you also don’t know what their level of experience is with human trafficking.” (para. 78)

Participant NGO 7 shared this sentiment:

“...there needs to be a lot more contacts for us to go to and the people change so often that there’s never one standard person you can speak to and build a relationship with and then every time you find yourself having to rebuild a relationship with someone new.” (para. 6)

Probably the most commendable success in terms of partnerships and synergy amongst South Africa’s counter-human trafficking community is the collective ownership taken by all stakeholders to actively raise awareness around the issue of human trafficking. “...there’s been a lot of awareness training” (para. 2) stated Participant NPA 7, who highlighted that “the good part is it’s been done around the country” (para. 2). She applauded “civil society, the churches, [and] your NGOs” (para. 2) as “the people taking control and doing this” (para. 2). Participant SAPS 8 had the following to say about awareness-raising efforts and the role of the DOJ:

“The one thing I think we have been successful in in South Africa in terms of addressing it is I think there’s been a very, very strong push from Department of Justice in terms of awareness campaign. A lot of money pumped into making people aware of the threats so that’s been great, it’s been effective...” (para. 20)

He did, however, point out that awareness raising is “just one level and you can’t just deal with that” (para. 20). Referring to “some passionate people that make a difference” (para. 2), Participant SHT 5 also emphasised the “huge progress and understanding and education” (para. 2) that has taken place in recent years.

Functional partnerships and synergy between different stakeholders and subsystems are therefore considered a fundamental currency in endeavours to successfully investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Participants revealed a variety of good and bad experiences that pertain to the status quo of partnerships and synergy. A number of concerns and frustrations related to the role of the SAPS in the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation emerged in the research. These will be explored in the next section.

4.3.2.3 The SAPS: deficits in support, urgency and skills

A major source of frustration and despondency communicated by frontline participants from, amongst others, the media, NGOs and civil society was a lack of support, urgency and skill from the SAPS in the event of confronting an incident of human trafficking, following up information or identifying victims of the crime. Participant NGO 2 rhetorically questioned this situation by asking, *“Why are we walking around the streets identifying victims if we don’t have a system that backs us up?”* (para. 30). She ascribed this lack of back up to the fact that *“no one wants to own it ’cause they don’t wanna do the paperwork”* (para. 30).

An emotional Participant CS 6 described his feeling of *“innerlike worsteling”* [inner struggle] (para. 84) as a result of not getting any response from the SAPS to multiple incidents of human and child trafficking in his city that he and his team had reported over a period of time: *“Waarheen gaan ons regtig met die info? Wat doen ons hiermee want niks gebeur as ons dit uitgee nie?”* [Where do we go really with the info? What do we do with this because nothing happens when we give it out?] (para. 84). Participant CS 6 turned to the media as an alternative to raise awareness about the issues he and his team were dealing with and felt that law enforcement agencies *“ons hande afkap”* [were chopping off our hands] (para. 84). Blamed on his *“verbeelding”* [imagination] (para. 86) and told that *“die goed gebeur nie hier nie. Dis nie so erg soos wat jy dink nie”* [this stuff does not happen here. It is not as bad as you think] (para. 86), Participant CS 6 pointed to the concomitant lack of investigations into serious incidents despite the SAPS having full knowledge of the work he and his team were doing amongst persons in prostitution:

“...ek was nog nooit genader nie vir ‘n verklaring nie. Nog nooit nie. Hulle weet baie duidelik dat ek in hierdie goed betrokke is en ook van die ouens wat saam my werk...maar niemand is al ooit genader nie en daar is nooit ‘n saak oopgemaak nie.”

[...as yet, I have never been approached for a statement. Never. They (the SAPS) know very well that I am involved in this stuff and also about the guys that work with me...but nobody has ever been approached and a case has never been opened.] (para. 86)

In some cases, complete investigations were handed over to the Hawks. In one such matter, this included photos, video footage, and the pointing out of the premises of a suspect who trafficks girls between Portugal and South Africa. Regarding this matter, Participant CS 5 provided “*al die inligting*” [all the information] (para. 202) including the suspect’s ID number. She woefully reflected: “...*daar’s niks gedoen nie*” [nothing has been done] (para. 202). Similar sentiments were shared by Participant INT 2, who stated that “*there were occasions when the police would come and take a statement but never come back again*” (para. 57), whilst Participant INT 3 referred to “*so many e-mails*” (para. 6) she sent to alert the police to cases of trafficking, which resulted in “*no feedback*” (para. 6). With frustration she concluded: “*There’s complete non-commitment, no interest*” (para. 6). Similar sentiments were shared by two social workers (Participants DSD 5 and DSD 6) who dealt with victims of human trafficking. Participant DSD 6 pointed out that there was always a “*big hype*” (para. 52) at the beginning of a new case, but before long, it eventually “*just fizzles away...even where there’s enough evidence, there’s not a follow-up*” (para. 52). She emphasised:

“I haven’t had outcomes yet of one of my cases. It’s been what? Almost six years.” (para. 54)

When getting to the important phase where a victim has been provided with the necessary psychosocial support and is ready to submit a statement, both social workers echoed the challenge of getting Hawks investigators to respond and obtain the victim’s statement:

“...they will take years to come.” (DSD 5, para. 125)

“It will rain the day they come.” (DSD 6, para. 126)

A prosecutor (Participant NPA 2) also noted a seemingly “*big reluctance*” (para. 2) in her province to “*investigate these cases*” (para. 2).

In another incident it took nine days for the Hawks to respond and eventually resulted in the death of a Thai female. Recounting the sequence of events in detail, Participant CS 5 describes this as a “*verskriklike erg saak*” [terribly bad case] (para. 122), which she responded to after receiving a “*strange call*” (para. 132) from a local victim empowerment centre regarding a Thai female’s child that “*kronies huil*” [chronically

cries] (para. 124). The relevant Hawks contact person on the task team was briefed before the visit to the house where the Thai female and the crying child resided. Participant CS 5 was accompanied by someone from the victim empowerment centre and, upon arrival, they introduced themselves to the owner of the house and requested to speak to the Thai female. When the Thai female and her child emerged from one of the rooms, Participant CS 5 was “geskok” [shocked] (para. 132) as both appeared weak and malnourished. In a personal conversation the Thai female, speaking in “*verskriklik gebroke Engels*” [terribly broken English] (para. 132), told Participant CS 5 “...please help me, me go back to Thailand” (para. 132). Participant CS 5 subsequently reported back to the Hawks officer, who undertook to investigate the matter after returning from a trip outside the province. With reference to the same situation, Participant CS 5 received additional calls from the Community Police Forum (CPF) and from a local doctor’s consultation room and was informed:

“We had a lady, a foreign lady that came to see the doctor. I suspect that this lady is scared of this man because the minute she wants to start speaking the man tells her to shut-up and she’s very ill.” (para. 132)

A number of ensuing follow-up calls were made by Participant CS 5 to the relevant Hawks officer. The essence of one of these calls, one week later on a Tuesday, was shared by Participant CS 5:

“...please, I’m very concerned.” (para. 132)

“...I received another call from the CPF complaining, people complaining about the child that’s screaming the whole time. Please we need to do something and I’m worried about the woman...” (para. 136)

Two days after this call, Participant CS 5 was contacted by the Hawks, who accompanied her to the address on the Thursday. Upon arrival, they were informed that the Thai female had passed away. Participant CS 5 then accompanied the Hawks to the mortuary, where she noted obvious physical injuries to the body of the victim. Yet, no inquest or murder case docket was opened. It also became apparent during subsequent investigations that the male person with whom the Thai national lived, and who was the father of her child, worked as a “barman” (para. 194) at a known “bordeel” [brothel] (para. 194).

A journalist (MED 1) who had a number of similar experiences with the SAPS summarised them as follows:

“My personal observation is the prosecutors and the NGOs rely heavily on the police to do their job in order to bring the people to book. All the NGOs can do is guide the police, all the prosecutors can do is guide the police. It’s the police’s job to go and perform and get the evidence.” (para. 70)

He continued by stating that information given to the police *“takes months to follow up”* (para. 70), within which time traffickers can change their entire operations:

“You have this perception of the police that there’s no timeline to this. It can continue and when we get them we get them.” (para. 70)

Participants in the TCS were also vocal about the lack of interest by the SAPS in accommodating any attempt by them to offer information about criminal activities related to human trafficking and organised crime. Instances in which information was conveyed were characterised by distrust, a lack of urgency on the part of investigators, and a general lack of professionalism and skillsets related to the handling of informants. Participant STP 1 explained:

“The moment I hand something over to the cops and certain names are mentioned, or certain situations are mentioned, it is as if doors are closed in my face. The cops leave the whole story like a hot fire. They jump up. They come with excuses. They suddenly remember that they’ve still got a meeting here and a meeting there and I never hear about that cop or the information ever again.” (para. 198)

Participant STP 2, previously a shift manager in a brothel linked to transnational human trafficking, was embedded in an organised crime syndicate and interacted with the Hawks in an attempt to expose the syndicate’s human trafficking activities. From his experience he concluded:

“I can honestly tell you I will never, ever talk to the South African police again. They scare me.” (para. 36)

He stated, *“There’s too many places where information could leak out”* (para. 36). After submitting his statement to investigators, he described *“the weirdest part of it”* (para. 40) as follows:

“They [SAPS] did raid...because it was on the radio that they raided some of the places and that people were arrested like [name] and people like that...it was only like an overnight thing, they all got bail the next day...” (para. 36)

However, a month later, Participant STP 2’s family was contacted by the syndicate members implicated in the crime and they supplied his family with a copy of the statement that he had submitted to the SAPS. The message to the family was: *“I [STP 2] must take what’s coming my way now”* (para. 40). Still in hiding from syndicate members, Participant STP 2 reflected on his experience: *“I felt like I was lucky to get out of there alive”* (para. 50).

During the interview with Participant STP 5, he expressed to the researcher:

“...if I had to talk to somebody inside the service [SAPS] with this stuff I promise you right now I’d walk out the door and I’m dead.” (para. 144)

He then re-enacted how police investigators spoke about their informants to provide context to the aforementioned statement:

“...because what happens is the okes are gonna go along and say jissis I’ve got a fantastic informant, he knows what’s happening and how things are working, and he can say names. And he can put pieces together.” (para. 146)

According to STP 5, the *“problem”* (para. 148) is *“along the chain of the command”* (para. 148) as it is *“porous”* (para. 148) and the information *“never gets to where it’s supposed to go”* (para. 148). From participants’ experiences, law enforcement and criminal investigations into human trafficking for sexual exploitation were found to be inherently complex for a variety of reasons. These will be explored in the next section.

4.3.2.4 Law enforcement and criminal investigation: a complex undertaking

From a law enforcement perspective, Participant SAPS 7 opined that human trafficking is not considered a “*prioriteitsmisdaad*” [*priority crime*] (para. 50). Despite what is being proclaimed by the “*Minister*” (para. 50) on the “*radio*” (para. 50) and “*media*” (para. 50), he observed: “*die goed op die grond is nie daar nie*” [*the stuff on the ground is not there*] (para. 50). A Hawks investigator, Participant SAPS 9, stated that police officials are “*bounded by a lot of protocols*” (para. 6) and shared his frustration with administrative challenges that stifle his ability to respond promptly to information that needs to be followed up

“They [organised crime syndicates] don’t have protocols to follow. If I get called out at eight o’clock in the night because a girl that is being kept against her will; I don’t have the mandate to jump in my car, get a team, and rescue this girl. I must first go and get authority, number one. I must convince my commander that I have to go out and rescue this girl. I must convince him as to why I can’t go tomorrow morning and why do I need to go now. Now, let’s look at the flip side of this with the syndicate. If they wanna move the girl from point A to point B there’s no red tape. The girl jumps in the car and they gone, simple as that. As quick as that. If they wanna take the girl from A [city name] to B [city name] there’s no financial authority, there’s no thirty, forty applications, there’s nothing of that sort. They don’t have to go through the due process stuff we have to go through. I have to convince so many different people.” (para. 12)

When dealing with cases of trafficking, Participant NPA 2 highlighted, “*we run into this mandate issue*” (para. 2). She explained:

“Where it’s a child, then there’s a tendency they want FCS to do it. DPCI don’t want to get involved...DPCI will only take trafficking cases if it’s foreign victims.” (para. 2)

Participant DOJ 1 observed that an investigation into human trafficking “*is nie ’n normale tipe van polisieondersoek nie, dit kan bietjie lank wees*” [*is not a normal type of police investigation; it can be quite time consuming*] (para. 4), whilst Participant NPA

2 pointed to *“a lot more that goes with the trafficking matter”* (para. 2). These sentiments were echoed by Participant INT 3, who elucidated the complexities:

“Human trafficking is not crime that’s easy to solve. It’s not a murder or a hijack or a robbery. Those are serious crimes, yes, I’m not saying no, but it’s here and now and the police come and it’s here and now...Human trafficking spans time, spans geography. There’s a whole lot of people involved. So in order to take up a case you need time, you need energy, you need passion, you need resources, you need money...” (para. 46)

Human trafficking investigations were described by Participant SAPS 8 as:

“...extremely complicated and we talking about large-scale investigations, these are not small cases, so it’s a case of I’m gonna get involved in this case, it’s gonna be a three/four/five/six/seven/eight year investigation prosecution with absolutely no resources available to do the job.” (para. 50)

Evidence gathering at some human trafficking crime scenes, according to Participant SAPS 9, *“lasted eight to ten hours, sometimes going on to thirteen hours”* (para. 14) and he remarked that *“very few people wanna do that”* (para. 14). Similarly, Participant NPA 2 stated that human trafficking investigations *“becomes very person dependent”* (para. 4) as they are *“not easy cases to investigate”* (para. 4). The cases are also *“emotional”* (para. 4) and a *“lot of the investigating officers don’t really wanna think about this”* (para. 4). With reference to a racketeering and human trafficking case that she was in the process of prosecuting, Participant NPA 5 referred to *“extreme challenges”* (para. 36) that were currently being experienced in the matter. Noteworthy, though, was her resilient and positive attitude to this, which represents that of many other stakeholders who work tirelessly in pursuit of justice:

“...the wheels of justice turn very slowly, but at least they are still moving.” (para. 36)

A best practice identified by Participant NPA 5 was *“prosecutor guided investigations”* (para. 6), which had been *“accepted”* (para. 6) by the team of detectives with whom she worked on trafficking cases. Since its implementation, these investigations were going *“much better”* (para. 6). She explained:

“Instead of the investigators just going in a certain direction and doing unnecessary things – it is better to talk to one another and in this way ensure that there is indeed a plan or goal to achieve i.e. that there is a case that we can go to court with.” (para. 6)

The complexity of investigations and challenges experienced by law enforcement agencies was also widely acknowledged by those outside of these subsystems. Participant NGO 9 was confounded by *“how intense the investigation seems to be to actually collect evidence to substantiate these cases”* (para. 74). Also noting the *“capacity of the police”* (para. 74), she pointed out:

“We don’t have a very good team working on these issues and infiltration of these networks, they’re underground, it takes a lot of time and effort and resources.” (para. 74)

Responding to the crime clearly presents multilayered complexities. Participant CS 1, who assisted police and task teams with investigations in her capacity as psychologist, explained:

“...human trafficking is al klaar baie kompleks. Jou victims is baie kompleks en jou saak is baie kompleks.”

[...human trafficking is already very complex. Your victims are very complex and your case is very complex.] (para. 119)

The experiences of participants in this research were consistent with other studies (see Section 2.2.4) that make mention of the complexity of human trafficking investigations.

4.3.2.5 Lack of proactive and intelligence-led investigation strategies

However, contrary to international best practices, the lack of proactive or intelligence-led investigation strategies was a source of both concern and frustration. Disheartened by the linear and misguided approach taken in investigations, Participant NGO 9 elaborated:

“We have a ten-step programme, we go in, we do the rescues, we arrest the women, we assess their status, we see what charges we can get them on, and then we’re done, then we wash our hands and it’s over.” (para. 88)

The focus is often on *“rescuing victims at all costs”* (INT 4, para. 9), which typically results in minimal, if any, arrests *“because we didn’t collect enough evidence and nobody wants to testify”* (INT 4, para. 9). Referring to the criminal organisations responsible for human trafficking for sexual exploitation, Participant INT 1 pointed out:

“...just like a normal business you have business needs. So you have needs of communication, you have needs of advertisement and all that.” (para. 26)

He argued that *“we not getting to the main perpetrators”* (para. 26) and pointed to the lack of focus by law enforcement officers on certain areas as problematic:

“...such as how do they communicate? How is the money being moved? Basic forensic evidence for instance, electronic evidence, electronic intercepts...we tend to receive information that there’s a brothel exploiting individuals. What do we do...we do a raid on the property...but before that there’s a lot of intelligence missed.” (para. 26)

Participant DHA 3 agreed that the approach to investigations was reductionist and fragmented, with the full cycle of human trafficking operations not being investigated or looked into. She explained:

“...there’s more focus on the victims than the syndicate itself [sic] and we are looking more into who’s doing that. So we’ll just get into the last person who did that but then without following the whole process...until the main person, the recruiter that side, and all that.” (para. 22)

A Hawks investigator, Participant SAPS 8, provided further context:

“...our focus is not there...We can’t keep on raiding brothels and picking up the victims and then...dealing with the pimps in the brothels because they just part of the process. They’re the end result of the process...if we wanna really know the syndicates we gotta look at the top structure...which we not doing. We not effective. I don’t think we’ve had a trafficking case in South Africa where we’ve

really had addressed successfully a top part or the middle part of the organised structure.” (para. 2)

Dimensions of the problem that were not included in current strategies to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation were emphasised by Participant NGO 5:

“We just addressing outwardly but there are things underground that needs to be handled otherwise we’ll just be making noise and we moving around, wasting energy and resources.” (para. 94)

With reference to often “*superficial investigations*” (para. 11) as a prevailing concern that “*drastically needs to change*” (para. 11), Participant NPA 6 provided the following example:

“Sometimes, during consultations with IOs [Investigating Officers], they will provide feedback on how they visited a specific premises. A woman would answer the door and communicate that she is the mother of so and so (possible victim) who is ‘not currently at home’. Often you find that the IO automatically believes or takes the word of such person without interrogating the merits of the case further. She (the ‘mother’) might actually be the trafficker or part of the syndicate. The IO would then return and provide me with an argument for why the case should not be investigated any further.” (para. 11)

Human trafficking investigators need to “*know how to do more than just your average investigation*” (para. 2) stated Participant NPA 2, who further highlighted the ability to “*gather intelligence*” (para. 2) and do “*financial investigations*” (para. 2) as important components of the investigation. She opined: “*...the reason we don’t have a case is because we don’t have proactive investigation[s]*” (para. 82). With reference to the importance of proactive or intelligence-led investigation strategies, Participant SAPS 8 responded:

“There’s no others ways to infiltrate or to penetrate a proper trafficking syndicate if you not gonna do Act Seventy or you not gonna do a two-five-two or have an agent or informer within that syndicate and most are specialised investigations.” (para. 52)

In agreement with the fact that “*undercover operations*” (para. 36) are important, Participant SAPS 1 did, however, note that “*there is always challenges*” (para. 36) as the “*criminals are always looking*” (para. 36) and “*know how we look*” (para. 36). She stated: “*As much as we study them they study us...*” (para. 36). This appears to be an example of the ‘battle of wits’ and was expounded on by Participant STP 5, an ex-bouncer at a prominent brothel. He recalled “*a lot of plain-clothes cops coming into the club*” (para. 70) and noted that they “*stuck out a mile*” (para. 70). He explained:

“The way they’d walk in...you could see them walking around, they looking around too much.” (para. 70)

Current approaches to human trafficking investigations clearly fall short of addressing the crime comprehensively and appear to be a piecemeal endeavour that repudiates the complexity of the crime. For those participants in law enforcement subsystems, this approach is clearly inadequate, and, for those participants who observe or indirectly contribute to the criminal investigation, current approaches intuitively do not make sense. In the next section, the almost unanimous call by participants for specialisation and the need for specialised units will be explored.

4.3.2.6 Specialisation deficit and the need for specialised units

Intersecting with the issue of proactive and intelligence-led investigations was the importance of specialisation and the need for specialised units, which was emphasised by participants. From her experience in responding to a number of brothel cases that intersected with human trafficking, Participant SAPS 13 pointed out that there was only a “*handjie vol gekwalifiseerde mense*” [*small number of qualified people*] (para. 60) that could work on these cases and underscored that these cases must be approached “*under cover*” (para. 60). She elaborated:

“...jy moet in daai netwerk kan ingaan. Jy moet kan sien wat daar...gebeur, hoe operate hulle, wanneer [en] watter tye doen hulle dit, wanneer is hulle besigste tye. Jy moet under cover wees om dit te kan doen. Jy kan nie in uniform in ’n gemerkte voertuig daar respond [nie].”

[...you must go into that network. You must be able to see what happens there, how they operate, when and what times they are doing it, when are their busiest

times. You must be under cover to be able to do that. You cannot be in uniform and in a marked police vehicle when responding.] (para. 62)

For Participant SAPS 8, a specialised unit is the “*only way you will deal with it [human trafficking]*” (para. 34), whilst Participant CS 2 felt that specialisation “*needs to be resuscitated*” (para. 18), especially for the purpose of combating human trafficking. Participant CLE 1 asserted that the “*SAPS walked away from the concept of specialised units*” (para. 49), which he described as “*a massive mistake*” (para. 49). He qualified this sentiment:

“...specialised crime areas like this where...lots of detailed understanding and insight is required to deal with criminals who have well-developed and sophisticated mechanisms for avoiding detection and prosecution you need specialised units backed up with detectives, prosecutors and everything.” (para. 73)

This not being “*in place*” (para. 73), he underscored the need for “*specialised training, with better resources, [and] better connections to partnerships with Interpol and other agencies around the world...*” (para. 73). Similarly, Participant DOJ 2 pointed to the need for a “*spesifieke eenheid*” [*specific unit*] (para. 80) that goes deeper with “*covert operations*” (para. 80) and “*put[s] their money where their mouths are*” (para. 80). She underscored the need for “*ondersteuningstelsels*” [*support systems*] (para. 80) to be in place to get the actual “*conviction*” (para. 80), rather than the accused being charged with “*een of ander simpel misdryf wat jy iewers uitgekrap het omdat dit al is wat oorbly*” [*some or other simple crime that you scratched out somewhere because it is all that remains*] (para. 80). The “*heinous*” (para. 24) nature of the crime and dealing “*with victims that has got such specific needs*” (para. 24) are amongst the issues raised by Participant INT 1 that justify “*dedicated law enforcement officers and prosecutors*” (para. 24). Participant NPA 5 agreed and stated:

“As the number of cases are increasing rapidly I can foresee the need of more prosecutors coming on board, or a specialised dedicated prosecutor for TIP matters alone.” (para. 24)

In motivating for a “*very passionate team that’s specially designated to investigating human trafficking cases*” (para. 100), Participant INT 3 could not “*understand why it is not put together*” (para. 100). She explained:

“People know the enormity of this crime, the complexity of it, so why don’t they recognise it as being something serious enough...and also drugs and trafficking go very, very hand-in-hand. The same loopholes that are used to bring drugs into our country are used to bring women, children, men into our country to be abused. So why is it not being recognised...for the serious crime that it is? So we need a special task team to work on human trafficking that that’s all that they work on.” (para. 100)

An ex-brothel owner and member of a transnational organised crime syndicate, Participant STP 1, suggested getting “*undercover people into the network*” (para. 140) or “*creating a special branch that just work with that*” (para. 144). He shared his thoughts on how this might be a solution:

“I think having a special branch that operates only in that direction would create the situation where you will get to the big shots up there much more easier than just pulling in the people working for him or her. It is no use getting the reps that recruits the women or the children for sexual exploitation and you don’t get the boss right on top because usually it is his social standing that protects him and/or his money.” (para. 146)

With 26 years’ experience in the sex trade managing brothels, and having turned state witness in a case of human trafficking where a Thai agent was implicated, Participant STP 8 had extensive experience with police and investigative responses to such cases. He spoke glowingly of specialised units such as the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB), which “*nooit geld gevat nie*” [*never took money*] (para. 197) as they were “*meer professioneel*” [*more professional*] (para. 197) and conducted investigations with “*gemerkte geld*” [*marked money*] (para. 197). Participant STP 8 also lauded an operation by “*Nasionale Intelligensie*” [*National Intelligence*] (para. 201) that had been conducted professionally. He elaborated:

“... hulle weet wat hulle doen. Ek mag ook nooit uitgepraat het nie...en hulle kom ook...hulle kom ongereelde tye kom hulle my besoek. Hulle was

professioneel. Hulle het hulle kameras reg ingesit. Ek het die deals laat gebeur op die strategiese plekke.”

[...they know what they do. I was never allowed to speak out...and they also came at irregular hours to visit me. They were professional. They installed the cameras correctly. I made the deals happen at strategic places.] (para. 197)

He continued to explain the successful take-down operation of the Thai agent with whom he had worked:

“In daai optrede by haar huis ook, dit was goed beplan. Die regte tyd, al die girls was daar. Ek het saamgespeel. Ek was ook gearresteer, maar hulle het my laat gaan. Sy moes sien hulle arresteer [my]...ek werk nie teen haar nie, ek’s saam met haar.”

[In that operation at her home, it was well planned. The right timing, all the girls were there. I played along. I was also arrested, but they let me go. She had to see them arrest (me)...I don’t work against her, I’m with her.]

(para. 201)

The need for specialisation and specialised units when dealing with cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation was very apparent from participants’ lived experiences. It was equally clear that the complexity of the crime itself does not allow for simple and kneejerk investigative strategies. This was echoed in the responses not only from participants in the ICS but also those who actively participated in the TCS. In the next section, the issue of non-existent or ineffective intelligence and information systems within the ICS will be discussed.

4.3.2.7 Non-existent or ineffective intelligence and information systems

Non-existent or ineffective intelligence and information systems proved to be a factor that stifles the broader investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Described by Participant SAPS 6 as a “*leemte*” [void] (para. 42) is the fact that there is not a “*gesentraliseerde stelsel waar ons kan inligting net aftrek nie*” [centralised system from which we can just draw information] (para. 42). According to her, this implies that everything is disconnected, which means “*ons moet maar gaan van stasie*

tot stasie en gaan vra is daar iets [intelligensie] wat ons kan help” [we must go from station to station and go and ask if there is something (intelligence) that can be of assistance to us] (para. 42). “...we don’t have a central database in government” (para. 54) stated Participant DHA 2, who pointed out that the “police have their own information and prosecution has got their own information and [so does] Home Affairs” (para. 54). Underscoring the need for a “shared database” (para. 40), Participant DHA 3 stated that “when you deal with the trafficking it’s a chain” (para. 40) and pointed out:

“I cannot deal with it as Home Affairs alone because I need a social worker to verify that this is a victim and I need a police to conduct that investigation...”
(para. 40)

She explained how ineffective information systems result in fragmentation:

“...’cause sometimes we find I go to the shelter, I don’t find a victim, they are moved to another shelter just like that...in other cases we’ll find there is a case of trafficking that is running with the SAPS but maybe I was not aware of it...the problem is that we only involve each other when we need assistance ’cause we’ll find the case has been running for a long time with SAPS then they’ll only come to Home Affairs when it’s time for repatriation.”
(para. 40)

Echoing the sentiments of his colleagues at the DHA, Participant DHA 1 also dwelled on the intersection between corruption and information systems that can easily be manipulated as they contain “loopholes” (para. 101) and are “not protected” (para. 101). One example he offered was that there is “no control over...permits” (para. 62). Participant NPA 1 argued that “it’s important to understand the crime that you are investigating so that you can make the necessary connections” (para. 18). Unfortunately “there is not a general database” (para. 18), which means that she “sometimes” (para. 18) needed to “phone six or seven people” (para. 18) to confirm historical information or a hunch pertaining to specific case details. Working on a “semi-memory of a very fallible human being” (para. 18), Participant NPA 1 pointed to the SAPS as having “millions and millions of data” (para. 24) and stated that she could not understand “why don’t they have a programme that can put that [data] together” (para. 24).

A possible, yet unexplored, nexus between incidents of missing persons and human trafficking emerged strongly as an issue that was raised by a number of participants in the study. This will be reflected upon in the next section.

4.3.2.8 Missing persons and human trafficking: an unexplored nexus

The unexplored nexus between reports of missing persons and some incidents of human trafficking was also highlighted by a number of participants. From their experiences, a number of cases that were initially reported as missing persons eventually turned out to be trafficking cases. An equal concern raised by a number of participants was incidents where children would be *“disappearing off the streets”* (NGO 8, para. 3), with community members subsequently trying to approach the police for assistance and *“they wouldn’t respond”* (NGO 8, para. 6). In one specific township, Participant NGO 8 stated that the community basically *“learn to live with a new normal type of thing”* (para. 6) due to the lack of response to such incidents. Parallel issues include children simply not being reported as missing by family members. In one case, Participant SHT 8 assisted the police with an unsuccessful raid in response to information that pointed to a *“hundred and twenty girls that were being kept in (name of town) in two huts”* (para. 16). Despite the police working on the information for a month before the raid, when they arrived at the farm they found two empty rondawels. Convinced that the perpetrators had been tipped off, Participant SHT 8 reflected:

“But where are these children? Where are they going to? There must be a link between missing children and trafficking, very definitely.” (para. 16)

Participant NGO 8 commented on the link between missing persons, human trafficking and the drug trade:

“The bell curve is easily that people are taken and disappear into the places that South Africans don’t wanna find them...and it’s the drug trade. It’s the trafficking of people as the front end of the drug trade...” (para. 118)

Participant NGO 7 thought that *“one can’t separate missing children from human trafficking or missing individuals from human trafficking”* (para. 92) and pointed out that *“until you find a missing individual you can’t be sure that they weren’t trafficked”* (para. 92). Instead of focussing on missing persons and human trafficking as two

distinct issues, Participant NGO 7 deemed it *“important to not separate the two but to incorporate them even more”* (para. 92). Participant SAPS 9 agreed with this view and opined that *“every case that comes through...to the Missing Person Bureau must be looked in light of human trafficking as well”* (para. 8). He highlighted that *“not necessarily every girl runs away with her boyfriend”* (para. 8) and argued that *“it could be that the person is trafficked”* (para. 8). *“...police and media and everybody’s attitude towards runaways is not a positive one”* (para. 8) stated Participant NGO 7, who argued that *“those are also our trafficking victims”* (para. 8) as *“they’re out on the streets”* (para. 8). Participant SHT 8 agreed and pointed out that:

“We’re not looking at it in terms of the connection between the street children...it’s not something that can be on its own...You’ve gotta look at it from a much wider perspective and I don’t think we’ve been doing that.” (para. 2)

The intersection of adoption irregularities with human trafficking and missing children was also highlighted by Participant SAPS 8:

“What we found in a lot of the cases we actually went to the families and the mothers weren’t even aware that the children were up for adoption. As far as they were concerned the children were missing.” (para. 32).

Consensus amongst numerous participants suggested that a lens reconfiguration is what is needed when it comes to the issue of missing persons and missing children. In the next section, the constraining effect of a high workload of participants in the ICS, and the fact that human trafficking is merely an ad-hoc priority for various subsystems, will be explored.

4.3.2.9 Workload and human trafficking as an ad-hoc priority

Notwithstanding that there are a number of passionate people in the South African counter-trafficking community who clearly go the extra mile to investigate, prosecute and bring increased attention to the issue, human trafficking, for the overwhelming majority of participants, remains an additional consideration amongst a number of other contending activities that flood an already saturated workload. A prosecutor, Participant NPA 5, explained:

“...it becomes almost impossible to keep abreast of all developments in all the cases, if the prosecutor still has other cases and court work to attend to. I always feel extremely guilty when I can’t devote immediate attention to any problems or requests for assistance of the team. I mainly deal with all TIP matters after hours as I don’t have time during my normal workload. This leads to some files lying in my office for some time without getting the deserved attention.” (para. 24)

Another prosecutor (NPA 3) echoed these sentiments during the interview: *“you can see all the files here, we tend to become a factory processing these cases”* (para. 8). She stated that sometimes you *“just wanna get the case through the court and finalise and get that statistics because we so under pressure with stats”* (para. 8). Limited capacity was highlighted as one of the *“big problems”* (para. 129) by Participant NGO 1, who observed that role-players are *“so busy in their day-to-day roles and trafficking is one more thing that they having to deal with and the capacity is just not there.”* (para. 129). This sentiment was echoed by Participant NGO 9:

“...it’s one more thing that’s added to already a very heavy plate for all of these officials...they’ve got so much going on that it just becomes another meeting.” (para. 84)

According to Participant NGO 9, *“people do care about this issue but they just really don’t have the time to dedicate to it”* (para. 84). This unfortunately flows into the nature of responses when new incidents come to the fore:

“...with the NGO environment, people are driven by their love for the work and so, if I need to phone an NGO after hours, I know they gonna answer the phone where, with government departments, it’s not the case. I have to wait until Monday, which is a challenge.” (para. 86)

With *“so much work”* (para. 82) and *“so little people to do the work”* (para. 82), Participant NGO 7 stated that being *“forty different people for the organisation”* (para. 82) meant that her capacity was far too limited to explore which human trafficking platforms there were for her to join:

“I’m juggling too many balls and that’s just another ball to add to the lot and there’s just no time...it’s sad because it’s integral to what we’re doing...”

(para. 82)

A Hawks investigator (SAPS 5) also referred to the voluminous workload:

“...it’s too much. I’m not scared to say that. The workload is killing me.”

(para. 100)

This also impacted negatively on Participant SAPS 5’s attempts to recruit much-needed investigators for human trafficking investigations in her province:

“...they said there’s too much work. They don’t want to come...”

(para. 106)

A social worker, Participant DSD 5, was very vocal about the workload issue:

“There are only four social workers here, one supervisor, and one manager. These four social workers, it’s like they are working for the whole (name of province). All the victims, everything, is coming here. They have a case load of about seventy-eight alone, each person.”

(para. 250)

She continued by pointing out that her department used *“twelve volunteers to run”* (para. 252) the shelter. With volunteers *“only getting [a] lousy two thousand [rand]”* (para. 252) per month, she felt that they were *“abusing”* (para. 252) the volunteers. With reference to corruption and compromise, Participant DSD 5 raised a poignant concern:

“We’ll see ourself [sic] doing the same things the police are doing because, really, it’s not on what is happening here.”

(para. 252)

Closely related to the issue of workload was the concomitant cost of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. This will be explored in the next section.

4.3.2.10 Physical, emotional and psychological costs and risks

In addition to a heavy workload and multiple tasks that need to be attended to simultaneously, numerous participants referred, implicitly and explicitly, to the physical, emotional and psychological cost and risks that often characterise

investigations into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. As expressed by a Hawks investigator (SAPS 9):

“With regards to risk who’s there to protect me...what level of protection have I got? None.” (para. 14)

A prosecutor (NPA 5) shared her experience of a bail application where a sole investigating officer carried the *“burden alone”* (para. 56) and attended court proceedings whilst testifying against the accused persons’ release on bail. The prosecutor explains that *“it became apparent that the accused were very unruly and the Nigerian community followed the case in huge numbers”* (para. 56). It *“became clear”* (para. 56) that *“a greater police attendance”* (para. 56) was needed in court as the situation was *“potentially dangerous”* (para. 56). This, according to the prosecutor (NPA 5), was *“unfair towards the investigator”* (para. 56). Another Hawks investigator (SAPS 5) shared her experience of a human trafficking investigation during which she was threatened and from which she eventually withdrew:

“I was exposed. I was phoned one night by this white guy, and we were going to hit the place in that week, and then I was phoned by this white guy speaking in Afrikaans, swearing on me, if how did he know that I can speak Afrikaans I don’t know...where did he get my number because he used the state number. And he swears me in Afrikaans and then I was trying to say what are you saying? He said jy verstaan my (you understand me) bitch and he gave the telephone to the other guy. This guy was a Nigerian.” (para. 182)

Participant SAPS 5 stated that she was *“scared”* (para. 186) and as *“a single parent I was thinking of my kids and myself”* (para. 186). She was distressed by the personal knowledge the callers had about her ability to speak Afrikaans fluently and that they knew her police-issued cellular number. She was told by the callers that she:

“...was not going to survive and they were going to show me if I carried on with the investigation that I was doing. They didn’t hide it, they told me straight...” (para. 190)

Participant SAPS 5 withdrew herself from the investigation, which was subsequently discontinued. Describing a similar show of brazen arrogance, a service manager at a

shelter (SHT 7) relayed her experience of how what appeared to be traffickers misrepresented themselves as Hawks officials and breached the security of the shelter, where victims of human trafficking had been taken in earlier in the evening. The traffickers, who were in possession of identification “*cards of the Hawks*” (para. 50), entered the premises between 01:00 and 02:00 in the morning and “*wanted to leave with the ladies [victims]*” (para. 50). A Hawks member was contacted by the shelter security to respond to the situation all of which had been captured on CCTV. Determined to leave with the victims, Participant SHT 7 stated, the traffickers “*physically wanted to hurt*” (para. 50) the Hawks official, whose actions she commended:

“...he knew his game and so he overpowered them, not physically, but then they lost because they had to leave the ladies [at the shelter].” (para. 50)

Participant DSD 3 reflected on a case of child trafficking in which one of her colleagues was threatened and where the child victims had to be relocated to another shelter for security purposes. She reflected on the matter:

“...the sad thing is, even though social workers want to help, if you’re experiencing this case for the first time and you’re already getting threats immediately you wanna say, no, I...really this should not be happening. I don’t wanna deal with human trafficking.” (para. 2)

Participant STP 5, an ex-bouncer at a prominent brothel, confirmed this modus operandi of intimidation by traffickers and those involved in organised crime:

“...everybody’s got a [sic] Achilles’ tendon, a soft spot. It’s the wife, the kids, whatever that people can threaten.” (para. 180)

The nexus between a lack of trust in their colleagues and the experience of feeling unsafe during the investigation process was also highlighted by participants. Participant SAPS 3, for example, refused to disclose details to his colleagues of when victims in his case were being repatriated out of the country. He stated that he “*could not trust anyone at that stage*” (para. 28) besides those that were on his “*side*” (para. 28), and feared that in just “*transporting the victims to the airport we could be subjected to an attack*” (para. 28). Similarly, an immigration officer (DHA 1) elaborated on his

experience, which made him disinclined to “*trust anyone*” (para. 12) in his “*own environment*” (para. 12) due to corruption and compromises on the part of his colleagues:

“If you’ve got principles, life principles, and also ethics in your work environment and you see these things amongst you is happening how can you trust anybody? You can’t because you’ve got a family that you must look after. If you are working amongst them then they can also threaten you to become one of them. It’s a very dangerous environment.” (para. 12)

The emotional and psychological cost of the work then becomes more apparent. Participant DSD 2, a social worker and mother of two children, asserted that “*there is a cost*” (para. 159) and that her work with human trafficking had made her “*more vigilant*” (para. 159). She provided insights into her inner turmoil:

“I become worried of my children. What if this happens? Sometimes I sit and look at the little girl and I said...I never thought I will have another baby but now that I have this one this one is more vulnerable to the boy and now I worry a lot about this one and I think of all these things and the cases that I hear, the information that I get through these cases, then I will say if it was this one I don’t think I would survive this, I would deal with this, I will just die.” (para. 159)

She reflected on her son’s attempt at consolation: “*Mummy, you must take it easy now*” (para. 161) and then responded during the interview:

“I can’t. I can’t. It’s happening, and people are not reporting it and how many people are being put to this slavery now under our eyes and nose? How many?” (para. 161)

Participant SHT 4, a shelter manager, expounded on her experiences of working with victims of trafficking and the emotional effect that the work had on her:

“...you know how many times something will happen here and I will drive home and I will cry and then I will just give it to God and sometimes when it catch me on a Saturday...my husband don’t even know what to do with me.” (para. 115)

For Participant SAPS 3, irrational decisions and task allocations by his commanders in a specific human trafficking investigation that affected his ability to conduct an effective investigation was “to start” (para. 36) his “frustration process” (para. 36). To him it was evident that there was

“...some complication...there’s complicity, there’s corruption. There’s a person who would access specialised knowledge...because it involves a more complex situation and not a basic situation where it can be handled by my juniors and such of that nature and I started refusing...” (para. 36)

He explained how the situation had escalated and affected him personally:

“...and it started into arguments. Arguments started to me getting frustrated. I went on leave and I came back and confrontation started again...I took basically forced sick leave. Came back again. Took more leave and then the confrontation started again and I had enough of it and I told them straight get off. I’m not prepared to take those rubbish anymore and then I was threatened to be transferred which I refused the transfer and I went down and I had a nice chat with myself and then I had a chat with my wife...we just decided it is my interest in the sense of my career, in the sense of my health and in my well-being as a law enforcement officer I decided to...back away from it. It was hard.” (para. 40)

Another Hawks investigator, SAPS 4, explained how his investigations “had a very big impact” (para. 40) on his “private life” (para. 40). He expounded:

“...you work with sexual offences every day. You work with traumatised children, women...as investigating officer you sit in the middle of everything. You sit in the middle of the client, your commanders, the courts, and you are one person who needs to deal with all of that.” (para. 42)

At the time of one of his major investigations into child trafficking and child pornography, his son was three years old. He recalled how he “even started pushing him [his son] away because of all the trauma” (para. 44) he had witnessed in the child victims in his case. According to Participant SAPS 4, “there’s a lot of things that goes through your mind” (para. 44). He elaborated: “it’s heavy on your heart, on your soul,

which even led me to go see a private psychologist" (para. 44). Similar experiences were shared by Participant SAPS 5:

"When I'm home everything is coming back to me then I will just pray to God to make me strong and then I will go for the private counselling, that's what I'm doing once a month." (para. 30)

She warned:

"There's no strong person in these cases. You must debrief." (para. 34)

Participant DSD 5 stated that *"the work traumatises us"* (para. 388). Referring to her colleague with whom the researcher had scheduled an interview for the same day, Participant DSD 5 informed the researcher:

"...you were supposed to interview (name of social worker) but, (name of social worker), where is she? She's on depression leave...she has major depression. She cannot...the brain is not working anymore." (para. 388)

A poignant experience was shared by Participant STP 7 regarding the trauma she still experienced as a result of her work as police informant investigating a child trafficking syndicate. What contributed to her emotional conflict was the apparent nonsensical decision by the SAPS to discontinue the investigation into the syndicate. She opined that *"whoever was on the top covered that up like shit"* (para. 88) and was informed by her handler and investigating officer: *"I think you better leave"* (para. 90). She started by pointing out her concern for the well-being of the Hawks investigating officer in the case as he *"was also falling off the cliff"* (para. 84). She elaborated:

"He also didn't know where he was, where it [the investigation] was taking him to. He needed the job because he needed it for his family and he also wanted to make a change." (para. 84)

She then reflected on her own experience:

"It bugged me up mentally. I'm like, after all I've seen, this perverse world, this dark, dark, dark world, and then you come up and you expect me to live my life normally. For hell's sake, who, after they have their eyes opened, can say

I'll close my eyes and just forget about it? We not computers that we delete. We cannot delete our minds. (para. 112)

She concluded:

"I now know how it is to be in a war because you feel wounded and it's post war syndrome that I'm dealing with now." (para. 353)

The physical, emotional and psychological costs and risks communicated by some participants were visceral and indeed suggestive of the escalated levels of anxiety, fear and vicarious trauma they had experienced. In the final section of this theme, the discontent with regard to the status quo of counter-human trafficking strategies as communicated by a number of participants will be reflected on.

4.3.2.11 Discontentment with the status quo

Notwithstanding the obviously positive stories that underpin each of the successful convictions that South Africa has attained with regard to human trafficking for sexual exploitation, there was clearly a general sense of discontentment with the status quo communicated by a number of participants. *"...change has gotta happen because nothing's happening where it is now"* (para. 42) stated Participant SHT 8. Provincial task team members not coming to meetings, the issue of confidentiality and *"absolutely no accountability"* (para. 30) had caused Participant SHT 8 to question whether she still saw the value in being a member of her task team.

She pointed out:

"We need to have a new vision. That's the bottom line. We need to have a new drive. What are we doing that hasn't worked up to now? So what do we do differently to make it work?" (para. 68)

"...born out of frustration" (para. 98), Participant SAPS 8 warned: *"We need to open our eyes"* (para. 98) and *"change our attitude towards it"* (para. 98). He continued by using a metaphorical expression:

"There's so many hacking at the burning branches of evil but nobody attacking the root...That's our problem. We trying to kill the little fires, the burning branches, but we not getting to the root of the problem." (para. 98)

Currently, he argued, *“it just feels like it’s passing the buck, this is too much of a problem, let’s let somebody else deal with it”* (para. 98). As a way forward, Participant SAPS 8 suggested:

“Let’s sit down and say, guys, let’s take a realistic look and take a deep breath and let’s get serious about it and set up the right structure. Let’s pump the money in.” (para. 98)

Equally frustrated was Participant SAPS 3, who warned that if stakeholders *“continue this lacking we’re heading for disaster”* (para. 20) and pointed out that it might eventually enable the crime *“to become so powerful that we’re not going to be able to address it”* (para. 20). Participant SAPS 7 echoed this sentiment and pointed to the effect of the crime on society that would only become visible *“in die jare wat nog gaan kom” [in the years to come]* (para. 34) should it be allowed to continue.

Theme 2 presented the lived experiences of those at the forefront of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Notwithstanding incidental successes by the ICS in a number of activities geared towards ‘unconcealing’ human trafficking for sexual exploitation, feats continue to pale against the success, formidability and sophistication of the TCS. The response by the ICS is largely fragmented and reactive whilst knowledge vacuums, accountability deficits, reductionism and the convolution of investigations have a perplexing effect on the ICS. The third theme that emerged in this research revolved around the victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and will be discussed next.

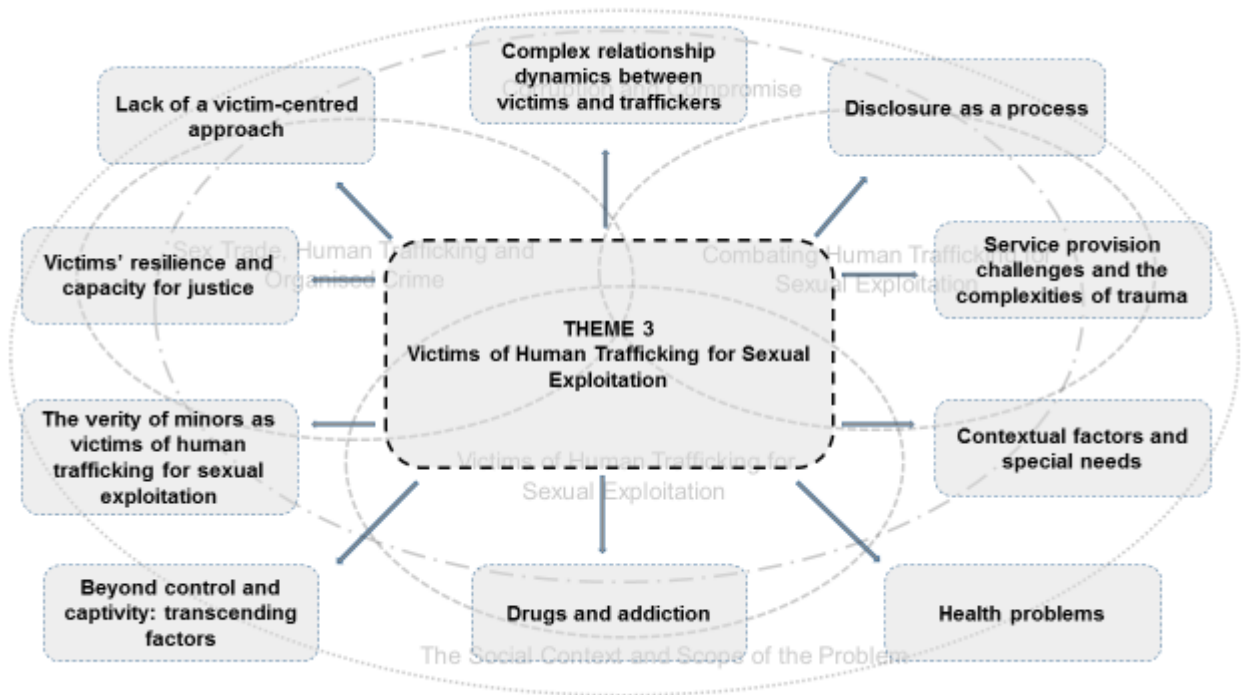
4.3.3 THEME 3: Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

The third theme homes in on the victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and includes their experiences as lived and observed. It also focusses on the interactional experiences of participants in the broad range of activities that include victim identification, criminal investigation, psychosocial service provision and reintegration.

At this juncture, it is again worth highlighting that the five themes discussed in this chapter have connection points with each other and, consistent with complex systems theory, are in a constant process of feedback and interpenetration.

Figure 4.5 below presents an overview of Theme 3 and its sub-themes.

Figure 4.5: Theme 3



4.3.3.1 Complex relationship dynamics between victims and traffickers

Relationships between victims and their traffickers are known to exhibit complex and counterintuitive features of bonding. For Participant NGO 6, human trafficking is a “relational crime” (para. 2) as it happens in a “verhouding” [relationship] (para. 2). She stated that this is also the reason why many victims want to go back to their traffickers because “daar was iets in daai verhouding wat hulle getrek het” [there was something in that relationship which drew them] (para. 2). It is about an “attachment” (para. 2) she said. Participant INT 2 provided more context:

“So it’s an interesting dynamic and we’ve seen with the girls even that often they are in a relationship with their pimps and sometimes the pimp has got more than one girlfriend and for some of the girls it’s a competition as to who keeps his attention the most.” (para. 81)

This theme was also evident in an experience shared by Participant NPA 5, which related to a victim in one of her cases that had absconded from a shelter:

“She actually did it twice and was found back at her exploiters on both occasions.” (para. 22)

For Participant SAPS 4, this proved to be a significant challenge in one of his investigations where child victims *“change[d] their statements”* (para. 128) and another victim *“started falling in love with the perpetrator”* (para. 128). Referring to this as *“the mental switch”* (para. 128), he explained that the victim *“saw him [the perpetrator] as a father figure and now she doesn’t want to testify against him”* (para. 128). Participant VOT 3 stated that *“trusting a normal person”* (para. 20) is *“difficult”* (para. 20) and referred to *“a hustler”* (para. 20) or a *“pimp on the street”* (para. 20) that she would *“rather trust”* (para. 20) because you *“already know what his motive is”* (para. 20). Despite suffering significant harm and abuse at the hands of her trafficker, Participant VOT 4 stated that her trafficker *“got more attached”* (para. 127) to her than to other girls, who managed to *“run away”* (para. 127). She once tried to run away, opting to stay with a less abusive pimp. The response from her trafficker was as follows:

“He got me and he hit me so badly. He told me if I was ever, ever gonna run away he was gonna kill me. He rather kill me than to see me staying with another Nigerian guy.” (para. 127)

The oversimplified binary framing of helpless victims and monster perpetrators thus becomes increasingly problematic when considering the often fragmented interface between the two (see also: Frankel, 2016a: 5). One experience shared by Participant CS 3 sheds more light on how complex this relationship can become:

“Maar die ding is die vrouens het ’n verhouding met hierdie mans. Hierdie mans is nie net sleg nie. Hulle is goed ook en veral hierdie geestelike kant...Christelik kom hulle nogal goed oor en dit verwar hierdie vrouens vreeslik. Soos die een meisietjie vertel vir my sy is by die man vandat sy dertien jaar oud was en hy het vir haar badwater ingetap en gesorg dat haar kleertjies skoon is en dat sy kos het om te eet en sy’s nou tien jaar by hom...hy’s soos ’n pa vir haar alhoewel hy haar nou verkoop het. Sy het nou hierdie verwarring van hy is goed maar hy’s ook sleg...”

[But the thing is the women have a relationship with these guys. These guys are not only bad. They are good as well and especially the spiritual side. From a Christian stance they come across well and that confuses these women terribly. Like the one girl tells me that she has been with this man since the age of thirteen and he ran her bathwater for her and made sure that her clothes were clean and that she had food to eat and she has now been with him for ten years. He's like a father to her even though he sold her. She now has this confusion that he is good, but he is also bad...] (para. 2)

From this study it was also very apparent that victims don't simply come forward and report the full extent of their ordeal. Disclosure by victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, as a process, will be explored in the next section.

4.3.3.2 Disclosure as a process

The disclosure of abuse or exploitation by trafficking victims was found to be a complex process in itself. *"If I don't have a case to investigate then you are not my victim"* (para. 12) stated Participant SAPS 1. Her frustration with the lack of full disclosure by victims was expressed:

"...for the victim I wish they can expose the perpetrators, just expose them, don't hide anything." (para. 94)

A trust deficit, as highlighted by a social worker (Participant DSD 4) and numerous other participants, was also an ever-present consideration:

"And what we are finding that some victims don't trust us as service providers. They've been telling their story to so many people...I get a feeling that...when they come to us, we are last in the list, they are almost tired and there's also trust issues." (para. 32)

Participant SHT 2 explained that his shelter has accommodated a victim for *"four weeks before they've really opened up to us"* (para. 28). They will *"let you in on a little bit of what's happened in their lives"* (para. 28). He argued that the reason for this is *"because they don't know how you're gonna react, they don't know if you're gonna judge them"* (para. 28). He gave another example of a resident at the shelter who only

“after three months...of living with us” (para. 28) provided *“their real name and tell...how they actually arrived”* (para. 28) from another province. You must *“vertrouwe bou” [build trust]* (para. 147) stated Participant SAPS 10. In his experience as investigator, only once that is achieved will victims make contact and *“stuur vir jou please call me of hulle stuur vir jou smse of WhatsUp en hulle praat met jou” [send you a please call me or they will send you an sms or a WhatsApp and will they speak to you]* (para. 147).

What could be considered a best practice was shared by Participant NPA 7, who referred to the *“fantastic”* (para. 10) team at a shelter that provided services to a Thai victim of trafficking. With regard to disclosure they *“didn’t force her, they just gave her time to decide on her own”* (para. 10). Eventually the victim *“said to them she would like to speak to the police and she would like to give her stories because she was worried...about the other girls”* (para. 10). Participant NPA 7 provided insights into the time that such a disclosure could take before coming to fruition:

“So it was about six or eight months that she’d been there and we were called in because she was now ready to talk about it.” (para. 10)

It was thus clear that trust was the essential component for the process of disclosure to take place. As voiced by Participant SHT 2:

“...through a trust relationship building process where we used to speak to them for quite a few nights and quite a few weeks, some of them months, building up a trust relationship with them...” (para. 2)

Service provision to victims of trafficking whilst confronting and managing the complexities of trauma will be explored in the next section.

4.3.3.3 Service provision challenges and the complexities of trauma

Providing support and services to victims of human trafficking whilst considering and navigating the complexities of trauma in the investigation process presented numerous challenges to participants. In comparison to victims of domestic violence, who are *“so much easier to work with”* (para. 118), Participant SHT 5 pointed to the multilayered

complexities associated with victims of trafficking. With “*so much issues*” (para. 118) they are:

“...so messed up. They so broken. They so psychiatrically challenged and it’s a complete different ballgame.” (para. 118)

Also using domestic violence as a point of reference, Participant NGO 10 elaborated on the intricacies of working with victims of human trafficking:

“[victims] of trafficking have more needs than maybe domestic violence...it’s a similar trauma but a lot more intense, often there’s drugs and all of that...and high medical bills because of the STDs and the beatings and all of that.” (para. 2)

The challenges associated with service provision in a shelter environment, and perceptions held by some stakeholders about the nature of this work, were reflected upon by Participant SHT 4, who asserted: “*I don’t think people have a clue what happens in here*” (para. 107). Expressing that “*a lot of people tend to think that it’s just a fairytale*” (para. 107), she recited a dialogue with a fellow stakeholder whom she had called about a “*difficult victim*” (para. 107) she was working with:

“...she said to me but, SHT 4, did you sit down with her and talk and I’m like do you think I’ve done this since yesterday? Don’t you think I’ve done that about five times before I call you? Don’t you think I’ve done a lot of things before I actually call you?” (para. 107)

Echoing some of the aforementioned complexities, Participant DSD 4 alluded to a measure of uncertainty on the part of service providers as to what their role actually entails when working with victims of trafficking:

“...we have not really maybe found a niche in terms of what is our role in terms of care and support. Is it just now about counselling? Is it trauma debriefing? What exactly do we do with these victims?” (para. 32)

He continued by raising a worrying human factor that he had observed amongst some social workers and that fundamentally impacts on service provision:

“...although we’ve trained people but what you’ll find that they may not be as comfortable with the trauma counselling because they know that they may be subpoenaed to come to court and...so the risk and to appear in court and being challenged by the defence. So all those kind of things, they also make people feel a little bit uncomfortable with their ability to assist.” (para. 38)

A lack of understanding around the issue of trauma and how it presented itself was communicated by a number of participants. As stated by Participant NGO 6:

“...die professionele mense, die maatskaplike werkers, die mense wat veronderstel is om die victims te help het geen benul oor trauma nie. Hulle het geen benul oor hoe trauma...self voorkom in ’n victim nie en hoekom mense sekere gedrag het nadat hulle trauma ervaar het nie...”

[...the professional people, the social workers, the people that are supposed to help the victims do not have an idea about trauma. They don’t have any idea as to how trauma...presents itself in a victim and why people exhibit certain behaviour after they have experienced trauma...] (para. 2)

This, according to Participant NGO 6, is where significant “*fragmentasie*” [*fragmentation*] (para. 2) takes place in service provision. A similar view was held by Participant CS 1, who stated:

“Ek weet vir ’n feit dat die polisie verstaan glad nie die complexities involved om met ’n victim te werk nie.”

[I know for a fact that the police do not understand the complexities involved in working with a victim.] (para. 105)

The following arguments by police members working with trafficking victims were retold by Participant CS 1 to explain the knowledge vacuum she had alluded to:

“Iemand moet ’n statement maak. Wil hulle nie die ou gevang hê nie? Wat is hulle storie? Hoekom is hulle so geïrriteerd en hoekom fight hulle so?”

[Someone must submit a statement. Don’t they want the guy arrested? What is their story? Why are they so irritated and why do they fight like that?]

(para. 105)

From her experience, Participant NGO 1 had also picked up on this “sense of frustration” (para. 36) in some interactions between law enforcement and victims of trafficking:

“We know how victims often come across to law enforcement because they’re scared, because they’ve been threatened, and particularly against the police themselves been told if you talk this is what will happen to you or your family. So they often come across as really hard and really defensive and maybe quite arrogant and so I can fully understand that someone who hasn’t been trained up in this at all would probably think this is a waste of my time, why am I even bothering?” (para. 36)

Similarly, Participant NGO 6 referred to a police investigator’s reference to victims being “defiant” (para. 90), ‘telling lies’ or providing multiple versions of events as a lack of understanding on their part that trauma becomes the victim’s identity: “*Dit word die core van die identiteit*” [*It becomes the core of the identity*] (para. 92). Participant SHT 4 offered a different perspective: “...if I put myself in their shoes, I would also become rebellious” (para. 21) and stated that being in a shelter becomes “like a second prison to them” (para. 21). Interwoven into the aforementioned service-provision challenges and complexities of trauma, a range of contextual factors and special needs on the part of victims was expressed by participants. This will be explored in the next section.

4.3.3.4 Contextual factors and special needs

Also part of service provision and a victim-centred approach to investigating human trafficking was duly considering and validating a host of contextual factors and special needs of victims, such as culture, language, dietary requirements and the availability of translation and interpretation services. Becoming increasingly aware of these additional needs inherent in service provision, Participant DSD 1 stated that her department had begun to “negotiate for additional funding” (para. 2) for those shelters pre-accredited by the DSD. The needs she listed for which additional funding was sought included:

“...for the victims of human trafficking so that they can approach a doctor, a private doctor, for psychologist and psychological services, money to buy clothes for the people, special diets, [and] toiletries...” (para. 2)

At the time of the interview, the shelter managed by Participant SHT 4 was accredited by the DSD, yet *“did not get any financial support from anybody with regards to taking care of the victims”* (para. 145). Getting victims back to their countries was also covered by the shelter and therefore Participant SHT 4 made use of *“a lot of fundraisers to get them back to China, to Taiwan, to Thailand”* (para. 145). She also pointed out that victims *“need to call home”* (para. 153) and asserted: *“Calling China is not cheap. Or calling Ukraine is not cheap”* (para. 153). Specific dietary requirements were mentioned by a number of participants as an important consideration. Participant SHT 7 referred to *“some problems”* (para. 2) that are experienced when victims *“don’t want to eat our food”* (para. 2). A similar challenge was experienced by victims in a case investigated by Participant SAPS 9, who was placed in a witness protection programme where they *“didn’t have their dietary requirements”* (para. 2). Via an interpreter, the victims communicated to Participant SAPS 9:

“...we can’t buy our food. We don’t eat the food that the shops are selling where we’re staying.” (para. 2)

The location where the victims were placed thus did not have a shop nearby that was *“selling oriental food or Thai food”* (para. 2). Participant SAPS 9 critically asked:

“...how do you now sustain your dietary requirement? Did the witness protection think about that when placing them in this area?” (para. 2)

An example of a victim-centred approach was evident in the manner in which Participant SHT 4 and her colleagues *“really try to accommodate their [victims’] cultural needs”* (para. 107). She narrated a typical experience going shopping for food:

“...like the Nigerian girls...we went all the way to town...in [city] there’s a Nigerian shop where we bought food for them. The food that they want at that point. I think we spent about four hundred and fifty rand with all these things that smells terrible but...that they liked and that they put in their rice and stuff

like that and the same with the Chinese girls...because we don't know all their spices. They also don't know the South African thing but we took the translator with us so that we can find a place...with the rice they need certain soya sauces...and they loved chillies and onions so we really try and make them feel at home..." (para. 107)

When communicating with victims of trafficking, *"it's all good and well if you get someone who speaks English or Afrikaans or one of the local dialects"* (para. 16) said Participant NGO 1, who raised a number of pressing issues regarding language:

"...but what if you've got someone who speaks Thai with limited English? How do you do a proper assessment with that person? And how do you get someone at the drop of a hat to come in and do that kind of an assessment. Who are our translators? Do we have a list? I know we started trying to put one together but how do you handle that sort of side of things?" (para. 16)

An experience shared by Participant SHT 1 showed how a Chinese trafficking victim who had just been taken into their shelter was *"sitting in a total fog"* (para. 43) due to her inability to communicate effectively. She explained:

"Monday evening they brought her but I knew from Friday she was coming and she was dropped here but since then we don't know what she's been told...Was she told she couldn't have her cellphone? Why did she still have the cellphone on...why haven't the police got her cellphone?...And then the pure frustration of not being able to tell her you can phone your family or they'll take you to the embassy or they'll take you to the police station and we'll help you. We're sitting there trying to tell her but she has absolutely no understanding of what we're trying to say...And I think the only person she knows or can talk to is her trafficker." (para. 43)

Participant SAPS 9 shared his frustration when he learnt via an interpreter at court that his victims had not been able to communicate basic needs to members of the witness protection unit who were responsible for their accommodation. The victims were trying to communicate that their *"light fittings are not working"* (para. 2) and they were in effect *"living in the dark"* (para. 2). Participant SAPS 9 asserted:

“...these are very little things but when it comes to victim empowerment these little things make a difference to your case as an investigating officer.”

(para. 2)

In another case, “two Chinese girls” (para. 4) who had been taken to the shelter managed by Participant SHT 4 thought they were in fact living in another brothel. Participant SHT 4 then “called the translator” (para. 4) and informed him:

“...please just tell them where they are because I have a feeling they think I’m another madam because it’s a house and there’s girls. And they did.”

(para. 4)

Language and an understanding of the victim’s culture also become of utmost importance in relevant judicial processes. Participant NPA 4 argued that “you’ve got to be able to understand their culture” (para. 68) as it is essential “for you to be able to have the necessary empathy and to get them to trust you...” (para. 68). What she described as “very important” (para. 68) was that you “get an interpreter as soon as possible so that you don’t lose that victim along the way” (para. 68). A magistrate, Participant DOJ 1, also pointed to the intersection of language and culture and stated, “in ander taal is daar ’n tipe van ’n kultuur verbonde” [*in another language there is a type of culture involved*] (para. 30), which is important to understand. He stated that your “interpretasie” [*interpretation*] (para. 30) must be of a “hoë gehalte” [*high quality*] (para. 30) because it will assist the court to get a “beter idee kry van die hele storie” [*better idea of the entire story*] (para. 30).

In the next section, the health problems that victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation present, and the challenges faced by stakeholders in terms of health service provision, will be explored.

4.3.3.5 Health problems

Providing services to victims of trafficking also meant dealing with “multiple...health problems” (para. 23), according to Participant INT 2. An experience shared by Participant SHT 1, a shelter manager, concerned a trafficking victim who was “so sick” (para. 259) and suffered from “appendicitis” (para. 259). Not getting any response to her calls for assistance from the Hawks, Participant SHT 1 took the victim to a hospital,

where she *“sat with her [victim] the whole night, fighting off the fellows who told me that I shouldn’t be in casualty with her”* (para. 257). *“Too scared”* (para. 257) to leave the victim on her own, Participant SHT 1 *“sat with her the whole night”* (para. 257) until the victim was admitted at *“five in the morning”* (para. 257). She pointed out that the victim *“nearly died of poisoning”* (para. 259) because they waited for so long.

A *“clear case of [a] human trafficking victim”* (para. 2) was identified on the streets, after which Participant NGO 2 noticed that she was *“clearly”* (para. 2) in need of *“medical assistance”* (para. 2). The victim *“had STDs all the way down her throat”* (para. 2) and was also *“limp”* (para. 2) and *“dehydrated”* (para. 2). Another *“heart-breaking”* (para. 128) experience of Participant SHT 5 involved a victim that suffered from *“TB, HIV”* (para. 128). She stated that the victim was *“so weak”* (para. 128) and they tried *“for a week”* (para. 128) to *“put her on her feet and then she declined so much”* (para. 128) that she had to be taken to a hospital. The victim *“passed away two days later”* (para. 128). Participant SHT 5 elucidated on the events that followed:

“...we had to explain everything to the mum and be there for the mum and organised the body to be taken to [city].” (para. 128)

“So we ended up with some of the girls attempting to commit suicide” (para. 2) explained Participant SAPS 9, whilst *“some of them, sad to say were HIV positive”* (para. 2). Referring to one girl that was *“basically”* (para. 2) sent *“home to die”* (para. 2), he expressed: *“That’s how serious it was...”* (para. 2). Participant SAPS 9 elaborated:

“...some of them were in the full blown stage of AIDS. So they needed special care, they needed special attention, and some of them even said to us via the interpreter at that time, that I just wanna go home, be with my family and I know I’m going to die.” (para. 2)

He continued:

“...I realised then that we have to release some of these girls and before the case can even be concluded in court I had to send some of the girls away and I did with the help of the advocate who managed to release some of the girls.

We had to send them home to die and we had information that one of the girls lasted two weeks in Thailand and she was gone. (para. 2)

Describing their role as “reactive” (para. 2), Participant HS 1 pointed out that doctors and medical staff are “not in the forefront of preventing or picking up” (para. 2) human trafficking “before this happens” (para. 2). Cases often present as rapes or assaults, after which “the victim is brought to us for an examination” (para. 2). He also pointed to the hidden nature of the crime, which impedes identification:

...because of the milieu in which it [human trafficking] occurs, it doesn't lend itself to being reported and ending up in a health institution. (para. 12)

Intersecting with the issue of health are the unrestrained challenges that emanate from drug abuse and addiction amongst victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. These will be explored in the next section.

4.3.3.6 Drugs and addiction

The most prominent and tumultuous issue that stifles any attempt at psychosocial intervention and service provision to victims of trafficking, whilst serving as a powerful adhesive that keeps victims in bondage and enslaved, is drugs and addiction. Participant HS 1 stated that “the role that drugs play cannot be overemphasised” (para. 4) and highlighted that “a vast majority of the victims are somehow hooked” (para. 4). Reflecting on his “een-en-twintig jaar” [twenty-one years] (para. 12) of managing the last brothel that he owned, Participant STP 8 stated that it is “drugs van A tot Z” [drugs from A to Z] (para. 10). With specific reference to “wit girls” [white girls] (para. 10), he stated: “Daar is nie een van hulle wat dit (dwellms) nie doen nie” [There is not one of them that does not do it (drugs)] (para. 10). As noted by Participant SHT 2:

“Not every girl that's working on the street has been trafficked but every girl that's trafficked I believe has been subject to drugs and if she wasn't already on drugs was forced into her drug addiction.” (para. 118)

What made Participant NGO 3's “blood boil” (para. 2) was her experience that:

“...if these girls or women were not addicts before they were trafficked they're certainly addicts after they come out of it.” (para. 2)

Victims of trafficking were also “*alcoholics like you won’t believe*” (para. 23), according to Participant INT 2, who stated that alcohol was just their “*coping system*” (para. 23). Participant VOT 2 reflected on her substance abuse whilst being in captivity and stated “*dis nie wie en wat ek is nie*” [*it’s not who and what I am*] (para. 21). She continued:

“...my coping meganisme was drank by die liters en coke by die kilogramme...”
[my coping mechanism was alcohol by the litres and cocaine by the kilograms...] (para. 21)

When “*somebody’s been trafficked*” (para. 2), according to Participant VOT 3, “*their system, their mind, is filled with coke and ecstasy*” (para. 2). She stated:

“...the only cravings in that system and that mind and bloodstream is for the next fix.” (para. 2)

Participant VOT 5, who had been addicted to heroin, said that her withdrawal symptoms included becoming “*physically ill*” (para. 176). She explained the pain and cramps that she had experienced and shared her views on the evils of heroin addiction:

“...it’s so incredibly painful. Your entire body does that, including your eyelids and your heart and your diaphragm, simultaneously for seven days. You vomit and shit blood the same time. You convulse. You would sell your soul for a hit ’cause it’s the only thing that takes it away. That’s why heroin is the devil. It’s the greatest trick the devil ever played on anybody because, when you get to that stage, when you use, you don’t get high no more...It just makes you feel like you feel right now. It makes you feel normal. It literally just takes the sick away. It’s the devil.” (para. 180)

The “*first time*” (para. 11) that Participant VOT 4 was sent to the streets was “*very hard*” (para. 11) and she recalled how there was no one who was “*even willing to help*” (para. 11) her, whilst “*even the cops...drive past you*” (para. 11). She reflected “*I was just a child*” (para. 11) and pointed to “*fear, guilt, shame*” (para. 11) and “*everything*” (para. 11) that overwhelmed her. Her response to the situation: “*I just started to drink more and abuse drugs more*” (para. 11).

A lack of adequate resources for responding to the pervasive problem of drugs and addiction amongst victims of human trafficking also emerged strongly in the research. Participant HS 1 described this as *“another hiatus in the...health service provision that we have”* (para. 4) and acknowledged that *“we don’t have good facilities at hand to offer detox for these victims”* (para. 4). *“There’s no actual programme to address that addiction”* (para. 6) said Participant SHT 2. For Participant INT 2, the *“biggest problem”* (para. 23) was finding a place where victims could go for *“rehab”* (para. 23). She highlighted that shelter staff such as *“a housemom, or a relief night lady helping out”* (para. 23) were clueless when having to respond to *“somebody that’s going bananas on heroin or whatever”* (para. 23). Hospitals provided assistance *“sometimes but not always”* (para. 23), which made it really difficult. When victims were on *“crack”* (para. 23), shelter staff could improvise by using *“Panados”* (para. 23) and *“a muscle relaxant”* (para. 23) such as *“Voltaren”* (para. 23), which would allow victims to sleep. However, Participant INT 2 stated that *“heroin was really tough, we couldn’t deal with heroin”* (para. 23).

Equally frustrated with the lack of services for victims who presented with drug withdrawal symptoms was Participant SAPS 9, who stated that when such a withdrawal or *“DTs”* (para. 4) kicks in, it *“kicks in violently – very, very violently”* (para. 4). In response to his questions: *“what do I do with the girl? Where do I put the girl?”* (para. 4), he stated: *“Nobody wants to answer me”* (para. 4). He described the withdrawal symptoms presented by victims:

“...they are busting windows, they are seeing things, they are talking, they wanna climb up buildings, they wanna go through the roof, they wanna jump off from the building, they doing everything that is classical symptoms of a person going through DTs because they coming off these by-products that these guys were force feeding them.” (para. 4)

Explaining how they have been *“begging DSD...to try and find a free drug ten days or whatever drug rehab [or] detox”* (para. 120), Participant SHT 5 referred to a resident at the shelter who *“managed to get some rat poison from our kitchen”* (para. 120), *“ate it”* (para. 124) and was subsequently hospitalised. She emphasised: *“...this is how bad the cravings can become”* (para. 120). Despite the widely acknowledged lack of resources for responding adequately to the issue of drug addiction among victims of

trafficking, incidental good news stories that emanated from unique micro-interactions were also shared by participants. Interestingly, the most rapid response and comprehensive support provided to a victim suffering from drug addiction and withdrawals emerged from an example in the sex trade shared by Participant STP 5. The *“club doctor”* (para. 130) could respond immediately to a victim who had overdosed, after which Narcan was administered as antidote. Participant STP 5 himself subsequently managed the same victim’s medication *“for two years”* (para. 130) before she eventually *“succumbed to heroin”* (para. 130).

Participant SAPS 5, *“with the help of my director”* (para. 2), arranged a meeting *“with the social workers and the superintendent”* (para. 2) at a particular hospital in their province and *“explained to them what we want them to help us with”* (para. 2). The meeting was successful with the specific hospital, the *“only”* (para. 2) one *“so far”* (para. 2) to provide assistance, which now means that victims can be taken there *“for three days detoxing before you can do anything with them”* (para. 2). An inspiring experience was also shared by Participant SAPS 2 about a victim from one province who was sold to a Nigerian trafficker in another province. This victim, who could not *“stay without drugs”* (para. 78), was taken to a district hospital where Participant SAPS 2 met this *“wonderful young doctor”* (para. 78) who evidently cared about the victim’s state. The doctor told Participant SAPS 2, *“I can organise something for you...let’s take this victim of yours”* (para. 78) whilst reassuring her:

“...don’t worry, I understand how she feels so I will take care of her” (para. 80)

The victim was subsequently admitted. The next morning, the victim *“was a different person from the person I left yesterday”* (para. 80) recounted Participant SAPS 2. With reference to the assistance provided by the doctor and the hospital, Participant SAPS 2 asserted:

“...we really, really need each other. If you think you can do this thing alone you’re playing.” (para. 80)

Participant SHT 2 emphasised a paradigm-shifting occurrence after victims *“went through the process of drug rehabilitation”* (para. 2). He elaborated:

“...they then started realising how they had been manipulated, conned, lied to

to get them to go into the different towns. When they're in that state...a drug induced state and the continuous use of drugs it wasn't an issue, it wasn't anything that they actually realised. It was like wow...a wow moment when they started recovering and getting off the drugs that, hang on a minute, these guys have been moving us from town to town to town for their benefit.” (para. 2)

The multilayered challenges posed by drugs and addiction, and the lack of services for adequately addressing this scourge are indeed problematic. In the next section, factors beyond control and captivity that impede victims' liberty will be explored.

4.3.3.7 Beyond control and captivity: transcending factors

From the research it became apparent that trafficking victims' liberty from a state of captivity often transcends factors such as being 'rescued' from the situation, the role of drugs and addiction, and even punitive or other control measures imposed by traffickers. They are *“vasgevang in a web” [caught in a web]* (para. 36) said Participant SAPS 7, who pronounced, *“hulle ken nie 'n ander wêreld nie” [they don't know another world]* (para. 36). Participant SHT 2 stated that victims *“don't have a life at all”* (para. 6). Apart from *“abuse”* (para. 6) and *“the violence”* (para. 6), he referred to a life that consisted only of *“sleeping, sex, drugs, sex, drugs, sex, drugs, sleeping and that's their life”* (para. 6). Not having *“any other life that they...can speak of”* (para. 6), Participant SHT 2 asserted that *“they're captive to that environment”* (para. 6) and pointed out that:

“Even if they wanted to get out they can't get out on their own because where do they go? How do they look after themselves?” (para. 6)

Cognitive processes in victims of trafficking were also evident in Participant NPA 6's conversation with a *“trafficking victim who worked on the streets”* (para. 12) who told her that *“we have a shelf life”* (para. 12). Knowing that girls can be rotated only so many times *“before the clients have slept or used all of them”* (para. 12), the victim told Participant NPA 6 that this is the stage at which they bring in *“fresh meat”* (para. 12). Considering the *“many residents”* (para. 4) at her shelter who started out with prostitution for survival and who subsequently morphed into trafficking after *“someone bought them or tricked them”* (para. 4), Participant SHT 5 referred to the *“lifestyle and the addiction of the lifestyle”* (para. 4), which *“isn't easy”* (para. 4) to *“break”* (para. 4).

She made reference to “so many dynamic[s] and factors that isn’t easy for someone to stop doing what they doing.” (para. 4).

Breathing life into the aforementioned statements, Participant VOT 4 responded poignantly to the researcher’s question of whether there were in fact “times when you were really able to run away?” (para. 161) by answering:

“Yes, but the fear and fear to change. It was not only the fear of Nigerians, it was the fear of me changing that life that I’ve already living...’cause I was scared that if I run away what’s gonna happen to me? What am I gonna do? I started drugs when I was sixteen, I’m not qualified for anything. Will I ever get a job? A lot of things come into your mind...Then you rather let me stick to this life that I know that I’m used to even if I die. So I realised that most of us we scared to change into that life because of the fear, a fear of change...because I’m so comfortable into me getting up five o’clock, taking my bath, the Nigerian say there’s your wake-up then I smoke it and stand in the street and I know I will make money the whole night. Daytime I sleep. So used to that. Now what’s gonna happen to me? How am I gonna live? And the other thing you get it into your brains that once you hooked on drugs you’ll never stop and that thing also haunts you. How am I gonna survive with this thing? Because if you don’t smoke for two days your whole body you can feel it. You get sore, you get cramps, it’s a very hard thing to fight. So all those things they come into your mind. They built in then you realise, me, I’d rather stay...” (para. 162)

These transcending considerations clearly intersect with the complex discussion around the agency of victims, and women in general, in the sex trade. They also demand a more sceptical interrogation of nuanced views such as ‘free will’ and self-determination when any person ‘chooses’ to remain in the sex trade. In the next section, the pervasive issue of minors as victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be explored.

4.3.3.8 The verity of minors as victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation

Minors as victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation have already featured above in a number of verbatim extracts as examples shared by participants. In fact,

due to ongoing debates around questionable statistics about the scope of child trafficking in South Africa, and related publications that suggest that the phenomenon is overstated and exaggerated, it is worth underscoring that numerous examples emerged in this research of minors that are exploited and trafficked into the sex trade. Participant SAPS 3 made reference to a “market” (para. 8) increasingly “saturated with adult prostitution” (para. 8) where traffickers were beginning to explore “more lucrative” (para. 8) options. He explained:

“...you’ll find that traffickers actually resorting on to children, to bring the children into the market, and you’ve got this paedophiles and the child porn industry and something like that that these guys are actually into it now.”

(para. 8)

In harmony with Participant SAPS 3, it was observed by Participant VOT 3 that it is “happening worse now since people are literally looking for younger girls when they call in at escort agencies” (para. 75). She explained that “escort agencies now are feeling the pressure of business wise to get younger girls” (para. 75) and stated that “to get younger girls the girls need to be trafficked or influenced” (para. 75), which includes exposure to “drugs” (para. 75). Still in contact with some girls at escort agencies, she was told:

“...some of them will break it down to me and say business is so bad that the youngest at twelve is taking my old-school client.”

(para. 75)

Participant STP 8 also mentioned that he regularly had walk-in clients who asked for the “jongste girl” [youngest girl] (para. 221) or had men calling in asking him “Wat’s die jongste girl wat jy het?” [What is the youngest girl that you have?] (para. 221). At the time of the interview, Participant NPA 5 was involved in “a new investigation that is still very sensitive” (para. 26) and in which consultation already started with “four (4) of the victims” (para. 26). The investigation included child victims of trafficking: “Some of them as young as 12” (para. 26). Minors trafficked from neighbouring countries are also found in South Africa’s sex trade. In a “hidden camera” (para. 35) investigation into a Hillbrow-based brothel, Participant MED 3 noted,

“We captured footage of the brothel manager saying that she had girls as young as 12 or 14 from all over – Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho.”

(para. 35)

During an emotional account by Participant STP 7 of her experiences of child trafficking and police complicity at a nightclub where she worked as police informant, she broke down when relating: the “*worst was when this little seven-year-old came with the stilettos*” (para. 46). “*Stuck*” (para. 48) in her mind, Participant STP 7 stated that she “*will never forget*” (para. 58) this specific incident, which took place on a “*very, very, very hot night*” (para. 58). She tearfully narrated:

“Here comes this kid with a little mini and the little strap is coming off the shoulder, with these heels.” (para. 58)

“This kid gets taken and this kid doesn’t know what to do and she gets a bit of a shouting in the ear and you can see this kid is a bit nervous, doesn’t know what to do and how to sit, obviously. And she can hardly even walk in these things. She’s tripping here and tripping there and, at the end...I think now she dances one song...and I said to [name] we have to go onto the [dance] floor. This was the child I was moving towards when that woman rudely blocked me off. There’s always different women [looking after the kids] but they are so arrogant. You can feel the danger. Even their aura. They willing to...they’ll kill you. No qualms about it. And, after that, that kid went...I always remember that kid with the strap just coming off, clothes were too big. This kid was a baby. She was a baby and this sticks in my mind. The heels, the strap, the look. And you can see this child wasn’t her normal self. Whatever they had administrated to this child made her look like she was in a dwaal...in spite of that, that kid knew there was danger....it was something new to her.” (para. 62)

Prominent also were minor boys in the sex trade. As explained by Participant INT 3:

“I’ve had quite a few cases of little boys that have been brought from Lesotho to Bloemfontein...I’ve had a couple of cases from there where these boys have been found on the streets and they’ve obviously been misused very badly and then thrown away on the streets.” (para. 52)

The prominence of boys in the local sex trade was also extensively elaborated upon by Participant STP 1, who provided detailed personal experiences and information of child trafficking both locally and transnationally. Detailed handwritten notes given to the researcher by Participant STP 1 during the interview also provided some insights

into the demand for boys in the South African sex trade:

“When I had the brothel in [city name], I had from time to time clients who preferred young boys aged between 10-16 years for sexual partners at my price of R1 000 per hour. I then went to [residential area] in [street name] where it was never difficult to pick up a youngster (of race specified by the client). I then took the youngster to a hotel of preference by the client, or my own premises where the client and the boy were busy in a flat next to my main property...afterwards I paid the youngster R400, and kept R600 for myself. I usually had ± (approx.) twenty (20) clients per month for boys, of which [a prominent business man] was one. [The prominent business man] usually took a boy for 2-3 hours at a time. I had a few regular boys available full time and who I could reach 24/7 if needed. As proof of this I can demonstrate this by going to [residential area] and to do pick-ups for you now. In 2014 my [city] contacts, pimps, said the ‘trade’ is booming, with not enough boys, and the customers might be in for a ‘price-hike’ soon, depending on services required. Present prices: Handjob (R350); Blowjob (R600) and Full House (R1 600). Customers with money usually preferred boys from an agency like myself or [name of brothel], than do pick-ups from the streets of dirty unhygienic youngsters/ young thieves and robbers.”

[Hand written notes handed over to the researcher by Participant STP 1]

Minors as collateral damage from incidents of human trafficking for sexual exploitation were also noted in experiences from various participants. One such example was offered by Participant SAPS 4, where two of the victims in his case fell pregnant. When he *“continued with the investigation”* (para. 10) into the births of their children, he *“later discovered that those children were sold for about five hundred bucks per child”* (para. 10). Participant VOT 5 shared how many of the girls on the streets eventually fell pregnant and recalls *“a couple of times”* (para. 12) how the girls came to the house where she stayed and *“sold their own children”* (para. 12). One example she cited was of a woman who *“had just given birth to the most beautiful little baby, and she’s [the woman] a crack and a heroin addict”* (para. 12). She stated that the child was sold for *“a half-moon [drugs], which is two hundred and fifty rand”* (para. 12). On being asked by the researcher what happened to the children that were sold by their mothers,

Participant VOT 5 gave detailed accounts of the modus operandi by Nigerian traffickers she was associated with and how drugs were smuggled. A synopsis is provided here:

“...it’s him and [name] and [name], they would murder these children and then cut them open, disembowel them, and stuff them full of drugs and send them wherever because South Africa doesn’t open child coffins to check. At ports, they don’t open children coffins.” (para. 12)

She continued:

“I also saw once, in [name]’s house, two actual full-on coffins were carried...this big, were carried in to the house. [Name] popped the lids and they took out these little babies, beautiful, beautiful little black babies.” (para. 260)

With reference to the drug content, Participant VOT 5 stated:

“...the one [baby] was stuffed with miracle and the other one was stuffed with tablets, I don’t know what tablets they were.” (para. 262)

A similar account of drug trafficking and the use of a “murdered” (para. 169) baby across South Africa’s borders to Nigeria was also shared by Participant SHT 9.

In the next section, the resilience of some victims of trafficking, as noted by participants, will be explored.

4.3.3.9 Victims’ resilience and capacity for justice

The resilience of the human spirit in the midst of immense trauma and hardship also came to the fore in some participants’ experiences of and interactions with victims of human trafficking. Participant NPA 7 spoke of a “traumatized” (para. 2) victim who, for example, told her that “on one day she saw thirty-four clients” (para. 2). “It was the most sickening experience to listen to” (para. 2) remembered Participant NPA 7. However, what affected Participant NPA 7 most deeply was that the victim was “sitting there bravely, willing to go to court and testify” (para. 2). In describing a trafficking case where the police “did a good job” (para. 15), Participant SHT 6 referred to a Thai girl who “came back to South Africa to testify” (para. 15). As a “very positive sign” (para.

15) in a “good case” (para. 15), Participant SHT 6 was in awe of the victim’s “*courage to come back to do that*” (para. 15). A prosecutor (NPA 4) attributed the success of her case to “*how strong*” (para. 4) the child victim in her case was: “*She was really just an amazing witness*” (para. 4). Using “*one word*” (para. 4) to describe the victim, Participant NPA 4 summed her up as “*sassy*” (para. 4) and elucidated:

“For a kid that grew up in that really remote rural village, never been to a city, she had a plan for her life and she wasn’t going to be derailed. She wanted to finish her schooling and from the word go, from our first consultation with her, we just clicked ’cause I said to her this is a very important case, you need to tell me, and she was consistent. I promise you, that girl was consistent from day one with what happened. But strong, strong, strong witness. Because when you prepare your witness you’ve gotta also cross-examine just to test and see. What a strong woman. Really, really, really.” (para. 4)

The resilience experienced by a shelter manager (SHT 4) was what allowed her to continue to “*do this job*” (para. 117). In her response to people who “*always ask me how can you do the job*” (para. 117), she explained:

“I always say because I see how the women come in here with dead eyes, really dead eyes, how the children come in here like a little adult, how children become children here with fun in their eyes...how the women get life in their eyes back and that’s how...why I can do this job.” (para. 117)

The resilience displayed by some victims clearly had a rejuvenating effect on the participants who interacted with them. In the next section, concerns voiced by participants regarding a lack of a victim-centred approach in investigations will be explored.

4.3.3.10 Lack of a victim-centred approach

The lack of a victim-centred approach to human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa was bemoaned by a number of participants. According to Participant NGO 9, the manner in which current operations and raids are conducted by the SAPS “*does not accommodate trafficking victims*” (para. 88). “*Victim assessments*” (para. 88) during raids are “*an add-on for them*” (para. 88) and she called on “*the raid*

procedure” (para. 88) to be *“adapted to include a victim screening”* (para. 88). As it stands, it is *“not sustainable”* (para. 88). The *“most frustrating thing”* (para. 2) experienced by Participant SHT 5 in terms of *“having a shelter and having girls coming”* (para. 2) was after the police dropped off a new victim at night and the following scenario played out:

“She’s tired, she’s exhausted, she’s scared, she’s traumatised and she’s hungry, everything you can imagine, very poor image to look at and now the next day she’s picked up at eight o’clock in the morning to go and give her statement...” (para. 2)

Referring to one such incident, Participant SHT 5 felt that the demands on the victim to submit a statement were *“too quick”* (para. 2) because the *“girl never came back because she just freaked out”* (para. 2). Participant SHT 5 continued by highlighting that she *“understand[s] the statement has to happen”* (para. 2) but emphasised that *“it’s not working”* (para. 2) and is in fact *“unsensitive”* (para. 2) towards the victim. She explained:

“It’s not working for the victims and it’s not working for the shelter in the way we want to...you coming to us then we give you rest, we give you safety, we work on your fears, on your everything, on your trauma, but, no, she has to go...she just sleep one night, she doesn’t get to know anybody at the shelter, and then the next day you say, good luck, bye-bye, all the best, and she goes... she [victim] didn’t come back because she dropped the case right there. She said I can’t do that.” (para. 2)

Referring to the implementation of the new legislation and the lack of service provision *“for simple treatment of the victim”* (para. 4), Participant SAPS 9 situated the victim at the centre of *“putting my case before court”* (para. 4). The evidence being led in court by the victim is therefore *“crucial”* (para. 4), with Participant SAPS 9 reiterating: *“If I don’t have her, I don’t have a case”* (para. 4). With regard to an ongoing case, and *“even with many other cases as well”* (para. 4), Participant SAPS 9 explained that at the start of the proceedings *“we started off with quite a few girls”* (para. 4) and the number of girls subsequently went *“down to very few girls”* (para. 4). He indignantly asked:

“Why? The question is why? What are you offering them? Are you offering them anything at all?” (para. 4)

He concluded poignantly:

“No, you’re not, but you want something from them.” (para. 4)

Problematic also is the *“victim being shifted from one person to a next and the next before they end up at the shelter”* (para. 12), as noted by Participant NGO 1, who highlighted that victims are sometimes interviewed multiple times instead of by *“one person who knows what they’re doing, doing the interview, and that’s it”* (para. 12). She continued:

“I’m sure it’s traumatic for them to have to re-tell it again and again and again and I’m sure on some level they probably like why are they asking me this again and are they trying to catch me out? Do they not believe me? Which also complicates things.” (para. 16)

Participant SHT 2 also shared his experience of trafficking victims being moved multiple times between shelters and called on service providers to be more considerate towards the victims:

“...can you put yourself in the place of a human trafficking victim who basically against their will, whether they’ve been force-fed drugs, they’ve got the drug addiction or whatever, they’ve been moved from town to town...and then they get into a safe facility and then you move them again. It surely cannot be...I’ve heard one or two of the girls say this, that how long am I going to stay here for now before I get moved again?” (para. 40)

Theme 3 indicates that there are significant shortcomings in South Africa’s aspirations to embrace a truly victim-centred approach to human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The complexities associated with trauma, drugs and addictions, and the concomitant lack of comprehensive service provision in response to these challenges, are glaring. The trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of minors in the sex trade are also disconcerting, with the lived experiences shared by participants in this research contradicting what some preservationist-orientated researchers have to say around

this issue. Best practices and good news stories do, in fact, exist as these underpinned many of the handful of successful human trafficking convictions. However, the work that remains to be done is significant as reflected in the lived experiences shared by many participants, which pointed to a number of constraining factors that impede the desired victim-centred approach.

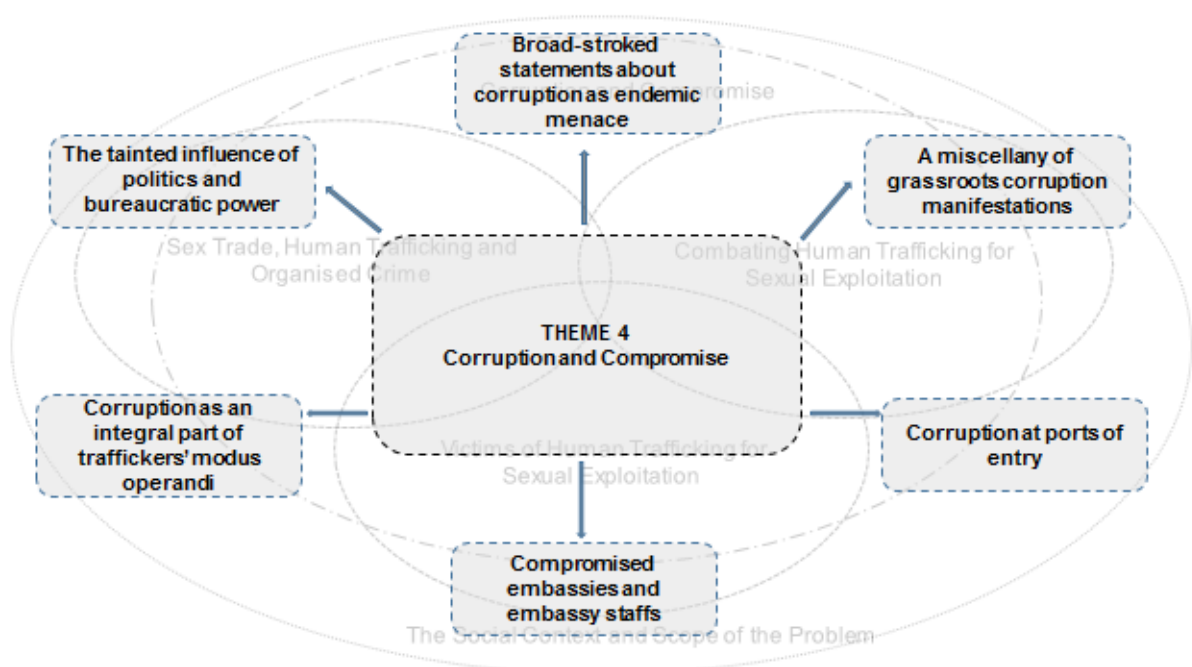
Corruption and compromise, as the most ubiquitous theme in this research, will now be explored.

4.3.4 THEME 4: Corruption and Compromise

As the fourth theme, experiences related to corruption and compromise were the most pervasive to emerge from the research. South Africa is believed to be “one of the biggest culprits” (SAPS 8, para. 92) when it comes to “not addressing” (SAPS 8, para. 94) organised crime, compounded by “a lot of thin lines between the good guy and the bad guy” (VOT 3, para. 30). Almost every participant had some experience related to corruption or compromise, which in one way or another inhibited the investigation process, compromised the potential for success, fuelled distrust, and perpetuated and enabled the crime of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Figure 4.6 below presents an overview of Theme 4 and its sub-themes.

Figure 4.6: Theme 4



4.3.4.1 Broad-stroked statements about corruption as endemic menace

Broad-stroked statements about corruption in South Africa usually prefaced or followed more detailed experiences that were shared by participants. Participant INT 4 opined that there is a “*general consensus*” (para. 5) that “*corruption is increasing in South Africa*” (para. 5). “*I deal with corruption every day so I see it on every level*” (para. 92) stated Participant SAPS 8, who referred to corruption as being “*endemic in our country*” (para. 92). He stated that in “*any government department*” (para. 92) corruption occurred in “*different structures from the person working at the ground to your top managers*” (para. 92) and argued that it is “*definitely a major contributor to the success of human trafficking*” (para. 92). Lamenting the fact that cases of missing persons and human trafficking are not investigated in his town, Participant NGO 8 stated:

“You know how easy it is for a case to not be investigated locally? It’s called thirty thousand rand from a Nigerian to a police officer or an investigator. It’s called [name of trafficker] playing cards with the lead investigators at the [name] Police Station.” (para. 124)

The first issue in the interview raised by Participant NPA 2 was, “*unfortunately*” (para. 2), corruption, which she said is “*the first thing that springs to mind*” (para. 2) when discussing the “*investigative perspective*” (para. 2) into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Another prosecutor (Participant NPA 5) agreed:

“A huge problem is corruption or possible prejudices and suspicions. Information is still leaked and I sometimes understand that the members can feel as if no-one can be trusted...especially in TIP cases because of police involvement in different ways.” (para. 10)

For Participant MED 1, corruption in the police is “*common knowledge*” (para. 68) and he spoke of a “*general perception and image*” (para. 68) held by the public that the police cannot be trusted. The prevalence of corruption in South Africa was also emphasised by Participant STP 1 as the reason why “*fighting amongst the syndicates are becoming very, very rare*” (para. 182). He claimed that interference “*with their way of operation*” (para. 182) was usually met with “*a killing or two*” (para. 182) but said that this has declined “*because there’s slices of pie for everybody*” (para. 182). When

asked by the researcher: *“what do you mean by there’s a slice of the pie for everybody?”* (para. 183), Participant STP 1 responded:

“Income. There is so much corruption going on here that everybody can live comfortable. They don’t have to step on one another’s toes. Not at all.”

(para. 184)

In referring to *“corrupt police officials”* (para. 16) that are *“actually expanding their empires”* (para. 16), Participant SAPS 3 also referred to the proverbial ‘pie’ in his analysis of the situation:

“...it is so because everyone wants a slice of that pie. That pie is too lucrative for anyone of us to move away. Those of us that are happy with the crumbs that we earn, and we earn it solidly, we’re happy...and now it’s about cutthroat. So the person that grabs the knife first and cuts his slice, the next person that comes there he doesn’t want to give the knife over. He wants to cut that person’s throat as well. So this is what it’s all about.”

(para. 16)

Whilst many participants were evidently frustrated by a general sense that corruption and compromise is a reality that must be navigated, others appeared to be perplexed by it. They continued to share a range of day-to-day realities and experiences that related to corruption and compromise.

4.3.4.2 A miscellany of grassroots’ corruption manifestations

An assortment of compromises and corruption incidents at grassroots’ level had been widely experienced by participants. These experiences ranged on a continuum from criminal investigations not being instituted and police dockets being discarded to the exploitation of trafficking victims and official complicity in the trafficking process. Whilst conducting training sessions on the issue of human trafficking, Participant DSD 2 had noticed *“a lot of distrust”* (para. 86) between the community and the police. She was informed by those attending:

“...we are concerned about corruption because we go and report and we know that these people [SAPS] they are linked to the traffickers and nothing would be done.”

(para. 78)

As stated by Participant NGO 11, *“...in each and every shift, they [traffickers] have about maybe three/four [SAPS] guys that will be their eyes and ears”* (para. 66). In her town, she added, *“it basically started with one brigadier”* (para. 66). As a member of the public, an emotional Participant CS 10 tried to access the services of the SAPS when his drug-addicted wife was continuously intimidated by a pimp she used to be involved with. His wife subsequently ended up being detained and exploited by the pimp and Participant CS 10 needed assistance as the pimp was armed and dangerous. He went to the police station in his area, whereafter the situation was subversively manipulated by police officials who promised to help him, but requested payment for their services. Participant CS 10 questioned this:

“...why is it costing [me] money? I thought you SAPS were a free service?”

(para. 8)

The explanation offered by one of the SAPS members was:

“He said, no, because they gonna do it on their own time as well because, if we go to the station, this case will just close, the Nigerians will buy the station off.”

(para. 8)

On being asked by the researcher how much he ended up paying for their ‘services’, Participant CS 10 responded:

“I think it’s around fifty-five but that’s with the seven thousand, two thousand, the forty thousand, and his two thousand he borrowed and he kept on borrowing smaller money...I’m sure it’s about fifty-five or fifty-six thousand [rands].”

(para. 112)

One payment that Participant CS 10 was asked to make was *“money for a gun that’s unlicensed”* (para. 112) as the police officials were planning to *“take this guy out...because now they tired”* (para. 114). Participant CS 10 remained disillusioned with the criminal justice system. His wife was no longer physically detained, but she continued to struggle with *“rock [drugs] and alcohol”* (para. 173).

One report by a victim of human trafficking turned into a nightmare for her after she approached a police station following her escape from captivity. The matter was

subsequently investigated by Participant CS 5 and another member of the Provincial Human Trafficking Task Team. Participant CS 5 recounted that the victim walked into the police station and stated: *“Ek het ontsnap. Hier is die adres. Ek is bang. Ek vrees vir my lewe...”* [I escaped. Here is the address. I am scared. I fear for my life...] (para. 2). The police officials then asked her whether she used any drugs, whereupon the victim acknowledged that she did. The alleged actions of the police to the situation were as follows:

“Hulle het vir haar ecstasy gegee en hulle het haar verkrag in die polisiestatie.”

[They (police) gave her (victim) ecstasy and they raped her in the police station.]
(para. 2)

The matter was reported to the *“polisiestatie se bevelvoerder”* [police station commander] (para. 260) but *“daar het niks daarvan geword nie”* [nothing came of it] (para. 260). Some of the victims accommodated by Participant SHT 3 had informed her that the *“traffickers are working with the police”* (para. 106). She explained:

“...especially when they wanted to run away from the traffickers, some would run to the police station and then they would tell their story and the police would take them back to the traffickers.”
(para. 102)

Participant VOT 4 also shared how a *“Superintendent”* (para. 91) regularly used to pick her up, after which she would be taken to a police station in [city]:

“...even when he’s on duty he takes me then he say to me just follow me and then I follow him ’til to the other cells...they speak to the other cops there and they all know what’s going on...they were just opening the doors and we went into this other cell and then we did business...”
(para. 95)

The Superintendent also commented on his colleagues’ tacit complicity:

“They won’t say anything and they won’t ask anything. I even ask him aren’t you scared...he said no. He told me he was a Superintendent so they won’t ask him questions...”
(para. 101)

Victims of trafficking disclosed to Participant SAPS 10 how brothel operators scared

them with narratives about the police, who were also frequent visitors to such places:

“Werklikwaar polisiemanne wat daar by bordele kom in uniform...dan slaap hulle saam met die meisies...hulle word vir hulle op ’n skinkbord gegee, verniet of halfprys.”

[Truly, police officials that visit brothels in uniform and then sleep with the girls...they (girls) are provided to them (police) on a platter, free or half-price.]

(para. 79)

Talking about another “*known fact*” (para. 44), Participant SAPS 3 stated that a prominent brothel owner was “*in cahoots*” (para. 44) with the “*commander of an organised crime unit*” (para. 44). He explained this relationship as follows:

“The commander was bought gifts and was given money and stuff like that nature. The commander could frequent these places at his leisure and at his pleasure. So he did it, he could go and have himself a drink there and he could also go and have sex with one of the girls as well and this is part of the underworld.”

(para. 44)

A prosecutor (Participant NPA 3) shared how a “*couple of the investigators were linked to even abusing some of the girls sexually*” (para. 2) in a human trafficking case she was working on. She stated that this is where “*corruption comes in*” (para. 8) and underscored the need to “*sensitise these police officer[s] that in fact they’re committing rape on these girls because these are victims of trafficking, they further exploiting them*” (para. 8). The extent to which police officials actively engage in the trafficking process was witnessed by Participant CS 6, who was in a house when a trafficker walked in with a girl and accompanied by a member of the SAPS. He explained what transpired:

“Dan skryf hierdie polisieman ’n docket uit vir die vermiste persoon om eintlik te sê...die inligting wat hy ontvang het is dat hierdie persoon geskuif is na [city] toe...en dat die ondersoek heeltemal wegbeweeg van [city] af maar dan staan die trafficked persoon in die middel van die vertrek. Dan staan sy reg voor my...”

[Then this policeman writes out a docket for the missing person to actually say the information that he received is that the person was moved to (city) and that

the investigation must totally move away from (city) but then the trafficked person stands in the middle of the room. Then she stands right in front of me...]
(para. 4)

Another example of police complicity in the trafficking process was witnessed by Participant STP 7 during her work as police informant at the nightclub linked to child trafficking. Not knowing who was responsible for transporting the children to the nightclub, she watched as the children *“left with the cops...all the time”* (para. 214). She explained:

“...the police vans were there every so often...Just before dawn, like just before half past four or something, then the cops would [arrive]...then you’d find these little ones were going into the back of the police vehicle and they were going...if you looked at it, you will think that the cops are taking them back home and, in actual fact, I asked myself is it really? Because now I seen an envelope changing hands. So, obviously, they not going back home. So where are these kids going?”
(para. 18)

Participant STP 7 also highlighted that a number of police vehicles would visit the premises throughout the night. *“The cops are waiting and they drinking outside the gate”* (para. 190), after which the owner *“goes with a [sic] envelope, gives them a chitchat, whatever, [and] off they go”* (para. 190). This scenario played out approximately *“four/five times”* (para. 220) per night and often involved different vehicles as they had *“different number plates”* (para. 220). A similar description of payments made by traffickers to members of the SAPS was given by Participant VOT 5. *“We pay them well”* (para. 387) she stated and continued by saying members of the SAPS *“come and fetch their money at all hours of the day”* (para. 389). They got paid *“a weekly salary”* (para. 395) but still would visit *“three/four times a day”* (para. 395). Other requests by police officials highlighted by Participant VOT 5 included:

“My son’s having a birthday, he needs takkies, please give me three hundred...”
(para. 395)

Participant STP 8 shared a number of experiences of how he had had to pay off police officials whilst operating his brothel and a nightclub. He described how a typical scenario would play out:

“...die polisie sal instap...en dan soek hulle die eienaar of die bestuurder. En dan hulle laai al die girls. Die girls gaan booking toe. Dan sal hulle my en die bestuurder vat...en op pad polisiestatie toe moet ons nou onderhandel. Jy begin met ’n honderd duisend. Daai’s nie kleingeld nie. ’n Honderd duisend, want hulle weet wat se tipe geld is betrokke...So ek moet gou die geld organise, so ek het altyd maar backup geld gehad. Toe sê ek okay, ek kan die geld reël. Gee net my telefoon terug. Dan sal ek my ma bel en sê sy moet vir my...’n honderd uithaal uit my boksie uit...”

[...the police will walk in and then they look for the owner or the manager. And then they load all the girls. The girls are then booked. Then they will take me and the manager and on the way to the police station we must negotiate. You start with a hundred thousand. That’s not small change. A hundred thousand, because they know what type of money is involved. So I must then quickly organise the money, and I always had backup money. Then I said okay, I can arrange the money. Give my phone back. Then I will call my mother and tell her that she must take a hundred out of my box...] (para. 110)

He pointed out that he had paid “*honderd duisend*” [*hundred thousand*] (para. 120) on about “*vier*” [*four*] (para. 120) occasions. On one occasion he offered “*vyftig*” [*fifty*] (para. 12) but they said “*nee, double. Double or nothing.*” [*No, double. Double or nothing*] (para. 120). Smaller amounts of “*tien duisend rand of vyf duisend*” [*ten thousand rand or five thousand rand*] (para. 195) were payable to police when he sold alcohol after 02:00 at his nightclub.

An *in situ* investigation at a brothel turned into a volatile state of affairs for Participant SAPS 3 when a “*standoff*” (para. 44) occurred between “*two law enforcement agencies within the same umbrella body of the South African Police*” (para. 52). One group was assisting him in the investigation whilst the other group responded to an “*armed robbery at the brothel*” (para. 44). He explained:

“...guns were taken out and my law enforcement guys that were from the National Intervention Unit and they were clad in full uniform and I brought them for a purpose because I knew that in this area most of these brothel keepers have got law enforcement in their back pockets. Literally in their back

pockets...it is totally corruption.

(para. 44)

One of the responding police officers “*couldn’t give*” (para. 52) Participant SAPS 3 the computerised reference number for the armed robbery complaint at the brothel. Participant SAPS 3 concluded: “*So obviously he came there for a different purpose...*” (para. 52). A similar experience was shared by Participant SAPS 11, who referred to a raid on a brothel where the alleged trafficker “*came out with all his bouncers*” (para. 8), who were greater in number “*than the policemen*” (para. 8). Not prepared for a physical confrontation, the police officers “*called for backup*” (para. 10). This call was responded to by members of the SAPS Dog Unit, who “*were basically more aligned to (name of the alleged trafficker) than they were to the police*” (para. 10). The police then “*withdrew*” (para. 10) because they realised this was “*not going to be a successful raid*” (para. 10).

Referring to a case where Chinese girls had been rescued from a “*karaoke bar*” (para. 30), Participant INT 3 expressed her frustration:

“You’ve got your heart involved in it and suddenly when you ask for a response from the police: so what happened to that case I gave you? What happened? And there’s no response.”

(para. 30)

Participant INT 3 had requested an update on the case from a prosecutor during a provincial task team meeting. She elucidated on the ensuing conversation, which did not produce a satisfactory answer:

“I asked him in front of everyone then he says we’ll talk about it later. Then afterwards he takes me aside and he says, ‘[INT 3] the people are so corrupt.’ He says, ‘I was doing a workshop with the colonels and whatever,’ and he said, ‘There were eleven of them and out of eleven five of them I know are corrupt.’ So that’s what he told me about this case. So you put two and two together and what do you get?”

(para. 36)

An example of a compromising situation with the DSD emerged from the experiences shared by Participant NGO 10 when her organisation intervened in a case of a trafficked minor:

“We placed a minor in a safe-house. She was almost not a minor anymore. Placed her in a safe-house and, obviously, because she was a minor,...the court order has to go across Department of Social Development’s desk and we got a call from the social worker to say the alleged trafficker of this girl is a known associate and a known friend of my manager and he has seen this. So now he knows where this child is and I know that he, on weekends, hangs out with this known trafficker.” (para. 143)

For Participant NGO 10, this situation was “*a major red flag*” (para. 143) and she “*went straight up to the top*” (para. 143) and “*immediately...spoke about it*” (para. 143). She concluded: “*...all of this is hearsay so you can’t really do much about it*” (para. 143). Such incidents and suspicions are a source of significant tension and distrust between stakeholders, with far-reaching consequences. As expressed by a social worker (Participant DSD 6) who had experienced a number of compromising incidents amongst members of the Hawks with whom she worked on cases of trafficking:

“We are not stupid. We keep quiet but we are not stupid. If you are looking at behaviour and interactive patterns, you quickly see when someone or something is fishy...” (para. 216)

She highlighted how she and her colleagues had responded to this: “*...it made us cut ourselves off completely from the police*” (para. 219). In the next section, the issue of corruption at ports of entry will be explored.

4.3.4.3 Corruption at ports of entry

Corruption at South Africa’s ports of entry is an embedded reality, which was acknowledged by a number of participants as problematic. As noted by Participant POE 4:

“...at the ports of entry we know about corruption and everyone knows about the corruption but it’s difficult for them to actually sort it out...” (para. 28)

Echoing this sentiment was Participant NGO 9, who reflected on her organisation’s work at a major South African port of entry. She pointed to the fact that “*every single agency we deal with is worried about corruption*” (para. 78) and emphasised an existing knowledge vacuum as to “*how to identify*” (para. 78) the problem. Participant

INT 3's experience during a workshop she conducted for law enforcement officials from immigration, the police, the Hawks and prosecutors provides insights as to how compromising practices become established at ports of entry. One of the delegates at the workshop offered the following experience, which was retold by Participant INT 3:

"...he used to be at his post and a regular man to pass his post was a Chinese guy and every time the Chinese man came from Maputo to South Africa he'd get his passport stamped and he'd give the official hundred, two hundred, up to five hundred rand and initially the official would say but why? And he was "I like you, you're so nice", whatever, whatever. Three months passed with this guy regularly going up and down and one day the Chinese guy knew that it was an evening shift for this official so he come to him, gets his passport stamped and then he tells the official, my friend, I have a problem. My whole family – my sisters, my aunts and all – have come from China and I need to get them into South Africa but they don't have passports. They don't have any documents. So what did the official do? We all looked at him saying what did you do? And the official was brave enough to say I let them go through..." (para. 60)

Participant INT 3 commented on the official's actions:

"And at that time he says his excuse was he didn't know about human trafficking. So he didn't think that all those women in there could be taken to be abused." (para. 60)

That financial incentives were gleaned from corrupt activities was inferred by Participant MED 2 in her work as a journalist specialising in human trafficking in a province where a prominent border crossing is situated and which is known as a doorway for human trafficking:

"I'm very well aware of one border official that has this fancy house around the corner here and he's got a Jacuzzi and everything and he drives luxury vehicles and he's a border official. Really? I don't know when their salaries went that high and he lives the high life but I'm sure it started with just a few little rands here and there and now he's just allowing everything to go through." (para. 178)

Also referring to the role of immigration at the ports of entry, Participant STP 1 stated

that “...at the right price they let certain people come into the country which actually doesn't belong here” (para. 186). Illuminating the intricacies of corruption at a prominent airport, Participant DHA 2 stated that it is not only home affairs officials that may be involved, but a chain of role-players that include the flight attendant, immigration officials, airport security and the police. Corruption has also spread to include some of the undercover officials “that are working there and instead of them picking these things up, because they are also on the payroll of the syndicates, they just let everything pass” (para. 30). Asked by the researcher whether she was convinced that it is possible for an entire chain to be compromised, Participant DHA 2 responded:

“Yes, I am. I am because I've dealt with them. Especially with the guys from crime intelligence. I'm glad that we're gonna to remain anonymous because this is actually dangerous. There's a team of guys that I worked with...”

(para. 38)

She described them as a “syndicate” (para. 34) and “a network of people” (para. 34) that are operating at the airport. Participant STP 1 was also asked about control measures at ports of entry and how it was possible for these to be circumvented. In a response similar to that of Participant DHA 2, Participant STP 1 stated:

“There are officials on the planes that belongs to that certain countries that are also in on the deal and see that the goods...let's name the children the goods, that the goods are being loaded at the airport and being flown to whichever country.”

(para. 32)

On being asked about the lack of prosecutions of criminals involved in the trafficking of women and children in South Africa, Participant STP 1 responded:

“Because of corrupt officials, corrupt policemen, corrupt people that work for immigration, home affairs. It is all people that gets put money in their hands under the table and why would there be concern because it has got nothing to do with them? It's somebody else's life. They don't care. If they must put a stamp on a passport or a letter of stay as we call it and the money is right then they do it.”

(para. 42)

Compromised travel documentation and the processes that underpin it were highlighted by a number of participants. Participant DHA 1 explained:

“It appears legit and then if he’s been investigated by the immigration office it will be established that that permit is fraudulently obtained by means of obtaining it at the embassy in foreign countries. For an example, paying the official to get that permit and that official issue the permit legally but if the permit is legally been issued and if the permit is been verified...during the investigation it can be established that it’s fraudulent obtained.” (para. 40)

In addition to widespread concerns that South Africa’s borders are more porous than a “tea strainer” (Participant SAPS 3, para. 8), the issue of corruption and compromise amongst law enforcement agencies at ports of entry indeed appears to be problematic and an enabling factor for the trafficking in human beings. In the next section the issue of corruption and compromise at embassies will be explored.

4.3.4.4 Compromised embassies and embassy staff

A number of references were made to embassies or embassy staffs that were either directly involved in human trafficking processes, or created an enabling environment for the crime to perpetuate. “We find a lot of embassies are also involved” (para. 26) stated Participant SAPS 3, who pointed out that some victims of trafficking “are also scared of their own embassies within their countries” (para. 26). Participant NPA 7 referred to a case where a victim disappeared after an interaction with the [country’s name] embassy during an ongoing investigation into a prominent brothel that continues to operate with impunity. She explained:

“We found out there were Nigerian syndicates running it together with people from the [country’s name] embassy and that kind of thing ’cause the victim was able to confirm that it was embassy staff that were in on it and they had her passport and they were saying to her that if she went back to the hotel she could pick up her passport, this was what the embassy was telling her, and even when she said to them this is what they did to her at this place and they were like they’ve got your passport. It was clear at that point they were in on it and it was just so frustrating that you just could not get the police to do anything and, like I say, it’s been...three years since she’s disappeared and nothing’s

been done at the hotel. All the information was given over. The police sat there...they heard first-hand from her." (para. 2)

Participant SHT 3 stated that there is *"always this resistance"* (para. 288) from the [country's name] embassy when dealing with the intersection of [country's name] nationals, human trafficking and police interventions. For Participant STP 2, it was *"not a [sic] easy process"* (para. 38) to get help from the [country's name] embassy subsequent to his involvement in the rescue of a trafficking victim:

"...we basically had to threaten them...because they didn't wanna take care of her and we said we gonna go to the newspapers and tell the South African newspapers that you don't wanna look after your people, this trafficked girl, and then they changed their story and they said we gonna help..." (para. 38)

According to Participant SHT 3, a *"big issue"* (para. 290) that was subsequently investigated was:

"...the fact that the [country's name] embassy they know who the traffickers are. They invite them to the [country's name] embassy to come and talk to that ladies that are in the shelter to maybe to give them money or what, I don't know." (para. 290)

She stated that *"sometimes the ladies will tell us that I'm going to meet my mama-sar²⁰"* (para. 292) at *"the embassy"* (para. 294). When asked by the researcher: *"how does that impact your work as a programme manager at a shelter?"* (para. 295), she replied:

"I just feel that it's not fair really. It's not fair...I get so despaired that we depriving these victims in their rights because some of them would like to get the cases to go on and they want to testify and we are suppressing that." (para. 296)

Participant SAPS 8 elucidated how an investigation into a [nationality] billionaire skewed after approaching the [country's name] embassy:

²⁰ A woman in a position of authority, usually part of the broader trafficking operation, who manages girls in Thai- or similar Asian brothels or massage parlours (see Siegel & De Blank, 2010: 443).

“I sent my people in and we made the mistake of approaching the [country’s name] embassy to get an interpreter and just by chance they had a neo-operator that picked up that we were looking for a [nationality] interpreter, just by chance, and he actually tipped off the billionaire saying I don’t know if it’s related but this came back from my informer after the fact that these guys are looking for a [nationality] interpreter and you guys need to be careful.”

(para. 16)

He explained how the investigation unfolded:

“We had the flight details of the girls, there were twelve [nationality] girls being flown out from [airport name]. We stood there waiting and they never arrived. Those tickets were never claimed. They were paid for but they were never claimed. The informer came back to us and said all hell broke loose. These girls were put in a bus, they were raced down to a private airport, they were put on a private jet and they were flown out probably back to [country’s name].”

(para. 16)

An emic viewpoint was provided by Participant STP 5, who explained how *“one of the security guys that does the security for the staff”* (para. 168) at the [country’s name] consulate tipped him off. He reflected: *“that’s when I started thinking there’s kak coming”* (para. 166). He explained:

“...you used to get a lot of Americans that used to come to the club then all of a sudden the one day the one American guy said to me your club’s under investigation for human trafficking. All [country’s name] ambassador staff are not allowed in this club. You’re being investigated.”

(para. 164)

In the next section, corruption as an integral part of traffickers’ modus operandi will be explored.

4.3.4.5 Corruption as an integral part of traffickers’ modus operandi

Corruption is therefore at the heart of an effective human trafficking strategy and modus operandi of traffickers. Participant SAPS 3 pointed out that *“the underworld is not cheap”* (para. 72). He elucidated:

“They make the money. They’re prepared to make more money and it means them spending money to make money, that’s what it’s all about.” (para. 72)

“...unfortunately the ones with the money is the traffickers and not the trafficking victims” (para. 89) stated Participant SHT 4. This sentiment is echoed by a victim of trafficking, Participant VOT 4, who stated, *“they’ve got so much money to bribe the cops that the cop[s] they just leave you there...”* (para. 13). The temptation can also be considered to be a real and present danger. Participant POE 4 explained, *“we are even offered bribes permanently from these syndicates and it’s not small money”* (para. 28). *“Yes, it is a temptation”* (para. 30) acknowledged Participant CLE 2, who advised, *“you must look it in the eye, square in the eye”* (para. 30). He warned: *“The thing is this: people are offering you money. If you are open for it you gonna fall into that trap”* (para. 30). As a personal experience, Participant CLE 2 offered the following:

“I’ve been offered on numerous occasions with big amounts of monies by a nightclub owner just to tell her when we are coming to her property, just to give her a tipoff, and I will receive that amount of money of two thousand per month.”
(para. 30)

Another example was provided by Participant SAPS 3, who explained:

“So even if it means them tapping into the social worker, you’re gonna see this victim, please tell us when you’re gonna see this victim. Which hospital are you gonna see them or which route are you taking? So anyone can be manipulated...”
(para. 72)

Participant DSD 5, a social worker, shared her experience, which had vivid similarities to Participant SAPS 3’s aforementioned example:

“...there was a case here, we were offered seventy-five thousand to release a client that was here. A white woman came to the centre, acted as if she’s a victim of domestic violence...with a baby but she was looking for this seventy-five-thousand client that is here...The prostitute [client] was raped by a high police up there, on top, in one of the hotels in [suburb]. But this person is working for the traffickers because she was already staying with them, working for them.”
(para. 157)

What should serve as a warning to officials who engage in corrupt activities is Participant SAPS 2's assertions that *"you can't trust those people"* (para. 52). She pointed out that, *"criminals are criminals"* (para. 52) and *"if you not working on their favour then you out"* (para. 52). She continued by providing context:

"I met this guy, a Nigerian guy, and then he was like if you arrest me Constable X will come and release me...if we arrest them they will tell you that you just wasting your time because [person's name] is gonna come and release me. That's how you sometimes find out who did what, who's doing what because these people can't keep a secret and even if those people who are on their payrolls if they are not doing what they want they can come to you and say [person's name] is doing one, two, three...So that's how you will know some of the names." (para. 52)

The researcher could relate to the experiences shared by Participant SAPS 2 as he had also experienced the brazen efforts by some traffickers who are in a constant process of trying to manipulate police officials and investigators, or trying to sow discord and misinformation amongst law enforcement officials. The influence of politics and bureaucratic power in the perpetration of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be explored next.

4.3.4.6 The tainted influence of politics and bureaucratic power

The direct and indirect intersection of politics and bureaucratic power with, and their influence on, the perpetration of organised crime and human trafficking was by no means an anomaly. The same political party also featured in all the experiences shared by participants in this section. With regard to the perpetuation of human trafficking, Participant NGO 4 surmised in a few words:

"It's because top people are involved and that's why it thrives..." (para. 68)

Participant CS 6 was present in the home of one of the *"kingpins"* (para. 12) when he overheard a conversation between him, a member of the SAPS and *"politici spesifiek van die [political party name] van die [city name] se tak"* [politicians specifically from the (political party name) of the (city name) branch] (para. 12). According to Participant CS 6, funding for political campaigning was the issue that was being discussed and

this was subsequently provided by the 'kingpin':

"...en ek bedoel wat hierdie ouens besigheid gesels asof dit niks is nie dat hierdie ouens sê maar as jy ons...campaign befonds dan sal ons vir jou die volgende kickback gee, dan sal ons seker maak die ouens kyk die anderpad. Ons own die polisie, ons own die law enforcement, ons own die NGOs en ons sal seker maak die ouens raak nie aan julle nie..."

[...and I mean these guys were talking business fervently and then these guys say if you fund our campaign then we will give you the following kickback, then we will ensure that people look the other way. We own the police, we own law enforcement, we own the NGOs and we will make sure that people don't touch you...] (para. 12)

In a case investigated by Participant SAPS 4, "well-known business people" (para. 8) and "political party members" (para. 8) were involved. It emerged during the investigation

"...that a lot of money that the main suspect gave to the political party leaders to develop this community was in order to make him look very good as a [sic] upmarket businessman but meanwhile back at the ranch he was misusing the children." (para. 8)

Participant SAPS 4 explained that "one of the people that he [the trafficker] lured" (para. 80) was a "high-ranking [political party name] official in the [town] area, a ward councillor" (para. 80). He continued by describing this relationship:

"...and there was a lot of promises made, that I got in statements, where he paid this specific guy money and he set up fresh water taps and stuff in the community with promises – if I get this, then you will get that; if I get selected into the [political party name] municipal governing body there, then you will get this. So I think it was a business decision for him to...get that friendship going and also he would look like the good guy in the community itself. So it won't be a problem if the adults let their children go to him on weekends to the farm because this is then a good guy...between the two of them they had a good relationship going with I supply, you supply, I supply, you supply." (para. 80)

The social mingling of politicians with those implicated in the sex trade was shared by a number of participants. Participant SAPS 8 had *“a source right in the system”* (para. 16) whilst investigating a Russian national who was *“flying girls in from Russia”* (para. 16) for *“clandestine parties”* (para. 16) attended by *“a lot of our ministers, high ranking officials...”* (para. 16). The opening of parliament was mentioned by Participant STP 5 as an event where you’ve got politicians of [political party name] socialising with *“billionaires”* (para. 176) who *“come along”* (para. 176) and *“book out the girls”* (para. 176) and have *“the politicians in their pockets”* (para. 176). He explained the interactions between people at such events, where *“information goes through the system”* (para. 176). A wealthy businessman and brothel owner, whose name emerged in a number of participant interviews and who was being investigated by Participant SAPS 10, was also alleged to have a number of people *“wat na hom kyk”* [looking after him] (para. 201). Allegations of his being spotted at [political party name] *“parties”* (para. 201) and accompanying politicians to rugby and soccer events similarly abounded.

This influence of political and bureaucratic power serves as a factor that stifles investigations. It also inhibits any potential to expose individuals and the intricacies of crimes that intersect with human trafficking. A police investigator (SAPS 11) who was responsible for a transnational case of human trafficking provided context:

“...the thing that I found quite outstanding was the tentacles of the accused and how high up they reached and how much interference he was able to create. He even had a senior politician come and plead his case to the National Director of Public Prosecutions at that stage.” (para. 2)

Participant NPA 7 stated that *“a lot of the people that are involved they are quite powerful”* (para. 52), which often results in cases *“not investigated”* (para. 52) simply because they are able to *“put a stop to an investigation”* (para. 52). She referred to one example of a case that was said to be *“highly confidential”* (para. 52):

“...there was a house in [name of suburb]...and they were being watched. They sent in an undercover agent. It was clear as day to be trafficking but apparently because the clientele was very high profile in terms of politicians, those kind of things...the docket was gone, the investigation was stopped...” (para. 52)

A government minister who is “*one of the untouchable guys*” (para. 52) and “*who trades when money speaks*” (para. 52) was implicated by Participant STP 1 in being closely associated with a female drug trafficker who continues to operate with impunity. He stated that:

“...her financial status protects her and the fact that she knows quite a lot of things about other government officials and keeps that as a security not to be prosecuted.” (para. 54)

Asked whether he thought there were government officials who were aware of these things happening, Participant STP 1 responded:

“...in our circles you can actually say it is common knowledge 'cause we as criminals, sometime when we get together with people from another province or with criminals of a higher level than we are, there's talks, there's drinking, there's partying and then things come out. Did you hear this or did you hear that minister is busy with this or this oke is busy with that? They talk.” (para. 56)

Theme 4 delved into the lived experiences of participants as they relate to the issue of corruption and compromise. The disconcerting and reverberating effect of corruption, from grassroots to the higher echelons of political power, and a sense of compromise between the good, the bad and the ugly were pervasive among participants' experiences. Corruption and compromise undermine the rule of law and the moral fabric of society and adversely impacts on any notion of exposing, investigating and successfully prosecuting cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The last theme to be explored in this chapter relates to the social context and scope of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa.

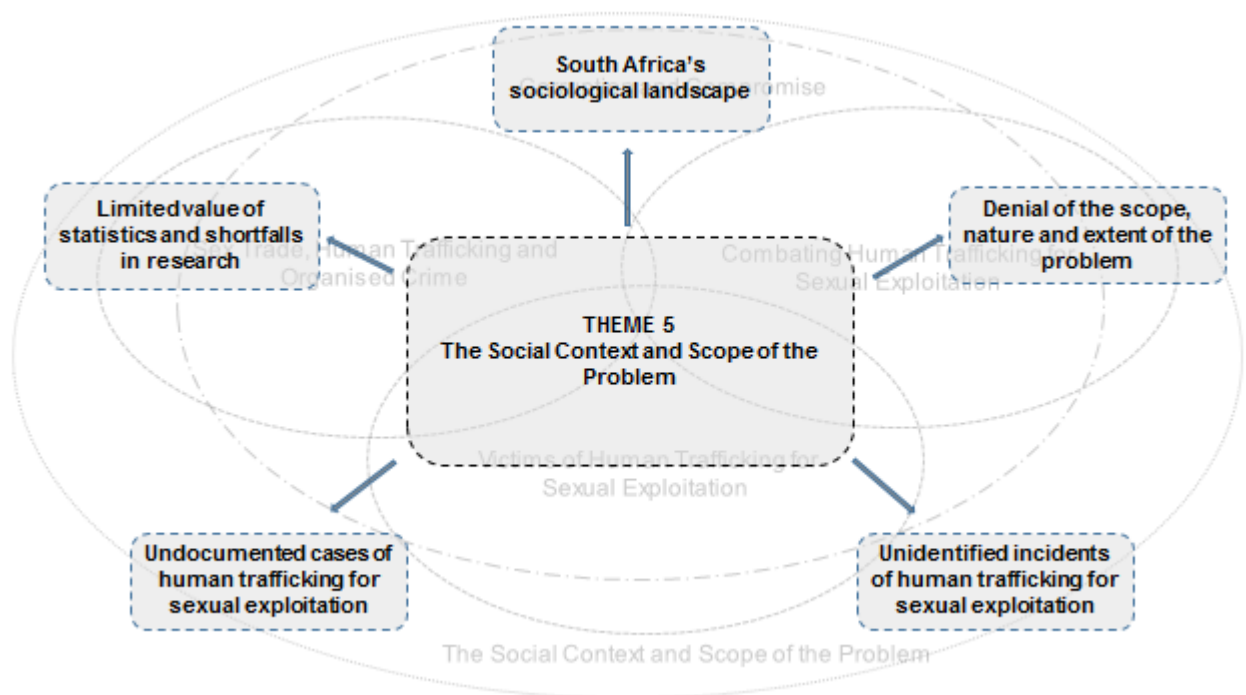
4.3.5 THEME 5: The Social Context and Scope of the Problem

An unequal social context and the lack of reliable statistics around the issue of human trafficking in South Africa were frequently acknowledged and referred to by participants. These make up the fifth and final theme to be explored in this chapter. Despite the lack of reliable statistics, participants' lived experiences allowed for some qualitative insights into questions regarding the scope, nature and extent of the

problem. These experiences, viewpoints and concerns provide a more nuanced and intricate understanding of the South African context while illuminating the numerous shape-shifting factors that intersect with a discussion around statistics. These being considered, one is left with no other option than to reiterate the complexity of the problem, which is camouflaged by South Africa’s structural inequalities and does not lend itself to accurate measurement and quantification.

Figure 4.7 below presents an overview of Theme 5 and its sub-themes.

Figure 4.7: Theme 5



4.3.5.1 South Africa’s sociological landscape

The South African landscape and its various interpenetrating subsystems of socio-economics, governance, societies and cultures within which this research is trying to grasp the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation provide numerous considerations to navigate. As deconstructed in Chapter 2, this landscape also serves as the context within which victims are exploited, participants respond to human trafficking and perpetrators ply their trade. It is a landscape described by Participant NGO 7 as “*such a great country to get people from*” (para. 14), whilst Participant SAPS 4 asserted “*South Africa is being victimised*” (para. 140) and noted: “*It’s easy to get what you want on this side*” (para. 140). “*South African’s history of*

apartheid” (para. 104) should be considered, according to Participant MED 2, as the nation was *“like a trafficked country”* (para. 104) where *“people were being used and their rights...taken away”* (para. 104). With regard to human trafficking, she opined that *“South African’s mentality is the last to wake up and realise, wait, those people are actually being taken advantage of”* (para. 104). She pointed to a societal misconception that *“somebody has to be actually in handcuffs and look like a slave”* (para. 106). *“...not all cases are like that”* (para. 106). Participant MED 2 asserted and explained that *“some women are walking freely but they’ve been threatened and manipulated against their wills”* (para. 106). As a mother and prosecutor, Participant NPA 1 provided another vexing perspective on the South African context:

“...because it’s not uncommon in South Africa to have security guards around your premises, to have security fences around your premises because we are living in a society of crime. It’s much easier to hide crime in disorder than in order and as a society because of this you start to live inside. You drive around, you get into your house, you close your doors, you close your security gate, you don’t go for a walk in the yard or in the neighbourhood anymore. We do but we have a little park but I don’t even walk around my own block. I know my neighbours on this side and I know my neighbours on that side but I don’t even know my neighbours behind me. But the point is we live in a society where we are not involved with one another; we are dysfunctional because of the elements of crime. My children can’t...even in summer if the sun goes down I close the doors and nobody can swim in the pool even though they want to. So the important thing is...we make it actually easy for them [traffickers] to live in our society.” (para 68)

Her opinion was expanded upon by Participant NGO 8:

“...the average person who lives behind their walls in their security complex, they’re not paying attention to what’s happening at one thirty in the morning in their security complex when the drugs are moving and the girls are being brought in. Most people in a security complex, even if they hear a noise or somebody screaming, ignores it and says it’s not my problem. So I think people also have to stop kidding themselves that they feel like they should be so aware

but they live life with blinders on. Even if it were in their face, they wouldn't see it." (para. 64)

Referring to his grassroots knowledge of the reality of human trafficking, Participant NGO 8 sarcastically responded to people who asked him *"why aren't we hearing about this?"* (para. 64):

"I think South Africans are delusional and, to be quite honest, I think South Africans are delusional in that they think that, if something were happening, they would know about it. Only when the [name of newspaper] finally reported five attempted kidnappings in one week, did people who happened to read the [name of newspaper] know what was going on but, these days, people are in their Facebook, they're in their Twitter, they're on their WhatsApp. People don't pay attention..." (para. 64)

The cultural practice of *"Ubuntu"* (para. 8), which denotes *"my child is your child to protect...because we all look after each other's kids"* (para. 8), was referred to by Participant NGO 7, who argued that people *"don't realise"* (para. 8) that *"eight kids can't play on the street alone anymore"* (para. 8). From her experience, many children that go missing were *"last seen playing in front of her house with her friends"* (para. 8). She underscored:

"These people don't realise anymore that the neighbour that used to look after your child's now the one actually harming your child. You can't just trust anybody anymore and it's people who know these children that do this, people you know, and those are also broken communities." (para. 8)

Participant SHT 2, a shelter administrator, elaborated on a bleak socio-economic environment that is vulnerable to exploitation and explained how the family system is lanced by traffickers.

"We get girls that are forced to come from [name of township] to work in [name of inner city suburb]. They get brought in and they get picked up in the morning and they get taken out again and they get threatened with harm to their families or whatever or even sometimes their families have been remunerated for them working on the street for a particular guy because of the socio-economic

situation that we have in this country...When you've got a socio-economic environment like that it's so open to exploitation..." (para. 24)

From her interaction with a victim of *ukuthwala*, Participant NPA 4 explained that *"there are kids as young as eleven/twelve"* (para. 8) that are *"being married off"* (para. 8). She stated that *"a lot of it is due to poverty"* (para. 8) and *"parents are actually agreeing to it because they need the money and then it's one less mouth to feed..."* (para. 8). Participant NPA 5, a prosecutor, elaborated on how trafficking and related exploitative practices at a micro-level manifest within the *"poverty stricken"* (para. 34) province where she worked. She reflected on the shifting boundaries of her own beliefs regarding the reality and extent of the problem:

"... contrary to my own naïve beliefs, parents do allow their own children to be sexually abused as long as it provides the next meal or cigarettes or drugs...Tik...that all these children are addicted to. I am now referring to children as young as 10 and 11 who rather sleep on the street or with their friends or at their traffickers' house instead of at home where alcohol abuse and poverty is a huge burden." (para 34)

A disconcerting challenge faced by South Africa was highlighted by Participant SAPS 12 as the issue of *"children in need of care"* (para. 2), by whom he meant children living in abandon on the streets. Still working on a figure of *"sestig duisend"* [sixty thousand] (para. 2), he pointed out that *"niemand weet werklik hoeveel kinders daar is nie"* [nobody really knows how many children there are] (para. 2). That said, Participant SAPS 12 indignantly expressed:

"Daar's nie 'n manier wat jy my gaan oortuig dat ons kyk agter ons kinders of mense ten opsigte van human trafficking nie."

[There is no way that you are going to convince me that we are looking after our children and our people with respect to human trafficking.] (para. 4)

Participant SAPS 12 used an example from his own personal experience working with street children in a major central business district a number of years previously. He referred to 'strangers' that had since taken over many of the dilapidated buildings in a specific area and then pointed out that, in fact,

“...dis nie vreemdelinge nie. Dis die straatkinders wat ek destyds mee gewerk het wat daai geboue oorgevat het en dit absoluut ’n misdaadnes gemaak het...”

[...it is not strangers. It is the street children that I worked with back then who took over those buildings and turned them into an absolute crime cesspool...]

(para. 4)

Shortcomings in South Africa’s systems of governance also proved to be a major concern and frustration for many participants. A “*generally all round*” (para. 123) lack of faith in the criminal justice system was underlined by Participant NGO 1, whilst Participant NGO 3 stated that she did not “*have faith in the police system*” (para. 116) and posed the following rhetorical question:

“So if I don’t have faith and I’m not the victim what does the victim feel like?”

(para. 116)

Referring to some of these shortfalls as “*absolutely mind-boggling*” (para. 73), Participant CLE 1 elucidated:

“The problem is with the criminal justice systems...Every aspect of our criminal justice system is in a stage of trauma. It’s either busy collapsing or has pretty much collapsed. Crime intelligence is dead on its feet. In South Africa there is no more such a thing as crime intelligence. Rarely and infrequently... you have a serious impediment with your investigative ability, your National Prosecuting Authority is aggressively impaired with loads of political deployees, your Department of Justice, same, is grotesquely under-resourced so that your justice system is just groaning under the burden and not processing cases effectively, lots of postponements...”

(para. 73)

The importance of “*equality*” (para. 20) in how the law should be applied regarding “*every single individual irrespective of who you are*” (para. 20) was underscored by Participant SAPS 3, who pointed out: “*...we’ve only got one Constitution. We haven’t got a Constitution for the rich and famous or for the corrupt and the powerful and for the poor and the dying*” (para. 20). The status quo was articulated by Participant SAPS 3 as follows:

“We want to apply first world democratic values but when it comes to dealing with issues we’re using worse than third world philosophies. How can we let people walk around that have stolen millions of our money and we giving them back their jobs?” (para. 66)

“As a journalist” (para. 41), Participant MED 3 felt that “the real story” (para. 41) was not that “a brothel had been raided or a couple of trafficking victims had managed to escape” (para. 41). For her the “big story” (para. 41) was:

“...the massive holes in society/government that allowed victims to fall through the cracks and allow this to be an almost ‘normal’ feature of marginalised communities.” (para. 41)

Her experiences with victims of trafficking left her with:

“...an overwhelming sense that human trafficking victims were at the mercy of a system that didn’t seem to have a concern for them, as human beings, let alone victims. I was overwhelmed by a sense that the issue was just too big for South Africa’s already broken policing, social development and justice systems.” (para. 43)

Understanding South Africa’s sociological context and landscape becomes crucial as a means to grasp the significant challenges associated with establishing the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the country. The experiences shared by participants in this regard are telling and help with the reconfiguration of the lens through which the phenomenon is viewed in the South African context. In the next section, a measure of denialism around the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking in South Africa will be explored.

4.3.5.2 Denial of the scope, nature and extent of the problem

Denial from some quarters that human trafficking is in fact a problem in South Africa was mentioned with concern by a number of participants. “It needs to stop being swept under the carpet and it needs to be acknowledged that there is human trafficking taking place in this country and it is a serious problem” (para. 122) expressed Participant SHT 2. Participant NPA 7 described the cancellation of training for prosecutors in her

province on the basis that “we don’t have a human trafficking issue” (para. 2) as “absolutely shocking” (para. 2). With reference to human trafficking, she pointed out, “we know it’s happened constantly” (para. 2). She considered her province to be “the hub” (para. 2) and stated that “at some point everyone’s here” (para. 2). The problem, according to Participant NPA 7, is “not that there aren’t any cases” (para. 2) but rather that “people are not identifying it properly” (para. 2) and “not realising how severe this is” (para. 2). For Participant DSD 3, “the denialism” (para. 30) reminded her of “the HIV/Aids saga” (para. 30). She elaborated:

“...I really hope we’ll get to where HIV is with regard to human trafficking because now even the numbers and the funding that goes into it is more concentrated and that’s how you will get a reduction.” (para. 30)

Along a similar vein, Participant INT 2 reflected: “do you remember when HIV was first around?” (para. 157) and highlighted that NGOs were accused of “exploiting the numbers, you’re making them bigger so that you can get funding” (para. 157). She continued by drawing parallels between HIV/Aids denialism and human trafficking in South Africa:

“When some of the actual numbers started to come out...we were nowhere near the actual figure for HIV and I think we gonna find the same thing with human trafficking. The estimates for HIV paled against what eventually emerged from solid research and data collection. Multiple factors (lack of information systems, knowledge and ability to ID human trafficking) inhibit our ability to scope the problem of human trafficking – should this be addressed, the actual scope of the problem will far outweigh our current estimates.” (para. 157)

In response to denialism and the view that human trafficking in South Africa is overstated, Participant INT 4 asserted that “if you don’t have a process to identify and collect information” (para. 17), you are not in the position to say “it doesn’t exist” (para. 17). He elaborated:

“...[if] you don’t have a common definition among practitioners in South Africa and you haven’t trained frontline service providers to screen for trafficking then

you can't really say that you don't have a problem because you haven't even looked to see if there's a problem... (para. 17)

He suggested that there are *"enough convictions for one to say this must be a problem"* (para. 18) and concluded *"so there must be additional cases"* (para. 18).

Again, Participant DSD 3 underscored: *"we can learn a lot from what has happened with regard to HIV/Aids to assist in this instance"* (para. 66). She explained:

"...If we have a different understanding and a different buy-in I don't believe we'll win and I'm gonna go back to HIV. We didn't agree on what is HIV and that was all over the place. Now we are in agreement. What is HIV, what is Aids, and so therefore even medication we now agree...we know people must get treatment and we are all agreeing on what it is and every partner that comes into this sphere this is what it is and treat it from that point. So I think that's the only way..." (para. 64)

In the next section, the problem of cases not being identified will be presented as a contributing factor to the fragmented understanding of the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa.

4.3.5.3 Unidentified incidents of human trafficking for sexual exploitation

Probably the most telling of the reality and scope of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa were the numerous elucidations offered by participants of the sheer number of actual and potential cases that had not been identified. The following views of participants regarding the lack of incidents and victims being identified are just some of those expressed. They serve as an overview:

"I think to identify actual cases it's a problem." (SHT 7, para. 114)

"We can rescue ten victims but how many victims have already come in? So we're not getting the clear picture." (SAPS 3, para. 20)

"I think a fact is that there is a lot of girls trapped that don't get saved." (SHT 4, para. 59)

“There’s still a huge, I think, inability from law enforcement officers...to really identify a victim of trafficking and that seem to be our biggest obstacle right now.” (INT 1, para. 2)

Participant INT 4 referred to *“cases that I know of that are very public where identification fails”* (para. 18). This happened in one case after *“multiple government department[s], quote/unquote, screened them, determined that they were not trafficking victims and proceeded to initiate deportation for them and at the last minute [name of organisation], who is trained to screen for victims of trafficking, screened them and determined that they were all trafficking victims”* (para. 18). He concluded:

“If this can happen on such a high profile case how many are they missing?” (para. 18)

With regard to cases not being identified, Participant NGO 1 voiced:

“I don’t think we realise how many cases are actually out there and how many cases are being missed because they’re not being properly investigated and the right questions are not being asked...” (para. 133)

One such example provided by Participant NGO 1 related to information about an *“establishment”* (para. 143) that was passed on to the Hawks and only responded to *“a few weeks later”* (para. 143) by *“the local SAPS station”* (para. 117). A *“drugs bust”* (para. 143) was conducted, after which the establishment was closed. After enquiring from the Hawks as to what had transpired, Participant NGO 1 explained:

“...when we spoke to the Hawks they knew nothing about it. So just complete miscommunication there and again we’re asking the question what happens to these girls that were there? They were foreign, didn’t speak a lot of English, there were red flags, were they screened? Were they properly interviewed as potential trafficking victims? The chances are probably not especially because the Hawks didn’t even know about it.” (para. 143)

Crime-related incidents in the media are also sometimes incorrectly classified, according to Participant NPA 2:

“...just from reading the newspaper, I can clearly identify it’s a trafficking matter and no one has identified it.” (para. 12)

She pointed to “a lot of ukuthwalwa cases” (para. 66) that “don’t really get identified, even as ukuthwalwa cases” (para. 66) and highlighted that these cases “very rarely land up getting further than the police station to court” (para. 66). From his experience working with persons in prostitution on the streets, Participant CS 6 noted:

“...baie van die huise het net so vier of vyf meisies maar daar’s ook van daai huise wat omtrent so twintig het, wat die matrasse so op die vloere lê tot in die badkamer...ek bedoel die omstandighede is walgluk.”

[...many of the houses just have about four or five girls but there are also some houses that have about twenty girls, where there are mattresses lying on the floor into the bathroom...I mean the circumstances are terrible.]

(para. 48)

What you do not see from the streets and that only become visible upon entering these houses, according to Participant CS 6, are “minderjariges” [minors] (para. 48) and “n paar seuns” [a few boys] (para. 48) that state “we don’t wanna be here” (para. 48). Participant STP 6 similarly referred to cases not being identified, where girls are becoming addicted to drugs and subsequently “gemartel” [tortured] (para. 212) with drug withdrawals. He stated:

“Ek weet van meisies...kinders...tussen die ouderdomme van 14-18 jaar wat nie op die strate werk nie, maar werk van die pimp se huis af. Ek weet van omtrent 10-15 van hierdie meisies wat in een woonstel bly.”

[I know of girls...children...between the ages of 14-18 years that do not work on the streets, but work from the pimp’s home. I know of about 10-15 of these girls that stay in one flat.]

(para. 212)

The lack of cases, and implicitly victims being identified, was also echoed by victims of trafficking interviewed as part of this research. One such example was offered by Participant VOT 4, who referred to “teenagers” (para. 79) as being among the girls that she knew of who were trafficked:

“...you realise that there was no one that was from [city]. We were all [various cities], all over, the far places, and everyone always tell you, no...the Nigerian guy send this person to bring me or they kidnap them themselves, put them in the car, and then bring them here. Everyone was brought by someone.”

(para. 81)

She explained that some of these accounts emerged during conversations after being arrested:

“...because when we get arrested we talk. They put us in one cell then we start talking. Where you from and how did you ended up here? Then we talk.”

(para. 83)

Participant NGO 9, who conducted human trafficking monitoring and interception operations at a major South African airport, pointed out that there had *“never been a Thai case identified at the airport”* (para. 76) before their monitoring and interception operations began. She pointed out that *“within three months”* (para. 76) they had identified *“about thirty”* Thai cases and stated: *“that’s a massive amount”* (para. 76). Rather thought provokingly she underscored: *“So that just shows you what was going on before”* (para. 76). From a health services’ perspective, and with reference to the oft-quoted, yet slated ‘30 000’ number referred to by the DHA and others, Participant HS 1 opined:

“... if I’m a victim, I’m not going to say to my trafficker I’m being raped and I need to report and I need to go to the police. It just doesn’t work like that. So maybe thirty thousand is a realistic figure but, because of the milieu in which it occurs, it doesn’t lend itself to being reported and ending up in a health institution...”

(para. 12)

Participant NGO 8 visited a neighbouring province to better understand the trafficking of women to and from the province where he was based. Collaborating with a local organisation in the province that he visited, they *“drove”* (para. 34) him *“around just a few city blocks in downtown [city name]”* (para. 34). Of the girls that they found in prostitution whose circumstances and ‘free will’ were questionable, *“they counted a hundred and ninety-four girls that they know are being held just in these flats”* (para.

194). He postulated: *“Now that’s never mind the bigger picture, these are just the ones they know about”* (para. 194).

Like many others, Participant DSD 2 also pointed out that *“most of the victims”* (para. 153) are *“not even aware they are victims of trafficking”* (para. 153) and consider their situation *“just bad luck that things are happening in the manner that they are”* (para. 153). Participant SAPS 9 agreed and stated that *“ninety-nine percent of these girls don’t even know they’ve been trafficked”* (para. 10). He underscored another issue that emerged in the research: that trafficking cases are often subsumed under other crimes:

“If they come to the police station they’ll come and report rape or they’ll come and report that these people are abusing them...” (para. 10)

A prosecutor (Participant NPA 2), who picked up *“a random docket”* (para. 2) during a screening of police dockets in her province, found that *“it was a very clear trafficking case and no one had identified it as trafficking”* (para. 2). She stated that *“these cases are not being identified as trafficking so they running as normal rape matters”* (para. 2). This was echoed by Participant SHT 2, who expressed that *“you’re still getting human trafficking victims classed as rape victims, kidnap victims, assault victims, [and] domestic violence victims”* (para. 22).

Equally concerning is the problem of actual cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation that are not documented. This issue will be explored in the next section.

4.3.5.4 Undocumented cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation

An even greater frustration to participants, and one that fundamentally inhibits a quantified understanding of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, was when incidents of trafficking were in fact identified, yet not documented and no enquiries or criminal cases were registered. Similar to numerous participants who were in possession of detailed information concerning trafficking cases that had been reported to authorities, Participant INT 3 angrily expressed:

“I’ve got addresses, I’ve got names, I’ve got everything which I sent to Colonel [name] and nothing happened. Nothing happened...I must say there’re so many cases...” (para. 28)

She expounded:

“If we had to see somebody put down in front of us in writing all the cases that was sent to the police I think it would...touch hundred if not more, and what has been done, the response, would be absolutely zero.” (para. 76)

Participant NGO 8 highlighted some reasons for the non-documentation of trafficking cases:

“I think that takes two forms. One form is a well-to-do police officer who has no idea what this person’s [possible victim] talking about. Doesn’t understand trafficking, doesn’t even understand how to report it...they have no idea. That’s one portion. In the zones we’re working where the trafficking is the heaviest, the police are bought off. So the police are not going to do anything to mess up their side business. They don’t take the reports.” (para. 136)

The number of children younger than 16 years of age in the sex trade is “staggering” (para. 62) claimed Participant CS 6, who had made numerous attempts to facilitate police interventions in his area but with no success. He explained:

“...ons praat van ten minste dertig wat jonger as sestien is en ons kan hulle uitwys. Ons kan sê dis die huis waar hulle bly. Dis die ou wat in beheer is. Dis hoe dit binne lyk. Ons kan al hierdie goeters sê.”

[...we’re talking of at least thirty that are younger than sixteen and we can point them out. We can say this is the house where they stay. This is the guy that’s in control. This is what it looks like inside. We can say all these things.]

(para. 62)

Participant NPA 2 stated that some “human trafficking stories sounds like a movie, and I’m sorry to say this, but people will listen to this and they think, no, this could never be happening” (para. 38). The sentiment was echoed by Participant CS 1 in describing some stories as “so incredible” (para. 143) that one becomes “incredulous”

(para. 143). The police response to some of these reports was described by Participant NPA 2:

“So they stand there and it sounds so unbelievable that they immediately make a judgement call and say this person’s lying to them...” (para. 40)

As explicated by Participant NPA 5, workload appeared to be a factor that had a compounding effect on the comprehensive documenting of cases:

“...we have ± 8 other investigations running at the moment. Suffice to say that we have enough work to keep ourselves busy for a long time. Reality – we can’t really get to everything properly and many allegations are not investigated because of limited resources and manpower.” (para. 40)

Participant SAPS 8 confirmed this lack of investigation and referred to his personal involvement in *“two specific matters relating to traffickers”* (para. 2) where the persons he *“identified as traffickers... haven’t been dealt with at present”* (para. 2). Information related to human trafficking that was received by Participant NPA 2’s task team *“must come into writing”* (para. 36), after which a dedicated investigator *“is supposed to open an enquiry”* (para. 36). Despite the investigator being *“very enthusiastic”* (para. 36), Participant NPA 2 described as *“a bit of a problem”* (para. 36) the fact that *“I don’t think he’s got time to read all the information and really go thoroughly investigate these cases”* (para. 36). Frustrated by the lack of cases originating from information provided by civil society that are documented and investigated, Participant NGO 1 commented:

“I feel like unless we hand over almost solid evidence that we have gathered ourselves...it’s not necessarily gonna be taken that seriously.” (para. 121)

She pointed to *“blame”* (para. 123) *“being passed around”* (para. 123) on the task team meetings, where the Hawks argue that they are not getting cases from police stations, whilst the *“NPA says we’re not getting cases from DPCI”* (para. 123). *“I think though that it’s also a matter of the way the cases are investigated”* (para. 123) suggested Participant NGO 1.

For two participants at the DSD, shortfalls in systems and administration appear to be a reason for non-documentation of cases and/or statistics. Participant DSD 1’s *“view*

on not having stats” (para. 109) was that *“people”* (para. 109) consider statistics as *“a burden”* (para. 109) and *“extra work”* (para. 109). Participant DSD 3 also knew of a *“number of cases that have gone through that we really did not know that it was trafficking”* (para. 28) and stated: *“...but it went past our system”* (para. 28).

Cases also remain undocumented because of a lack of reporting at community level, which occurs for a variety of reasons. *“You must remember that only about five percent of this cases are being reported to the police”* (para. 136) expressed Participant STP 1. People see things in the community but don’t report them due to the *“stigma”* (para. 76) attached to *“sexual exploitation”* (para. 76) claimed Participant NGO 6, whilst Participant DSD 2 stated that *“people are living with victims of trafficking, they see them, but they decide to keep quiet”* (para. 94). She compared this to someone who is mugged in the public with people *“seeing”* (para. 94) and asked *“but how many of them will they call the police or will go out and assist?”* (para. 94).

Similar to other experiences described elsewhere in this study, the SAPS was also accused of simply not opening cases or considering the merits of information reported to them. This is compounded when the community *“don’t understand legislation, they don’t understand their rights and their rights of recourse or how the process works”* (para. 32) argued Participant SAPS 8. When approaching the family during an investigation he explained how a mother would reveal:

“...my child’s missing but it doesn’t help to report it because the police tell me...they can’t open up a case” (para. 32)

A more cynical view as to why cases are not documented is offered by Participant SHT 4. She recalls a *“public meeting”* (para. 101) that she attended *“where a woman police officer had the audacity to say that abuse has drastically”* (para. 101) decreased in her town. Participant SHT 4 challenged the claims by responding: *“It’s not the truth, it’s just that you don’t report it...”* (para. 101) and states *“they trying to get us to think that life is getting better”* (para. 101). Using a hypothetical example of a person that was trafficked who is trying to report, she maintains:

“... [they] don’t know what to do with it and they don’t want to write it down because it mustn’t be written down somewhere so that it reflects bad on the police” (para. 101)

In the final section of this theme, the limited value of statistics and the shortfalls of research will be explored.

4.3.5.5 Limited value of statistics and shortfalls in research

The multilayered complexities of human trafficking for sexual exploitation served as a backdrop for participants' comments on the limited value of statistics and the shortfalls in research when the intricacies and merits of each case are considered. A "*groot bekommernis*" [*great concern*] (para. 82) for Participant NGO 6 was the focus on "*numbers*" (para. 82). She elaborated on some of the dominating questions asked by the DSD:

"Hoeveel mense kry ons geconvict? Hoeveel slagoffers gaan deur die shelter 'n jaar? Hoeveel het jy gerehabilitee?"

[How many people do we convict? How many victims go through the shelter per annum? How many have you rehabilitated?] (para. 82)

Participant CS 1 agreed with her opinion and pointed to the limitations of statistics:

"...jy sien mense hou van kwantitiewe nommers maar hulle beseef nie die limitations van kwantitiewe nommers nie en daai is iets wat ons mense moet leer is dat elke nommer is 'n persoon."

[...you see people like quantitative numbers but they don't understand the limitations of quantitative numbers and that is something that we have to teach people is that every number is a person.] (para. 143)

The frustration was evident in Participant DHA 2's narrative as she alluded to a prevailing misunderstanding of the challenges faced in getting accurate numbers:

"This thing [human trafficking] is happening every day, it is a problem, and we will never be able to solve it or to realise and appreciate the extent of that as long as we sit down and say we don't have stats...I might have two hundred cases that I've come across and I present that to whoever and say these are the cases and they ask where are those people and I said, no, they went back home. So according to some people they might think was it really a case of

trafficking or smuggling? Why didn't it go through the courts? I think people want to see something. When you present stats there must be results to say so-and-so was arrested and sentenced to how many years in prison. Then according to them that is acceptable, the stats, but if you just come across stats with no end results, just people, [they] tend not to accept that and they will think that maybe you are actually cooking up the stats..." (para. 76)

Equally frustrated was Participant SAPS 3 when he spoke about the measurement of successes when it comes to cases of human trafficking:

"I think with law enforcement it's about the scoreboard...when I put a simple thing like rescue the victims they said no, no, no but this doesn't enter the scoreboard. I said but it's part of our scoreboard. It's part of my scoreboard because this is a victim on trafficking but this victim of trafficking has to be looked after. On the other side of the fence, which is now on her well-being and not on law enforcement's issues of prosecution so we've gotta protect...we gotta look at those fine lines as well...we can draw a proper balance where we can protect and prosecute..." (para. 82)

By *"specifically looking at forms [of trafficking] rather than a number"* (para. 10), Participant INT 5 suggested *"you would know how to address it"* (para. 10). She warned that *"numbers can be misleading"* (para. 10) and, rather, promoted the importance of *"qualitative stuff that really helps"* (para. 10). Referring to *"actual scenarios that people don't want to talk about, people don't wanna face"* (para. 4), Participant SAPS 9 indignantly stated that when doing research, *"you must've take account of all this"* (para. 4). He expressed discontent with the research questions that he was often bombarded with, such as *"what is human trafficking? How is human trafficking? Who are the syndicates? Why is human trafficking in South Africa?"* (para. 4). He frowned on the simplistic nature of such research strategies. Not impressed with claims made in a South African research study, Participant NGO 6 put forward a similar argument:

"My gevoel is ook as jy werklikwaar 'n direkte navorsing wil doen...Jy moet bereid wees om op die straat te gaan en in die veld uit te gaan om werklikwaar vir Suid-Afrika 'n realistiese prent te gee."

[My feeling is also if you really want to do direct research...you must be willing to go out onto the street and out into the field to truly give South Africa a realistic picture.] (para. 2)

Theme 5 shows that South Africa's social context and the preoccupation with numbers and statistics do not do much justice to an even-handed understanding of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the country. Denial of the reality of the problem, along with the country's deeply unequal sociological context and landscape, further compounds scoping potential. Proper identification and documentation of cases are also problematic, which adds an additional layer of complexity to this fact-finding journey. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation is more than the sum of its parts and the multiple factors and shape-shifting nuances that present themselves in cases do not lend themselves to being counted and measured.

The phenomenological essence of participants' lived experiences will be presented in Chapter 6.

4.4 SUMMARY

This chapter presented participants' lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation, which were categorised as five themes. The 91 participants and the subsystems they were part of were introduced, after which the five themes identified from the data analysis were presented. The multipronged perspectives and lived experiences of the participants allowed for rich, in-depth and complex insights, which can be considered a step towards Heidegger's *alētheia* (unconcealment) when unveiling the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. In Chapter 5, complex systems theory will be deconstructed and its value considered, whereafter it will be positioned as the filter through which an interpretation of participants' lived experiences will be offered.

CHAPTER 5 COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEORY: MEANING-MAKING, NOVEL PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSITIONS

Only time will ultimately tell the fate of complex systems theory. But as of now the future looks bright.

(Wolfram, 1984: 6)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Building upon the notion of human trafficking as a complex phenomenon, and reflecting on participants' complex array of lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation, this chapter will explore the principles that underpin complex systems theory. It will do so by introducing the essence of complex systems theory and integrating selected extracts from participants' lived experiences as illustrations of how complex systems thinking can be applied.

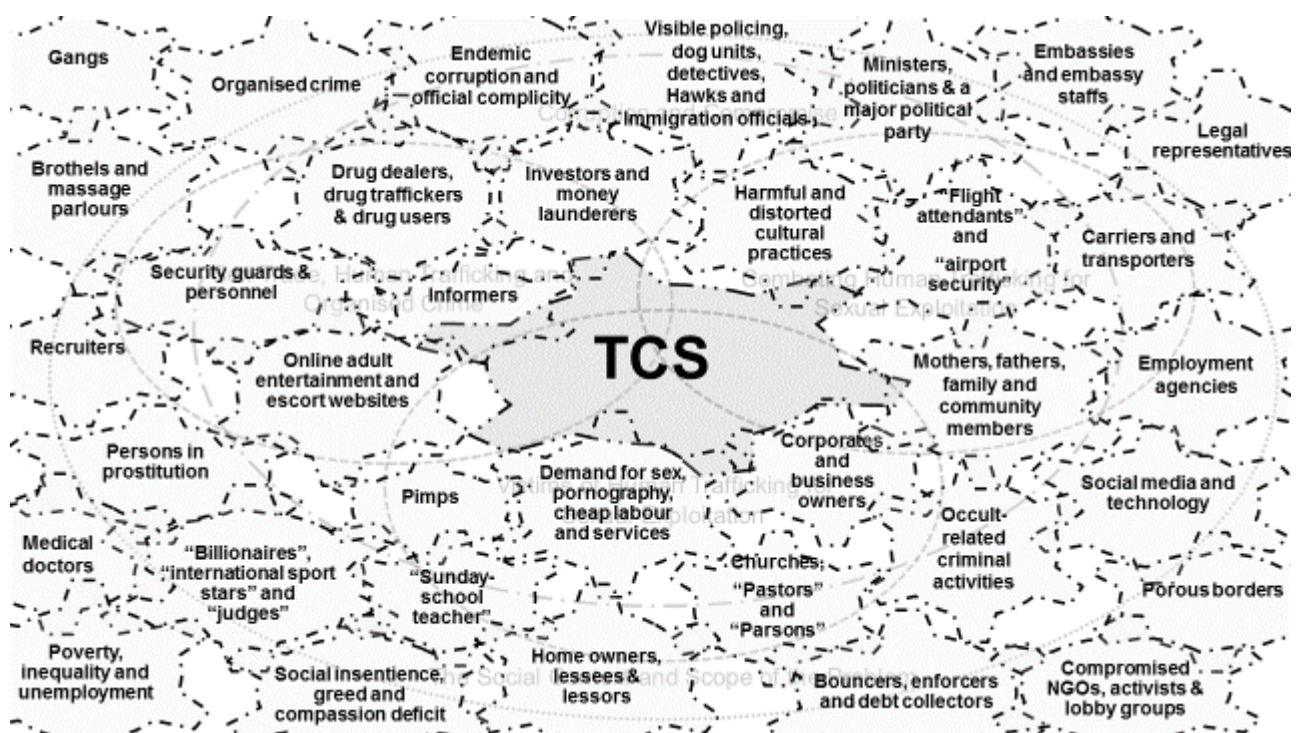
The chapter starts off by briefly reflecting on the formidability of the TCS and how in the ongoing battle of wits between the TCS and ICS the scoreboard is convincingly slanted in favour of the TCS. The chapter then sets out to contextualise why the world in which people live can be considered as complex, followed by some thoughts from research in the field of crime and law enforcement that have made use of complex systems theory. The value of theory in facilitating understanding and creating meaning in the midst of complexity is then reflected upon, after which systems theory and complexity theory are introduced. This is followed by the deconstruction of complex systems themes, ideas and principles and the concurrent integration of participants' lived experiences towards fulfilment of the interpretative dimension in this study. A discussion of the fruits and limitations of complex systems theory concludes the chapter. Ultimately, the chapter explores the value of complex systems theory in contributing to a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

5.2 THE TCS, THE SCOREBOARD AND THE 'BATTLE OF WITS'

Before exploring the notion and relevance of complex systems theory in this chapter, it may be worthwhile to reflect briefly on the TCS, or Trafficking Complex System. Consistent with the lived experiences of participants presented in Chapter 4, it has

also been the researcher's experience over the past 16 years that the TCS consists of numerous interacting parts and overlapping systems of systems of systems. It is oxygenated by greed, perpetuated and enabled by corruption, and has a vested interest in South Africa's deep and dense structural inequalities. Functioning largely with relationships of convenience, it has the ability to morph at the drop of a hat whilst seamlessly embedding itself in societal social insentience and the hustle and bustle of everyday life. Figure 5.1 below provides a snapshot of the TCS, which was informed by, amongst other things, insights from participants' lived experiences, the researcher's reflexive autobiographical problem statement and the numerous conversations and site visits that he conducted over the research period (see Section 3.3.3). The figure sheds light on who the stakeholders are and what factors exist that directly and indirectly enable the TCS to thrive in South Africa. The names and stakeholders included in inverted commas are some of those emanating from participants lived experiences.

Figure 5.1: The Trafficking Complex System (TCS)



Finally, in considering the ongoing attempts by the ICS to combat the formidable TCS, the sobering assessment by Van der Watt and Van der Westhuizen (2017: 226) is worth considering. They argue that

“the scoreboard in the ongoing ‘battle of wits’ between the criminal justice system, and the human trafficking system that it seeks to combat, is convincingly in favour of well organised and agile human trafficking networks.”

Important questions that must be asked here include: ‘How do we change this scoreboard?’ and ‘Can it be tipped in favour of the ICS?’ In response to these questions and Van der Watt and Van der Westhuizen’s (2017: 226) aforementioned assessment, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 will be directed at achieving two important objectives in this research. These are, first, exploring the relevance of complex systems theory for the multipronged investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, and, second, determining the value of complex systems theory in creating an agile, robust and effective investigation strategy.

5.3 COMPLEXITY AND THE ‘VUCA’ WORLD

The world in which people exist today is incalculably more intricate and connected than ever before. Counterintuitively, every passing second brings about more space expanded by social media, cloud technology and the internet. Yet, the global village becomes increasingly smaller, compressed by globalisation and its ever more effective transportation systems (Saniee, Kamat, Prakash & Weldon, 2017). Societies, nested as they are in the global village, are complex configurations of countless people *“engaged in overlapping and interlocking patterns of relationship with one another”* (Sawyer, 2005: 1). As human beings, Van der Watt (2014a) argues, people are amongst the constituent parts of the global community, with their relationships, ideas, motives, fears, acts of commission and acts of omission being some of the variables that impact on the condition of the village. The world is characterised by immense complexity, which is dominated by a complex range of information systems, structures and relationships. The organisations, structures and systems in which people function continually change between states of stability and chaotic instability (Leary & Thomas, 2011: 61-62). The continual nature of change has also seen millions of dollars spent on ‘change initiatives’ that have not been very successful (Schultz, 2012: 96). McGrath (2011) refers to the complex environments faced by contemporary decision makers in which things that were isolated from one another just 30 years ago are now brushing against each other and giving way to unexpected results. McGrath (2011) further

refers to some of the technological and sociological changes that have occurred since 1980 as being:

- The digitisation of large volumes of information;
- Smart systems that communicate interdependently;
- The decreased cost of computer power;
- The increasing ease of communicating rich content across distances;
- An increasingly wealthy human population, resulting in more formal economy participation; and
- The wholesale rewriting of industry norms and business models.

'Complexity' is underscored by Heylighen, Cilliers and Gershenson (2007: 117) as probably the most essential characteristic of society, with most pressing problems increasingly recognised as global, complex and non-linear (Mainzer, 1994: 1). Advancement in technology and economies makes production, transport and communication increasingly efficient and paves the way for individuals' interaction with more people, organisations, systems and objects. The multiple economic, social, technological and ecological systems that people are part of become ever more interdependent and this results in a complex 'system of systems' where change in any component may affect, in a mostly unpredictable manner, virtually any other component (Heylighen et al., 2007: 117). These insights were echoed in the view expressed by one participant in the study, who pointed out that it is not only human trafficking as a phenomenon that is complex, but also crime, organisations and society as a whole (CS 1, para. 109). Unpredictability also stirs up frustration and, despite the greatest of efforts, human plans do not always come to fruition, with the consequences sometimes ranging from minor to absolutely dire. Notwithstanding the best efforts or outside interventions, such consequences can become fixed in patterns and consistencies that appear difficult to remedy or alter (Pycroft & Bartollas, 2014: 1).

Complex systems, according to McGrath (2011), are unforgiving places for companies and people who move slowly. These unforgiving places are also referred to as 'VUCA' environments (Lawrence, 2013: 2). The impact of globalisation and its linkages and interconnections that transcend states and societies are referred to by Ball (2012: vii) as something profound that fundamentally contributes to the changes experienced by societies and the environment. One example of a VUCA environment in this study,

where immense complexity manifests on a daily basis, is one of South Africa's major international airports. With 26 kilometres of border fencing and 38 000 permit holders who have access to various airport operations, approximately 700 flights and 70 000 passengers per day interconnect and contribute to a hive of activity at this location (POE 2, para. 8). Identifying and investigating human trafficking in this environment have also proved to be an intricate endeavour, which has been overlooked for many years and has allowed perpetrators to continue their operations with impunity. In a four-month period from April to July 2016, one organisation reportedly flagged approximately 60 incoming international passengers as soon-to-be victims of human trafficking. These passengers were subsequently refused entry into the country (NGO 9, para. 35-40).

The pervasive nature of information and communications technologies (ICT) also acts as a fuelling factor in the interdependence of economies, cultures and institutions that has become increasingly "*deep and dense*" (Ball, 2012: vii). Nothing will work that fails to consider the aforementioned issues, according to Ball (2012: vii) – not the economy, not policing, not international diplomacy and not governance. De Toni and Comello (2010: 26) argue that "*nothing happens in isolation and nothing can be understood in isolation*" as phenomena and events are linked to a vast number of other phenomena and events. Similarly, it is argued by Saniee et al. (2017: 5) that humans stand on the cliff of the fourth industrial revolution, which will be "*driven by the digitization and interconnection of everything*".

A holistic approach, according to Gagnon (2010: 1), is therefore imperative if people are to understand phenomena related to such complex human and social systems. A holistic approach can produce not only detailed descriptions of situations and events but also an in-depth understanding of the actors involved, their feelings and the interactions among them (Gagnon, 2010: 1). These actors, as people, are referred to by Morley (2010: 68) as a "*confluence of complexity and an amalgamation of inconsistencies*". Morley points to the increasing number of dysfunctions that people bring to the work and marketplace, which then resemble a 'messy business' where some employees are either incompetent or refuse to perform and where some customers cannot, or refuse to, be pleased. Even some bosses "*pout like little dictators*" (Morley, 2010: 67-68). Complexity is clearly pervasive and so are the

volatility, uncertainty and ambiguity of the times and environment in which people exist. As discussed in Chapter 2, human trafficking is perpetrated, enabled and investigated in this complex landscape and VUCA environment, with linear or conventional response methods clearly falling short of apprehending the phenomenon.

From the aforementioned VUCA landscape, the increasingly complex nature of crime and law enforcement is also becoming more apparent. This will be briefly explored in the next section.

5.4 COMPLEXITY, CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

An increasing number of scholarly works interweave the notion of complexity with issues of crime and law enforcement (Maluleke & Mabaso, 2017; Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017; Davy, 2014; Lehmann, 2012; McCulloch & Pickering, 2012). Leary and Thomas (2011: 64) point to criminal systems, the police environment and the social orders they must protect and serve as comprising complex variables. This idea rings true in the context of terrorism, ideology and national security, as shown by Genge's (2004: 3) illumination of the multilayered complexities evident in Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reports on the preliminary investigation into the 11 September 2001 attack on the World Trade Center in New York. It was reported that nearly 7000 investigators and support personnel were following up on more than 35 000 leads and looking into numerous international possibilities. Secondary incident scenes related to the 9/11 attacks included vehicles at several airports, apartments and hotels spread across several locations in the United States that had to be secured.

Bjelopera and Finklea (2011: 2) indicate that technology-driven capabilities and operations by organised criminals no longer require of them to have a physical presence in a specific country. These illicit activities may include cyber intrusions into corporate databases, theft of individual consumer credit card information, fencing of stolen goods online and leveraging technology to aid in narcotics smuggling. Furthermore, internet connectivity and extensive, international transportation linkages are now used by criminal organisations to target localities around the globe (Bjelopera & Finklea, 2011: 2). Social systems such as crime networks, gangs and terrorist cells are described by Leary and Thomas (2011: 63) as complex adaptive systems that

possess non-periodic flow similar to many other complex physical and biological systems.

With reference to the increasingly complex nature of criminal and forensic investigation, Van der Watt (2015c: 162) refers to a cellphone found at a scene of incident as embodying not only an object that constitutes physical evidence but also an untapped wellspring within the larger scene of incident. He continues by highlighting globalisation, social networking and technology, among others, as contributing factors to a rapidly changing society that are used by perpetrators to commit crimes, civil delicts and corporate illegitimacies (Van der Watt, 2015c). With this in mind, it is essential to be cognisant that policing is increasingly affected by a world with a growing tendency to create complexity and to comprehend the dilemmas that this presents (Leary & Thomas, 2011: 64).

Next, instead of being perplexed by complexity, the researcher will explore the value of theory as a means to conceptualise a proportionate response to human trafficking for sexual exploitation and the VUCA environment within which it perpetuates.

5.5 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THEORY IN RESEARCH

It is the researcher's ongoing experience that theories or conceptual frameworks in day-to-day law enforcement activities in South Africa are vastly underutilised. The same applies to South Africa's efforts to combat human trafficking and, more specific to this study, the multipronged endeavours to investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation. As mentioned in Section 3.3.5.1, it was from a conversation that took place on 22 September 2011 that the researcher became convinced that efforts to investigate human trafficking in South Africa are in dire need of a theoretical framework.

A theory is defined by Welman and Kruger (2001: 17) as a statement, or a collection of statements, that specifies the relationships between variables with a view to explaining phenomena such as human behaviour. It is not concerned with the behaviour of individual units but with the behaviour of a particular population of individuals under a universe of settings. Theory therefore applies not only to specific situations but also to universes of circumstances (Welman & Kruger, 2001: 18).

Silverman (2005: 107) argues that, without theory, research is impossibly narrow and, without research, theory is merely an armchair contemplation. Silverman (2005: 99) emphasises that theory provides a grip for considering the world, “*separate from, yet about that world*”. Thus, theory provides both a framework for critically understanding phenomena and a basis for considering how what is unknown might be organised.

Theory is part of the history of science. Classic empirical science, according to Skyttner (2005: 18), was able to produce not only theories that explained existing phenomena but also theories that revealed phenomena not yet discovered. Abstract sophisticated theories waiting for a practical application are part of scientific history. As Stowell and Welch (2012: 137) rightfully highlight, the saying “*the practice feeds the theory and the theory feeds the practice*” is often quoted. The interconnection between theory, research and practice is evident in Mumford’s (2006: 319-320) reflection on the establishment of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, which was founded by a group of therapists, researchers and consultants in London in 1946. A contemporary slant on this institute’s viewpoint of “*no therapy without research and no research without therapy*” is provided by Mumford, who rephrases this as “*no theory without practice, no practice without research*”.

Occasionally explicit but unavoidably implicit, the use of theory in research is essential and more than just a fanciful endeavour. Silverman (2013: 104) posits that methodologies and research questions are inevitably theoretically informed and argues that social theories are needed to help address even somewhat rudimentary issues in social research (Silverman, 2013: 105). Exploring ways in which intuitions about complex adaptive systems can be transformed into a deeper understanding, Holland (1995: 5) begins by underscoring the importance of theory and states that:

“Serendipity may occasionally yield insight, but is unlikely to be a frequent visitor. Without theory, we make endless forays into uncharted badlands. With theory, we can separate fundamental characteristics from fascinating idiosyncrasies and incidental features. Theory supplies landmarks and guideposts, and we begin to know what to observe and where to act.”

Birks and Mills (2011: 112-113) describe theory as “*an explanatory scheme comprising a set of concepts related to each other through logical patterns of connectivity*”. A

fundamentally resonating theme was identified between the meaning and anticipated value of theory in this research and Perkins' (2011: 21) explanation of the meaning and value of theory in nursing. Perkins describes theory as the "*cognitive or conceptual framework that maps the terrain of our work and world*". The author continues by highlighting theory as a means for nurses to organise and bring clarity to the process of living life and working with their patients (Perkins, 2011: 21). However, concomitant with the insights offered by Perkins (2011: 21), cognisance will be taken of the sentiment offered by Smith (2011: 4), who argues that the real territory, or reality, is always more complex than any map or theory can depict.

The earlier reference by Holland (1995: 5) to "*endless forays into uncharted badlands*" is strongly representative of how South Africa, and most countries globally, have gone about their endeavours to respond to human trafficking. As was evident from participants' lived experiences in this study, the multilayered complexities, nuances and ideological fault lines intrinsic to human trafficking for sexual exploitation are even more puzzling and evoke much frustration amongst those involved in the investigation process. One example of such frustration was when one participant bemoaned the ICS and asked: "*Why don't they just get their act together and focus?*" (CS 4, para. 60). In response to this, the question may be asked whether people in fact know what 'getting their act together' actually means. And how does one 'focus' in the midst of complexity that so evidently curtails efforts to investigate and successfully prosecute cases. Are these notions even possible?

With this in mind, the researcher embraced the position of Byrne and Callaghan (2014: 8) and used complex systems theory as a conceptual framework. This theory holds the ontological position that much of human existence, in the real and social world, consists of complex systems, and if people want to understand it, they need to consider it in such terms. Systems theory and then complexity theory will first be introduced before the study delves into the minutiae of complex systems.

5.6 SYSTEMS THEORY

The expansion of knowledge has gradually come to terms with the plurality of life and the increasing limitations of reductionist thought and methodologies for making sense of it all. The development of systems thinking with reference to a number of phases in

the history of knowledge development is explicated by Skyttner (2005: 4-47), who begins to deconstruct knowledge development since the Middle Ages with its medieval worldview. Systems thinking has evolved as a result of the search by people for ways to articulate the features of the world around them in a coherent manner. Various formalisations of systems thinking have emerged over time as people have explored ways of rationalising their interactions with the world (Merali & Allen, 2011: 31).

Systems thinking dates back to the 1920s (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 132; Skyttner, 2005: 35) and is a response to the failure of mechanistic thinking in attempting to explain social and biological phenomena (Skyttner, 2005: 35). Classical mechanics was not considered to be flawed, but, like relativity, was simply no longer sufficient (De Toni & Comello, 2010: 21). The messiness of the 1950s brought with it a range of interacting problems that penetrated Western society, which varied from technical and organisational to social and political. These included the introduction of computers, space exploration, traffic-system breakdowns, environmental disasters and nuclear threats. The nature of problems changed rapidly and conventional solutions became increasingly inadequate (Skyttner, 2005: 36). Weaver (1948: 540) refers to emerging complex problems of that time in the biological, medical, psychological, economic and political sciences and labels these as just “*too complicated*” to yield to the old 19th Century techniques, whose overwhelming accomplishment on two-, three- or four-variable problems of simplicity no longer held the solution.

Skyttner (2005: 33-34) points out that the development of various disciplines in science has shown a parallelism in their development of methods, with every field of human knowledge passing through the following distinct stages:

- Intuition
- Fact-finding
- Analysis
- Synthesis

Just as analysis was a prerequisite for the mechanistic era, so synthesis is a prerequisite for the systems thinking of contemporary times. A system cannot be understood through analysis and, inasmuch as it is a whole, it will lose its synergetic properties if it is decomposed (Skyttner, 2005: 34). The over-specialisation and

compartmentalisation of classical science, also called 'reductionist' science (Midgley, 2007: 14), has proved to be unable to handle problems of tremendous complexity and interdependencies (Heylighen et al., 2007: 117). Reductionism embraces the tendency to reduce and to seek key explanations at ever smaller units, whether these are individuals constituted as agents in social theory or genes in biological science (Walby, 2007: 462). Louth (2011: 65) refers here to the Newtonian-inspired reductionist understanding of the world. Clocks, as the most common mechanical objects in existence during 18th Century Europe, became a defining analogy in the mechanical representation of the world and the linear progression of knowledge. Control was evidenced and could be exerted through timekeeping, the anticipated movement of cogs, the spectrum between timepieces and the ability to comprehend a clock's mechanics by examining its constituent pieces (Louth, 2011: 65).

Reductionism is part of the human endeavour to survive, flourish and reduce uncertainty as people find at least the illusion of control by following the reductionist approach (Pycroft, 2014: 15). Von Bertalanffy (1968: 8) alludes to the reductionist themes found in the thinking and reasoning of earlier periods in history, which found consolation in imputing atrocities and stupidities to bad kings, wicked dictators, ignorance, superstition, material want and related factors. Von Bertalanffy refers to the 'who-did-what' mentality, which found that the Thirty-Years War, in place and years, was a result of religious superstition and the rivalries of German princes; Napoleon's unbridled ambition led to an overturned Europe; and the Second World War could be blamed on the wicked Hitler and the hostile inclination of the Germans. Von Bertalanffy argues that this intellectual comfort is no longer justifiable. Democracy, universal education and general affluence dispel these previous excuses for human atrocity and it is therefore difficult to ascribe such irrationality and bestiality solely to individuals. Events involve more than just individual decisions and actions and are determined more by socio-cultural systems, which may include prejudices, ideologies, pressure groups, social trends, and the growth and decay of civilisation (Von Bertalanffy, 1968: 8).

Reductionist thinking remains prevalent (Louth, 2011: 78) and, as found in this research, continues to inhibit efforts to investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation. There was clearly an intuitive awareness about the notion of reductionism

amongst most participants in this study when they articulated shortfalls in the ICS investigative strategy. Echoing Von Bertalanffy's sentiment regarding the 'who-did-what' mentality, Participant DHA 3 stated that the ICS focusses on individual nodes of a complex investigation "*without following the whole process*" (para. 22) and should include establishing the roles that multiple contributors to the trafficking scenario play. In his interaction with the SAPS subsystem, Participant MED 1 referred to a "*mindset*" (para. 12) of conducting investigations that "*haven't changed with the times*" (para. 12). He argued that "*detectives have been so blinded by...training*" (para. 18) that resulted in a prevailing "*tunnel vision*" (para. 18) where they "*don't see the bigger picture*" (para. 18). Caught in the world of the "*medical model*" (para. 78), a lack of trauma-informed care, "*consequences*" (para. 78) for victims if they don't comply with the rules of a shelter, and a focus on "*numbers*" (para. 82) were central to Participant NGO 6's critique of the reductionism embraced by the DSD. Capra (1996: 81) critiques this notion of reductionism in his discussion of a comprehensive theory of living systems. He calls for synthesis between two approaches – the study of substance, or structure, and the study of form, or pattern. Structure involves quantities, where things are measured or weighed, whereas patterns involve qualities, which must be mapped as they cannot be measured or weighed. Systemic properties, Capra argues, are properties of a pattern. He illuminates the problem with reductionist analysis as follows:

"What is destroyed when a living system is dissected is its pattern. The components are still there, but the configuration of relationships among them – the pattern – is destroyed, and thus the organism dies."

(Capra, 1996: 81)

When dealing with the complexity of human activities, Stowell and Welch (2012: 135) argue, it becomes evident that reductionist ideas are problematic as human situations are complex and cannot be treated as rational. Human judgements are affected by and affect human experience and both 'value' and 'fact' are appreciated. The human situation is iterative and eternal, and universal laws of human behaviour are non-existent (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 135). Weaver insightfully highlights that "*there are rich and essential parts of human life which are alogical, which are immaterial and non-quantitative in character, and which cannot be seen under the microscope,*

weighed with the balance, nor caught by the most sensitive microphone" (Weaver, 1948: 544). The fragmentation in science contributed to the impetus behind the quest for a general system theory. Von Bertalanffy (1968: 30) points to the split of science into numerous disciplines that continually generate new sub-disciplines. The result of this, Von Bertalanffy argues, is that the physicist, the biologist, the psychologist and the social scientist are *"encapsulated in their private universes, and it is difficult to get word from one cocoon to the other"*.

The Society for General Systems Research was founded in 1954 by five 'Grand Old Men' in American intellectual history. They were Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Kenneth Boulding, Ralph Gerard, James Grier Miller and Anatol Rapoport. The Society was an attempt to nurture conversation across a broad spectrum of disciplines about the systems that condition human lives (Hammond, 2003: xi-xii). The collaborative and interdisciplinary nature of modern Systems Theory is evident in the backgrounds of these founding fathers, as highlighted by Stowell and Welch (2012: 132), which included the fields of biology, economics, physiology and mathematics. The major functions of the society are expounded by Von Bertalanffy (1968: 15) as being to:

- Investigate the isomorphy of concepts, laws and models in various fields, and to help in useful transfers from one field to another;
- Encourage the development of adequate theoretical models in the fields that lack them;
- Minimise the duplication of theoretical effort in different fields; and
- Promote the unity of science through improving communication among specialists.

According to General Systems Theory (GST), systems of all types share certain common characteristics that can be described through the use of mathematics as well as ordinary language. Through the study of systems as general phenomena and by identifying the laws that they all obey, people are enabled to learn more about the functioning of a specific system of choice (Midgley, 2007: 14). This view is rightfully rooted in the seminal words of Von Bertalanffy (1968: 33) that *"models, principles and laws exist which apply to generalised systems irrespective of their particular kind, elements, and the particular 'forces' involved"*. GST continued during the 1960s and 1970s in this interdisciplinary fashion and was rooted in the principle that complex systems at all levels of examination, from the smallest organism up to modern

societies, could be understood using the same collection of theories and methodologies (Sawyer, 2005: 1). The interaction of system-variables, according to Skyttner (2005: 37), is so interlinked that cause and effect is a kind of circular logic. Reducing complexities to their constituents and attempting to understand the whole through knowledge of its individual parts is no longer valid as a single variable can be both cause and effect. Historically scientists did not understand that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Knowledge was gathered into silos and data became increasingly disconnected. Systems thinking became the adaptation of science against the backdrop of increased complexity (Skyttner, 2005: 37).

The word 'system' is used almost daily as it emerges in a variety of contexts – some technical, some social and some philosophical (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 3). Linguistically the word 'system' is of Greek origin (Ison, 2008: 140; Skyttner, 2005: 56). Skyttner (2005: 56) posits that the Greek word denotes a 'connected or regular whole' whilst Ison (2008: 140) highlights that the word 'system' is derived from the Greek verb *synhistanai*, which means 'to stand together'. Ison (2008: 140) refers to the word 'epistemology', which has the same root. In general terms, Hammond (2003: 17) defines a system as a "*set of relationships between discreet things that together form some kind of coherent pattern and/or whole that is capable of maintaining itself through time*". Skyttner (2005: 57) provides an oft-used 'common sense' definition of a system and states that it is a "*set of interacting units or elements that form an integrated whole intended to perform some function*". Similarly, Merali and Allen (2011: 31) state that the emergence of systems thinking started with the definition of a system as an integrated whole made up of interconnected parts.

Systems thinking has proven its value in complex problems that involve helping many actors see the 'big picture' and not just their part in it, and problems whose solutions are not obvious. It is effective in dealing with complex issues that depend a great deal on the past or on the actions of others and with those stemming from ineffective coordination among the actors involved (Aronson, 1996: 1). Porter and Cordoba (2009: 324-325) refer to the existence of a panoply of systems theories and multiple languages of systems thinking. The authors expound on three broad approaches to systems thinking as functionalist, interpretive and complex adaptive systems and argue that the three perspectives represent independent, though interrelated,

positions of thinking and are ideally suited for particular applications within their own set of suppositions. They conclude by arguing that the three lenses can simultaneously be used to focus on one situation or problem. Rather than merging them, they can instead form part of a highly valuable toolkit that contains all three approaches along with the knowledge of the best use of each (Porter & Cordoba, 2009: 344). Different types of systems exist. Systems thinking suggests that systems cannot be understood by analysis and that the properties of the parts can only be understood within the larger context of the whole. Thus, the composition (what the components are and what they are made of), structure (how the components are connected) and organisation (how the components interact to maintain the coherent existence of the system as a distinctive 'whole') of a system together define the identity of the system at any given moment (Merali & Allen, 2011: 32).

According to Skyttner (2005: 59-62), systems are usually classified as concrete, conceptual, abstract or unperceivable. The concrete system, also called physical system, is the most common and exists in the physical reality of space and time. Consisting of at least two units or objects, concrete systems can be living or non-living, natural or man-made. A conceptual system is a system of concepts and is composed of an organisation of ideas expressed in symbolic form. The units of a conceptual system may be words, numbers or other symbols. A conceptual system can only exist within some form of concrete system and occupies a regulatory function over the physical system. An example may be the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013, which is a conceptual system that regulates the operation of the police investigator, a physical system. An abstract system consists of elements that are concepts and may or may not be empirically observable. Units of abstract systems are relationships abstracted or selected by an observer in the light of an interest or theoretical position. Cultures as systems are an example of abstract systems. An unperceivable system consists of many parts with complicated interrelationships between them that obscure the actual structure of the system (Skyttner, 2005: 59-62).

When the word 'system' is used, Stowell and Welch (2012: 73-74) posit, it needs to be recognised that it refers to a system that is an 'intellectual model' of some feature of the universe that is useful to the participant who studies it. It remains an intellectual

construct and may not be reflective of the actual world. These authors continue by highlighting that a system's 'existence' is fundamentally a description of systemic qualities as observed, irrespective of whether the observer is a creator or user of that system, or perhaps reflects experiences more generally (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 73-74).

Merali and Allen (2011: 50) highlight how the focus of systems thinking has changed over time and has shifted from structure, reflected in the use of modularisation to deal with complexity, to organisation or form, accentuated in the cybernetics approaches, to the network dynamics of adaptation and transformation, within the paradigm of complex systems science. These authors continue by underscoring that these shifts have provided humanity with the concepts, tools and methods for understanding and dealing with complexity in the world as it is understood (Merali & Allen, 2011: 50). Similarly, Stanton and Welsh (2012: 14) consider systemic thinking as a wide-ranging cognitive overhaul and the willingness and aptitude to challenge conventional thinking. It includes the understanding of systemic concepts and the *"inculcation of those concepts into practical thinking about life issues, circumstances, and problems"*.

Sawyer (2005: 10) refers to complexity theory as the third wave of social systems theory after Parson's structural functionalism, which denotes that parts in society work together to promote solidarity, as the first wave and GST of the 1960s through the 1980s as the second wave. Midgley (2007: 12) points to GST, cybernetics and complexity science as the three major interrelated lines of research that characterised systems thinking in the 1940s and 1950s whilst Porter and Cordoba (2009: 337) state that complexity theory originated from the principles of quantum mechanics along with major advances in artificial computing. Hudson (2000: 227) calls for complex systems theory to be viewed as complementary to and edifying of GST rather than replacing it.

Complexity theory will be introduced in the next section.

5.7 COMPLEXITY THEORY

Mitleton-Kelly (2003: 3) describes complexity as a rather new discipline with *"immense power"* to alter the way in which the world is thought about or viewed. It has the potential to change the way organisations are managed, designed and structured and to generate novel ways of working and relating. In a setting of increasing uncertainty

and ambiguity, it is essential to master the ability to manage, in tension, incongruent and often contradictory views without undue stress. Similarly, on the potential of complexity, Morgan (2005: 11) quotes Kiel (1994: 221) as arguing that “*societies that master the new sciences of complexity and can convert that knowledge into new products and forms of social organization will become the cultural, economic and military superpowers of the 21st century.*”

Sawyer (2005: 23) refers to ‘complex dynamical systems theory’, ‘complex adaptive systems theory’ and ‘complex adaptive systems’ as terms often used interchangeably when referring to complexity theory. Others, like Eidelson (1997: 43), position complex adaptive systems as “*one particular arena in the realm of complexity theory*”. It is argued that complexity theory is at least partially indebted to GST, given their shared attention to the critique of reductionism and general appreciation of system interconnectedness (Manson, 2001: 406). Others argue that complexity theory is in fact a systems theory (Frank, 2015; Morçöl, 2012a: 45). Systems theory, at its core, attempts to explain how elements are related to each other, how they collectively constitute a whole and how this whole relates to other wholes. These are the core issues in complexity theory as well (Morçöl, 2012a: 45). Various ideas exist as to the origin of complexity theory, with De Toni and Comello (2010: 24) noting that complexity theory developed in a turbulent, disordered and multidisciplinary manner.

Heylighen et al. (2007: 124) argue that complexity science proposes to expound and integrate the ideas of systems science and cybernetics and thereby develop a drastic, yet operable, alternative to the Newtonian paradigm. Midgley and Richardson (2007: 170-171) point to the similarities and overlap between the systems and complexity communities. The authors acknowledge the difference in agendas between systems thinking and complexity science and state that the “*separate identities are worth preserving*”. However, they assert, “*there is sufficient similarity to make mutual respect and learning across community boundaries worthwhile*” (Midgley & Richardson, 2007: 171). Similarly, Richardson (2007: 166) reflects on the deep similarities between complexity and systems theory and considers it strange that studies associated with these fields co-exist almost separately from one another.

With reference to the advent of complexity theory three centuries after Newton, De Toni and Comello (2010: 25) bid farewell to order, abstraction, linearity, predictability

and determinism whilst welcoming human beings, groups, people, organisations, vitality and change. One of the earliest writers on complexity as a field of inquiry was Weaver (1948), who called on science to respond to emerging complex problems as the future of the world depends on many of them. Weaver (1948: 540) calls for a third great advance that is characterised as a greater achievement than the 19th Century subjugation of problems of simplicity or the 20th Century victory over problems of disorganised complexity. What is required, Weaver argues, is a response by science to problems of organised complexity (Weaver, 1948: 540). According to Midgley (2007: 18), it was already clear in the late 1940s that when writers discussed 'organised complexity', they were in effect talking about systems.

Endeavouring to define, measure and fully understand the meaning of the concept 'complexity' is clearly an intricate undertaking (Nowotny, 2005: 15; Cilliers, 1998: viii; Arecchi, 1997: 3). In resisting even the notion to define, Cilliers (2008: 44) posits that the process of defining is inherently reductionist as an attempt is made to capture the exact meaning of a concept in terms of its essential properties. Two decades ago Horgan (1995: 106) underscored the multiplicity of meanings associated with 'complexity' in an article entitled 'From Complexity to Perplexity' in which he makes reference to at least 31 definitions of complexity that have been proposed. In harmony with Horgan's sentiments, Eidelson (1997: 42) states that the term 'complexity' in itself is laden with numerous different technical meanings. Stanton and Welsh (2012: 16) argue that a number of possible factors might influence a system, which contributes to the difficulty in comprehending complexity. Complexity, according to De Toni and Comello (2010: 41), is *"a garden of forking paths, the alternation of continuity and discontinuity, the place where everything is destroyed and recreated around us, the place where we are the first active creators of the reality"*.

Complexity theory is described by Walby (2007: 449, 466) as a loose collection of work that developed across a range of disciplines. It answers important questions on the nature of systems and their changes and provides a series of conceptual innovations to the concept of system that may be synthesised with selected traditions in social theory (Walby, 2007: 449, 466). A core feature of complexity theory, according to Masys (2012: 200), is its fundamental rethinking of the nature of systems and its acknowledgement of the simultaneously dynamic and systemic interrelationships and

interconnectivity. Urry (2005: 3) highlights that systems are irreducible to fundamental laws and simple processes and postulates that complexity investigates emergent, dynamic and self-organising systems that interact in ways that significantly impact on the probabilities of later events.

Geyer and Rihani (2010: 188) argue that tensions between a complexity and traditional framework are a guaranteed part of the human sense-making journey and similar tensions can be expected during the next paradigm shift. An excellent learning experience is, however, presented when people explore, respond to and manage this tension. These authors continue by emphasising that complexity is just as scientific as the traditional orderly paradigm (Geyer & Rihani, 2010: 188). Similarly, Maguire, Allen and Mckelvey (2011: 2-3) state that a complexity perspective offers a scientifically grounded basis for accepting two paradoxical forms of wisdom. Individuals can alter their worlds through their interventions, but their agency must be reflexive and must acknowledge the complexity of the system in which they are entrenched (Maguire et al., 2011: 2-3).

Smith and Jenks (2006: 4) state that complexity is not a peripheral phenomenon and, at times, independently and through concerted inquiry, confirms the need for a deserving portion of attention. The authors continue by warning against strategies of simplification, which are likely to result in a racket of unintended, unforeseen, dangerous and costly consequences. This warning by Smith and Jenks (2006: 4) was eerily present in Participant SAPS 3's experience that the "*human trafficking factor*" (para. 12) in South Africa had not been addressed in the past, but, rather had been framed as "*just prostitution*" (para. 12) – as "*simple as that*" (para. 12). Echoing the international nature and intricacies of the crime of human trafficking, Participant SAPS 3 also reflected on his longstanding law enforcement career working with organised crime and opined that "*law enforcement allowed it [human trafficking] to continue*" (para. 2), which permitted "*opening the doors for a lot of other issues*" (para. 2). Strategies of simplification by the ICS were clearly evident in this research and so was the presence of unintended, unforeseen, dangerous and costly consequences.

5.7.1 Defining a 'Complex System'

Midgley (2007: 18) draws a strong association between the terms 'systems' and 'complexity' throughout the history of the systems enterprise, whilst Cilliers (2008: 44) highlights 'complexity' as a characteristic of a 'system'. Johnson (2010: 116) posits that the contemporary messy and multifarious problems humanity faces today (also see Skyttner, 2005: 36) involve 'systems of systems of systems'. They involve social subsystems, natural subsystems of the environment, and the artificial subsystems of technology and the constructed environment. Furthermore, a range of intertwined and complicated interactions is inherent in these subsystems and their subsystems of families, businesses, the oceans, the atmosphere, the land, houses, shopping malls and transportation (Johnson, 2010: 116).

Cilliers (2008: 44) points to the complex behaviour that arises through the interaction between components of the system and therefore underscores the importance of focussing on relationships rather than on individual components. Referring to truly complex systems, Heylighen et al. (2007: 124-125) state that components enjoy a measure of independence. They are therefore autonomous in their behaviour whilst undergoing various direct and indirect interactions. The global behaviour of the system is therefore extremely difficult to predict even though it is not random (Heylighen et al., 2007: 124-125).

No generally accepted and formal definition of a complex system exists (Ireland & Gorod, 2016: 8; Ball, 2012: x; Mitchell, 2006: 1195). An early definition of a complex system was provided by Simon (1962: 468), who characterises it as consisting of a large number of parts that interact in a non-simple way. Simon continues by stating that the whole of the system is more than the sum of its parts, *"not in an ultimate, metaphysical sense, but in the important pragmatic sense that, given the properties of the parts and the laws of their interaction, it is not a trivial matter to infer the properties of the whole"* (Simon, 1962: 468). Mitchell (2006: 1195) provides an informal definition of a complex system and describes it as a *"large network of relatively simple components with no central control in which emergent complex behaviour is exhibited"*. Mitchell continues by explicating the meaning of relatively simple components and argues that the individual constituents, or at least their functional roles in the system's collective behaviour, are simple with respect to that collective

behaviour. A single neuron and a single ant are complicated entities within and of themselves (Mitchell, 2006: 1195). Ball (2012: x) highlights that there is a general agreement that a complex system is one made up of many components, the components of which might or might not be identical.

Complex systems are usually associated with living things such as the brain, social systems and language, and have a number of characteristics (Cilliers, 1998: ix). Other frequently cited examples of complex systems in nature and society include the immune system, biological cells, metabolic networks, ant colonies, the internet and World Wide Web, economic markets and human social networks (Mitchell, 2006: 1195). In addition to social systems such as crime networks, gangs and terrorist cells, which are mentioned by Leary and Thomas (2011: 63), this study's examples of the ICS and the TCS that it seeks to investigate and combat are also examples of complex social systems in that each consists of a large network of elements and a range of subsystems.

Complex systems, as open systems, interact with their environment in terms of both energy and information. Complex systems must be able to acclimatise to environmental changes and therefore their internal structure must be influenced in some way by external conditions. A distinction between 'inside' and 'outside' the systems often becomes problematic (Cilliers, 1998: 99). Complexity theory researchers have found that a system's evolution and behaviour often challenge numerous commonly held assumptions about the world. This discovery has been facilitated by researchers' use of theoretical models and research strategies that focus on non-linear effects and temporal change (Eidelson, 1997: 42). Cilliers (1998: 3-5) highlights the following features of complex systems:

- Complex systems consist of a large number of elements;
- In order to constitute a complex system, the elements have to interact dynamically. These interactions need not only be physical in nature but can also include the transference of information;
- The interaction between elements is fairly rich. Any element in the system can influence another element and can be influenced by others;

- Interactions between elements are non-linear. Non-linearity is a precondition for complexity and guarantees that small causes can have large results, and vice versa;
- Interactions are typically short ranged; that is, information is received primarily from immediate neighbours;
- There are feedback loops in the interactions, which can be positive or negative. The effect of any activity can feed back onto itself. This can happen directly or after a number of intervening stages;
- Complex systems are usually open systems that interact with their environment;
- Complex systems operate under conditions far from equilibrium. A constant flow of energy is a prerequisite for the maintenance of the system's organisation and to ensure its survival;
- Complex systems have histories. They evolve through time and their past is co-responsible for their present behaviour; and
- Individual elements are ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole in which they are embedded. An element responds only to information that is available to them locally.

These features of complex systems are present in the ICS, TCS and their various respective subsystems that enable, perpetrate and respond to human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa. The constituent parts and elements of these systems are made up of diverse and numerous multi- and interdisciplinary individuals, groups, agencies, departments and mandates. All of these are in a constant and dynamic mode of interaction and information exchange whilst directly or indirectly contributing to the mandate of their specific system. They also continually interact in a complex manner and do not have a central point of control. Interactions are non-linear in nature and contain feedback loops, both positive and negative, each of which respectively either prompts or stifles change. This gives rise to emergent complex behaviour, which is exhibited by the ICS and the TCS at a macro level.

Furthermore, the ICS and TCS continually traverse a number of other complex systems such as the sex industry, organised crime, transportation systems, social networks, labour markets, and political and neopatrimonial systems to name but a few. Their respective elements can also be in several systems at once and can connect to

or withdraw from those systems. As complex systems, the ICS and TCS interpenetrate with each other and with a variety of other systems and their environments, which makes an unequivocal distinction of their boundaries very difficult. These characteristics will be explicated in Section 5.8.

5.7.2 Natural versus Social Sciences

Mitchell (2006: 1196) highlights that the field of complex systems endeavours to explain and reveal common laws for the emergent, self-organising behaviour displayed in complex systems across disciplines. Some of the tools used by complex systems scientists in characterising behaviour come from a variety of disciplines that include, amongst others, non-linear dynamics, information theory, computation theory, behavioural psychology and evolutionary biology. The effects of humans, Urry (2005: 6) posits, are *“subtly and irreversibly woven into the very evolution of landscape”*. Geyer and Rihani (2010: 28-29), in their discussion on complexity and social science, position human beings into the complexity paradigm as being a fundamental and symbiotic part of the complex mesh of their physical and biological environment. What make human beings distinct from this environment, the authors argue, are consciousness and the ability to ask reflective and critical questions. Humans’ capacity for self-awareness, their ability to understand aspects of the world around them, to be aware of their history and to evolve interpretations of themselves, their surroundings and their history are what makes them fundamentally different from all other life forms and physical phenomena (Geyer & Rihani, 2010: 28-29).

According to Hideg (2004: 80), the main characteristic of emergent social systems is their *“orientation to the future and the alternativity”*. The human component of complex social systems therefore *“interprets, explains, values and scans its environment”*. Adapting to its changing environment or actually changing itself and its environment continually is what comes to human thought. This is why the human component makes complex social systems volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous. Merali and Allen (2011: 50) state that there have been objections to using concepts from the natural sciences to explain human social systems. These include the failure of these concepts to address issues of free will, intentionality and purposiveness. Nevertheless, there is an existing recognition that there are collective phenomena and systemic properties that can be attributed to human activity systems (Merali & Allen, 2011: 50).

Several scientific developments from the mid-1990s onwards converged to create a qualitatively more advanced approach to complex systems, with developments having significant implications for the social sciences (Sawyer, 2005: 2). Despite the notion of complex systems being relatively new in the social sciences, Ball (2012: ix) points out that natural scientists have studied these systems with much success for some decades now. Ball continues by arguing that the time is ripe and the need urgent to approach the social sciences from this perspective where collaboration takes place between natural and social scientists. This would see computer scientists, physicists, mathematicians, biologists, technologists, psychologists, economists, sociologists, urban planners, political scientists, philosophers, historians and artists all working together to *“build a new picture of human social behaviour and its consequences”* (Ball, 2012: ix).

Areas in the social and behavioural sciences that have attracted the attention of complexity investigators include fields such as attitude formation, purchase behaviour, majority-minority relations, social networks, family systems, psychotherapy, norm formation, organisational development, coalition formation, economic instabilities, urban development, the electoral process, political transitions, international relations, social movements, drug policy, health, crime, and criminal behaviour (Pappas, Kourouthanassis, Giannakos & Lekakos, 2017; Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017; Van der Westhuizen, 2015; Emser, 2013; Trenholm & Ferlie, 2013; Xiao, Zhao, Bishai & Peters, 2013; Morçöl, 2012b; Eidelson, 1997: 42).

In the next section, nine complex systems theory tenets will be deconstructed and considered by means of illustrations from participants' lived experiences with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

5.8 COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEMES

What follows are complex systems themes, ideas and principles that will be used as 'landmarks' and 'guideposts' during the following discussion and interpretation of participants' lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Verbatim extracts from interviews will be presented as isomorphism of the complex systems theory tenets explored in this section. In harmony with key exploratory themes observed by Byrne and Callaghan (2014: 232) in a number of

studies using the complexity frame of reference, this chapter sets out to explore the following questions related to the use of complex systems theory:

- Can the lived experiences of participants related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation be understood and interpreted better if they are considered within a complex systems frame of reference?
- Does thinking about their lived experiences in that way promote an understanding of the nature of those experiences, and the processes involved in investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation, whilst informing participants and other decision makers how to act effectively towards them?

In endeavouring to find answers to these questions, this section will contain the use of complex systems theory within a manageable scope by exploring the following nine complex systems theory tenets: Complex vs Complicated; Boundaries, Environment and Perspectives; Hierarchy; Entropy and Negentropy; Interconnectedness, Interaction and Communication; Feedback and Feedback Loops; Unpredictability and Constant Change; Self-Organisation and Emergence; and Learning and Evolving. Owing to the interconnected nature of these themes, ideas and principles related to complex systems theory, the following discussion presents the ubiquitous value of complex systems thinking for all stakeholders that participate in the complex day-to-day realities that infuse the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

5.8.1 Complex versus Complicated

‘Complex’ is not the same as ‘Complicated’ – *“and the difference matters”* (Strauss, 2014). The difference between ‘complex’ and ‘complicated’ is a fundamental principle that permeates complex systems theory, the turn away from determinism and the shortfalls of reductionism. It is therefore embedded in both the philosophy and theory that underpin this research. Cilliers (1998: viii) provides a useful distinction between ‘complex’ and ‘complicated’. Both concepts are approached from the view that a system could consist of a huge number of components. 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. These systems, often containing thousands of parts, can be disassembled and reassembled, after which the ‘whole’ of the system can be understood as the sum total

of its parts. If one component in the system breaks, it can be replaced and the system will continue to function as normal.

A complex system, on the other hand, cannot be understood just by describing and understanding its different constituent parts. In complex systems 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 a change in the system as a whole (Cilliers, 1998: viii). Criminal justice, health care and schools, as complex systems and complex problems, are jam-packed with countless moving parts, numerous individuals with varied expertise and independence. There is also no central control that manages all these different parts within an ever-changing societal, economic and political landscape (Cuban, 2010).

Van der Watt and Van der Westhuizen (2017) use an example from the criminal justice system to distinguish between 'complex' and 'complicated'. They refer to a 'single-event' crime such as a rape or murder as a case that can be thought of as complicated rather than complex. Such crimes can be pieced together in a linear fashion as they usually involve an incident that has taken place within a specific context or set of circumstances. The constituent parts of such one-off crimes usually include the criminal act, a victim, a perpetrator or perpetrators, possible witnesses and the crime scene (Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 221). According to Osterburg and Ward (2010: 5), the subsequent investigation requires the "*collection of information and evidence for identifying, apprehending, and convicting suspected offenders*" and represents a systematic and organised piecing together of the crime puzzle.

As is demonstrated in this research, human trafficking, on the other hand, can be considered as complex rather than complicated. With the crime of human trafficking, as a process, that crosses international borders and involves multiple and interacting systems of all sorts, any attempt to investigate the crime as a 'complicated' phenomenon will harm the pattern and configuration of relationships (Capra, 1996: 81), which are fundamental to grasping the complexity of the problem. Such a reductionist approach to human trafficking investigations may in fact result in the neutralisation of some components or role-players in the trafficking network. However, others will remain and self-organise with new and emergent properties that continue

to operate (Van der Watt & Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 225). This, unfortunately, is consistent with current strategies for combating human trafficking in South Africa and results in an *“archipelago of disconnected data”* (Skyttner, 2005: 37) that underestimates the complexity of human trafficking.

Participants in this research intuitively associated the crime of human trafficking as something complex rather than complicated, yet they still relied on linear and reductionist methods of investigation. They highlighted that human trafficking and its related interpenetrating crimes and syndicates resemble a *“big spider web”* (CS 2, para. 18) and pointed out that those working in the field must consider that there is always a *“bigger picture”* (DSD 1, para. 125). Clearly seeing that a larger narrative is busy playing out in the midst of impulsive actions to see bits and pieces of the storyline has been a source of frustration for many participants.

A member of the public (Participant CS 4) shared her frustration with the approach taken by a local politician after she had reported a brothel in her neighbourhood where the sexual exploitation of children by West African syndicate members was taking place. Frustrated by the reductionist strategy that the politician devised in response to the problem, Participant CS 4 informed the politician that this was not *“one little isolated matter that she [the politician] has to follow up. This is a big network of things happening in the whole of the city”* (para. 24). The politician was challenged by Participant CS 4 to *“look at this holistically”* (para. 26). The experience of Participant CS 4 gives credence to the assertion by Morgan (2005: 6) that such interventions may appear to be ‘micro-smart’ but are in fact ‘macro-dumb’. Such ‘either/or’ approaches may well work for linear cause-and-effect problems but have very little value when it comes to ‘both/and’ social problems that manifest in a complex ‘both/and’ world. As expressed by Participant DHA 2:

“I think if we treat human trafficking just like any other crime it becomes difficult. People tend to forget and they just think it’s just one of those.”

(para. 70)

An understanding of the difference between complex and complicated becomes crucial when investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A reductionist approach is counterproductive and will not secure many strategic successes. The

crime and its multilayered intricacies are clearly complex and therefore require an equally complex, sophisticated, non-reductionist and syndicated approach. Configuring an ICS that *“looks remarkably similar to the one [TCS] they are trying to destroy”* (Williams, 2009: 416) is therefore important. A lack of understanding as to what problems should be considered and approached as complex, rather than complicated, can result in unintended consequences or, as found in this research, even the loss of life. This knowledge vacuum impels reductionist decision making, which may ‘fix’ things in the short term, but counterproductively affects strategic outcomes. Some reductionist actions communicated by participants in this research include consistent and aimless disruptive actions such as premature brothel raids and arrests by law enforcement agencies, and rash statement taking from victims that are still traumatised. Participant NPA 5 underscored the *“search for media attention”* (para. 11) as a *“huge problem”* (para. 11) and could not understand the need for the SAPS to reflect arrests in the media. Legitimate questions to be asked about such media exposure include ‘how will this affect the reconfiguration of syndicate activity?’ and ‘are there unidentified victims whose safety may be compromised?’

The difference between ‘complex’ and ‘complicated’ is therefore significant and informs how a problem is approached. Context and the uniqueness of each case are also vitally important to consider. Glouberman and Zimmerman (2002: 2) compare this to problems associated with raising a child. Raising one child does provide experience, but no assurance of success with the next. No ‘one size fits all’ solution exists with complex problems and each investigation needs to be considered as unique. In applying Capra’s (1996) critique of reductionist analysis to a ‘complicated’ assumption of human trafficking in South Africa, one would realise from literature and the lived experience of participants in this study that a synthesis between the study of substance (or structure) and the study of form (or pattern) is lacking.

In dissecting the ‘living’ efforts of the ICS stakeholders into independent components, the importance of a relationship configuration best suited for addressing the ‘whole’ is neglected. Of equal importance is that the TCS must be addressed as a complex problem and ‘living’ system. This complexity cannot be compressed or simplified by following conventional and linear methods of investigation. As expressed by Cilliers, *“we have to deal with what we do not understand, and that demands new ways of*

thinking” (Cilliers, 1998: 2). From participants’ lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation it becomes quite apparent that a new way of thinking is very much the need of the hour.

5.8.2 Boundaries, Environment and Perspectives

Two complex systems that were bounded for the purpose of this research were, first, the ICS and, second, the TCS as the adversarial complex system that is investigated by the ICS. During the course of the research it became increasingly clear that it is by no means a simple endeavour to establish what should be included in each complex system and where the exact boundaries of these complex systems are located. Meadows (2009: 97) asserts that no single, legitimate boundary around a system exists and argues that boundaries are conceived for clarity and sanity. For a system to be recognised as a system, it must, however, be bounded in some way (Cilliers, 2001: 140). Porter and Cordoba (2009: 324) highlight that a number of ideas exist as to what constitutes a system and its boundaries. Similarly, Stowell and Welch (2012: 74) argue that the notion of boundary and the perception of a person as to where the boundary of a system might lie can be very different indeed.

A holistic perspective needs to be adopted if the situation is to be seen in its entirety (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 5; Gagnon, 2010: 1). When approaching any situation of interest, Stowell and Welch (2012: 5) posit, a decision needs to be made about what to include and what to leave out. A situation must have a beginning and an end, and some form of boundary around the system is important. If this is not achieved, decision makers are left with taking the whole planet into account or, conversely, they may cut up the problem into smaller pieces, running the risk of ignoring important areas (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 5) and losing information (Poli, 2012: 125).

Cilliers (2000: 9) argues that complexity is incompressible and therefore no perfect representation of the system that is simpler than the system itself is possible. People are forced to leave things out when building representations of open systems. The unavoidable limitations of such representations, Cilliers (2000: 9) asserts, should be acknowledged. Boundaries can also produce problems when people forget that they have *“artificially created them”* (Meadows, 2009: 97). Most people, when considering a system, make a mental note of what they think it actually comprises and do not

represent it explicitly. A clear enough description and critical appraisal are therefore lacking. By using the idea of a boundary, an understanding of the system as the situation of interest can be enriched. As the boundary of the system is first drawn, an appreciation of what it actually contains might develop and so will the boundary alter to reflect a richer understanding of the system of interest (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 5).

Drawing a boundary around the system of interest helps to clarify what the system is and what component elements make it up. Giving the system a name is also important. The next step is to decide what is included in the system's environment and what is not. By clarifying the surroundings and the context in which it exists, an understanding of what the system of interest is increases (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 7). Cilliers (2001: 140) warns that a number of difficulties become apparent as soon as one tries to be specific about the boundaries of a system. When boundaries are too narrow, Meadows (2009: 97) warns, the system tends to surprise you. Cilliers refers to complex systems as open systems where the relationships amongst the constituent parts are usually more significant than the parts themselves.

There are also relationships with the environment, which compound efforts to specify clearly where a boundary could be (Cilliers, 2001: 140). Stowell and Welch (2012: 76) state that the environment within which individuals and organisations interact is fluid and is constantly changing. This was evident in the current study's explication of South Africa's governance, political, economic, social, crime and justice environment, which was found to be in a constant state of flux from the start of this research in 2012. Also, on a micro-level, the high turnover rate of designated individuals representing government departments on task teams was a prominent experience shared by participants.

Cilliers (2001: 141) posits that the boundary of the system is neither *"purely a function of our description, nor is it a purely natural thing"*. Objectively describing the closure of the system is illusive and one cannot be sure that it has been found or defined clearly. Furthermore, the role of the environment may be invalidated when the system's closure is overemphasised. Zeleny (2002: 133) insightfully argues:

"All social systems, and thus all living systems, create, maintain, and degrade their own boundaries. These boundaries do not separate but intimately connect

the system with its environment. They do not have to be just physical or topological, but are primarily functional, behavioural, and communicational. They are not 'perimeters' but functional constitutive components of a given system."

Cilliers (2001: 141) highlights the following two issues when considering the issue of boundaries. First, on the nature of boundaries, Cilliers asserts that the system should rather be thought of as something that constitutes that which is bounded. This shift positions the boundary as something enabling, rather than as something restraining. Second, the place of the boundary is another concern. Cilliers warns that people have a propensity towards visual metaphors and are therefore inclined to think in spatial terms. Social systems are not bound by spatial restrictions; they often interpenetrate each other and connections between different components can be seen as virtual. Everything is constantly interacting and interfacing with others and the environment and there is never a clear or uncontested assertion as to the notions of inside and outside the system (Cilliers, 2001: 142).

Different types of boundaries were evident in this research and informed how participants organised themselves and interacted with other elements in the system and their environment. Boundaries included moral, physical, topological, functional, behavioural, virtual, conceptual and communicational boundaries. An uncontested or simple understanding of what was 'inside' or 'outside' of a system's boundaries was not possible as elements and systems were richly interconnected and consistently *"interacting and interfacing with others and with the environment"* (Cilliers, 2001: 142). Numerous examples of interpenetrating systems and the sharing of internal organs emanated from the research, which makes an unambiguous discussion about system boundaries problematic.

Quite apparent in this research was Byrne and Callaghan's (2014: 33) point that elements of different systems can be part of multiple systems and can connect or withdraw from those systems. Kaleidoscopic group affiliations and actions of individual human beings were also quite evident. Prominent examples shared by participants in NGO-, Shelter-, and DSD subsystems were where female 'victims' rescued from brothels and accommodated in shelters turned out to be informants or actual recruiters for trafficking syndicates. Corruption is also a significant, yet a slippery and veiled

phenomenon that breaks multiple boundaries and dichotomous conceptual moulds such as ‘us’ (representing the good) and ‘them’ (representing the bad), ‘victim’ and ‘recruiter’, and ‘here’ (safe) and ‘there’ (unsafe). One of many examples where internal organs were shared between the ICS and TCS was that of an investigating officer who was “*very enthusiastic about human trafficking*” (para. 2) until rumours and allegations suggested that he had interests in the sex trade and was “*burning his own competition*” (para. 2). Participant NPA 2 reflected on what was eventually established:

“...our own investigating officer was handing over our case to the defence attorneys.” (para. 2)

Another example related to a prominent counter-human trafficking activist, who was well known to the researcher, the SAPS and a number of ICS members, and was implicated by a sex trade participant as a regular visitor to her brothel. The activist was “*ban[ned]*” (STP 4, para. 13) from the brothel because of his “*funny antics*” (STP 4, para. 13) and “*disgusting*” (STP 4, para. 13) requests to the girls. He also tipped off Participant STP 4 on police activities and frequently offered some of her girls “*jobs in Cambodia teaching English*” (STP 4, para. 62). The researcher was furnished with an entire file on the prominent activist, which contained email and social media communications, photos and CCTV footage. The sharing of internal organs between the ICS and TCS, and the difficulty of determining concrete boundaries, was quite evident in this scenario.

In order to increase an understanding of the two complex systems that are relevant to this study (see: Stowell & Welch, 2012: 7), the environment, surroundings and context within which the ICS and TCS exist were explicated in Chapter 2’s discussion of the South African context and landscape. This was part of the researcher’s endeavour to move beyond a holistic view by inculcating a deep ecological awareness where the fundamental interdependence of all phenomena is acknowledged. Individuals and societies, Capra argues, are all embedded in and ultimately dependent on the cyclical processes of nature (Capra, 1996: 6). Boundaries can and should therefore be “*reconsidered for each new discussion, problem, or purpose*” (Meadows, 2009: 99).

The ability to alter one’s perspective to analyse a situation from a different vantage point is emphasised by Stanton and Welsh (2012: 19) as key to the understanding of

complex systems issues and problems. Systemic thinking holds the holistic view that a multiplicity of perspectives contributes to the understanding of complex systems. Stowell and Welch (2012: 75) state that any observation regarding boundaries is made from the point of view of an individual who observes. Every person holds their own unique perspective or set of perspectives, which is shaped by their life experiences. Viewpoints may differ, depending on the role played by a person at a specific point in time and the values that are relevant to that particular context. This view by Stowell and Welch (2012: 75) is also consistent with the notion of the wisdom of crowds included in the philosophical underpinnings of this study.

5.8.3 Hierarchy

Systems are part of other systems and are counted in a hierarchy of systems. According to Skyttner (2005: 65), systems theory considers the notion of hierarchy as a universal principle present in inorganic nature, in organic and social life, and in the cosmos. Practically all complex systems acknowledged in the real world tend to organise hierarchically. An earlier definition of a hierarchic system or hierarchy was provided by Simon (1962: 468), who referred to *“a system that is composed of interrelated subsystems, each of the latter being, in turn, hierarchic in structure until we reach some lowest level of elementary subsystem”*. Stowell and Welch (2012: 77) state that people should consider the way in which they choose to draw boundaries around the systems perceived to be of relevance. Notwithstanding the distinction that may be drawn between the system and its environment, it is clear that the environment may be perceived as a wider system of which the chosen system is in fact a subsystem – therefore a smaller part thereof. Subsystems of the chosen system may also be systems in their own right, with the chosen system then perceived as their environment. Iterations of this process reveal that systems nest in hierarchical relationships (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 77).

Cilliers (2001: 143) states that the notion of hierarchy is resisted in some contemporary discussions of complex systems. He highlights that this resistance is based on the emphasis placed on self-organisation (see Section 5.8.8) and the distributed nature of the structure in a system, where complex systems do not have central control mechanisms, and the argument that they have to be dynamic and adaptable rather than rigid or invariable. Cilliers (2001: 143) argues against this resistance and states

that hierarchies are surely necessary and systems cannot do without them. Cilliers continues by asserting that complex systems indeed have structure, which is asymmetrical, and highlights that they are not homogenous things. Subsections with functions cannot exist without some form of hierarchy. However, it becomes problematic when these hierarchies are viewed as either too clearly defined or too permanent (Cilliers, 2001: 143).

Hierarchies, both explicit and implicit, were indeed a pervasive and ever-present factor that demanded a constant and intuitive awareness from all participants in this research as they navigated a labyrinth of 'systems of systems of systems'. In many instances, hierarchies were the determining factor in the manner in which stakeholders and subsystems communicated with each other. They also determined whether the provision or receipt of information was fostered or stifled between individual stakeholders or subsystems. Hierarchies were evident in how government departments were structured and, in some cases, manifested through a sense of implied elitism or superiority associated with a specific subsystemic unit, department, function and even a specific individual.

Despite overwhelming evidence found in the study that human trafficking syndicates are loosely connected and fluid and that they lack explicit central control, they remain sophisticated, well organised and intimately aware of unwritten hierarchies in the TCS. This was evident in the statement by Participant STP 1, who referred to meetings "*with people from another province or with criminals of a higher level than we are...*" (para. 56). An example of hierarchies can also be found in the explanation offered by Participant CLE 1, who referred to a number of directorates in the governance of his city. Within the "*Safety and Security*" (para. 8) directorate there "*are six departments*" (para. 8), of which "*three of those are enforcement departments*" (para. 8). One of these departments is the law enforcement department, which deals primarily with municipal ordinances and by-laws. The law enforcement department is then cascaded into "*a number of specialised units*" (para. 8), which include "*informal trading, marine and environmental protection unit and...the metal theft unit*" (para. 8). Another specific specialised unit within the law enforcement department is mandated to address the issue of prostitution, which is "*a very substantial complaints generator*" (para. 8). Even

crime, priorities, tasks and ranks were some of the issues found in this research that were positioned hierarchically.

From a complex systems perspective, the rigid hierarchies (Cilliers, 2001: 143) and bureaucratic processes within the SAPS were somewhat problematic and particularly confounding to a number of participants. Participant NGO 1 elaborated:

“I think one of the things that just would’ve really helped me right from the beginning was just maybe helping civil society to understand their [SAPS] structures and how they [SAPS] work and how they function and what is and isn’t allowed...and maybe also just a brief overview...of each of the departments and what their responsibilities are and especially in light of human trafficking. Who is responsible for what?” (para. 92)

Hierarchical rigidities also contributed to valuable opportunities being missed to penetrate the TCS. One participant (STP 1), who was embedded in an organised crime syndicate, gave up on his attempts to provide the SAPS with intelligence as a result of his experience with stifling hierarchical processes:

“...when you talk to the lieutenant he goes to the captain and the captain goes to the major and the major goes to the brigadier and before it gets to the Commissioner of the Police or the Minister of Police somewhere along the line there’s just doors closing...” (para. 200)

Rigid boundaries and hierarchies within government departments were not only perplexing for those on the ‘outside’ looking in, but also for those within the elementary levels of their own subsystem. In her attempts to access a report that had to be submitted to the NPA, Participant DSD 2 explained:

“I’ve been sending e-mails, I’ve been requesting and CCing all my managers, even my director, but those managers decided to ignore and never responding to my e-mails.” (para. 121)

She concluded that the lack of response to her attempts was *“because I’m nobody”* (para. 123).

There are also relationships that cut across different hierarchies. These interpenetrations, viewed by Cilliers as an indispensable part of complexity, may vary from being rather limited to so far-reaching that an attempt to typify the hierarchy accurately in terms of prime and subordinate parts becomes problematic (Cilliers, 2001: 143). An example here could be where a prosecutor, positioned as a middle manager in the NPA, is tasked with leading a provincial human trafficking task team that consists of team members from other departments, including other NPA affiliates, who occupy a much higher hierarchical position in their own respective subsystems. Such instances were observed and documented by the researcher and were shown to infuse the ICS with subtle nuances, communication challenges and tension.

When considering the issue of hierarchies in complex systems, the view expressed by Byrne and Callaghan (2014: 34) becomes important. These authors argue that systems have histories and that the structure within them is a product of past actions and interactions. This allows systems to have a causal potential in relation to the probability of future actions. Hierarchy in complex systems is indeed important, but Byrne and Callaghan (2014: 35) warn against a description of causal processes in terms of any one direction of cause due to factors such as interpenetration, layering and multidirectional causality, which are characteristic of complex systems.

5.8.4 Entropy and Negentropy

De Toni and Comello (2010: 19) state that the concept 'entropy' was introduced by Clausius, the German physicist and mathematician, in 1865. The term often appears in works related to societal complexity (Mavrofidis, Kameas, Papageorgiou & Los, 2011: 353). Cilliers (1998: 8) describes entropy as a measure of disorder in a system. As a system transforms energy, an increasingly smaller amount remains in a usable form and results in an increase of disorder in the system (Cilliers, 1998: 8). Skyttner (2005: 20) points out that, according to the Second Law of Thermodynamics, all energy in the universe degrades irreversibly. Applied to the area of systems, Skyttner continues, the law dictates that entropy of an isolated system always increases. Beinhocker (2006: 66) explains that, according to the Second Law, the universe as a whole is inescapably wandering from a state of order to a state of disorder, with the ultimate destination of the universe being a random, bland fog of perfectly stable temperature. As time passes, all order, structure and pattern in the universe breaks

down, decays and dissipates. Cars rust, buildings crumble, mountains erode and apples rot. *“Entropy is what gives time its arrow”* (Beinhocker, 2006: 67).

Here the difference between ‘closed systems’ and ‘open systems’ becomes important. Von Bertalanffy (1968: 39) posits that only systems that are isolated from their environment, referred to as ‘closed systems’, are dealt with by conventional physics. The author continues by highlighting that the Second Law of Thermodynamics only applies to closed systems where a certain measure, called entropy, must escalate to a maximum, and eventually the process comes to a halt at a state of equilibrium (Von Bertalanffy, 1968: 39). Closed systems, according to Beinhocker (2006: 69), always have a predictable end state. Notwithstanding the possibility that they may engage in unpredictable behaviour along the way, they inevitably head towards maximum entropy equilibrium. The change of entropy in closed systems is always positive and order is incessantly demolished (Von Bertalanffy, 1968: 41).

On the other hand, open systems are far more convoluted. Such a system conserves itself in an unremitting inflow and outflow, a building up and breaking down of components, and is never positioned, as long as it is alive, in a state of chemical or thermodynamic equilibrium (Von Bertalanffy, 1968: 39). The continuous presence of free energy in open systems makes it impossible to predict a system’s ultimate end state or whether it will ever reach such an end state (Beinhocker, 2006: 69). Both the production of entropy, due to irreversible processes, and the importation of entropy, which may well be negative, are present in open systems. An example may be that of a living organism that imports complex molecules high in free energy. When maintaining themselves in a steady state, living systems can avoid an increase of entropy and can even develop towards states of increased order and organisation (Von Bertalanffy, 1968: 41).

Life processes of living creatures, as open systems, continue to move towards greater complexity and diversity, unlike the deterioration indicated in the Second Law of Thermodynamics and which is the case with closed systems (Bertalanffy, 1968). Davidson and Topolski (2011: 71) refer to Erwin Schrödinger (1948), who called this negative entropy ‘negentropy’, and state that living things must seek negentropy to stay alive. Therefore, to compensate for the increase in entropy that they produce, and to maintain a relatively high level of organisation, living things must draw order from

their environment (Davidson & Topolski, 2011: 71). Negentropy, or energy importation (McKelvey, 2003: 105), is the difference between open and closed systems and involves the avoidance of entropy. Open systems allow the import of resources, whereas closed systems do not. By allowing resources into the system, an open system can modify its relationships according to the changes taking place in its environment (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 79).

So how can entropy, negentropy, and the idea of open and closed systems as complex systems concepts be utilised in this study? In this research, the ICS, TCS and their various subsystems can be considered as open systems as they are in a constant process of varying degrees of feedback (see Section 5.8.6) and information exchange with their external environment, which includes the broader South African landscape deconstructed in Section 2.4. On the other hand, closed systems often have impenetrable boundaries and do not allow information exchange with their environment. This can include organisations with rigid boundaries, which are often considered as unhealthy. Such systems, according to Morgan (2005: 9), are “*starved of nourishment*”, which includes identity and common values, finances, legitimacy, information, commitment and the energy and motivation to survive. Organisations that resemble closed systems begin to gradually decline, their resilience dissipates and the system eventually collapses as is evidenced in various political systems and private companies.

Davidson and Topolski (2011: 70) point out that open systems (such as the ICS, TCS and their respective subsystems) have information and energy that constantly flow through them. Whilst continuously generating entropy, these systems actively dissipate entropy into their environment, thus maintaining their organisation at the cost of increased disorder in the surrounding environment.

It is important to note that closed systems characteristics were evidenced in some of the ICS subsystems. The most prominent subsystem that exhibited such characteristics, as derived from participants’ lived experiences, was the SAPS. These were indicated in the numerous sentiments by participants that related to a lack of accountability, low morale, inaccessibility due to bureaucratic processes, and delayed or non-response to incidents of trafficking. Statements such as “*I don’t have faith in the police system*” (para. 116), expressed by Participant NGO 3, who continued to

highlight the SAPS' *"sparse consideration"* (para. 116) and *"sensitivity"* (para. 116) towards victims of trafficking, can be considered to point to a diminished state of feedback and information exchange between the SAPS and its environment.

Others, like Participant CLE 1, were much more critical of the criminal justice system as a whole, which Participant CLE 1 believed was *"either busy collapsing or has pretty much collapsed"* (para. 73). Participant CLE 1's assertions that the NPA was *"aggressively impaired with loads of political deployees"* (para. 73), and the DOJ *"grotesquely under-resourced"* (para. 73), can also be considered evidence of closed system characteristics that point to Morgan's (2005: 9) assertion that these organisations are *"starved of nourishment"*. It is fundamentally important that people, as part of social groups within any organisation, make decisions about maintaining their relationship with the environment as a response to entropy. Negentropy and energy importation were clearly evident in the commendable actions of two Hawks investigators (Participant SAPS 9 & Participant SAPS 10) who reconfigured their own conventional methods of crime investigation and opted to embrace the complexity seeping from their environment. These actions included learning Thai vernacular to build rapport with trafficking victims, validating the needs for special dietary requirements by Thai, Chinese and Nigerian victims of trafficking, and providing their personal cellphone numbers to victims and women in the sex trade who were considering leaving the industry. Their willingness to adapt allowed for information to enter the ICS and resulted in the modification of its relationships according to the changes taking place in its environment. Change is, after all, a necessity if collapse is to be avoided (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 79).

5.8.5 Interconnectedness, Interaction and Communication

The complex systems theme of interconnectedness, interaction and communication can be considered a 'bread and butter' issue for the ICS, TCS and their various subsystems. Without these characteristics, neither of these complex systems would be able to engage with their environment, let alone function as open systems. Numerous examples from the research were threaded by this complex systems theme. Also reflective of the interpenetrating characteristic of complex systems, a prosecutor (NPA 5) referred to her extensive network of contacts in South Africa and stated, *"we actually assist one another and this is extremely good"* (para. 30). She

added that her network “*extends outside [the] NPA [human trafficking] team*” (para. 30) and includes “*other prosecutors, academics from Universities [and] Lecturers from Justice College*” (para. 30). She explained the value she found in her network as follows:

“Because of this network of friends, colleagues, people interested in the same field – we can actually work together. I have on many occasions phoned or e-mailed [name] and he would immediately assist because of his network of friends/colleagues. Instead of working alone and being tied down, we now have a wide variety of people who have their own networks and we all can work together in this fight against TIP.” (para. 31)

Complex systems are made up of interdependent interacting parts (Dekkers, 2015: 172), with numerous connections that are powerful and often non-linear (De Toni & Comello, 2010: 42; Skyttner, 2005: 302). The manner in which these parts connect and relate to one another is critical for the survival of the system as patterns are formed and feedback is disseminated from it (Dekkers, 2015: 172). Mitleton-Kelly (2003: 28) states that connectivity between parts can be designed or undesigned, formal or informal, explicit or implicit with tacit connections. Interactions have a short range, with information received mainly from immediate neighbours (Cilliers, 1998: 4). Interaction amongst the large number of parts can be material, energetic or informational and is usually rich and local (Maguire, 2011: 82). Parts are governed by rudimentary laws, with complexity and emergent properties occurring when many of these parts interact simultaneously (Skyttner, 2005: 302). Response by individual parts is in parallel with their local contexts with each element ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole (Cilliers, 1998: 4). This response, according to Maguire (2011: 82), is impelled by “*some force or rule that relates their behaviour interactively and contingently to the state of other parts*”.

Mitleton-Kelly (2003: 28) refers to the social context, where each person belongs to various groups and different contexts. A person’s contribution in each context, according to Mitleton-Kelly, will depend partially on other individuals within the same group and the manner in which they relate to the individual in question. In this research the example of a new NGO who joins the ICS or a new addition of a member to a provincial task team can be used. Apart from the skills and expertise that the new NGO

or task team member brings to the system, the contribution that they will be 'allowed' to make may depend on the other members of the team and on the platform they provide for such a contribution.

In a discussion of connectionist models, Cilliers (1998: 18) refers to the brain as an example and maintains that complex behaviour is not apparent at the level of an individual neuron. However, at a system-level the neurons give rise to order, which is not predictable from the parts alone. When the emergent phenomena and properties come into existence, they can then exert influence on the parts through a process of downward causality, through the same set of forces and rules in place (Maguire, 2011: 82). Interconnectedness between a complex systems' component parts gives rise to non-linearity in behaviour and relationships (Dekkers, 2015: 172), which, in turn, gives effect to 'turbulence' in the system that creates complexity.

Walby (2007: 465) underscores complexity theory's emphasis on non-linear changes and the notion that small events can lead to large-scale changes in systems. The 'butterfly effect' is an example of this often used in the natural sciences. Capra (1996: 134) elaborates on the notion of the 'butterfly effect' and points to the understanding that minute changes in a system's initial state will lead, over time, to large-scale consequences. Capra illustrates the 'butterfly effect' with the half-jested assertion that a "*butterfly stirring the air today in Beijing can cause a storm in New York next month*". Edward Lorenz, a meteorologist, discovered the butterfly effect in the early 1960s, when he designed a simple model of weather conditions consisting of three coupled non-linear equations. Lorenz found that the solutions to his equations were extremely sensitive to the initial condition. From virtually the same starting point, two trajectories would develop in completely different ways, making any long-range prediction impossible (Capra, 1996: 134). Walby (2007: 465) highlights two parallel examples from the social sciences as the new tax that precipitated a political revolution and the assassination that precipitated a war.

Non-linearity is therefore a fundamental concept in complex systems theory and the primary generator of complexity (Morçöl, 2012a: 21). It guarantees that "*small causes can have large results, and vice versa*" (Cilliers, 1998: 4). It is possible that massive outputs can be produced by a small interaction that results in new interactions. Predicting the behaviour of any system that exhibits emergent properties is therefore

a difficult task. It is important to be aware that even the most insignificant variable in a system can produce complexity and turbulence as every constituent of the system is a part of the overall system with the potential to have massive impacts and emergent behaviour (Garlick, 2016: 294-295; Leary & Thomas, 2011: 62).

One example in this research emanated from a 'victim' that was incorrectly identified as a victim of trafficking by a provincial task team member. In describing the actions of the said task team member, Participant SHT 1 stated that the member "*took over as if she was the main saviour of all traffic[ked] people*" (para. 143). The incorrect screening processes of trafficking victims and the compulsive actions of provincial task team members became the centre of a debate around the infiltration of the ICS by the TCS, as the incorrectly identified 'victim' was subsequently found to be associated with criminal networks. The situation caused 'large' turbulence within the ICS and was a clear example of a non-linear effect emanating from a disproportionately 'small' and ignorant action by an individual task team member.

Underscoring the importance of interconnectedness in a world of complex systems, Meadows (2009: 184) asserts that "*no part of the human race is separate either from other human beings or from the global ecosystem*". Within an integrated world it is impossible for your heart to continue beating when your lungs fail, for Europe to succeed if Africa fails, or for the global economy to succeed if the global environment fails. This principle was frequently communicated by participants when mentioning the failures in sector-specific responses, which then have a reverberating effect on the entire ICS response.

Referring to the web of life, De Toni and Comello (2010: 44) position all things and human beings in the world within a wide non-linear web of motivations, constraints and connections. People are all part of a system at all times and an existence outside of the system is just not possible (Palombo, 2013: 122). As "*complexes of interdependent elements*", systems have macro properties that cannot be reduced to the properties of their elements (Morçöl, 2012a: 55). Geyer and Rihani (2010: 188) posit that the innumerable daily micro-actions of local actors represent the cutting edge of the complexity transformation. These authors highlight that the real driving force behind political and policy change are local actors that include teachers, nurses, social workers, farmers and workers. With a stable framework and a reasonable degree of

freedom, Geyer and Rihani (2010: 188) continue, these local actors will drive the system forward in a generally positive, but uncertain, direction.

The complexity of human language distinguishes complex social systems from complex systems that are studied in the natural sciences (Sawyer, 2005: 8). Society is described by Ahrweiler (2010: 12) as the overall communication system, which creates its own elements and structures itself internally into various functional subsystems, producing new system- and environment differences internally. Examples include the economic system and the science system. Communication has the capability to connect or to reject connection following functional requirements, which then creates subsystemic structures (Ahrweiler, 2010: 12).

Stowell and Welch (2012: 86-87) refer to the theoretical framework offered by Littlejohn and Foss (2008) of communication theory. They continue by positing that communication can be mechanistic, where it is seen as a perfect transaction of a message from the sender to the receiver. Communication can also be psychological and considered as the act of sending a message to a receiver and as the feelings and thoughts of the receiver upon interpreting the message. As social constructionist (symbolic interactionist), communication is viewed as the product of those interacting that share and create meaning in which truth and ideas are constructed or invented through the social process of communication. This involves the interaction between human beings and the free sharing of thoughts and ideas. Communication is also seen as systemic and as being new messages that are created via 'through-put' or as what happens as the message is being interpreted and re-interpreted as it travels through people. Finally, as critical, communication is a source of power and oppression of individuals and social groups (in some respects a Foucaultian perspective). In the complex environment that makes up the ICS, TCS and their various subsystems, the aforementioned mechanistic, psychological, social constructionist, systemic and critical forms of communication were all present in this study.

Stowell and Welch (2012: 87) state that communication involves both transmission and reception and not just transmission. As a two-way process, communication requires a shared understanding of what has been communicated and can only be said to have taken place when the receiver receives something that is meaningful to it. The authors continue by highlighting that, in human communication, the absorption

of a specific culture and the context in which a specific expression or word is uttered is required for such a two-way process to take place, even if a person is familiar with a specific language. Ahrweiler (2010: 11) asserts that “*communication produces communications and relates them to other communications*”. Communication can take place between different elements in a system in the course of their interactions or between the system and its environment. Communication can also take place between autonomous systems that co-evolve through relational behaviour. Besides human speech, communication includes non-verbal messages such as electrical impulses or coded messages (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 87). Communication may appear to be a simple process that is taken for granted. However, Stowell and Welch (2012: 87) point to the processes involved in texting or typing on computers and assert that communication emerges as a combination of logical, physical and psychological steps. Multiple factors can affect the successful transmission of messages, which will then influence the behaviour of any system to which they are relevant.

Information is constantly exchanged between elements in the system, and between systems and their environment. The different systems and subsystems in this research were fundamentally dependent on communication. As noted by Byrne and Callaghan (2014: 26), human systems are “*information exchangers par excellence*”. Communication, as a catalyst for interaction, has the capability to connect, or to reject connection. Poor or fragmented communication, which served as negative feedback, was found to be a significant frustration experienced by most participants that interacted with the SAPS. Participant INT 1 described this as a “*shortfall*” (para. 38) stemming from a “*secretive*” (para. 38) tradition, which presents itself most prominently in “*organised crime investigations*” (para. 38). According to Participant INT 1, the SAPS is “*reluctant to disclose information to too many people*” (para. 38) and will “*typically hold on to the information and not share it with the others*” (para. 38). Stressing the importance of some form of compromise by the SAPS when working with different stakeholders whose mandates and objectives are sometimes in conflict with theirs, Participant SAPS 8 referred to the SAPS’ “*organisational solo mentality*” (para. 73), where “*we wanna call the shots*” (para. 73). He concluded: “*It cannot work. It’ll never work. Not on this level*” (para. 73).

Shortcomings and failures in communication and control in complex social systems can have serious consequences for the human actors involved. Effective communication channels, communication practices and timing of feedback are therefore fundamentally important in human social systems (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 89-90). Cilliers (2001: 143) refers to the cross-communication between hierarchies that is not accidental, but rather part of the system's adaptability. He underscores the importance of alternative routes of communication to subvert hierarchies that may have become too dominant or obsolete. Connectivity between individuals, groups, departments and organisations in the ICS and TCS was not a constant or unchanging relationship, but varied over time in terms of *"density, intensity and quality."* (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003: 28).

5.8.6 Feedback and Feedback Loops

The interconnectedness of elements in South Africa's ICS, and the TCS that it investigates, as well as the shifting alliances of individual elements and the interpenetration of these systems, serves as incendiary dynamics for feedback and feedback loops to abound. A feedback loop is described by Capra (1996: 56) as:

"...a circular arrangement of causally connected elements, in which an initial cause propagates around the links of the loop, so that each element has an effect on the next, until the last 'feeds back' the effect into the first element of the cycle".

Information is consistently generated and fed back into the different systems, which has either a dampening effect (negative feedback) or an amplifying effect (positive feedback) on activities (Garlick, 2016: 295-296). The degree of connectivity in a complex system not only determines the transfer of information and knowledge and the arrangement of relationships, but is essential in feedback processes (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003: 28).

Skyttner (2005: 82) refers to the oft-quoted definition of feedback as the *"transmission of a signal from a later to an earlier stage"*. Information that relates to the result of self-induced actions is thus fed back as part of information for continuous activity. All living systems and most mechanical systems, according to Boisot and McKelvey (2011: 280), are buoyed by the existence of positive and negative feedback loops. A relatively

simple complex system that contains as few as fifteen parts or components can have hundreds of feedback loops that interact (Richardson, 2011: 368).

When considering the notion of feedback loops that underpin continuous activity, the example of complex combinations offered by Leary and Thomas (2011: 65) becomes quite thought provoking. The authors explain that a mere ten variables operating within a complex system would result in 1013 different ways of assembling and combining them. In the case of 25 variables, which could include simple categories like people, events and locations, there would be 33 554 406 ways of assembling and combining them. With just 50 variables involved, the authors state the figure “*would be immense*” and over 1.126×10 to the power of 15. When bearing in mind the ICS, TCS and their various subsystems, it becomes clear that understanding interactions and combinations of relationships requires more than a linear approach. Feedback and feedback loops explain how interactions can either propel change and forward-movement of a complex system or can have a stifling and inhibiting effect on the system.

A presumption of a tendency towards equilibrium via negative feedback loops was part of the early conceptions of systems. Subsequent conceptions of systems rooted in complexity thinking included a focus on both positive and negative feedback, and an interest in systems that are far from equilibrium (Walby, 2007: 464). Negative feedback conflicts with what the system is already doing. It resembles the idea of “*diminishing return*” (Skyttner, 2005: 83) and dampens information (Boisot & McKelvey, 2011: 280). Walby (2007: 464) posits that a negative feedback loop involves a mechanism in which a change in one aspect of the system leads to a change in that mechanism, which then leads to a change that restores the system to its original condition. Walby refers to a thermostat as an example of such a mechanism. It responds to small changes in temperature so as to maintain the system at a near constant temperature. Walby (2007: 464) continues by arguing that the concept of a negative feedback loop is associated with the notion of a system as leaning towards equilibrium. Any change or disturbance to the system is met with a response internal to the system that restores it to the original state, thereby maintaining equilibrium (Walby, 2007: 464).

Contrastingly, a positive feedback loop is “*amplifying*” (Boisot & McKelvey, 2011: 280) and pushes small changes in a system onwards, which escalates change.

Rather than restoring a system to equilibrium, positive feedback loops thus drive a system further away from equilibrium (Walby, 2007: 464), with each new output becoming larger than the previous (Skyttner, 2005: 84). Positive feedback supports outcomes that are emergent and self-organising and that might be anticipated but *“cannot be predicted”* (Boisot & McKelvey, 2011: 280). As pointed out by Garlick (2016: 296), positive and negative feedback loops thus contribute to the fact that a complex system is never fixed or unwavering, but *“forever in a process of change and adaptation”*.

Numerous examples of positive and negative feedback were found in participants' experiences with the ICS, TCS and their various subsystems. An example of negative feedback was evident in the experience of Participant CS 4, who, together with her community, had been trying to get the police to respond to a brothel and drug den where children were exploited. She was disheartened by the inaction of authorities and by the corruption, which she had experienced over a period of four years:

“What I observe around me is that people simply don't believe in the police, in the capability of the police to do anything about this anymore.” (para. 40)

Negative feedback has reinforced a constraining effect on community/police relations, which ultimately affects the efficiency of the ICS:

“...they [community] were already sceptical about the police and the government. I think this just demonstrated to them that they were completely right about it.” (para. 42)

Participant SAPS 3 commented on the positive feedback effect that police corruption has on criminal activities:

“...we're [police members] learning from the top and we're saying the politician can do this, I can do this. Same with the criminals. The criminals look at it and say law enforcement are drug addicts or they're dealing in drugs. Why can't I deal in drugs?” (para. 20)

As positive feedback, Participant DHA 1 referred to a “*loophole*” (para. 92) in the Refugee Act 130 of 1998 (South Africa, 1998), which allows some traffickers to embed themselves in the country:

“...you cannot do something to this person. If the person comes to South Africa and apply for asylum and it is been established that he is in a possession of a fraudulent document or anything else, the permit is expired, you cannot charge him [or] take him to court, if he’s in possession of asylum permit because he’s an asylum seeker, he came to seek asylum, he’s a refugee.” (para. 70)

According to Participant DHA 1, the asylum process is drawn out and can take even longer when the applicant appeals an unsuccessful asylum application. There is always a way for them to “*remain in the country*” (para. 82).

Notwithstanding participants’ general knowledge vacuum related to the theoretical framework of complex systems, and how its principles can be applied to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, there appeared to be an intuitive awareness of how interconnectedness and information exchange between different elements, systems and subsystems infuse feedback and feedback loops in complex systems. Being experienced in the field of this research, participants had clear views and opinions, albeit that they were driven by different or converging philosophies and agendas, as to the desired state of affairs for the micro- and macro-level response to investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Participants shared numerous experiences related to what amplifies or supports efforts to investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation (positive feedback) and, on the contrary, what inhibits or stifles these efforts (negative feedback). In harmony with Sterman’s (2006: 509) discussion on learning and feedback, participants were able to reflect on their own and others’ actions, which they perceived as evidence of the incongruence between where they were and where they should be in their efforts to investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation. New information that was fed back into the respective systems was then considered for reconfiguration of perceptions and activities.

5.8.7 Unpredictability and Constant Change

It is impossible to predict with certainty the future state of a complex system. Complexity therefore requires contentment with “*the possibility, the surprise and the novelty*” (De Toni & Comello, 2010: 41). Wallace, Fertig and Schneller (2007: 1) label the term ‘managing change’ as something of a misnomer as it carries the enticing implication that change is in fact controllable, if managers only know how. In principle, the sheer scope, pace, ambiguity and multiplicity of change exceed the capacity of any individual or group to ensure directive control and certainty of outcomes in practice, no matter what their formal position of authority or span of control is (Wallace et al., 2007: 1). Change is an inevitable experience; it is not exceptional, but rather a normal function of existence (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 76). Change, Sterman (1994: 291) argues, has an accelerating effect on the systems in which people live. Change, as the greatest constant of modern times, is underscored by Sterman as something that challenges traditional institutions, practices and beliefs. Some changes are desirable whilst others defile the planet, impoverish the human spirit and threaten its survival. Most of the changes people struggle to comprehend arise as consequences, intended and unintended, of humanity itself (Sterman, 1994: 291).

The environment within which people live and interact is in a constant state of flux where change is experienced as normal, not exceptional (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 92). Leary and Thomas (2011: 64) make reference to Sir Edward Crew, formerly Chief Constable of the West Midlands Police, who said: “*Change is the only constant and complexity is the only apt description of the environment in which we operate.*” Stanton and Welsh (2012: 17) posit that the ability to transform from one state to an increasingly adaptive complex state is at the heart of change in an open, complex and adaptive system. Contrary to closed systems, open systems are influenced by external forces that can stimulate a process of transformation (Stanton & Welsh, 2012: 17). Cilliers (2001: 144) makes reference to the importance of change in his discussion of hierarchies. The key to vitality of a system, Cilliers argues, has much to do with its ability to transform hierarchies. Hierarchies should be viewed as transformable entities and, as the context changes, they cannot remain unchanged.

Without a means of control, the behaviour of the system is unpredictable, random and erratic and may lead to the system not being recognised as such. Control in systems

relates to the need to bring about a desired state and is necessary for dealing with entropy (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 90). Rzevski (2011: 42), on the other hand, argues against the notion of control. The author highlights that complex systems cannot be controlled as the notion of emergent behaviour “*precludes controllability*”. Managing complexity, according to Rzevski, is the best people can do. This entails ‘coping’ with external complexity and ‘tuning’ internal complexity. Wallace (2007: 14) argues that adopting the term ‘coping’ with complexity seems “*more realistic and mildly optimistic*”, given limited capacities to control change alongside everything else that needs to be coordinated. Wallace opines that coping implies that problems are inevitable and not necessarily a consequence of bad management.

Wallace (2007: 20) asserts that ‘complex change’ minimally implies two tiers: an overall entity and the multiple constituents it contains. Walby (2007: 463) highlights that earlier notions of systems had difficulty in addressing social change and the relationship between different social systems. The notion of complexity addresses the relationship between systems differently; rather than a simple hierarchical or nested relationship, complex adaptive systems coevolve and mutually adapt during the process (Walby, 2007: 463). When complexity abounds, creativity and innovation are intrinsic to any successful change effort. Irrespective of whether problems come early or late and whether they are large or small, expected or unexpected, creative yet realistic solutions must be sought, whilst strategies used in the past are adapted and new ones developed (Brimm, 2015).

Unpredictability and constant change were present at all levels of the ICS and TCS. At an individual level, Participant MED 3 was confounded by two human trafficking cases in which she had to intervene because there was no response by authorities. She reflected on her experience:

“Both of these experiences left me feeling responsible for situations and people that I had no previous tools or experience to navigate properly, as if I had stepped into a drama that I didn’t know my lines for.” (para. 41)

Participant MED 3 was clearly not able to cope with the complexity of the situation and equally not ‘tuned in’ at an individual level to deal with the two human trafficking cases.

Reflecting on his efforts to adapt to the challenges experienced as a new human trafficking investigator, Participant SAPS 9 recounted how he had approached “*senior police officials*” (para. 2) and “*seasoned investigators*” (para. 2) for advice and had been told that “*the principles of investigation doesn’t change*” (para. 2). He disagreed and argued that with human trafficking “*it’s not about principle*” (para. 2) but rather the “*dynamic of each case*” (para. 2) that is different. He pointed out that it is the “*dynamic for each individual*” (para. 2) victim that changes as “*each person reacts differently to the type of trauma they experienced*” (para. 2). The non-linearity of human trafficking investigations became apparent to Participant SAPS 9, who shared extensively during the research how he had tuned his internal complexity to better cope with the unconventional and dynamic cases he now dealt with. This included his learning Thai to engage more sensitively with foreign victims, and changing from a “*hardened*” policeman (para. 2) to a more compassionate investigator.

“*Confusion and chaos*” (para. 12) is how Participant NGO 1, who formed part of a Provincial Rapid Response Task Team, characterised the response to new cases being identified or reported:

“...a case comes up and its always so unexpected it’s never like lets plan for this, we know we’re gonna have a case or there’s a raid coming up...It’s completely unpredictable and so I think a lot of the time it hits you at really inconvenient times or unexpected times and...people go into a bit of a flat spin and they kind of forget that there’s even a rough draft of a [response] process in place.” (para. 6-8)

She explained how a typical case of “*confusion and chaos*” (para. 12) would play out:

“I’ve had the experience of people just calling around until someone bites and is willing to step in and help...and that also creates confusion because then you’ve got five different people who have been called to respond and this one starts immediately, this one gets it an hour later but they start responding as well and then you’ve got a whole bunch of different players responding from different angles to the same thing and then so much overlap and duplication of work.” (para. 10)

No matter what participants' formal or informal position of authority or span of control was, the scope, pace, ambiguity and multiplicity of change clearly exceeded the capacity of any individual or group to ensure directive control and certainty of outcomes when investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The same applied to the TCS, where fear, suspicion, greed and sheer criminality infused an unpredictable environment where intrusion by the ICS was a constant threat to consider and navigate. As mentioned earlier, the South African landscape and the interpenetrating effect of the globalised world represents a VUCA environment as the theatre in which the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation takes place. The impossibility of predicting the future states of complex systems, and a general discomfort among participants with anything VUCA, was quite evident in this research. A compounding effect is also found in the rigid structural and hierarchical nature of subsystems, with much evidence pointing towards the elusive nature of a desired state characterised by resilience and sensitivity to the day-to-day realities and demands of investigative efforts.

5.8.8 Self-organisation and Emergence

Wallace's (2007: 14) assertion regarding those working in the public service sector resonates with many, including with the researcher's experience as Hawks investigator in the SAPS:

"There is no escape from the press of political, economic, social and technological forces that may bring reform from without and stimulate innovation from within. There is no escape from evolutionary, unplanned change affecting services from time to time, which demands a planned response. And there is no escape from coping with all this change alongside the maintenance of day-to-day service provision."

The idea of self-organisation relates to *"the spontaneous emergence of new structures and new forms of behaviour"* (Capra, 1996: 85) in complex systems and is characterised by internal feedback loops. With due consideration to the difficulty in defining complex phenomena, Cilliers (1998: 90) provides a working definition of self-organisation. According to Cilliers, *"The capacity for self-organisation is 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.” De Wolf and Holvoet (2005: 6-7) underscore the importance of autonomy and increase in structure when referring to self-organisation and define it as a *“dynamical and adaptive process where systems acquire and maintain structure themselves, without external control”*. De Wolf and Holvoet continue by stating that the structure can be spatial, temporal or functional whilst *“no external control”* refers to the absence of direction, manipulation, interference, pressures or involvement from outside the system (De Wolf & Holvoet, 2005: 6-7). De Toni and Comello (2010: 32) refer to the spontaneous creation of order, new structures and new forms of behaviour in systems. The authors state that these systems are thermodynamically open but organisationally closed and far from a state of equilibrium. Cilliers (1998: 96) highlights that unpredictable and unexpected behaviour is often displayed in complex systems due to many factors that interact in an asynchronous way. He continues by warning against any analysis that ignores the self-organising behaviour of a complex system as such analysis will significantly lack in explanatory power.

An oft-cited example of self-organisation is that of the flights of birds migrating annually from north to south. While no leader or project guides their flights, the fluidity in their movements is quite evident and it appears as if they are following a predefined and well-rehearsed choreography. De Toni and Comello (2010: 32) point to their harmonious movement as every single bird follows a set of basic rules, according to which the bird imitates the behaviour of its neighbours flying next to it. Participant CLE 1 described what could be considered a clear process of self-organisation to become more agile in their operational response to problematic brothel raids where *“you get to the facility and suddenly you have thirty different women to contend with and miscellaneous pimps, security guards, everything else”* (para. 2). He explained how a municipal law enforcement agency collaborated with the Hawks to navigate the challenges presented by limited resources:

“...our members would supply the uniformed services and the Hawks would supply the intelligence and so that relationship developed to the point where they asked us for formal agreements in terms of collaborative relationships and that is [actively] happening.” (para. 2)

This appears to be a mutually beneficial relationship that produces valuable emergent properties:

“We are currently working very close with the Hawks and it’s a relationship from which I think our staff learn...[and] acquire a lot of technical expertise.”

(para. 2)

In the aforementioned scenario, self-organisation is evident in the manner in which both the municipal law enforcement agency and the Hawks developed and changed internal structure spontaneously and adaptively in order to cope with and manipulate their environment. With each agency acknowledging their respective limitations in dealing with the brothel raids, they self-organised, merged their capacities and became more than the sum of their parts. The emergent properties emanating from this self-organisation made the ICS a more formidable opponent.

The modern sense of the term ‘emergent’, and by extension ‘emergence’, was coined in 1875 by the philosopher Lewes (1875: 368-369) when discussing the changing nature of causality:

“...although each effect is the ‘resultant’ of its components, we cannot always trace the steps of the process, so as to see in the product the mode of the operation of each factor. In the latter case, I propose to call the effect an ‘emergent’. It arises out of the combined agencies, but in a form which does not display the agents in action.”

(Goldstein, 2011: 66; De Wolf & Holvoet, 2005: 2)

The concept of emergence is central to complexity theory (Walby, 2007: 462; Urry, 2005: 5). It is also closely linked to non-linearity and suggests that properties of complex systems ascend from interactions and interconnections of its constituent parts to yield new and often unpredictable outcomes (Garlick, 2016: 296). Emergence addresses the relationship between different levels in response to the potential problem of reductionism to either the individual or higher level of the system. It rejects the tendency to reduce as found in many areas of the natural and social science (Walby, 2007: 462). Self-organisation and emergence, according to Porter and Cordoba (2009: 338), mean that slight variations at ground level are the possible source of systemic shifts of system-wide behaviour. The system is erratic and

uncontrollable from above and therefore the bottom-up change processes are important. Intelligence gathering and programmed decision making, when present, are largely subsidiary to the emergence and eventual shape of a complex adaptive system.

Leary and Thomas (2011: 62) highlight a number of important factors that differentiate complex systems from other systems. Complex adaptive systems cannot be understood by being reduced to their constituent parts as the interaction between these parts needs to be considered as a whole. Emergent behaviour is exhibited by complex systems as a result of the interactions between constituent parts. A system as a whole is always more than the sum of its parts as a result of the emergent properties that are generated by the complex interactions between those parts. Complexity in systems is generated by the fact that any one constituent part of the system may have its own set of rules that directs and influences the way it operates. These rules may be very simplistic but the pooled effect of even a small number of variables can be significant. Rules can exist in different forms, which may include legal rules, policies, attitudes and outlooks, to name but a few, all of which govern the way a system works (Leary & Thomas, 2011: 62).

Heylighen et al. (2007: 120-121) state that the whole has emergent properties; that is, properties that cannot be reduced to the properties of the parts. The following examples of emergent properties are offered by Heylighen et al. (2007: 120-121):

- Kitchen salt (NaCl) is edible. It forms crystals and has a salty taste. However, these properties are entirely different from the properties of its chemical components: sodium (Na) is a violently reactive and soft metal; and chlorine (Cl) is a poisonous gas;
- A musical piece has the properties of rhythm, melody and harmony, which are absent in the individual notes that constitute the piece;
- A car has the property of being able to be driven. Its individual parts, such as the motor, steering wheel, tyres or frame, lack this property. On the other hand, the car has weight, which is merely the sum of the weights of its components. Thus, when checking the list of properties of the car, it is noticeable that 'maximum speed' is an emergent property, while 'weight' is not.

As an example from this study, the TCS and the unyielding power, sophistication and impunity with which it is able to operate can be considered in terms of emergence. As constituent parts of the TCS, the individual actors fall far short of being all powerful wolverine perpetrators that are invincible to any counter-trafficking attempt by the ICS. Neither do they, as individuals, possess or have access to the unlimited finances, skills, resources and assets that enable the continuation of their illicit activities. Many traffickers and organised crime kingpins with whom the researcher engaged in this research, and over the previous 16 years, are unassuming and typically 'nice' guys. From a complex systems perspective, however, their 'simple rules', which may include the underlying values of greed and the desire for power, in conjunction with powerful interactions and connections with each other and constituents in their environment, are what give rise to emergent properties. As found in this research, a police official or politician with a low integrity threshold, or a businessman who is willing to invest in a lucrative, yet illicit enterprise is a key ingredient and co-creator of the emergent properties that are possessed by the TCS in South Africa. Similar to the musical piece that has the properties of rhythm, melody and harmony, which are absent in the individual notes that constitute the piece, the TCS's sophistication, dynamism, unyielding power, impunity and resources are absent in the individual actors that constitute the complex system. As emergent properties, these characteristics are what make the whole of the TCS more than the sum of its parts.

Stowell and Welch (2012: 84) posit that one can look at emergent phenomena from two perspectives. First, one observes something that emerges that could not have been predicted from the constituent parts. The name 'Rolls Royce' is almost unequivocally equated with 'high quality' and has become synonymous with superiority even outside the fields of motor vehicles or aero engine manufacturing. Reflecting on this engineering company's formation, nobody would have predicted that the outcome would become part of ordinary vocabulary. Second, one can look at an emergent property in terms of what a system was designed to do and what actually emerged. What emerged could not have been predicted, but is the result of interaction between the component parts. For example, the development of the cellphone resulted in different patterns of social behaviour. When someone speaks in a loud voice whilst walking in the street it is accepted as normal, rather than odd behaviour, and the deterioration of human language usage and social interaction as a result of the ability

to text on a cellphone are patterns that could not have been predicted (Stowell & Welch, 2012: 84).

The researcher is of the view that amongst many South Africans the concept 'arrest' has taken on a meaning, and is used in a way, that is not consistent with the definition and spirit of the word. Arrest, as a means to secure the attendance of an accused in court, is but the start of the criminal justice process. After this, a voluminous amount of work needs to be done before the eventual trial, if in fact this stage of the criminal justice process is ever reached. As in countless other crime incidents, the 'arrest' of suspects in human trafficking cases is often flaunted in the media as successes, after which the progress of cases to the trial stage is rarely interrogated by the media and the general public. In many incidents the word 'arrest' is equated to the notion that a human trafficking matter has been solved by authorities that have done their work and rarely are there any expectations of, or requests to establish, the outcome of the investigation or trial.

Heylighen et al. (2007: 121) observe that almost all of the properties that matter to people, such as life, beauty, status, intelligence and so forth, turn out to be emergent properties. Leary and Thomas (2011: 63) state that it is important to strive towards dealing with emergence by recognising it, managing it and, where possible, using it to society's advantage.

5.8.9 Learning and Evolving

Knowledge is gained from every step of the life journey and not only once the final destination has been reached. In fact, the elusive nature of this destination confirms that it cannot be reached as it shifts with each effort made to take hold of it. The defining factor is the thirst for knowledge and the concomitant search for the meaning of things – this will always push human beings to set off again (De Toni & Comello, 2010: 26). Sterman (1994: 292) argues that it is difficult for people to learn about complex systems when they also live in them. Sterman compares this to being passengers on an aircraft that must not only be flown but also be redesigned in flight. He emphasises the challenge of establishing how to move from generalisations about accelerating learning and systems thinking to tools and processes that promote an

understanding of complexity, design better operating policies, and guide organisation- and society-wide learning (Sterman, 1994: 292).

Local actors – teachers, nurses, social workers, farmers and workers – will, and should, make mistakes. The process of self-learning and self-development, however, is what will enable them to prevail over the inevitable next challenges (Geyer & Rihani, 2010: 188). Feedback and feedback loops become important here. As local actors perceive discrepancies between where they are (actual state) and where they need to be (desired state), they take actions that they believe will bring about a closer proximity to the desired state. New information about the status quo impels people to reflect whilst revising their perceptions and impending decisions. Similar to the emergence of dynamics from feedback, so too *“all learning depends on feedback”* (Sterman, 2006: 509).

The importance of self-learning and reflection can be extrapolated from the views of Bar-Yam, who asserts that the capacity of people to operate successfully in the world depends on *“a reasonable matching of the complexity of our environments with our own complexity”* (Bar-Yam, 2011: xix). Frank (2015) argues that an individual’s complexity is determined by his or her own meaning system. Therefore, to face eventuating complex problems, people need to *“adapt our institutions, cultures, and meaning systems”* (Frank, 2015). Growth cannot, and will not, take place unless there is an encounter with unfamiliarity and discomfort. As argued by Ortberg (2010: 247), there can be no learning without novelty, and there can be no novelty without risk.

The process of learning and evolving was evident in Participant NPA 2’s elaboration of how a provincial task team in the ICS came into being from 2008. Speaking about the initiative taken by her and a colleague to bring attention to the issue of human trafficking, Participant NPA 2 underscored that they were *“still very green”* (para. 16) and only *“heard about this human trafficking”* (para. 16). The process of setting up the task team began:

“So we set [up] a meeting and we invited...who we considered to be our stakeholders...we wanted to come up with an action plan for our province.”

(para. 16)

The two prosecutors “*did a little bit of research around other countries and on how they dealt with human trafficking*” (para. 16) and came up with a “*straw hut of our now action plan*” (para. 16). After lobbying a number of role-players to join the task team, a process of learning emanated from subsequent interactions as described by Participant NPA 2, which led to the expansion of the task team:

“...it [task team] just grew because at certain meetings people would say to us ‘what about so-and-so? They actually need to be a part of this.’ So we’ve developed, we’ve got government, we’ve got faith-based organisations, we’ve got our community-based organisations [and] civil societies.” (para. 16)

From starting out with a “*very loose structure*” (para. 16), attempts were made to “*formalise everything*” (para. 16) to a point where the task team had evolved:

“Our action plan is done and formalised and we’ve got our vision and our mission and all of that kinda stuff.” (para. 16)

Participant SAPS 9 elaborated on a process of learning that emerged from mistakes that he had made when interacting with victims of the crime:

“So we obviously had to learn about how to deal with traumatised victims and the first interview I’ve done with a victim it went hopelessly wrong because I had absolutely no knowledge.” (para. 2)

He went into the minutiae of a particular interview with a victim of trafficking and pointed to what he now saw, in hindsight, as the probable reason that the interview went “*horribly wrong*” (para. 2):

“...the type of questions we asked was too direct, we were not compassionate to their side of the story...we didn’t understand the trauma they went through. We couldn’t feel their pain.” (para. 2)

This process of self-learning and self-development is what enabled Participant SAPS 9 to prevail over the inevitable next challenge that working with victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation had to present.

This research found that the desired state of affairs for the ICS is indeed elusive. Countless experiences of mistakes made, frustrations, and things that could have been done better in the midst of confusion and complexity were shared by participants. Knowledge is therefore gained throughout the investigation journey, whether it relates to the structure and operations of a task team, new information that assists in the identification of the crime, or service provision to victims of trafficking. The same principles apply to the TCS and other crime syndicates, which learn and adapt in order to survive. The process of self-learning and self-development, and an intimate awareness of the importance of this process amongst participants, was evident in this research. It is also these characteristics that underpin the evolutionary process of the ICS and TCS.

The fruits of complex systems theory and the limitations of complex systems theory will now be discussed.

5.9 THE FRUITS OF COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEORY

Sterman (1994: 291) highlights the response by a steady stream of philosophers, scientists and management experts to the “*dizzying*” effects of accelerating change. They call for fundamentally new ways of thinking and acting; the development of systems thinking, which involves the ability to see the world as a complex system; and an understanding that “*everything is connected to everything else*”. Stowell and Welch (2012: 5) respond to the temptation people may have to ask whether systems ideas are not just a fancy way of packaging up common sense. They retort by stating that there “*is nothing common about common sense and the ideas which at first seem simple often have hidden depths which are realised as a user becomes more adept at using them*”.

The need for ‘big picture’ thinking underpinned by the essential concepts of systems thinking and complexity science is increasingly gaining credence. Some argue that the development of systems thinking is fundamental to the survival of humanity (Sterman, 1994: 291) whilst others believe it to be an answer to the increasing complexity of the environment in which people live and work (Maani & Maharaj, 2004: 21). Hooker (2011: 3) posits that the impact of complex systems on science is “*a recent, ongoing and profound revolution*”. Leary and Thomas (2011: 62) highlight that

complexity theory can be utilised in an effort to understand different types of systems, which may include mechanical, human, digital, animal, real or virtual systems. Many useful lessons are offered by complexity theory. These lessons promote an understanding of how systems function and behave and how people can best interact with them if they need to control, measure, exploit or change them (Leary & Thomas; 2011: 62). Complexity theory improves the understanding of complex systems and enables people to learn much about the kind of dynamics involved in the functioning of such systems. It underscores the significance of contingent factors – of considering the specific conditions in a specific context at a specific time (Cilliers, 2001: 145).

The lure of complex systems theory and thinking is found in its concepts that have been used to characterise social behaviour in the human sciences; that is, emergence, adaptation, evolution, transformation, path-dependency, learning, diversity and serendipity. These concepts also allow the possibility of developing models that capture some of the richness and diversity of human existence (Merali & Allen, 2011: 50). As a valuable arrow in the conceptual toolkit quiver, complex systems thinking nurtures a holistic worldview that, according to Sterman (1994: 291), would empower people to act in consonance with the strategic best interests of the system as a whole.

Porter and Cordoba (2009: 324) argue that systems thinking can facilitate an appreciation of complexity and tensions whilst providing frameworks and tools for developing and implementing solutions. Complexity theory, according to Walby (2007: 467), offers 'theoretical flexibility' that makes the systematic analysis of social interconnections possible without relying on reductionism that has dominated the history of science. Merali and Allen (2011: 50) posit that the science of complex systems provides the conceptual and methodological tools to address issues of emergence, self-organisation, evolution and transformation and to illuminate the mechanisms by which micro-level properties can influence macro-level behaviours. Concurrently these tools explain the generation of new structures and behaviours over time.

Hudson (2000: 227) underscores the value of complex systems theory to social work theorists and researchers, who may be in a strong position to locate strategic points of intervention by developing better typologies of social and psychological processes using complex systems theory. Hudson points out that actual research on chaotic

processes usually requires extensive time series data whilst the analysis of many processes requires an understanding of calculus. Most social work doctorates do not have these skills, without which the application of complex systems theory is likely to be limited to the conceptual and hypothetical-deductive level. However, Hudson concludes that most social workers are able to use complex systems concepts to describe social phenomena and to generate hypotheses about the dynamics of social processes and points of possible intervention (Hudson, 2000: 227). Pycroft (2014: 16) allays some of the concerns raised by Hudson (2000: 227) with regard to a requisite understanding of calculus when working with complex systems theory. Pycroft argues that mathematics is not a prerequisite to work with complexity and continues by underscoring the philosophy of mathematics and logical argument where it is used by analogy or metaphor (Pycroft, 2014: 16). Similarly, Sturmberg, Martin and Katerndahl (2014: 73), in their assessment of complex systems thinking in general medical practice, emphasise that *“metaphors remain an important, powerful, and valid means”* of understanding complex phenomena and generating new knowledge.

In highlighting the importance of teaching complexity principles to nurses, Perkins (2011: 22) states that *“light bulb moments”* in the classroom are facilitated as students grasp the implications of functioning with these important guidelines alongside them. Complexity principles are indispensable as all of nature follows the process mapped by complexity science. Inherently these principles make sense and, concomitantly, *“lend a refreshing and inspiring vision that uplifts the spirit”* (Perkins, 2011: 22). Complex systems thinking encourages people to confront the notion of complexity head-on. The notion of complexity and its implications are within the grasp of everyday ‘coalface’ actors (Geyer & Rihani, 2010: 187) and they are presented with an opportunity to harness complexity and to use it to their advantage in strategic planning and tactical policymaking once they gain an understanding of its characteristics (Leary & Thomas, 2011: 61-62). Similarly, Ball (2012: viii) advocates that new concepts and tools are needed by politicians and decision makers if they are not to lose the capacity to govern, to manage economies, to create stable societies and to keep the world worth living in. He underscores the ‘key lesson’ that they will need to learn regarding the management of complex, interacting systems as being that *“solutions cannot be imposed, but must be coaxed out of the dynamic system itself”*.

5.10 LIMITATIONS OF COMPLEX SYSTEMS THEORY

Houchin and Maclean (2005: 164) are of the view that complexity theory, as it is being used, is not sufficiently sensitive to the diminuendos of individual and group behaviour, which are central to understanding the intricate phenomena of strategic change. The authors also call for more empirical research as, without this, complexity theory risks becoming a “*short-lived linguistic fashion statement*” (Houchin & Maclean, 2005: 164). Heylighen et al. (2007: 117) posit that complexity science as conceptual framework is still lacking and describe it as “*little more than an amalgam of methods, models and metaphors from a variety of disciplines rather than an integrated science*”. Geyer and Rihani (2010: 186) assert that better answers, predictions and more certainty are not guaranteed by a complexity perspective, which makes it a very hard position to sell to a doubtful populace. Furthermore, complexity-inspired approaches are frequently resisted by political elites, with segments of the general population having misgivings about its offerings (Geyer & Rihani, 2010: 186). Maguire et al. (2011: 3) posit that both “*the dream of omnipotence and the nightmare of impotence in a fully knowable but deterministic world*” disintegrate with complexity science, which in many ways represents an important cultural awakening.

Cilliers (2001: 145) states that complexity theory does not provide the tools that can accurately predict or control behaviour in an organisation, nor do its general principles enable people to make accurate predictions in individual cases. According to Emser (2013: 106), the fact that complexity theory is not a predictive theory is probably its greatest limitation for its critics. The prediction of outcomes and the specification of precise solutions are by no means fruits of complex systems theory. Rather, reflective of the limitations to knowledge and prediction, complex systems theory encourages small-scale incremental adjustments, which bear little attraction for those who endeavour to solve large-scale and real-world problems. Some even pose the question of whether complexity theory is just a recipe for doing nothing. Similarly, Morgan (2005: 4) points to systems thinking as an approach of exploring life and a technique for ascertaining the status quo. It is more of an “*orientation or perspective than it is a formula or prescription*”. Geyer and Rihani (2010: 187) assert that complexity does not have a good rallying cry. In comparison to Marxism’s ‘Workers of the world unite’, the best complexity can do is: ‘Be balanced!’ Final orders, happy

endings and ultimate resting points are non-existent from a complexity perspective. Struggles, tension, difficulties and challenges are all part of the process and inherent in human complex systems (Geyer & Rihani, 2010: 187).

5.11 SUMMARY

This chapter started off by briefly reflecting on the TCS as a formidable opponent in the ongoing battle of wits between the ICS and TCS, and posed the question of how the scoreboard, currently slanted in favour of the TCS, can be tipped in support of the ICS. It was then argued that the world in which humanity exists is immensely complex, and the notion of VUCA was introduced to describe the present-day environment as volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous. This was followed by a brief reflection on the increasingly complex nature of crime and law enforcement in a VUCA world. The role and feasibility of the use of theory were then discussed, after which systems theory and complexity theory were introduced. The notion of complex systems was then explored and specific tenets of complex systems theory were introduced and complemented with illustrations from participants' lived experiences. This was followed by a reflection on both the fruits and the limitations of complex systems theory. In the next chapter, a summary of the study will be provided along with recommendations and a conclusion. The crux of the chapter includes a proposed complex systems application for the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, based on the essence of participants' lived experiences.

CHAPTER 6 EMBRACING COMPLEXITY: APPLICATION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

We must dare to think 'unthinkable' thoughts. We must learn to explore all the options and possibilities that confront us in a complex and rapidly changing world.

J. William Fulbright

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the final chapter of this study, meaning-making, interpretation and the quest for *alētheia* will crescendo in fulfilment of the aims of this research. A summary of each preceding chapter will first be presented as *aide-mémoire* of the learning journey trekked thus far. This will be followed by a presentation of the phenomenological essence of participants' lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The phenomenological essence contains both textural and structural descriptions of participants' lived experiences and is positioned against the backdrop of the South African landscape explicated in Chapter 2 as the theatre within which human trafficking for sexual exploitation is investigated. A proposed application of complex systems theory to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will then be presented as a hopeful enabler of a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy by the ICS into the adversarial TCS. Recommendations and research directives will then follow, whereafter the thesis ends with a final conclusion.

6.2 SUMMARY

A summary of the preceding chapters and their central ideas and arguments will now be reflected upon.

Chapter 1 served as the introduction to this research and began by positioning human trafficking as a complex phenomenon with a range of knowledge apertures that continue to plague the quest for deeper understanding of the problem. With human trafficking for sexual exploitation as the specific focus of this study, problematic and puzzling claims that underestimate the reality and extent of the phenomenon in South Africa were then highlighted and positioned within the broader fragmented knowledge

system concerning human trafficking in the country. It was then argued that the many intricacies of human trafficking prevent it from being studied from a safe and sanitary distance and that an emic perspective can only be realised by espousing the actual lived experiences and voices of participants who engage hands-on in the day-to-day realities of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Complex systems theory was then brought into the discussion as the means through which participants' lived experiences would be examined and interpreted later in the study. The research aim, objectives, question and sub-questions were then described before the researcher drafted a comprehensive reflexive autobiographical problem statement that explicates his background, prior knowledge and any biases that may have affected the study. The reflexive autobiographical problem statement also gave effect to the philosophy of hermeneutic phenomenology, which was discussed in Chapter 3.

Key concepts central to the research were then operationalised, which included the phenomenologically infused concepts 'lived experience', 'investigating' and 'investigation', and 'truth' as *alētheia*. This was followed by operationalised concepts that have proven to be problematic in the discourse around the sex trade, and concepts that are central to complex systems theory. In essence the chapter asks critical questions about the state of knowledge and progress in South Africa's human trafficking combating efforts; it challenges reductionist thinking about a complex problem; and suggests that meaning-making, novel perspectives and propositions are in fact possible when a concerted attempt is made to unconceal the lived experiences of those at the forefront of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Chapter 2 presented the global and local context within which this research was conducted. A broad overview of international scholarly work related to human trafficking was first provided, which delved into certain key thematic aspects most relevant to the current research. These included numerous perspectives and arguments that shed light on why human trafficking is considered to be a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. The problematic discourse around the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking was then discussed. Despite common knowledge that human trafficking is in fact an everyday reality across the globe, the fact that this type of human exploitation takes many forms, occurs mainly among hidden populations

and is particularly difficult to identify contributes to the difficulty of quantifying the problem in a meaningful way.

Human trafficking as an organised crime was then discussed which was followed by an overview of how the problem is combated by the criminal justice system and various multidisciplinary stakeholders. Important at this juncture was the notion that human trafficking is a crime of vast impunity and that criminal justice systems globally and in South Africa show a less-than-favourable track record of convincingly addressing the crime. Prevailing gaps in research and methodology as highlighted in scholarly works were then reflected upon. This was followed by a brief exposition of the sociological perspective on human trafficking, which was embraced by the researcher during the interpretation phase of the study as concomitant with, yet secondary to, complex systems theory.

The chapter then moved from a global discussion to an exploration of the local South African landscape. A brief historical background of slavery, oppression and trafficking in South Africa was provided before the local landscape, with particular focus on the research period 2012 to 2017, was deconstructed. Central to this deconstruction was the researcher's argument that South Africa's structural problems such as racism, poverty, unemployment, education and inequality all interpenetrate at some point and should be considered when embracing a complex systems understanding of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. This discussion included South Africa's population and geography, governance and politics, the economy, human and social issues, and crime and justice. The legislative framework of South Africa and its development from interim legislative provisions to the current fully fledged Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013 were explained and positioned against the backdrop of the Palermo Protocol.

The chapter concluded with key thematic aspects most relevant to the South African human trafficking situation. From an overview of what is known about human trafficking in South Africa, the discussion moved on to the country's own fragmented knowledge and efforts to establish the scope, nature and extent of the problem. An exposition of issues related to prostitution, human trafficking and the South African sex trade then followed and questionable interpretations of data and subsequent claims by preservationist research were pointed out. The chapter concluded with a

consideration of the phenomenon of missing persons in South Africa and the fact that it receives scant attention in the broader discourse around human trafficking in the country.

Chapter 3 explained the research methodology that was employed. The chapter began by positioning the research within a philosophical worldview that embraces postmodernism and social constructionism – both of which are inherently sensitive to complexity. The inherent tensions, intricacies and contradictions that are interwoven into the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation made a qualitative research design an obvious choice. As both naturalistic and holistic, the qualitative research design allowed for ‘thick’ descriptions of participants’ lived experiences, which emerged from the flexible and unstructured mode of enquiry. The researcher was by no means interested in the simplification of what clearly is a complex problem, but endeavoured to portray it in its real world and multifaceted form.

Congruent with complex systems thinking, the researcher opted for a phenomenological inquiry, which aimed for a complex and rich description of the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation as it is concretely lived by multipronged stakeholders. Embracing the hermeneutic slant to phenomenology allowed the researcher to understand parts within larger wholes contextually, and did not require of the researcher to apply bracketing stringently as is the case in transcendental phenomenology. Reflexivity was, however, a constant factor maintained by the researcher. Hermeneutic phenomenology also illuminated vital, yet often overlooked, dimensions of participants’ lived experiences that demanded attention and deeper reflection.

The rigorous sampling criteria for participation in this research were explicated; the ensuing sample included a diverse range of stakeholders that had first-hand experience in the day-to-day realities of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. In total, 91 participants, who represented 15 different subsystems, were included in this study. The wisdom of crowds as the philosophy that underpinned the sampling in the research allowed for the lived experience of those participants previously overlooked in studies related to human trafficking to be explored. Unstructured and in-depth interviews as the data-collection method and a comprehensive six-phased data-analysis process were then explained. The chapter

concluded with an elucidation of efforts taken to ensure that the research adhered to essential standards of ethics and described accuracy measures such as validation strategies, reliability and standards for evaluating the phenomenological quality of a study.

Chapter 4 presented the lived experiences of participants as they related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. It included the day-to-day realities of stakeholders that make up the Investigation Complex System (ICS), and allowed insights into the adversarial Trafficking Complex System (TCS) that it seeks to combat. The chapter started off by introducing the 91 participants and the 15 subsystems that make up the ICS (see Section 4.2). Five themes were identified from participants' lived experiences as they related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. These were Theme 1: Sex Trade, Human Trafficking and Organised Crime; Theme 2: Combating Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation; Theme 3: Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation; Theme 4: Corruption and Compromise; and Theme 5: The Social Context and Scope of the Problem.

Each theme presented a complex and interwoven illustration of participants' lived experiences, which insightfully reflected the complexity of investigations into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The non-linearity of the phenomenon also meant that themes were in a continual state of interpenetration with each other and within both the ICS and TCS. In addition to the phenomenological insights gained as presented in this chapter, participants' lived experiences also served as a catalyst towards a complex systems understanding of the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. As a key finding in this research and integral to a phenomenological inquiry, the culminating 'essence' of participants' lived experience with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation is presented in Section 6.3 below.

Chapter 5 introduced the complex systems theoretical framework, which included the integration of selected extracts from participants' lived experiences as illustrations of how complex systems theory can be considered. The interpretive dimension of the research became evident in this chapter, where meaning-making and novel perspectives were pursued. A brief discussion about complexity and the VUCA world that characterises modern societies, followed by a reflection on the intertwined issues

of complexity, crime and law enforcement, started off the chapter. The researcher's ongoing experience was that the use of theories or conceptual frameworks in day-to-day law enforcement activities and efforts to combat human trafficking in South Africa is non-existent. This prompted an elucidation of why theory is significant, not only in research but also in practically dealing with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

This was followed by a deconstruction of systems theory and complexity theory. It was also highlighted that the features of complex systems are in fact present in this research's ICS, TCS and their various respective subsystems that enable, perpetrate and respond to human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa. Nine complex systems theory tenets were then discussed. These tenets also formed the basis for this chapter's proposed application of complex systems theory to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Chapter 5 concluded with a discussion around the fruits of complex systems theory and the limitations of complex systems theory.

As an important finding in this research, the essence of participants' lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation will now be presented.

6.3 THE ESSENCE OF PARTICIPANTS' LIVED EXPERIENCES

What follows is the culminating 'essence' of participants' lived experience with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. It contains both textural and structural descriptions of their experiences, which are positioned and described within the South African context as the theatre where the experiences occurred:

The South African sex trade represents a convoluted system that is driven by demand and supply and manifests in a range of forms, from street-level prostitution and house-based operations to large mega enterprises and multi-storeyed brothels. Persons in prostitution are by no means a homogenous group and have different motivations and reasons for and agency in participating in the sex trade. Enabled and fortified by South Africa's structural inequalities, the sex trade is intertwined with a range of criminal activities, from petty crimes such as theft and common robbery to large-scale

organised crime types, which include drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms trading, rhino horn trading and fraudulent documents. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation is seamlessly embedded and camouflaged within the hustle and bustle of the South African sex trade.

On a continuum from one-off and opportunistic operations to more sophisticated, organised and methodical processes, the perpetrators' modus operandi is to entice, lure, deceive, obtain, trap, control, mobilise and exploit victims. Their modus operandi is dynamic, with patterns and processes of acquiring targets changing. Perpetrators see victims as a commodity and divorce themselves from any human decorum. A range and combination of violent and non-violent physical, psychological, cultural and spiritual methods of control are used to keep victims in submission and bonded in a web of trafficking. The most prevalent method, however, is the use of drugs and the manipulation of a victim's state of addiction.

Human trafficking is a large but often 'secret' business, with an underlying dynamic of power and greed due to the high financial stakes. The motivation for engaging in human trafficking differs and not all involvement is voluntary nor are all people involved conscious of how their actions contribute to the human trafficking system. Corruption and official complicity are fundamental elements in successful trafficking operations whilst perpetrators largely continue with impunity. Perpetrators are well aware that investigations are often constrained by a number of shape-shifting factors and opportunistically exploit these constraints.

Investigating, prosecuting and combating human trafficking for sexual exploitation is indeed a complex endeavour. As a phenomenon that traverses both local and international borders, human trafficking requires a response from multiple stakeholders who operate in a theatre characterised by a lack of a central mandate and coordinated efforts, which frequently leads to confusion and chaos. Compounded by fragmented knowledge and awareness of how the crime presents itself, the interpretation and translation of legislation into real-life situations has proven to be a less-than-simple undertaking for both lay persons and professionals. Synergy and relationships based on trust are acknowledged as the crucial currency for efficacy whilst multi- and interdisciplinary actors intuitively realise the need to become a 'syndicate' that resembles the human trafficking system that it seeks to combat.

Despite relationships between stakeholders being deemed decent, a lack of accountability often stifles progress in granular counter-human trafficking activities, which frequently infuses a nuanced context characterised by distrust, suspicion and prejudice.

At the receiving end of criticism and dismay is the SAPS, whose members are often seen as unhelpful and are blamed for a lack of urgency, for non-response and for apathy regarding incidents of human trafficking. They opt for predictable, linear and reactive methods of investigation, which fail to measure up to the agility and sophistication of the organised human trafficking syndicates they seek to combat. The call for an intelligence-led approach to cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation is an urgent one whilst the resuscitation of specialised units for dealing with the crime is considered to be not only necessary but the only way to respond to the multilayered complexities of the crime. Investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation comes at a personal cost, with a number of physical, emotional and psychological risks. Vicarious trauma is a reality. Participants were generally not content with the status quo of South Africa's efforts in combating human trafficking for sexual exploitation and provided a range of insights into what they deemed important for bringing about the necessary change.

Victims of all ages and diverse nationalities come from a variety of socio-economic and troubled backgrounds and are therefore predisposed to exploitation from perpetrators as well as family and friends. Drugs often compound the situation and keep victims in financial, physiological and psychological bondage. Victims present a complex variety of psychosocial and special needs, which include, amongst others, nutritional, cultural, safety and linguistic needs. Trauma and its manifestations are not well understood by service providers. The victims are often left powerless with a lack of information and are frequently ill-treated by investigators and processes.

Trust in service providers and investigators, on the one hand, and trauma bonding with perpetrators, on the other, are confounding and paradoxical issues, which are frequently misunderstood by the criminal justice system. Disclosure and building trust therefore constitute a process that takes time. This also conflicts with conventional and linear investigative strategies aimed at identifying, arresting and prosecuting perpetrators at all cost. Equally complex and misunderstood is the issue of agency in

the sex trade, which includes voluntary, semi-structured, structured and forced prostitution. Victims are often viewed as 'prostitutes' who commit to the industry willingly. Many victims do not see themselves as victims but rather as a commodity with monetary worth. Stakeholders' roles and influence are clouded by a lack of resources and understanding of the crime, and unpreparedness where victims fall through the cracks, leading to a 'normalised' future.

A culture of compromise and strong evidence of corruption at all levels of the counter-human trafficking system serve as a fundamental enabler and perpetuator of human trafficking in South Africa. Police and law enforcement are directly implicated in the perpetration of human trafficking and so are embassies and related diplomatic institutions. Incidents where politicians and a major political party in the country are said to benefit, both directly and indirectly, from their interaction with known traffickers and syndicates were also referred to. Corruption is an integral part of the modus operandi of traffickers.

The South African landscape serves as a convenient locality in which human trafficking and a range of other organised crime types can flourish. Human trafficking is an age-old practice and is situated within South Africa's complex and dynamic socio-economic theatre. Part of this is the broad cultural phenomenon of a lack of accountability and structural inequalities such as poverty, unemployment, racism, harmful cultural practices and large-scale vulnerabilities. Human trafficking cuts across cultural, ethnic and economic divides, with 'high' level involvement and evidence of symbolic violence. Large-scale ignorance and denialism regarding the scope, nature and extent of human trafficking in South Africa are common. This is compared to the historical denialism around the HIV/AIDS debate in the country. Social insentience and a lack of collective compassion amongst everyday South African citizens appear to be ubiquitous.

Countless cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation are either not identified or not documented – much of this is as a result of a large-scale knowledge vacuum, trust deficits between communities and law enforcement agencies, gross negligence and, at times, deliberate noncompliance or corruption. There is consensus that the scope of the problem is most probably far greater than current estimates, whilst a lack of statistics and apposite information management systems compounds any attempt to

quantify the problem. The limitations of statistics in the face of the complex, deep and dense sociological abyss associated with trafficking are emphasised, and shortfalls in research and research methodologies are bemoaned.

From the culminating ‘essence’ of participants’ lived experience with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, an argument can be made for the ICS, the TCS and the entities and activities that constitute them to be considered as a complex system of systems of systems. This is presented in Figure 6.1 below.

Figure 6.1: A complex system: The ICS, TCS and essence of participants’ lived experiences



In the next section, a proposed application of complex systems theory to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be presented as a hopeful enabler of a more agile, robust and effective multipronged investigation strategy by the ICS into the adversarial TCS. The lived experiences of participants documented in Chapter 4 and their aforementioned phenomenological essence will serve as the springboard for the proposed complex systems application.

6.4 INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: A COMPLEX SYSTEMS APPLICATION

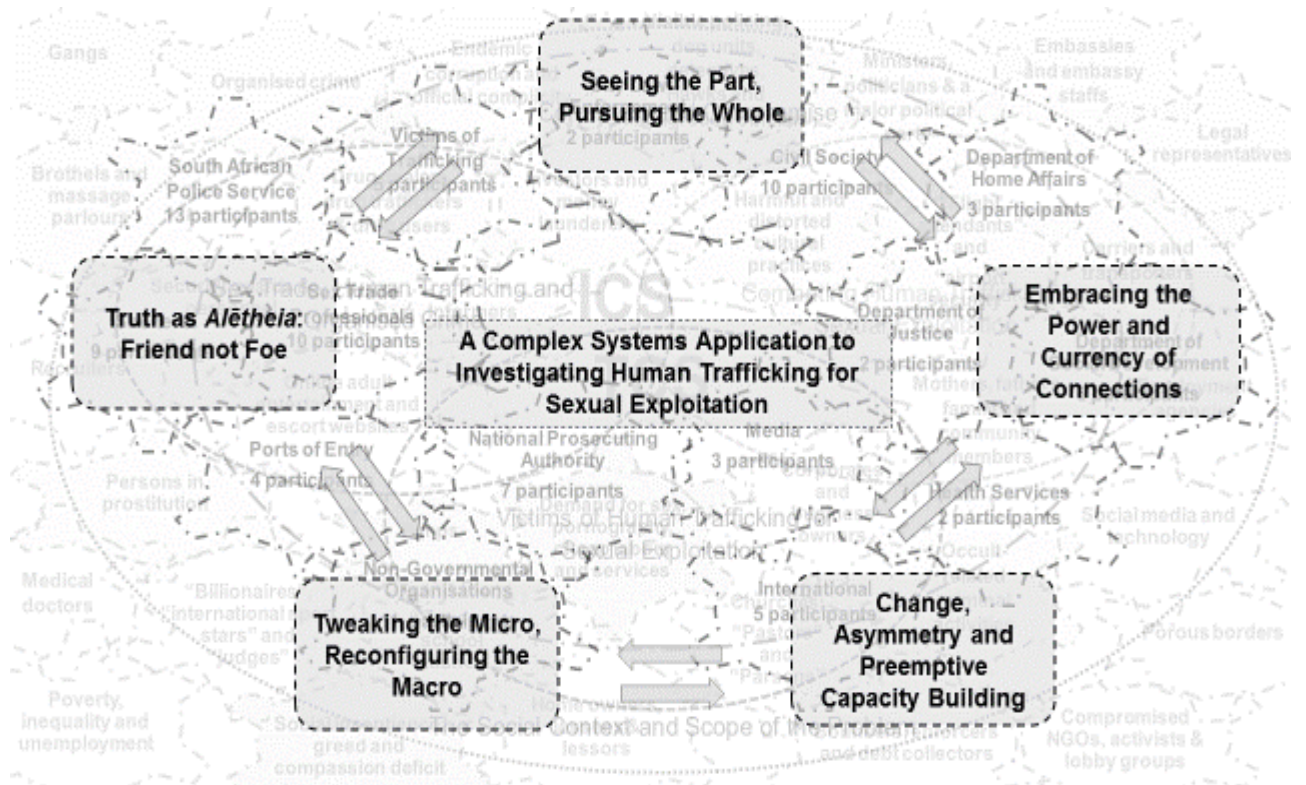
Despite the best efforts of multipronged investigators to simplify responses and case-flow strategies in cases of human trafficking (**ANNEXURE 10**), when the essence of participants' lived experiences is considered it becomes quite clear that this endeavour is by no means a linear exercise. Instead, the investigation into this complex crime is alloyed with volatility and uncertainty, with many investigators chronically fatigued by their inability to see beyond the immediate challenges they face. At the outset of this study, the reader was invited as a co-participant on a journey where a different way of thinking about, and responding to, human trafficking for sexual exploitation was prompted and ushered in. The influence of the researcher's initial exposure to complex systems thinking in 2011 (see Section 3.3.5.1) and the enduring impact of this philosophy on his thinking about complex criminal investigations into human trafficking have been quite profound. It is this sense of philosophical enlightenment that the researcher hopes to diffuse into the ongoing campaign by the ICS against the formidable and hostile TCS.

Philosophical and conceptual response formulations are, however, vastly underutilised for most social problems that plague South Africa and its broader global environment. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation, the focus of this research, is one of the social problems that continue to perplex societies. Despite finding itself in a "*precarious*" position (Scott, 2012: 384), philosophy is not dead. It does, however, require a reinvigoration with scientific knowledge (Scott, 2012: 401). In response to this need and in an attempt to address the problem focussed on in this research, themes, ideas and principles from the complex systems philosophy will now be applied as 'landmarks' and 'guideposts' to the essence of participants' lived experiences with the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The following theoretical interpretation and application of complex systems theory do not claim to be a 'perfect fit', but reflect the researcher's meaning-making journey and therefore his suggestion of how the theory should be considered in the complex undertaking of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The reader is reminded that the purpose of the theoretical interpretation and application is by no means to provide answers or establish the truth of things. Rather, they aspire to prompt deeper reflection, discover

alternative meanings and generate new questions, which stem from ‘living through’ the efforts to investigate human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The complex systems investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be presented as the following five interwoven, parallel and iterative tenets reflected in Figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2: A complex systems investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation



6.4.1 Seeing the Part, Pursuing the Whole

A fundamental point of departure for understanding the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation as a complex endeavour that plays out in an immensely complex system is coming to grips with the difference between something (i.e. a system, intervention or problem) that is ‘complex’ and something that is ‘complicated’. Something that is complicated can in fact be approached and understood through linear thinking. It can therefore be broken down into constituent parts, analysed and integrated into an understandable whole. However, when something is complex, it cannot be analysed and fully integrated, whether in reality or in a quantified representation. Through a complex systems lens the whole is always greater than the sum of its parts. Thinking in ‘wholes’ and not in parts is a profoundly

anti-reductionist paradigm shift that remains an elusive find in current human trafficking combating efforts. The countless people, organisations and departments, and the multiple systems (physical, natural, political, administrative, legal, social and economic) and their environments that directly or indirectly intersect with the issue of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in South Africa outstrip attempts to compress the complexity of the issue into an understandable 'whole' conglomeration. Even more difficult is the ability to grasp fully the diversity between individual elements, and the nature of their relationships in each system.

The experiences of the participants in the study resembled a confluence of complexities and an amalgamation of inconsistencies. Participants expressed that the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation challenges the conventional way of doing things. In their trying to explain the different dimensions and factors that influenced their lived experiences, it became clear to the researcher that most participants were at a loss to communicate the fullness and 'whole' of those experiences. Each scenario or story told by the participants was nuanced and had numerous featured role-players with different agentic states, changing contexts, and differing relationships and agendas, mandates and objectives, which were often not congruent.

South Africa is also a crime-ridden country oxygenated by multiple structural inequalities, which creates an enabling environment for multifaceted social ills such as human trafficking. Virtually everyone is in agreement that crime and South Africa's structural inequalities are problematic. There is even agreement that human trafficking for sexual exploitation is an increasingly prevalent phenomenon. However, there are disparities as to the scope, nature and extent of the problem, with solutions seemingly polarised according to discipline and ideology. Added to this melange are moments of mass hysteria fuelled by sensationalist social media dialogues and media reports on child abductions and sexual slavery. Unsubstantiated reports and flawed statistics on human trafficking are also used to effect significant policy changes, with dichotomised perspectives within the feminist and human rights framing of prostitution and prostitution law, agency and consent adding additional layers of intricacy to the problem.

The aforementioned issues contribute to the consideration of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation as something 'complex' rather than 'complicated'. Seeing and responding to parts are important, but should be undertaken only if the part-response is in consonance with the strategic best interests of the whole ICS response in a specific scenario or investigation. Stakeholders that constitute the ICS are generally ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole, which makes it difficult for them to learn about complex systems when they also live in them. Nurturing both a conceptual and intuitive awareness of system-wide- and whole-sensitivity is thus important if capacity for seeing deeper and further away is to be created. Here, beginning with the end in mind and imagining the desired state of affairs most equipped to combat the TCS constitute a worthy venture.

Every stakeholder participating in the ICS efforts needs to be cognisant that the TCS is correspondingly a convoluted whole that is made up of numerous role-players, skillsets, interests, relationships of convenience, criminal activities and methods of operation. What might present as the 'whole' in the form of a brothel, abduction, a false recruitment agency or even a voluntary participant in the sex trade may in fact be one particle of a much larger constellation of criminal activities, of which human trafficking for sexual exploitation is just one dimension. Stakeholders should therefore take heed not to rigidly consider organised crime activities such as those involving drugs, smuggling, illegal firearms, endangered species and fraudulent documents as crimes in isolation. The perceived boundaries between these should constantly be reconsidered and viewed as permeable.

Consistent with the definitional elements of the crime, human trafficking for sexual exploitation must be investigated as a process. Time, planning, functional relationships, resources and criminal sophistication form part of the 'whole' investment made by TCS stakeholders to perpetrate the crime. This investment must, at the very least, be matched by the ICS if any measure of success is to be achieved. Ill-informed disruptive actions, impulsive arrests and media briefings, premature statement taking from victims and convenient ignorance of intelligence-led investigation methods are but some of the fruits from the poisonous intellectual comfort tree that ought to be weeded out. Acknowledging the 'whole' that human trafficking for sexual exploitation is requires that the historical mould of conventionalism within which the ICS remains trapped be

broken. It is this mould of conventionalism that is marred by reductionism, rigid boundaries and rules, linear sense-making and 'either/or' approaches to a multifaceted 'both/and' problem whose complexity cannot be reduced to a simple state. This historicity of the ICS determines in advance what is worth enquiring about by its stakeholders and what will ultimately appear as a prompting for investigation. Stakeholders remain more or less blinded to significant dimensions of the mosaic they are 'investigating' and in the process miss the whole when they misconstrue the immediate appearance of a part as the whole. In such cases, distance and persistence may very well be a worthy substitute for close proximity and kneejerk acuity.

When investigative or prosecutorial decision making demands that boundaries are to be drawn around a specific system or subsystem of interest (e.g. syndicate, brothel or criminal enterprise), the decision needs to be an informed one. What to include and what to leave out become strategic decisions dictated by real-world realities and limitations such as time, resources and capacity. Here the wisdom of crowds can be employed as a worthy exercise to ensure that the biggest part of the 'whole' is addressed during investigations and subsequent prosecutions. Investigating the whole of TCS operations and not only a part of them requires that the sociological perspective of human trafficking be considered. The stubborn underestimation and even invalidation of social context in human trafficking cases also remains problematic. This was strongly experienced by the researcher during his testimony in a high court trial when a judge did not consider it important for him to deconstruct the social context as an enabling environment for trafficking.

What becomes important here are contingent factors and specific conditions in a specific context and at a specific time. The powerful influence of culture, the cultural settings within which the crime is perpetrated, and South Africa's multiple and interpenetrating structural inequalities, which oxygenate the crime, must be illuminated as the social context that plays into the hands of traffickers, whilst predisposing those affected as victims of the crime. It is this landscape, within which the TCS seamlessly embeds itself, that is further reinforced by the hustle and bustle of everyday life and large-scale social insentience of citizens who directly and indirectly create an enabling environment in which the crime can flourish. Investigative efforts or solutions to the problem cannot be imposed on such a VUCA environment, but must be coaxed out of

the dynamic system itself. This will require that ICS stakeholders make strategic decisions about maintaining their relationship with this environment, not only as a response to entropy, but also as a catalyst for contextually accurate, timely and whole information to be used in investigative decision making.

A 'whole' approach also applies to all stakeholders as individuals, whether as part of the TCS or ICS, who in and of themselves are complex systems and more than the sum of their parts. Just like victims of trafficking who do not experience harm in cubicles as their physical, mental, emotional, legal and financial needs are all fused into one, so also stakeholders in the ICS should be considered as wholes who are not only investigators, social workers or prosecutors, but also mothers, fathers, sons and daughters who experience threats, stress, injustice and conflicting relationships as profoundly real. A whole pursuit considers that victims' appearance of compliance and agency may be contingent upon an array of factors and nuances not easily decipherable, whilst dubious investigative decision making on the part of an investigating officer requires a more urgent contemplation than a mere shrugging off as workload issues or a lack of experience and skills. A whole approach to victims of trafficking takes cognisance of the importance of not only sheltering, safety and psychosocial support services but also a validation of cultural and linguistic differences, nutritional needs, general well-being and hope placed in a future state that transcends their current day-to-day realities. These are but some of the constituent parts that consistently interconnect and efforts should be focussed to embrace the 'whole' that the victims, stakeholders, perpetrators, the ICS and TCS make up.

6.4.2 Embracing the Power and Currency of Connections

Both the ICS and TCS are made up of interdependent interacting elements with numerous connections that are powerful and non-linear. The nature of these elements and the manner in which they connect and relate to one another is critical from a complex systems theory perspective as they infuse pattern formation and feedback which are disseminated from them. Trust, relationships and functional channels of communication have the potential to create powerful connections. If considered as the foundational currency of the ICS, such connections can outweigh any monetary or physical resource that can be leveraged by the TCS. The importance of nurturing powerful relationships and connections at an individual level must be considered in

terms of their reverberating potential and the prospects for ultimately achieving system-wide emergence of agility and responsiveness as new ICS characteristics in response to TCS strategies. Notwithstanding that connectivity between stakeholders, coalitions, task teams, departments and related subsystems varies over time, the density, intensity and quality of these connections can be deliberately informed and managed by strong relational principles that are once again in consonance with the strategic best interests of the whole ICS response.

What becomes important here is that the multi- and interdisciplinary nature of various stakeholders' contributions to the ICS is first understood, and then recognised. Significant knowledge lacunas exist where government, on the one hand, and civil society and the NGO sector, on the other, still do not fully comprehend one another's roles, responsibilities and official mandates in the ICS. Knowledge of the organisational cultures, policies and rules that guide departments and organisations remains largely contained within their own boundaries. By infusing a cross-cutting understanding of the who, what, when, why and how of each subsystem's contribution to the ICS, a richer appreciation of the bigger picture will become embedded, where each stakeholder sees their part-role in the larger 'whole'. Once such a baseline appreciation exists of the 'whole' that each ICS stakeholder has to offer, terms of reference, memorandums of agreement and any other appropriate relationship management tool can be used to guide and inform a framework for communications between stakeholders in the ICS.

The multifaceted nature of human trafficking for sexual exploitation necessitates the inclusion of the wisdom of crowds when formulating responses. Relationships and thus connections previously considered insignificant now become the lifeblood of a whole approach to the TCS. The time is indeed ripe and the need urgent for multi- and interdisciplinary collaboration where the mosaic of TCS operations is unconcealed by a fusion of perspectives. No longer is it justifiable for the SAPS, DSD, NPA, DHA and other conventional stakeholders to be encapsulated in their own private universes where, even with traditional investigations, it remains a challenge to transfer information from one cocoon to another.

Civil society, NGOs, the media, journalists, police informants, sentenced offenders, persons in prostitution, victims of trafficking, buyers of sex, property and rental agents,

ICT specialists and service providers, and transportation and carrier service providers are but some members of the crowd whose collective wisdom presents a wellspring of opportunities for enabling a formidable response to the TCS. Important here is the focus on relationships rather than the prominence, prestige or rank of individual stakeholders or subsystems. New stakeholders should be allowed to contribute, and mould-breaking ideas must be ventilated, whilst group exclusivity and the interest-driven drowning out of alternative voices are treated with the contempt they deserve. Important, however, is the application of a healthy dose of scepticism, vetting and the ring-fencing of the strategic best interest of the ICS.

New ways of working with and relating to one another must be generated and stakeholders' agency must be reflexive and acknowledge the intricacy of the ICS in which they are entrenched. The principle that communication has the capability to connect or reject connection should serve as a constant reminder that every interaction matters and will serve as information input into the broader ICS operating system. The nature of communications between stakeholders and subsystems in and between the ICS and TCS rarely takes the form of a perfect transaction of a message from the sender to the receiver and, instead, communications overwhelmingly comprise psychological, social constructionist, systemic and critical communication. Interpretation, reinterpretation, meaning-making and the construction and invention of ideas are therefore central to most communication between stakeholders in the ICS. Critical reflexivity is thus a core skill to be nurtured amongst all ICS stakeholders, who are to consider, critically, how every dimension of their communications, both verbal and non-verbal, is construed and understood by those who will act accordingly. Stakeholders should therefore take responsibility not only for what and how they communicate, but also for how the receiver of their communications understands the message being communicated.

Prejudice, mendacity and the slightest miscommunication or lack of communication should be considered in terms of its non-linear potential, with consequences ranging from tarnished or ruined relationships to the perpetuation of impunity and even the loss of life. The ability to consider and weigh up whether specific communications are beneficial only as a part-response whilst adversely affecting the whole is an important one and so is the continual consideration of the strategic best interest of the ICS.

Capacity for self-awareness must be instilled in individual stakeholders as must an aptitude for comprehending the fluctuating dimensions of their environment. Furthermore, awareness of their history and meaning systems and their ability to change interpretations of themselves, their environment and their history are integral to complexity development.

Technology is a crucial tool to be utilised for interaction and a powerful connection facilitator that remains significantly underutilised by most stakeholders in the ICS. Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and related social media platforms are amongst those that could add significant value to ICS communication and investigative strategies. The tremendous following these platforms have amongst everyday members from all levels of society makes them an untapped wellspring. Conversely, the TCS has effectively leveraged both the value and the vice associated with technology and it is this sphere that needs to be penetrated by the ICS for communication, intelligence and disruption purposes in response to the TCS. This technology lacuna within the ICS is common knowledge to TCS stakeholders, who exploit the intersection of anonymity, reach, South Africa's vulnerability-infused enabling landscape, and the absence of law enforcement in the cyber and technology sphere.

From the individual micro to the systemic macro, every sphere of the ICS must become deliberate about understanding and embracing the power and currency of connections. This becomes critical when considering that the allocation of financial currency and resources to counter-human trafficking initiatives in South Africa remains negligible in comparison with the perpetration of the crime by the TCS. Strong relationships within the ICS, as currency, have bartering power. The established ICS network has access to voluminous experience and an array of skillsets that can be used to barter or procure knowledge. Even physical resources can be bartered or procured from within the networks that each stakeholder of the ICS has access to, thus reinforcing the notion that complex systems are more than the sum of their parts.

In the current study, relationships as currency were shown to 'procure', amongst other things, sheltering for victims at times when official sheltering could not be accessed, investigative assistance by civil society to the SAPS when resources and time were constrained, the rapid response to incidents of missing persons and trafficking when a first report to the relevant authorities was turned away, media exposure,

accommodation, transport, the liberation of victims and the arrest of traffickers. Understanding and embracing the power and currency of connections must result in the implementation of ICS strategies that aim to disrupt relationships, trust and communication channels between TCS stakeholders and subsystems. Agents, informants, state witnesses, technology, media and even civil society can serve as catalysts for creating such disruptions. In effect, the risks associated with TCS operations should be escalated and a hostile environment created for those who participate in all processes associated with the commission of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

6.4.3 Change, Asymmetry and Pre-emptive Capacity Building

In addition to the battle of wits between the ICS and the TCS, the VUCA landscape within which the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation is conducted includes the interactions between different stakeholders and subsystems in the ICS, interactions between the ICS and its environment, and interactions between the ICS and its history. Furthermore, unpredictability and erratic behaviour are often displayed in both the ICS and TCS when many factors, circumstances and conditions interact in an asynchronous way. Change is the only constant as relationships, circumstances and resources continually fluctuate. Not knowing when a victim is in fact a victim (and not a trafficker), victim trauma, doubting the integrity of an investigating officer, tension between stakeholders, and obscured agendas are but some of the countless non-linear issues that fuel asymmetry, impel turbulence and significantly impact the state of the ICS. Encountering and embracing these unfamiliarities, discomforts and complexities are foundational to any measure of growth, learning, reconfiguration, agility and ultimately matching of the sophistication with which the TCS plies its trade.

In its current state the ICS does not possess the measure of complexity necessary to be successful in the battle of wits against the TCS. Complexity capacity is indeed low and severely lacking within spheres of its constituent parts. This ultimately serves as positive feedback for TCS operations characterised by high incomes, low risks and pervasive impunity. On the other hand, ICS hierarchies, archaic rules and policies, bureaucracy, rigid mandates, linear thinking and reactive investigation methods are incongruent with the pace of change and asymmetrical manifestations that human

trafficking for sexual exploitation presents. In contrast to the TCS, the vested interest of all stakeholders in and their collective commitment to the strategic success of the ICS remain questionable. TCS stakeholders are highly invested in their system's success. They have much to gain and much to lose. Adaptation and change are incentivised and they embrace these with a sense of urgency. Juxtaposing this, there is no real incentive for ICS stakeholders to adopt the sense of urgency and the investment required to develop into a complex system that is responsive, agile and sophisticated. Vested interest and collective commitment by the ICS are essential for levelling the playing field in the ongoing battle of wits against the TCS.

There is indeed liberty in complexity. Counterintuitively to conventionalism, complexity can only be 'reduced' by the acceleration of complexity within the ICS as a whole, and within the individual stakeholders and subsystems that comprise it. This reasoning intersects with the notion that success in combating efforts against the TCS is most possible if a system is created that is remarkably similar to it. At this stage, the TCS in South Africa represents the full gamut of what complexity is and what it has to offer. Every effort should thus be made to create a reasonable complexity matching between the individual stakeholders and subsystems in the ICS, on the one hand, and the ICS, TCS and the broader South African landscape as environment, on the other. A concomitant process of 'coping' with external complexity (i.e. the TCS and the broader South African environment) and 'tuning' internal complexity should be developed. Internal complexity within individual stakeholders, teams, departments, units and organisations as subsystems can be developed through a variety of skills programmes, increased stress management, improved organisational responsiveness, big picture thinking, pursuing the 'whole', and the ability to anticipate and pre-empt turbulence-infusing TCS strategies. Inculcating best practices learnt from the TCS is therefore important if agility, dynamism, wits and success are to be increased by the ICS.

Such an increase in complexity capacity might serve as an enabler for creativity, innovation and positive initiatives from stakeholders with concomitant potential for system-wide emergence. Institutional knowledge and intuition that accept the inevitability of problems and their variation in terms of timing, scope and prediction must be nurtured. Striking an even-handed balance between ruthless condemnation of corruption and malicious compromise, on the one hand, and the acceptance of and

patience with human error, on the other, is challenging yet crucial. Globally, significant successes and inventions documented in areas of business, science, health and nutrition have been, in fact, precipitated by failure as their tipping point. Stakeholders must make mistakes. Key, however, is guarding against their repetition whilst considering them as foundational to the process of self-learning and self-development.

Opting for this 'half-full' perspective instead of the more pessimistic 'half-empty' one will enable individual stakeholders and the system at large to prevail over the inevitable next challenges whilst incrementally filling the cup of agile complexity. Embracing change, asymmetry and pre-emptive capacity building can also include regular dialogues and debriefing sessions that are formal or informal, where stakeholders, subsystems and other constituent parts of the ICS introspectively evaluate their progress. Creative platforms may include WhatsApp groups, in-person focus groups, task team meetings, quick online surveys and the like, where stakeholders, anonymous or known, communicate what they consider to be successes, mistakes, obstacles and general shortcomings in the approach to and management of an incident, ongoing investigation or strategy. Subsequent suggestions for corrective actions and alternatives can serve as building blocks for iterations and best practices.

As mentioned earlier, solutions cannot be imposed but must be creatively and realistically coaxed out of the VUCA system itself whilst adapting past strategies and creating novel ones. Current hierarchies, archaic rules and policies, bureaucracy and boundaries create the illusion of control and perpetuate the notion that complexity can in fact be compressed. Boundaries must be conceived in order to make sense of what stakeholders, subsystems and the larger ICS are working with and trying to understand. However, boundaries must be reviewed for every case, problem or purpose. The same applies to ICS hierarchies, which should be reconsidered and viewed as transformable entities and, as the context changes, they cannot remain unchanged. With this in mind, the decentralisation of control and democracy increasingly become an imperative. No longer is it justifiable for a large-scale and cost-free training opportunity to go unheeded by the SAPS and eventually be set aside because of protracted bureaucratic processes. Similarly, the inability of investigating officers to pursue an in-progress cross-jurisdictional abduction at night because administrative permission can only be secured during office hours cannot be justified.

As a tortuous maze and garden of forking paths, the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation alternates between momentary stability and volatile instability, angst and excitement, benevolent pimps and wolverine traffickers, and truth as *veritas* and truth as *alētheia*. Skills required to navigate this maze take a lifetime to develop. The practice of simply replacing experienced and passionate ICS members with new ones without any reasonable or justifiable explanation should be condemned. Such currency is irreplaceable, especially if no knowledge and skills transference have taken place. Specific investigative tasks, methods and techniques and a fair measure of general knowledge, intuition and proficiency in their application cannot be learnt from a textbook.

Skills, virtues and intrinsic ICS complexity develop parallel to each stakeholder's exposure to cases, problems and relationships, all of which are less than perfect. This exposure also infuses stakeholders' own individual meaning systems, which determine complexity, prompt greater anticipation of and capacity for the unfamiliar, and ultimately capacitate the ICS to see deeper and further away. The plurality of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and the ever-changing VUCA landscape within which stakeholders combat the crime require the ability to adapt, the capability to employ asymmetrical skillsets, and the capacity to anticipate the unavoidable turbulence that emerges from both the ICS and TCS. The prevailing ICS reductionism will increasingly lead to a shrinking universe of choices and ideas by those investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation whilst the TCS continues its trade with wit and unnerving stamina.

6.4.4 Tweaking the Micro, Reconfiguring the Macro

Macro changes can indeed have a significant top-down and self-organising effect on a micro-level, as is the case with the PACOTIP legislation, which brought about a reconfiguration of how the ICS goes about fulfilling its mandate. The focus here, however, is on micro-level adjustments that impact a system's behaviour at macro-level. The complex systems characteristics of self-organisation and emergence are central to the suggestion of tweaking the micro and reconfiguring the macro. These characteristics provide ICS stakeholders and subsystems with the conceptual and methodological tools for addressing issues of systemic evolution and transformation. They also illuminate processes through which micro-level interactions can influence

macro-level behaviours. Furthermore, an understanding of self-organisation and emergence as characteristics of complex systems can provide valuable insights into and explain the generation of new structures and behaviours over time. The current status quo of both the ICS and TCS respectively at a macro-level should be considered as emergent states and products of self-organisation fundamentally infused by day-to-day realities at a micro-level. Their respective emergent states are far greater than the sum of their constituent parts. The emergent state involves countless events, stakeholder interactions, individual decisions and actions, widespread moral and ethical decay, and socio-cultural systems that may include prejudices, ideologies, pressure groups and fluctuating social trends. The emergent properties of both the ICS and TCS are generated by the complex interactions between these aforementioned parts.

The nexus between the current South African landscape, which was deconstructed in Chapter 2, and the emergent states of the ICS and TCS should be critically considered when developing strategies to investigate and combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Implicit in an endeavour to tweak the micro is the fact that no real or sustainable change at macro-level is possible if lower-order, day-to-day and micro-level activities are not recalibrated. It is important to be reminded that complex behaviour is not evident at the level of an individual stakeholder. However, at a system-level, such as the level of the ICS, the stakeholders and their interactions and actions give rise to a direction and state of affairs that are not predictable from the individual stakeholders alone. Critical reflexivity and a consideration of the whole also mean that individual stakeholders should be cognisant that even the most insignificant relationship, stakeholder, action or omission can create complexity and turbulence in the ICS. This is because every constituent of a department, organisation or relevant subsystem is a part of the overall ICS and has the potential for massive impacts and emergent behaviour.

The sheer volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity of change, combined with a daunting pace and unnerving discomfort, do not permit any individual, department, organisation or even the government to ensure command and control of outcomes in practice. Creating capacity and conditions for self-organisation at the micro-level will enable the ICS at large to develop or change internal structure in a spontaneous and

adaptive manner. Such capacity for complexity may bring about increased agility and wit, which will allow the ICS to cope better with, or even manipulate, its environment. Conversely, ignoring this self-organising behaviour in the TCS will cause ICS strategies to fall significantly short of a whole understanding, explanatory power, and ultimately successful investigations and prosecutions.

From a practical standpoint, it becomes necessary to grasp the importance of beginning with the end in mind and imagining the desired state of the ICS as that most geared towards causing maximum disruption to TCS strategies. Adjusting simple micro-level rules that are implementable by individual stakeholders and that are in the strategic best interest of the ICS as a whole could be considered a first step towards the ultimate reconfiguration of macro-level ICS behaviour. The process of adjusting these rules includes having frank discussions about contending ideologies, mandates and objectives, with compromises now becoming a necessity if the strategic best interest of the ICS is to remain paramount. Strategically working towards getting the right stakeholders at micro-level, who have suitable characteristics and skillsets, and who will contribute to the creation of an investigative and response culture most capacitated for complexity, is a foundational yet iterative task.

A functional understanding of positive and negative feedback loops and the principle of non-linearity that is interwoven into the complex manifestation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation is important for each stakeholder's development and the ultimate complexity of the ICS. Knowing how and when a stakeholder's actions have a forward-propelling effect on an ICS activity (positive feedback) and when such actions have a constraining effect (negative feedback) is important for the purpose of self-organisation that may impel system-wide emergence in the ICS. Similarly, understanding how and when ICS activities may impel similar positive or negative feedback loops within the TCS can allow the development of investigative and combating strategies that cause maximum disruption at the TCS micro-level. These strategies may also ultimately result in system-wide emergence of new TCS characteristics that make the TCS less equipped for and more constrained from perpetrating and benefiting from human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Embracing non-linearity means that individual ICS stakeholders and their respective subsystems never assume that a specific input or action will result in a proportional,

linear or equal output. Stakeholders should always be cognisant that unpredictability and randomness may emerge from a well-planned initiative. Pre-emptive capacity for alternative outcomes and orientation towards a future state most geared to disrupt, investigate and prosecute TCS activities must be inspired. This will require stakeholders to be in a continual process of observing, interpreting, explaining, evaluating and scanning their environment in consonance with the strategic best interest of the ICS, and the strategic demise of the TCS. Any micro-level threat to the strategic best interest of the ICS must be addressed decisively. Such threats may include, amongst many others, corruption, a lack of accountability, poor communication, reductionist investigation strategies and the lack of a victim-centred approach. Micro-level systemic changes are the only currency by which strategic macro-level emergence and the desired state of a formidable ICS will be achieved. Reactive and short-sighted fixes may indeed provide short-term 'solutions', but may adversely affect the long-term vigour and emergent state of the ICS.

6.4.5 Truth as *Alētheia*: Friend not Foe

Investigation, and more specifically criminal investigation, is a systematic endeavour to establish truth as *veritas*. Here clarity and certainty are the order of the day as characteristics of a technical and pragmatic approach. Establishing 'proof', 'facts' and 'truth' beyond a reasonable doubt is the lifeblood of success in human trafficking prosecutions, with little margin left for uncertainty and ambiguity. The fusion of complexities and union of inconsistencies that make up human trafficking for sexual exploitation mean that 'stories' and lived experiences that come across as incredible may be discounted as not worth investigating. Voluminous information, lived experiences, nuances and hidden transcripts remain concealed, with actual cases not being investigated as their first appearance does not fit the notion of truth as *veritas*.

Truth as *alētheia*, on the other hand, is not part of the conventional frame of reference when establishing the 'truth' of things. The shift towards *alētheia* is a worthy project and should be considered complementary to *veritas*. It is not contingent upon an adjudication process where true and false statements are measured in terms of firm principles and requires the rethinking of the conventional concept of truth. Consistent with Heidegger's notion of disclosure (*Erschlossenheit*), this truth will require of the ICS to consider the 'exposure', 'nakedness' and 'opening up' of all issues, agendas,

interests, and direct and indirect complicity that intersect with both the combating and the perpetration of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Truth as *alētheia* is never a conclusive matter but rather a perpetual displaying and concealing of things where showing and telling continually interact with hiding and seeking.

The search for and appreciation of truth as *alētheia* can achieve and provide insights into issues that searching for and understanding truth as *veritas* are frequently unable to do. A number of examples can be considered from this research. It is common knowledge that much attention and scrutiny is often directed at the conduct of a victim of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in an effort to establish his or her credibility. Facts such as a victim's freedom of movement during the trafficking process, the lack of disclosure even when opportunities to do so exist, the appearance of free will and agency, and the addiction to drugs without any third party inducement are amongst the issues exploited by the defence in an attempt to weaken the state's case. These issues are frequently left unexplained and concealed, which leaves them incongruent with the state's attempt to present truth as *veritas*.

Truth as *alētheia*, on the other hand, considers multiple and contradictory truths that represent the complexity of being. The full account of 'living through' the trafficking ordeal is a non-definitive and immensely convoluted affair. It is often paradoxically layered with a sense of absolute paralysing fear, at one end of the spectrum, and bursts of excitement and purpose, at the other; the scent of death, sweat and decay, on the one hand, and the smell of an expensive perfume or a fresh bouquet of flowers, on the other; the sound of music and the sound of despair; a healing wound and a broken spirit. Different shades and slants of truth exist, which collectively exceed the sum of its constituent elements. This complex experience cannot be pigeonholed and will never be fully displayed in either the state's case or the defence's attempts to refute it. It will remain an elusive find for investigators, prosecutors, presiding officers and even victims of the crime who are called upon to testify in an often hostile environment.

Numerous factors unconcealed by the search for truth as *alētheia* suggest that there are transcending factors, beyond tangible control methods by perpetrators, which keep victims in a state of bondage and are fundamental perpetrators of failed investigations and prosecutions. These include embedded belief systems; cultural-, spiritual-,

psychological- and sometimes arcane control methods; subjugation to and exploitation of belief systems through practices such as ukuthwala and the use of juju; the abuse of victims' vulnerabilities as described in the PACOTIP Act; South Africa's compromised criminal justice system, which is not slanted towards credibility; endemic corruption and official complicity; and the deep and dense structural inequalities in the country. From this landscape victims can be considered as emergent 'products' predisposed to becoming a means to an end. An inconvenient yet undeniable truth for the ICS is the fact that some traffickers are themselves emergent 'products' from the same landscape as their victims originate and fit the definition of a trafficking victim, although they are guilty of subsequently perpetrating the crime. How should the court deal with such a complex issue and should an engagement with this 'truth' be an ethical obligation that must be considered in the strategic best interest of the ICS as a whole?

Corruption and compromise in all spheres of South African society are enabled by a culture that increasingly exchanges transparency for translucency. Indisputable evidence of corruption is often demanded by those who are confronted by complaints from the public and who conveniently ignore the slippery nature of the corruption phenomenon, which does not lend itself to being pinned down, unless deliberately and proactively investigated, unconcealed and contained. The negative feedback and the constraining effect of this on the whole ICS are juxtaposed with positive feedback that propels the TCS in a successful and rapidly forward motion. Unless the 'living through' *alētheia* experiences of those affected by corruption are opened up and brought to an unobstructed vision within a larger context of concealment, a comprehension of the insidious granularity of corruption will remain absent. Vicarious trauma amongst ICS stakeholders, trust and skills deficits, and a lack of creative complexity are amongst the building blocks of failure in the ICS that must be critically deconstructed and their multiple and paradoxical truths laid bare. Until then, the ICS will continue to miss the whole truth of its own system whilst continuing to take the immediate appearance of the TCS as the whole truth. Complexity is essential for addressing complexity, and embracing truth as *alētheia* a paradigm shift critical for formulating an even-handed, informed and whole ICS response to the TCS.

In the next section, recommendations and research directives infused by this research will be presented.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESEARCH DIRECTIVES

A vast number of recommendations and research directives were considered by the researcher for potential inclusion in the current study. However, the sheer number of these and the obvious limitations in terms of the study's scope meant that an all-inclusive exposition was not possible. Subsequent publications in accredited journals and on related scholarly platforms will be considered for the presentation of recommendations and research directives not included in this section. The recommendations below are considered by the researcher to be not only the most important but also essential in the strategic best interest of the ICS in its ongoing battle of wits against the formidable TCS.

6.5.1 Embracing Complex Systems Thinking

It is recommended that the theoretical interpretation of complex systems theory for use in, and its application to, the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation be considered. Deeper reflection, the recalibration of counter-human trafficking efforts and finding significance in seemingly insignificant phenomena are indeed urgent in a time when human trafficking is known as a crime of vast impunity and where successful prosecutions are disproportionately lower than the 'guesstimated' scope, nature and extent of the problem. Complex systems theory has the potential to change the way ICS stakeholders think about their own role, and how their role and actions impact on the state of the multiple systems they are a part of.

In response to the lack of conceptual and theoretical frameworks when dealing with complex social phenomena, and in this case human trafficking for sexual exploitation, it is recommended that the principles espoused by complex systems theory are embraced and inculcated in training, policy development, investigations, prosecutions and the broader response to human trafficking and other social issues in South Africa. From a complex systems perspective, intelligence and research play vital roles in the unravelling of TCS patterns and the understanding of patterns within the ICS. The relationships between entities and activities, and the flow of information and resources in an intra- and inter-relational and dynamic pattern should become the focus of

research, intelligence and investigation.²¹ Responses and policy- and legislative changes to the full gamut of issues faced by the government, NGOs and civil society must consider the part-whole relationships embedded in all social phenomena and the inherent risks of reductionist ‘fixes’, which undermine the interwoven fabric of all things social and natural.

Research that explores the explanatory value of complex systems theory in, amongst other things, community and police relations, crime and corruption, government administration, and accountability and oversight must be undertaken. Relationships-as-currency should be escalated to the top of the counter-human trafficking priorities. It should be acknowledged that the current South African governance, political, social and economic landscape serves as an enabling environment in which human trafficking and organised crime can flourish. Complex systems theory as ontology and a non-reductionist research lens have the potential to offer novel perspectives and innovative response formulations to complex social phenomena in South Africa.

6.5.2 Specialisation and Proactive Intelligence-led Investigations

The lack of specialisation and proactive intelligence-led investigations, widely bemoaned in this research, significantly contributes to the ailing authority and the sophistication deficit that are characteristic of law enforcement agencies in South Africa. Current conceptions of specialisation, in the SAPS particularly, remain a far cry from the much lauded, yet defunct model adopted by the DSO (Scorpions), where independence, court-driven investigation strategies, and elevated levels of successful prosecutions were the order of the day. Specialisation and proactive intelligence-led investigations become a foundational requisite in the complex systems endeavour to create an ICS that is remarkably similar to the TCS that it seeks to combat.

Ethical, dedicated and rigorously vetted investigators skilled in organised crime investigations, undercover operations, and specialised forensic methods and techniques must be nurtured, and the required skills and capacity acquired to respond to cybercrime’s intersection with human trafficking. The principle of specialisation and dedicated capacity must also apply to prosecutors and social workers while proactive initiatives are undertaken to create a pool of experts made up of, amongst others,

²¹ Additional insights provided by anonymous examiner (examination report 2).

psychologists and medical doctors who can provide expert court testimony on issues such as trauma and health implications in human trafficking cases. Fragmented information and intelligence systems in government should be harmonised, with the establishment of an integrated information system in terms of section 41 (1) (b) of the PACOTIP Act prioritised. Research should explore the call from various sectors of South African society for the reintroduction of specialised units in the SAPS and should assist in attaining an understanding of what the resource-, skills-, accountability-, and leadership deficits are within the ICS that inhibit proactive intelligence-led investigations.

6.5.3 Parallel Counter-corruption Strategy

Literature and best practices that address the topic of criminal investigation into human trafficking refer to running a parallel financial investigation concomitantly with a disruptive, reactive or proactive intelligence-led investigation strategy. In addition to this parallel financial investigation, and with due consideration for the significant prevalence of corruption and official complicity and the impact that they have on the South African counter-human trafficking chapter, it is recommended that a parallel counter-corruption strategy is developed and included in the ICS counter-human trafficking response. The proper vetting of all ICS stakeholders should be considered a prerequisite for any engagement in official ICS activities such as task team meetings and memberships, investigations and collaborations. Integrity testing of police officials, detectives, and the broad spectrum of law enforcement and frontline responders, including social workers, should also become a standing operating procedure. An independent agency or platform, outside the ambit of government structures, must be developed to respond to complaints of corruption and official complicity, and the PACOTIP Act should be leveraged to prosecute officials who in any way aid and abet the trafficking process. Research that explores the scope, nature and extent of corruption and official complicity in cases of human trafficking must be prioritised and should seek to establish what such a parallel counter-corruption strategy in the ICS would look like.

6.5.4 Prostitution Law

It was beyond the scope of this research to reach a specific conclusion regarding the most suitable position to adopt in formulating prostitution law in South Africa. The research design employed in this study allowed for an understanding of numerous individuals' common or shared experiences of prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Understanding these common experiences should enable policy makers that are considering the contentious issue of prostitution law in South Africa to develop practices or policies most congruent with the day-to-day realities of these phenomena. During the course of this research it became evident that many stakeholders working at the frontline of the intersection between prostitution and human trafficking were not part of most of the academic and general discourse around the issue of prostitution law in South Africa. Thus, many strategically positioned stakeholders, who included frontline police officials and police investigators, prosecutors and social workers to name but a few, did not participate in the South African Law Reform Commission dialogues on prostitution law. This meant that a significant amount of institutional knowledge and experience on the whole prostitution phenomenon was not aired on this forum. Rural- and Muslim communities and victims of human trafficking were other groups with whom the researcher engaged during the period of this research that expressed an interest in providing inputs into prostitution law deliberations.

Numerous ICS participants in this study commented on the decriminalisation of prostitution in South Africa and considered such a move as an enabler of TCS operations. It is the researcher's view that a number of issues still beg even-handed deliberation regarding South Africa's prostitution law decision. These issues include the prevalence of violence against women and children, the 'blesser' phenomenon, health implications, and the intersection of the sex industry, drug trade and organised crime. The prevalence of minors in the sex trade, as found in this study, is also a disconcerting reality as is the pervasive corruption and official complicity that amplify human trafficking and organised crime. Problematic also are questionable assertions made in research about the nature of prostitution in South Africa, which should be deliberated considering evidence found in this study that prostitution and human

trafficking for sexual exploitation are immensely complex phenomena, that they frequently interpenetrate and that they are often not as disparate as some may believe.

The 'conflation' argument as a kneejerk response by preservationists to concerns about human trafficking in the sex trade must also be critically interrogated, especially in the light of sterile dichotomies proffered within discussions of 'agency' and the concomitant omission of 'the abuse of vulnerability' or any reference to its full definition in Chapter 1 of the PACOTIP Act. From a complex systems perspective, the convenient distinction between human trafficking and 'less sensationalistic human rights' violations' (see: Yingwana, 2018) such as police brutality, police corruption, long working hours, non-payment of wages, and violence from clients or intimate partners also begs further interrogation. These violations all form part of the constellation of circumstances that imbues South Africa's exploitation infrastructure. It is this infrastructure, as a 'whole', that enables the commodification and objectification of men, women and children and seamlessly plays into the hands and pockets of common abusers, buyers, traffickers and organised crime networks.

Context matters and South Africa will be writing its own examination paper when it comes to prostitution law. Copying and pasting from other prostitution models is disingenuous and dangerous. The labyrinth of structural impediments deconstructed in Chapter 2 must be considered with a concomitant socio-economic assessment of the eventuating impact on the village left to South Africa's children. It is strongly suggested that the aforementioned issues are comprehensively aired and deliberated, and that the lived experiences of participants in this study be meticulously considered before the inevitable decision is made on the future of prostitution law in South Africa. If not, the researcher sees no alternative but to caution decision makers by echoing the sentiments of the South African Law Reform Commission (2017: 4) that changing the legislative framework could "*create an extremely dangerous cultural shift*" where women "*would be considered even more expendable than at present*". This is not only a profoundly moral decision that rests on the shoulders of men and women tasked with a Constitutional duty to secure the well-being of the country's people, but also an intensely ethical one. If this responsibility is abdicated, perilous and unintended consequences and the curtailment of South Africa's strategic best interests could become a reality.

6.5.5 Prostitution and Human Trafficking Research

Prostitution and human trafficking research is predisposed to a range of ideological and ethical dilemmas. Understanding this ideological and ethical minefield is also of great importance when considering and weighing the 'evidence' presented in favour of a specific model for prostitution law in South Africa. Ideologically the preservationist perspective, on the one hand, and the abolitionist perspective, on the other, become increasingly clear when prostitution and human trafficking intersect with notions related to 'agency', and 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' or 'forced' participation in the sex trade. Over-simplistic and binary deconstructions of these issues are not helpful and detract from the complexity intrinsic to the study of prostitution and human trafficking in a structurally unequal society such as exists in South Africa. Some symptoms evident in the South African context are the undercounting of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and the truncating of the trafficking definition by those leaning towards the preservationist position, and the exaggerated recital of unsubstantiated statistics by those of an abolitionist perspective. With human trafficking combating efforts still in their infancy, it is recommended that the preoccupation with statistics is set aside at least for the time being and that the issue of vulnerability on South Africa's proverbial doorstep be contemplated, studied and considered as a pervasive predisposing theme of all social ills that mar South African societies.

Pertinent questions that can be explored include:

- Can persons in prostitution, frequently portrayed as a homogenous group by preservationists, be clearly defined in terms of their agentic states?
- Are there other shape-shifting factors and nuances conveniently ignored that perhaps do not fit a specific ideological position?
- Are prostitution and human trafficking entirely disparate or are there interconnections that make this discussion far more complex and call for further research and deconstruction?

Meaningful research is required on the issue of 'social context' as highlighted in section 44 (10) of the PACOTIP Act, which enables stakeholders to deal with matters related to trafficking in persons in an appropriate, efficient and sensitive manner.

Research that empowers ICS stakeholders to better understand, interpret and apply evidence-collection strategies that target the 'abuse of vulnerability' as contained in the PACOTIP Act must also be prioritised. The prevalence of children in South Africa's sex trade, albeit bizarrely contested by some; the blesser phenomenon; and the ubiquitous intersection of the sex trade, drugs trade and organised crime begs further research and exploration.

It is recommended that a concern for ethics be infused when any attempt is made to compress the complexity of these issues. And, it should be borne in mind that human beings, and more specifically women and children, remain at the nucleus of the subject matter. During the course of the study, the researcher engaged with numerous persons in prostitution and victims of trafficking and ultimately only included a fraction of these voices because of the ethical considerations that the researcher was required to reflect on consistently. Context-specific research that is sensitive not only to the ideological nuances intrinsic to prostitution and human trafficking research, but also to the lack of comprehensive support services to populations affected by these crimes must be encouraged.

Finally, it was found that worldviews, biases and agendas implicit in research regarding prostitution and human trafficking are often either not clearly explicated or their limitations not comprehensively communicated. Sweeping statements suggesting that human trafficking for sexual exploitation was either 'created' as a social problem in the country or 'invented' as a preoccupation are not helpful, especially when these assertions are far removed and disjointed from the day-to-day realities of police investigators, prosecutors, social workers, victims of trafficking and the many other vantage points considered in this study. Myths, sweeping statements and claims of research rigour from every angle of this complex debate need to be deconstructed and interrogated. Biased assertions and obscured- and politicised agendas only fuel harm and must be unconcealed. They detract from an even-handed understanding of a complex problem, enable the subversive nature of a crime and perpetuate ignorance and the exploitation of people.

It is recommended that worldviews, biases and agendas implicit in such research be clearly explicated. Such an explication must enable a reader to understand the lens applied by the scholar, whilst empowering the reader to weigh up and consider the

cumulative value of the methodology applied, underlying motivations for the research, and its methodological limitations. New and innovative research methodologies must also be developed to enable a better understanding of the multilayered complexities intrinsic to human trafficking as a complex phenomenon that is far too intricate for sufficient knowledge to be generated with only one methodology or disciplinary perspective. The wisdom of the whole crowd must be considered, and not just conveniently sampled key informants or groups ascribing to a specific ideological position on prostitution and human trafficking. Research that explores these complexities and nuances associated with prostitution and human trafficking must be encouraged, and research- and funding proposals should consider the aforementioned suggestions around ideological explication, ethics and methodology.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Human trafficking for sexual exploitation is a run-of-the-mill reality in South Africa. Not only do its various manifestations bear significant similarities to those in other parts of the globe, but the structurally unequal South African landscape within which the crime is perpetrated creates a favourable enabling environment where traffickers continue to ply their trade with significant impunity. Compounding this is a body of scholarly work from preservationist quarters that denies the multidimensional realities of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the country, and even goes so far as to suggest that it was 'created' as a social problem in South Africa as a means to appease international obligations. The aforementioned complexities stirred both the researcher's curiosity and a keen interest in the actual lived experiences of multipronged stakeholders with the investigation into human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The diverse range and large number of participants in the research revealed a plethora of interconnected issues. Novel insights into the intricate nature of the crime in South Africa and the significant complexities that cord efforts to investigate and combat the crime emerged strongly. In harmony with Heidegger's 'unconcealment' (*Unverborgenheit*), the lived experiences of participants in this study thus allowed for the 'opening' of interconnected, hidden and complex issues in the midst of concealment. These issues were brought out to a point of unobstructed vision, at least momentarily, within a broader milieu of concealment. The phenomenological essence of participants' lived experiences with the investigation into human trafficking

for sexual exploitation not only made up a key contribution of the research, but also served as the springboard for further interpretation and the formulation of a proposed complex systems theoretical application to investigation efforts.

The ultimate aim of this application was not only to better understand and interpret the lived experiences of participants with regard to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, but also to infuse thinking as to how the ICS can be developed into a complex system that is remarkably similar to that of the TCS. The essential contribution of this study is that the lived experiences of participants related to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation can in fact be understood and interpreted better if they are considered within a complex systems frame of reference. By doing this, frontline stakeholders, decision makers and policy architects can be equipped to better understand the complex nature of those experiences and the processes involved in investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation, whilst acting more effectively with regard to such knowledge gleaned. The research concludes with recommendations and research directives that were informed by the day-to-day lived realities of stakeholders investigating the crime.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Adepoju, A. 2005. Review of research and data on human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa. *International Migration*, 43(1/2): 75–98.

Africa Check. 2014. *South Africa's official crime statistics for 2013/2014*. From: <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-south-africas-official-crime-statistics-for-201314/> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Aghatise, E. 2004. Trafficking for prostitution in Italy: Possible effects of government proposals for legalization of brothels. *Violence Against Women*, 10: 1126–1155.

Ahrweiler, P. 2010. Innovation in complex social systems: An introduction. In Ahrweiler, P. (ed.) 2010. *Innovation in complex social systems*. London: Routledge.

Albanese, J. 2007. A criminal network approach to understanding & measuring trafficking in human beings. In Savona, E.U. & Stefanizzi, S. (eds.) 2007. *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls*. New York, NY: Springer.

Albanese, J.S. 2011. *Organized crime in our times*. 6th edition. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Albertyn, C. 2016. How South Africa could become the first African country to decriminalize sex work. *Newsweek*, 16 May. From: <http://europe.newsweek.com/how-south-africa-could-become-first-african-country-decriminalize-sex-work-460261> (accessed 20 May 2016).

Allain, J. 2014. No effective trafficking definition exists: Domestic implementation of the Palermo Protocol. *Albany Government Law Review*, 7: 111–142.

Allais, C. 2013. The profile less considered: The trafficking of men in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(1): 40–54.

Allen, R.B. 2014. *European slave trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Allison, S. 2016. Nkandla verdict shows South Africa's democracy is alive and kicking. *The Guardian*, 31 March.

From: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/31/south-africa-nkandla-verdict-jacob-zuma> (accessed 10 May 2016).

Altbeker, A. 2005. The dangers of data: Recognising the limitations of crime statistics. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 14, December: 29–36.

Altheide, D.L. & Johnson, J.M. 2013. Reflections on interpretive adequacy in qualitative research. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) 2013. *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Alys, L., Massey, K. & Tong, S. 2013. Investigative decision making: Missing people and sexual offences, crossroads to an uncertain future. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 10: 140–154.

American Sociological Association. 2002. *Careers in sociology*. 6th edition. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.

Anderson, B. & Andrijasevic, R. 2008. Sex, slaves and citizens: The politics of anti-trafficking. *Soundings*, 40: 135–145.

Andrews, T. 2012. What is social constructionism? *The Grounded Theory Review*, 11(1): 39–46.

Anon. 2012. Rape speaks of rot. *The Star*, 20 June: 1.

Anon. 2014. Open letter urges the Associated Press Stylebook to use alternative language when addressing prostitution. *Coalition Against Trafficking in Women*. From: <http://www.catwinternational.org/Home/Article/587-over-300-human-rights-groups-and-antitrafficking-advocates-worldwide-weigh-in-on-sex-work-terminology-in-media> (accessed 7 July 2017).

Aransiola, J. & Zarowsky, C. 2014. Human trafficking and human rights violations in South Africa: Stakeholders' perceptions and the critical role of legislation. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 14: 509–525.

Arecchi, F.T. 1997. Truth and certitude in the scientific language. In Schweitzer, F. (ed.) 1997. *Self-organization of complex structures: From individual to collective dynamics*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Aronowitz, A.A. 2009. *Human trafficking, human misery: The global trade in human beings*. London: Praeger.

Aronson, D. 1996. *Overview of systems thinking*.

From: http://www.thinking.net/Systems_Thinking/OverviewSTarticle.pdf (accessed 22 July 2012).

Aromaa, K. 2007. Trafficking in human beings: Uniform definitions for better measuring and for effective counter-measures. In Savona, E.U. & Stefanizzi, S. (eds.) 2007. *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls*. New York, NY: Springer.

Arthur, S. & Nazroo, J. 2003. Designing fieldwork strategies and materials. In Ritchie, J. & Lewis, J. (eds.) 2003. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage.

Association of Chief Police Officers. 2010. *Guidance on the management, recording and investigation of missing persons*. 2nd edition. Wyboston: National Policing Improvement Agency.

ATLAS.ti 7 Quick Tour. 2012. *Comments and Memos*. Berlin: ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH.

Baarda, C.S. 2016. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation from Nigeria to Western-Europe: The role of voodoo rituals in the functioning of a criminal network. *European Journal of Criminology*, 13(2): 257–273. DOI: 10.1177/1477370815617188.

Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Balgamwalla, S. 2016. Trafficking in narratives: Conceptualizing and recasting victims, offenders, and rescuers in the war on human trafficking. *Denver Law Review*, 94: 1–41.

- Ball, P. 2012. *Why society is a complex matter: Meeting Twenty-first Century challenges with a new kind of science*. London: Springer.
- Bar-Yam, Y. 2011. Foreword by Yaneer Bar-Yam. In Davidson, A.W., Ray, M.A. & Turkel, M.C. 2011. *Nursing, caring, and complexity science for human-environment well-being*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Barbour, R.S. & Schostak, J. 2011. Interviewing and focus groups. In Somekh, B. & Lewin, C. (eds.) 2011. *Theory and methods in social research*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Bardine, D. 2010. South Africa's anti-trafficking in person's bill: Making words on paper become a reality in action. *The South African Civil Society Information Service (SACSIS)*, 20 July. From: <http://sacsis.org.za/site/article/517.1> (accessed 19 May 2016).
- Bartollas, C. & Pycroft, A. 2014. Conclusion. In Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. (eds.) 2014. *Applying complexity theory: Whole systems approaches to criminal justice and social work*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Bateman, B. 2016. Phahlane's 'Back to Basics' campaign sees mixed reactions. *Eyewitness News*, 20 January. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2016/01/20/Phahlanes-back-to-basics-campaign-sees-mixed-reactions> (accessed 16 May 2016).
- Beinhocker, E.D. 2006. *The origin of wealth: Evolution, complexity, and the radical remaking of economics*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Belser, P. 2005. *Forced labour and human trafficking: Estimating the profits*. Working Paper No. 42. Geneva: International Labor Organization (ILO). From: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_081971.pdf (accessed 25 May 2016).
- Beresford, A. 2015. Power, patronage, and gatekeeper politics in South Africa. *African Affairs*, 114(455): 226–248.
- Berg, B. 2004. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. 5th edition. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.

- Berger, L.R., Hawks, J., De Ruiter, D.J., Churchill, S.E., Schmid, P., Delezene, L.K., ... Zipfel, B. 2015. *Homo naledi*, a new species of the genus *Homo* from the Dinaledi Chamber, South Africa. *eLife*, 4: 1–35. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7554/eLife.09560>.
- Berman, J. 2010. Biopolitical management, economic calculation and “trafficked women”. *International Migration*, 48(4): 84–113.
- Bermudez, L.G. 2008. “No Experience Necessary”: *The internal trafficking of persons in South Africa*. Pretoria: International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- Bhorat, H., Buthelezi, M., Chipkin, I., Duma, S., Mondi, L., Peter, C., ... Friedenstein, H. 2017. *Betrayal of the promise: How South Africa is being stolen*. Public Affairs Research Institute. From: <http://pari.org.za/betrayal-promise-report/> (accessed 14 August 2017).
- 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.
- Birks, M. 2014. Practical philosophy. In Mills, J. & Birks, M. 2014. *Qualitative methodology: A practical guide*. London: Sage.
- Birks, M. & Mills, J. 2011. *Grounded theory: A practical guide*. London: Sage.
- Bjelopera, J.P. & Finklea, K.M. 2011. Organized crime: An evolving challenge for U.S. law enforcement. In Camilleri, J.D. (ed.) 2011. *Organized crime: Challenges, trends and reduction strategies*. New York, NY: Nova Science Publishers.
- Boisot, M. & McKelvey, B. 2011. Complexity and organization-environment relations: Revisiting Ashby’s Law of Requisite Variety. In Allen, P., Maguire, S. & McKelvey, B. (eds.) 2011. *The SAGE handbook of complexity and management*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- 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.

Brand, R. 2017. Rand hits R13.60/\$ as it continues freefall on Gordhan axing. *Fin24*, 31 March. From: <http://www.fin24.com/Markets/Currencies/rand-suffers-worst-week-since-nenegate-as-zuma-axes-gordhan-20170331> (accessed 20 April 2017).

Brimm, L. 2015. How to embrace complex change. *Harvard Business Review*, September. From: <https://hbr.org/2015/09/how-to-embrace-complex-change> (accessed 8 June 2016).

Bulman, M. 2017. Human trafficking victim referrals surge almost 80% across UK amid calls for heightened public awareness. *Independent*, 24 March. From: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/human-trafficking-uk-rise-modern-slavery-council-referrals-a7646561.html> (accessed 18 April 2017).

Burger, J. 2014. The South African Police Service must renew its focus on specialised units. *Institute for Security Studies*, 31 March. From: <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/the-south-african-police-service-must-renew-its-focus-on-specialised-units> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Burger, J. 2015. No-man's-land: The uncertain existence of SAPS specialised investigative units. *Institute for Security Studies*, ISS Paper 283: August: 1–24. From: <https://issafrica.org/research/papers/no-mans-land-the-uncertain-existence-of-saps-specialised-investigative-units> (accessed 25 August 2017).

Byrne, D. & Callaghan, G. 2014. *Complexity theory and the social sciences: The state of the art*. London: Routledge.

Cahoone, L. (ed.) 2003. *From modernism to postmodernism: An anthology*. 2nd edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Cameron, S. 2008. Trafficking of women for prostitution. In Cameron, S. & Newman, E. (eds.) *Trafficking in humans: Social, cultural and political dimensions*. Hong Kong: United Nations University.

Campana, P. 2016. The structure of human trafficking: Lifting the bonnet on a Nigerian transnational network. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56: 68–86.

Canter, D. & Youngs, D. 2012. Sexual and violent offenders' victim role assignments: A general model of offending style. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 23(3): 297–326.

Canter, D.V. 1994. *Criminal shadows*. London: HarperCollins.

Capazorio, B. 2017. Rates of conviction in human trafficking cases 'disturbingly' low. *Times Live*, 31 August. From: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2017-08-31-rates-of-conviction-in-human-trafficking-cases-disturbingly-low/> (accessed 2 September 2017).

Capra, F. 1996. *The web of life: A new scientific understanding of living systems*. New York, NY: Anchor Books Doubleday.

Carrier, B.D. & Spafford, E.H. 2004. An event-based digital forensic investigation framework. Paper delivered at the Digital Forensics Research Workshop (11-13 August 2004: Baltimore).

Carlisle, A. 2010. Serial child rapist guilty on 8 charges. *The Herald*, 12 November: 7.

Carter, G.A. 1954. Can apartheid succeed in South Africa? *Foreign Affairs*, 32(2): 296–309.

Cary, M., Oram, S., Howard, L.M., Trevillion, K. & Byford, S. 2016. Human trafficking and severe mental illness: An economic analysis of survivors' use of psychiatric services. *BMC Health Services Research*, 16: 284–291.

CATW see Coalition Against Trafficking in Women.

Central Drug Authority (CDA). 2013. *National Drug Master Plan (NDMP) 2013-2017*. Department of Social Development. From: http://www.dsd.gov.za/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=414&Itemid=3 (accessed 17 May 2016).

Centre for Social Justice. 2013. *It happens here: Equipping the United Kingdom to fight modern slavery*. A policy report by the Slavery Working Group. London: Centre for Social Justice. From: <http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/library/happens-equipping-united-kingdom-fight-modern-slavery> (accessed 28 August 2017).

- Cerbone, D.R. 2006. *Understanding phenomenology*. Chesham: Acumen.
- Chatterjee, P. 2015. All missing cases are not human trafficking but all human trafficking are missing cases: A critical analysis. *Russian Journal of Sociology*, 1(1): 4–11.
- Chetty, R. 2015. Social complexity of drug abuse, gangsterism and crime in Cape Flats' Schools, Western Cape. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, Special Edition No 3/2015: Illicit Drugs: Local and International Realities: 54–65.
- Chibba, M. 2014. Understanding human trafficking: Perspectives from social science, security matters, business and human rights. *Contemporary Social Science*, 9(3): 311–321.
- Child, K. 2017. What does junk status mean for you and your wallet? *Times Live*, 4 April. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017/04/04/What-does-junk-status-mean-for-you-and-your-wallet> (accessed 20 April 2017).
- Chiumia, S. & Wilkinson, K. 2013. Africa check: Human trafficking – sensationalist and unsubstantiated reporting. *Daily Maverick*, 21 October. From: <http://africacheck.org/reports/are-30000-kids-trafficked-into-south-africas-sex-trade-every-year-the-claim-exaggerates-the-problem/> (accessed 15 June 2015).
- Cho, S-Y. 2015. Evaluating policies against human trafficking worldwide: An overview and review of the 3P Index. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 1(1): 86–99.
- Cho, S-Y., Dreher, A. & Neumayer, E. 2013. Does legalized prostitution increase human trafficking? *World Development*, 41(1): 67–82.
- Choo, K., Jang, J.O. & Choi, K. 2010. Methodological and ethical challenges to conducting human trafficking studies: A case study of Korean trafficking and smuggling for sexual exploitation to the United States. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 20: 167–185.
- Cilliers, P. 1998. *Complexity and postmodernism: Understanding complex systems*. London: 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. 2008. Complexity theory as a general framework for sustainability science. In Burns, M. & Weaver, A. (eds.) 2008. *Exploring sustainability science*. Stellenbosch: African Sun Media.
- Clark, J. 2012. Switching Scorpions' cases to Hawks. *Corruption Watch*, 11 September. From: <http://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/switching-scorpions-cases-to-hawks/> (accessed 25 August 2017).
- Cluver, L., Bray, R. & Dawes, A. 2007. Monitoring the worst forms of child labour, trafficking and child commercial sexual exploitation. In Dawes, A., Bray, R. & Van der Merwe, A. (eds.) *Monitoring child rights and well-being: A South African approach*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.
- Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW). 2014. Over 300 human rights groups and anti-trafficking advocates worldwide weigh in on “sex work” terminology in the media. From: <http://www.catwinternational.org/Home/Article/587-over-300-human-rights-groups-and-antitrafficking-advocates-worldwide-weigh-in-on-sex-work-terminology-in-media> (accessed 3 June 2016).
- Cole, C., Chase, S., Couch, O. & Clark, M. 2011. Research methodologies and professional practice: Considerations and practicalities. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 9(2): 141–151.
- Coles, C.M. 1993. Land reform from post-apartheid South Africa. *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review*, (4): 700–758.
- Collins, A. 2013. Violence is not a crime: The impact of ‘acceptable’ violence on South African Society. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 43, March: 29–37.
- Collins, R. 1998. The sociological eye and its blinders. *Contemporary Sociology*, 27(1): 2–7.

Commencement of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2013 (Act no. 7 of 2013) ... see South Africa. 2015.

Connor, S. (ed.) 2004. *The Cambridge companion to postmodernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Constitution ... see South Africa. 1996.

Corbin, J. & Holt, N.L. 2011. Grounded theory. In Somekh, B. & Lewin, C. (eds.) 2011. *Theory and methods in social research*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Corruption Watch. 2016. *Annual report 2015*. Johannesburg: Corruption Watch. From: <http://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Corruption-Watch-annual-report-2015.pdf> (accessed 14 May 2016).

Cox, J. 2017. UK PR giant Bell Pottinger sacks partner and apologises for South African campaign accused of fuelling racism. *Independent*, 7 July. From: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/bell-pottinger-south-africa-campaign-racial-tensions-apology-uk-pr-giant-sacks-partner-a7828221.html> (accessed 12 August 2017).

Creswell, J.W. 2003. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. 2009. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. 3rd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. 2013. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing amongst five approaches*. 3rd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Crist, J.D. & Tanner, C.A. 2003. Interpretation/Analysis methods in hermeneutic interpretive phenomenology. *Nursing Research*, 52(3), May/June: 202–205.

Cronje, F. 2016. Race: What South Africans really think. *Politicsweb*, 29 February. From: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/race-what-south-africans-really-think> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Crowcroft, O. 2017. In The Field podcast: Why the only way to end prostitution is to punish men who pay for sex. *International Business Times*, 31 January. From: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/podcast-why-only-end-prostitution-punish-men-who-pay-sex-1604048> (accessed 2 February 2017).

Crowther, S., Ironside, P., Spence, D. & Smythe, L. 2016. Crafting stories in hermeneutic phenomenology research: A methodological device. *Qualitative Health Research*, 1–10. DOI: 10.1177/1049732316656161.

Cuban, L. 2010. The difference between ‘complicated’ and ‘complex’ matters. *Larry Cuban on School Reform and Classroom Practice*, 8 June. From: <https://larrycuban.wordpress.com/> (accessed 17 July 2017).

Cwikel, J. & Hoban, E. 2005. Contentious issues in research on trafficked women working in the sex industry: Study design, ethics and methodology. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 42(4): 306–316.

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 masters dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, KwaZulu-Natal, RSA.

Dando, C.J., Walsh, D. & Briery, R. 2016. Perceptions of psychological coercion and human trafficking in the West Midlands of England: Beginning to know the unknown. *PLOS ONE*, 1–13. Published online: 5 May 2016. DOI: 10.11371/journal.pone.0153263.

Danziger, R., Martens, J. & Guajardo, M. 2009. Human trafficking and migration management. In Friesenhof, C. (ed.) 2009. *Strategies against human trafficking: The role of the security sector*. Vienna: National Defence Academy & Austrian Ministry of Defence and Sports.

Davidson, A.W. & Topolski, S. 2011. Theoretical issues and methods for increasing understanding of complex health care systems. In Davidson, A.W., Ray, M.A. & Turkel, M.C. 2011. *Nursing, caring, and complexity science for human-environment well-being*. New York, NY: Springer.

Davis, R. 2015. Crime in South Africa: What's going wrong? *Daily Maverick*, 5 October. From: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-05-crime-in-south-africa-whats-going-wrong/#.VzmO2Pmqgko> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Davy, D. 2014. Understanding the complexities of responding to child sex trafficking in Thailand and Cambodia. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 34(11/12): 793–816.

De Cock, M. 2007. Directions for national and international data collection on forced labour. International Labour Organization Working Paper 30, Geneva, Switzerland.

De Das Kropiwnicki, Z.O. 2012. The politics of child prostitution in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30(2): 235–265.

De Gruchy, T., Quirk, J., Richter, M. & Veary, J. 2015. Op-Ed: More harm than good – the politics of child trafficking prevention in South Africa. *Daily Maverick*, 22 September. From: http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-09-22-op-ed-more-harm-than-good-the-politics-of-child-trafficking-prevention-in-south-africa/#.Vyw7h_mqgko (accessed 6 May 2016).

De Lange, I. 2017. Human trafficking exploiters spin web of drugs – expert. *The Citizen*, 9 November. From: <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1721528/human-trafficking-exploiters-spin-web-of-drugs-expert/> (accessed 21 December 2017).

De Toni, A.F. & Comello, L. 2010. *Journey into complexity*. Udine: Lulu Publishing.

De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Schulze, S. & Patel, L. 2011. The sciences and the professions. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouche, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. (eds.) 2011. *Research at grass roots: For the social sciences and human service professions*. 4th edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

De Wolf, T. & Holvoet, T. 2005. Emergence versus self-organisation: Different concepts but promising when combined. In Brueckner, S.A., Di Marzo Serugendo, G., Karageorgos, A. & Nagpal, R. (eds.) 2005. *Engineering self-organising systems: Methodologies and applications*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Deadly side to 'Blesser' phenomenon. 2016. *Cape Times*, 17 July. From: <http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/deadly-side-to-blesser-phenomenon-2046282> (accessed 30 April 2017).

Dekkers, R. 2015. *Applied systems theory*. London: Springer.

Delport, E., Koen, K. & Mackay, A. 2007. *Human trafficking in SA: Root causes and recommendations*. Paris, France: UNESCO. From: http://www.santac.org/por/content/download/467/2968/file/Human_Traffic1.RSA.pdf (accessed 8 December 2013).

Dempsey, M.M. 2017. What counts as trafficking for sexual exploitation? How legal methods can improve empirical research. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 3(1): 61–80.

Denscombe, M. 2002. *Ground rules for good research: A 10 point guide for social researchers*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Denscombe, M. 2010. *Ground rules for social research: Guidelines for good practice*. 2nd edition. Berkshire: McGraw-Hill.

Dentlinger, L. 2017. DA lays out reasons for wanting in on Concourt bid to impeach Zuma. *Eyewitness News*, 26 July. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2017/07/26/da-lays-out-reasons-for-wanting-in-on-concourt-bid-to-impeach-zuma> (accessed 12 August 2017).

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. 1994. Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) 1994. *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) 2000. *Handbook of qualitative research*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Di Nicola, A. 2007. Researching into human trafficking: Issues and problems. In Lee, M. (ed.) *Human trafficking*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan.

Dicks, C. 2016. My story. From: <http://www.charliedicks.co.za/page.php?5> (accessed 21 July 2016).

- Diu, N.L. 2013. Welcome to paradise. *Telegraph*. From: <http://s.telegraph.co.uk/graphics/projects/welcome-to-paradise/> (accessed 2 February 2017).
- Doctors for Life. 2016. Bribery, corruption and now prostitution. Is South Africa a soft target? Media release, 19 May. From: <http://www.doctorsforlife.co.za/pg/bribery-corruption-now-prostitution-south-africa-soft-target/> (accessed 4 June 2016).
- Dowling, M. 2007. From Husserl to van Manen. A review of different phenomenological approaches. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 44: 131–142.
- DPCI. 2017. Trafficking in persons statistics. Private email message to M. Van der Watt (8 December 2017).
- Dragiewicz, M. 2015. The future of human trafficking research. In Dragiewicz, M. (ed.) 2015. *Global human trafficking: Critical issues and contexts*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Du Preez, M. 2016. Nkandla judgment: A splendid day for democracy. *News24*, 31 March. From: <http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/nkandla-judgment-a-splendid-day-for-democracy-20160331> (accessed 11 May 2016).
- Dube, M. 2016a. SA's 100 000 sex slaves. *The New Age*, 4 April. From: <http://www.thenewage.co.za/sas-100000-sex-slaves/> (accessed 6 May 2016).
- Dube, M. 2016b. System lets down sex slaves. *The New Age*, 5 April. From: <http://www.thenewage.co.za/system-lets-down-sex-slaves/> (accessed 6 May 2016).
- Dunkerley, A.W. 2017. Exploring the use of Juju in Nigerian Human Trafficking Networks: Considerations for criminal investigators. *Police Practice and Research*, 1–17. DOI: 10.1080/15614263.2017.1347786.
- Duranti, A. 2010. Husserl, intersubjectivity and anthropology. *Anthropological Theory*, 10(1): 1–20.
- Durrheim, K. 1999. Research design. In Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. (eds.) 1999. *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Durrheim, K. & Wassenaar, D. 1999. Putting design into practice: Writing and evaluating research proposals. In Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. (eds.) 1999. *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Eidelson, R.J. 1997. Complex adaptive systems in the behavioural and social sciences. *Review of General Psychology*, 1(1): 42–71.

Ellingson, L.L. 2013. Analysis and representation across the continuum. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) 2013. *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Elrod, J. 2015. Filling the gap: Refining sex trafficking legislation to address the problem of pimping. *Vanderbilt Law Review*, 68(3): 961–996.

Emmers, R., Greener-Barcham, B. & Thomas, N. 2006. Institutional arrangements to counter human trafficking in the Asia Pacific. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, 28(3): 490–511.

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 dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, KwaZulu-Natal, RSA.

Emser, M. & Francis, S. 2017. Counter-trafficking governance in South Africa: An analysis of the role of the KwaZulu-Natal human trafficking, prostitution, pornography and brothels task team. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 1–22. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2017.1309363>.

Erasmus, P. 2015. Three powerful myths that fuel xenophobia. *Mail & Guardian*, 24 June. From: <https://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-24-3-myths-fuelling-xenophobia-in-sa> (accessed 12 August 2015).

Essop, P. 2017. Alleged sex texts 'could end Radebe's presidential hopes'. *News24*, 21 May. From: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/alleged-sex-texts-could-end-radebes-presidential-hopes-20170521> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Farrel, 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.

February, J. 2016. Freedom Day 2016: South Africa still fraught and divided. *ISS Africa*, 27 April. From: <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/freedom-day-2016-south-africa-still-fraught-and-divided> (accessed 17 May 2016).

Fedina, L. & DeForge, B.R. 2017. Estimating the trafficked population: Public-health research methodologies may be the answer. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 3(1): 21–38.

Ferreira, M. 1990. Pedofiel se 'vrou' lig sluiers effens maar van die meisies steeds geen spoor. *Beeld*, 1 December: 1. From: <http://152.111.1.88/argief/berigte/beeld/1990/12/1/1/4.html> (accessed 8 May 2016).

Fick, N. 2006. Sex workers speak out: Policing and the sex industry. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 15, March: 13–18.

Finlay, L. 2009. Debating phenomenological research methods. *Phenomenology & Practice*, 3(1): 6–25.

Forde, F. 2016. Auction Alliance's network of dubious allies. *Business Day*, 13 May. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/companies/2016/05/13/auction-alliances-network-of-dubious-allies> (accessed 13 May 2016).

Forrester, S. 2016. South Africa's sex workers are lured by cash but face lethal risks beyond disease and addiction. *International Business Times*, 18 April. From: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/south-africas-sex-workers-are-lured-by-cash-face-lethal-risks-beyond-disease-addiction-1555028> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Fouche, C.B. & Schurink, W. 2011. Qualitative research designs. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouche, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. (eds.) 2011. *Research at grass roots: For the social sciences and human service professions*. 4th edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Franco, M. 2015. Human sex trafficking: An international problem with an international solution requiring national implementation. *Florida Journal of International Law*, 27: 421–439.

Frank, A. 2015. Complexity, psychology, and modern war. *Small Wars Journal*, 17 November. From: <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/complexity-psychology-and-modern-war> (accessed 9 June 2016).

Frankel, P. 2016a. *Long walk to nowhere: Human trafficking in post-Mandela South Africa*. New Brunswick: Transaction Press.

Frankel, P. 2016b. Hell of modern slavery. *Sunday Independent*, 8 May. From: <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/hell-of-modern-slavery-2018847> (accessed 8 May 2016).

Friedman, H. 2014. *Dead cows for piranhas*. Cape Town, South Africa: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Frykberg, M. 2016. SAPS goes back to basics to fight crime. *IOL: News/Crime-courts*, 25 January. From: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/saps-goes-back-to-basics-to-fight-crime-1975680> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Full Metal Jacket. 2016. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia. From: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Full_Metal_Jacket (accessed 27 May 2016).

Furlong, A. 2016. South Africa: Why sex workers don't trust cops. *GroundUp*, 1 June. From: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201606010819.html> (accessed 4 June 2016).

Fuzile, B. 2016. SA 'world's worst place for children'. *HeraldLive*, 27 March. From: <http://www.heraldlive.co.za/sa-worlds-worst-place-children/> (accessed 17 May 2016).

Gadamer, H.G. 1975. *Truth and method*. (Translated by G. Barden & J. Cumming). New York, NY: Seabury Press (Original work published 1960).

Gadamer, H.G. 2013. *Truth and method*. (Translation revised by Weinsheimer, J. & Marshall, D.G.). London, UK: Bloomsbury (Original work published in 1975).

Gagnon, Y-C. 2010. *The case study as research method: A practical handbook*. Quebec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Gajic-Veljanoski, O. & Stewart, D.E. 2007. Women trafficked into prostitution: Determinants, human rights and health needs. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 44(3): 338–358.

Gallagher, A. 2014. The global slavery index is based on flawed data – why does no one say so? *The Guardian*, 28 November. From: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/nov/28/global-slavery-index-walk-free-human-trafficking-anne-gallagher> (accessed 3 June 2016).

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.

Gallagher, A.T. 2009. Prosecuting and adjudicating trafficking in persons cases in Australia: Obstacles and opportunities. Presentation at the State Library of New South Wales, 15 June.

Gallagher, A.T. 2010. *The international law of human trafficking*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gallens, M. 2017. Phiyega files review application against Claassen inquiry. *Mail & Guardian*, 27 January. From: <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-01-27-phiyege-launches-challenge-against-claassen-inquiry> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Garlick, J. 2016. Not so simple: Complexity theory and the rise of China. *China Report*, 52(4): 284–305.

Gelven, M. 1970. *Being and time: A section-by-section interpretation*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Gelven, M. 1990. *Truth and existence: A philosophical inquiry*. London: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Gender Links and the Medical Research Council. 2010. *The war @ home: Preliminary findings of the Gauteng gender violence prevalence study*. From: <http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/gbvthewar.pdf> (accessed 15 October 2013).

Genge, N.E. 2004. *The forensic casebook: The science of crime scene investigation*. London: Ebury Press.

Geyer, R. & Rihani, S. 2010. *Complexity and public policy: A new approach to 21st Century politics, policy and society*. London: Routledge.

Glouberman, S. & Zimmerman, B. 2002. *Complicated and complex systems: What would successful reform of Medicare look like?* Discussion Paper No. 8. Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada.

Goga, K. 2014. Taking stock of the last 20 years: Responses to organised crime in a democratic South Africa. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 48, June: 63–73.

Goga, K. 2015. The business of (dis)organised crime in South Africa. *ISS Africa*, 25 August. From: <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/the-business-of-dis-organised-crime-in-south-africa> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Goldstein, J. 2011. Emergence in complex systems. In Allen, P., Maguire, S. & McKelvey, B. (eds.) 2011. *The SAGE handbook of complexity and management*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Gómez-Mera, L. 2016. Regime complexity and global governance: The case of trafficking in persons. *European Journal of International Relations*, 22(3): 566–595.

Gould, C. 2006. Cheap lives: Countering human trafficking: Considerations and constraints. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 16, June: 19–25.

Gould, C. 2010a. The need for evidence to assess concerns about human trafficking during the 2010 World Cup. *ISS Africa*, 23 March. From: <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/the-need-for-evidence-to-assess-concerns-about-human-trafficking-during-the-2010-world-cup> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Gould, C. 2010b. Moral panic, human trafficking and the 2010 Soccer World Cup. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 24(85): 31–44.

Gould, C. 2011. Trafficking? Exploring the relevance of the notion of human trafficking to describe the lived experiences of sex workers in Cape Town, South Africa. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 56(5): 529–546.

Gould, C. 2014. Sex trafficking and prostitution in South Africa. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653, May: 183–201. DOI: 10.1177/0002716213515837.

Gould, C., Burger, J. & Newham, G. 2012. The SAPS crime statistics: What they tell us – and what they don't. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 42, December: 3–12.

Gould, C. & Fick, N. 2008. *Selling sex in Cape Town: Sex work and human trafficking in a South African city*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies. From: <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Book2008SellingSexInCT.pdf> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Gould, C. & Richter, M. 2010. The need for evidence to assess concerns about human trafficking during the 2010 World Cup. *ISS Africa*, 23 March. From: <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/the-need-for-evidence-to-assess-concerns-about-human-trafficking-during-the-2010-world-cup> (accessed 2 July 2017).

Goździak, E.M. 2015. Data matters: Issues and challenges for research on trafficking. In Dragiewicz, M. (ed.) 2015. *Global human trafficking: Critical issues and contexts*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Goździak, E.M. & Bump, M.N. 2008. *Data and research on human trafficking: Bibliography of research-based literature*. Institute for the Study of International Migration. Washington, DC: Georgetown University. From: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/224392.pdf> (accessed 4 June 2016).

Goździak, E.M. & Collett, E.A. 2005. Research on human trafficking in North America: A review of literature. *International Migration*, 43(1/2): 99–128.

Green, J. 2017. Fitch downgrades SA to junk status. *Daily Maverick*, 7 April. From: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-04-07-breaking-fitch-downgrades-sa-to-junk-status/#.WPiUIFWGPIU> (accessed 20 April 2017).

Greenfield, V.A., Paoli, L. & Zoutendijk, A. 2016. The harms of human trafficking: Demonstrating the applicability of a new framework for systemic, empirical analysis. *Global Crime*, 17(2): 152–180.

Grootboom, G. 2016. *Exit!* Auckland Park, South Africa: Blackbird Books.

Grootes, S. 2016. Analysis: The judgment at the end of the Nkandla road. *Daily Maverick*, 31 March. From: http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-03-31-analysis-the-judgment-at-the-end-of-the-nkandla-road/#.VzJNO_mqqko (accessed 10 May 2016).

Grootes, S. 2017. ANC succession: Long march against corruption will take years. *Daily Maverick*, 31 July. From: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-07-31-anc-succession-long-march-against-corruption-will-take-years/#.WY9dk1V97IU> (accessed 12 August 2017).

Guhathakurta, S. 2002. Urban modelling as storytelling: Using simulation models as a narrative. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 29: 895–911.

Gunter, W.D. & Hertig, C.A. 2005. An introduction to theory, practice and career development for public and private investigators. *International Foundation for Protection Officers*, August: 1–56. From: <http://www.ifpo.org/programs/intro.pdf> (accessed 21 January 2006).

Gupta, A. 2011. *Truth, meaning, experience*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Halbach, V. 2011. *Axiomatic theories of truth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B.K. & Ross, R. 2010. *The Cambridge history of South Africa: Volume 1: From early times to 1885*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilton, L. 2011. Collective unfreedom in South Africa. *Contemporary Politics*, 17(4): 355–372.

Hammond, D. 2003. *The science of synthesis: Exploring the social implications of general systems theory*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Hare-Mustin, R.T. & Marecek, J. 1988. The meaning of difference: Gender theory, postmodernism, and psychology. *American Psychologist*, 43(6): 455–464.

Harrisberg, K. 2017. From blesser to sex trafficker – activists warn against blesser culture. *Huffington Post*, 31 August. From: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2017/08/31/from-blesser-to-sex-trafficker-activists-warn-against-blesser-culture_a_23191655/ (accessed 7 September 2017).

Harrison, D.L. 2006. Victims of human trafficking or victims of research? Ethical considerations in research with females trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Unpublished MA degree. School of Education and Professional Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

Hartley, R. 2017. How Zuma's firing of Gordhan severely damages South Africa. *Times Live*, 31 March. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017/03/31/Opinion-How-Zumas-firing-of-Gordhan-severely-damages-South-Africa> (accessed 20 April 2017).

Haslam, P. 2014. Hyperinflation not a monster biding its time in Harare only. *Business Day*, 3 November. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/11/03/hyperinflation-not-a-monster-biding-its-time-in-harare-only> (accessed 9 May 2016).

Haynes, D.F. 2004. Used, abused, arrested and deported: Extending immigration benefits to protect the victims of trafficking and to secure the prosecution of traffickers. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26(2): 221–272.

Haynes, D.F. 2014. The celebritization of human trafficking. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653, May: 25–45. DOI: 10.1177/0002716213515837.

Heckathorn, D.D. 1997. Respondent-driven sampling: A new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems*, 44(2), May: 174–199.

Heidegger, M. 1976. *What is called thinking? A Translation of Was Heisst Denken?* (Translated by J.G. Grey). New York, NY: Harper Perennial.

Heidegger, M. 1977. On the essence of truth. In Krell, D.F. (ed.) 1977. *Martin Heidegger: Basic writings from Being and Time (1927) to The Task of Thinking (1964)*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Heylighen, F., Cilliers, P. & Gershenson, C. 2007. Philosophy and complexity. In Bogg, J. & Geyer, R. (eds.) 2007. *Complexity, science and society*. Oxford: Radcliffe Publishing.

Hicks, S.R.C. 2004. *Explaining postmodernism: Skepticism and socialism from Rousseau to Foucault*. Milwaukee, WI: Scholargy Publishing.

Hideg, E. 2004. Foresight as a special characteristic of complex social systems. *Interdisciplinary Description of Complex Systems*, 2(1): 79–87.

Holland, J.H. 1995. *Hidden order: How adaptation builds complexity*. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing.

Holmes, L. (ed.) 2010. *Trafficking and human rights: European and Asia-Pacific perspectives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Holodny, E. 2016. South Africa has a lot of problems. *Business Insider*, 4 February. From: <http://www.businessinsider.com/south-africa-has-a-lot-of-problems-2016-2> (accessed 16 May 2016).

Hooker, C. 2011. Introduction to philosophy of complex systems: A. In Hooker, C. (ed.) 2011. *Handbook of the philosophy of science*. Volume 10: Philosophy of Complex Systems. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Horgan, J. 1995. From complexity to perplexity. *Scientific American*, 272(6), June: 104–109.

Horne, J. 2011. The investigation of human trafficking: An impossible mission without elemental identification of the crime. *Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 24(3): 20–30.

Horne, J. 2014. A critical analysis of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Unpublished Doctor of Literature and Philosophy thesis. University of South Africa, Pretoria, RSA.

Hosken, G. 2013. SA is a major highway for human trafficking. *Times Live*, 6 November. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2013/11/06/sa-is-a-major-highway-for-human-trafficking> (accessed 9 May 2016).

Houchin, K. & MacLean, D. 2005. Complexity theory and strategic change: An empirically informed critique. *British Journal of Management*, 16: 149–166.

Hough-Coetzee, J. & Kruger, E. 2015. *Van skoolbank tot bordeelbed [From school desk to brothel bed]*. Johannesburg: Delta Uitgewers.

Hübschle, A. 2015. New frontiers in economic sociology: Economic sociology and opportunities for organized crime research. *Economic Sociology: The European Electronic Newsletter*, 16(3): 38–41.

Hudson, C.G. 2000. At the edge of chaos: A new paradigm for social work? *Journal of Social Work Education*, 36(2): 215–230.

Huffington Post. 2017. Suspended National Police Commissioner Riah Phiyega found guilty of "serious misconduct". 3 February. From: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2017/02/03/suspended-national-police-commissioner-riah-phiyega-found-guilty_a_21706206/ (accessed 13 August 2017).

Hughes, D.M. 2000. The "Natasha" trade: The transnational shadow market of trafficking in women. *Journal of International Affairs*, 53(2): 625–651.

Huisman, W. & Kleemans, E.R. 2014. The challenges of fighting sex trafficking in the legalized prostitution market of the Netherlands. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61: 215–228.

Human Rights Watch. 1995. South Africa: The state response to domestic violence and rape. From: <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1995/Safricawm-02.htm> (accessed 20 July 2015).

Human trafficking reference guide for Canadian law enforcement. 2005. Abbotsford: University College of the Fraser Valley Press.

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). 2010. *Tsireledzani: Understanding the dimensions of human trafficking in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: National Prosecuting Authority.

Ikeora, M. 2016. The role of African traditional religion and 'Juju' in human trafficking: Implications for anti-trafficking. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 17(1): 1–18.

International Association of Chiefs of Police. 2006. *The crime of human trafficking: A law enforcement guide to identification and investigation*. From: <http://www.theiacp.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=W7b9hV6wn%2bA%3d&tabid=372> (Accessed 22 July 2012).

Ioannou, M. & Oostinga, M.S.D. 2015. An empirical framework of control methods of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. *Global Crime*, 16(1): 34–49.

Ireland, V. & Gorod, A. 2016. Contribution of complex systems to entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Research Journal*, 6(1): 1–41.

Ison, R.L. 2008. Systems thinking and practice for action research. In Reason, P.W. & Bradbury, H. (eds.) 2008. *The Sage handbook of action research participative inquiry and practice*. 2nd edition. London: Sage, pp. 139–158.

Jakobsson, N. & Kotsadam, A. 2013. *The law and economics of international sex slavery: Prostitution laws and trafficking for sexual exploitation*. Working Papers in Economics No 458. Sweden: University of Gothenburg.

Jannah, C. 2017. How South African government fuels xenophobic attacks – Rep. Nnenna Ukeje-Elendu. *Daily Post*, 26 February. From: <http://dailypost.ng/2017/02/26/south-african-government-fuels-xenophobic-attacks-rep-nnenna-ukeje-elendu/> (accessed 12 August 2017).

Jennings, P. 2014. Risk, attractors and organisational behaviour. In Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. (eds.) 2014. *Applying complexity theory: Whole systems approaches to criminal justice and social work*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Jewkes, R. & Abrahams, N. 2002. The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: An overview. *Social Sciences and Medicine*, 55: 1231–1244.

Jewkes, R. & Morrel, K. 2010. Gender and sexuality: Emerging perspectives from the heterosexual epidemic in South Africa and implications for HIV risk and prevention. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 13(6): 2.

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrel, K. & Dunkle, K. 2009. *Understanding men's health and use of violence: Interface of rape and HIV in South Africa*. Gender & Health Research Unit, Medical Research Council. Policy Brief, June.

Joarder, M.A.M. & Miller, P.W. 2013. A theoretical perspective on human trafficking and migration-debt contracts. *The Journal of Developmental Studies*, 49(10): 1332–1343.

Joffe, H. 2016. Credit rating 'several steps away from junk status'. *Business Day*, 18 April. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/economy/2016/04/18/credit-rating-several-steps-away-from-junk-status> (accessed 11 May 2016).

Johnson, J. 2010. The future of the social sciences and humanities in the science of complex systems. *Innovation – The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 23(2), June: 115–134.

Joubert, C. 2013. *Applied law for police officials*. 4th edition. Claremont: Juta Law.

Joubert, J.J. 2014. *Criminal procedure handbook*. 11th edition. Claremont: Juta.

Junk status appears to be just a matter of time. 2016. *Business Day*, 5 May. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/economy/2016/05/05/junk-status-appears-to-be-just-a-matter-of-time> (accessed 11 May 2016).

Kabance, K. 2014. *The globalisation of sex trafficking*. International Affairs: Directed Research Project. University College. From: https://ucollege.wustl.edu/files/ucollege/imce/iap.kabance.drp_.pdf (accessed 5 September 2017).

Kangaspunta, K. 2015. Was trafficking in persons really criminalised? *Anti-trafficking Review*, (4): 80–97.

Keightley, R. 2011. Fat cats, slim pickings: An examination of corporate corruption and the efficacy of existing countermeasures in South Africa. *Journal of Corporate Law Studies*, 11(2): 343–368.

Kelly, E. 2002. *Journeys of jeopardy: A review of research on trafficking in women and children in Europe*. International Organisation of Migration. (IOM Migration Research Series, No 11).

Kenny, M. 2015. Why there are no easy answers in the prostitution debate. *Independent.ie*, 31 August. From: <http://www.independent.ie/opinion/columnists/mary-kenny/why-there-are-no-easy-answers-in-the-prostitution-debate-31489353.html> (accessed 31 May 2016).

Kerry, J.F. 2016. Preface to U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report. From: <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2016/> (accessed 25 July 2016).

Kerseboom, S. 2011. Grandmother-martyr-heroine: Placing Sara Baartman in South African post-apartheid foundational mythology. *Historia*, May, 56: 63–76.

Kingshott, B.F. 2015. Investigation of human trafficking. In Palmiotto, M.J. (ed.) *Combating human trafficking: A multidisciplinary approach*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Kinney, E. 2015. Victims, villains, and valiant rescuers: Unpacking sociolegal constructions of human trafficking and immigration in popular culture. In Guia, M.J. 2015. *The illegal business of human trafficking*. London: Springer.

Kirby, P.R. 1954. The 'Hottentot Venus' of the Musee De L'Homme, Paris. *Suid-Afrikaanse Joernaal van Wetenskap*, July: 319–322.

Kishan, S. 2016. Sex trafficking and prostitution: Victims are not passive but discourse is. *Embrace Dignity*, 4 January. From: <http://embracedignity.org.za/site/sex-trafficking-and-prostitution-victims-are-not-passive-but-the-discourse-is-2/> (accessed 31 May 2016).

Koch, T. 1998. Story telling: Is it really research? *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 28(6): 1182–1190.

Kowal, S. & O'Connell, D. 2014. Transcription as a crucial step of data analysis. In Flick, U. (ed.) 2014. *The Sage handbook of qualitative data analysis*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Koyana, D.S. & Bekker, J.C. 2007. The indomitable ukuthwala custom. *De Jure*, 1: 139–144.

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.

Kreston, S.S. 2014. Human trafficking legislation in South Africa: Consent, coercion and consequences. *South African Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27(1): 20–36.

Kruger, B. 2010. Combating human trafficking: A South African legal perspective. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, RSA.

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, B. 2016. Towards a sharp prosecution sword to combat human trafficking: Comparing the new South African counter-trafficking law with international prosecution standards. *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 49(1): 53–84.

Kruger, B. & Oosthuizen, H. 2011. Looking behind the mask of confusion: Towards a better understanding of human trafficking. *Child Abuse Research: A South African Journal*, 12(2): 46–66.

Kruger, B. & Oosthuizen, H. 2012. South Africa – Safe haven for human traffickers? Employing the arsenal of existing law to combat human trafficking. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal*, 15(1): 283–343.

Kruger, H.B. 2004. Addressing domestic violence: To what extent does the law provide effective measures? *Journal of Juridical Sciences*, 29(1): 152–173.

Kubheka, T. 2015. Eldos urged to help shut down 'Lolly Lounges'. *Eyewitness News*, 6 August. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2015/08/06/Eldos-community-urged-to-help-shut-down-lolly-lounges> (accessed 13 February 2017).

Kulwane, B. 2017. The role of Department of Social Development in combating human trafficking in South Africa. Presentation during a UNODC workshop on 26 July, Durban, South Africa.

Kumar, R. 2014. *Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners*. 4th edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Labuschagne, G. 2004. Features and investigative implications of muti murder in South Africa. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 1: 191–206.

Labuschagne, G.N. 2013. Commander of the SAPS Investigative Psychology Section. Statement to researcher, 8 December.

Labuschagne, G.N. 2015. Commander of the SAPS Investigative Psychology Section. Statement to researcher, 9 July.

Laczko, F. 2005. Data and research on human trafficking. *International Migration*, 43(1/2), January: 5–16.

Laczko, F. 2007. Enhancing data collection and research on trafficking in persons. In Savona, E.U. & Stefanizzi, S. (eds.) 2007. *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls*. New York, NY: Springer.

Laczko, F. & Gramegna, M.A. 2003. Developing better indicators of human trafficking. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, X(1): 179–194.

Laganparsad, M. 2010. Human trafficking red alert. *Times Live*, 28 March. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2010/03/28/human-trafficking-red-alert> (accessed 5 May 2016).

Lawrence, K. 2013. *Developing leaders in a VUCA environment*. UNC Kenan-Flagler Business School. From: <http://www.growbold.com/2013/developing-leaders-in-a-vuca-environment UNC.2013.pdf> (accessed 22 May 2015).

Lazos, G. 2007. Qualitative research in trafficking – a particular case. In Savona, E.U. & Stefanizzi, S. (eds.) 2007. *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls*. New York, NY: Springer.

Leary, R. & Thomas, J. 2011. How complexity theory is changing the role of analysis in law enforcement and national security. In Akhgar, B. & Yates, S. (eds.) 2011. *Intelligence management: Knowledge driven frameworks for combating terrorism and organized crime*. London: Springer.

Lebitse, P. 2017. Any physical assault should lead to an arrest. *Mail & Guardian*, 11 August. From: <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-08-11-00-any-physical-assault-should-lead-to-an-arrest> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Lee, M. 2007. Introduction: Understanding human trafficking. In Lee, M. (ed.) 2007. *Human trafficking*. Devon: Willan Publishing.

Leedy, P.D. & Ormrod, J.E. 2013. *Practical research: Planning and design*. 10th edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Legard, R., Keegan, J. & Ward, K. 2003. In-depth interviews. In Ritchie, J. & Lewis, J. (eds.) 2003. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage.

Legassick, M. & Ross, R. 2010. From slave economy to settler capitalism: The Cape Colony and its extensions, 1800 – 1854. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B.K. & Ross, R. 2010. *The Cambridge history of South Africa: Volume 1: From early times to 1885*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Legget, T. 2004. Hidden agendas? The risks of human trafficking legislation. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 9, September: 1–5.

Lehmann, K. 2012. Dealing with violence, drug trafficking and lawless spaces: Lessons from the policy approach in Rio de Janeiro. *Emergence: Complexity and Organisation*, 14(4): 51–66.

Lekabe, T. 2017. ANC officials 'accept' Zuma's reasons for firing Gordhan from Cabinet. *The Citizen*, 5 April. From: <http://citizen.co.za/news/news-national/1478164/anc-officials-accept-zumas-reasons-for-firing-gordhan-from-cabinet/> (accessed 20 April 2017).

- Leman, J. & Janssens, S. 2007. The various 'safe'-house profiles in East-European human smuggling and trafficking. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(8): 1377–1388.
- Lester, S. 1999. *An introduction to phenomenological research*. Stan Lester Developments: Taunton, UK. From: www.sld.demon.co.uk/resmethy.pdf (accessed 12 December 2012).
- Lewin, C. 2011. Understanding and describing quantitative data. In Somekh, B. & Lewin, C. (eds.) 2011. *Theory and methods in social research*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Lewis, M. & Staehler, T. 2010. *Phenomenology: An introduction*. New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- LexisNexis. 2015. *The LexisNexis Human Trafficking Awareness (HTA) Index*. Johannesburg, RSA: LexisNexis. From: http://www.lexisnexis.co.za/pdf/LN_human_trafficking_brochure_2015_HR.pdf (accessed 6 June 2016).
- Lindeque, M. 2016. 'Moody's rating should be a reminder for SA to avoid junk status.' *Eyewitness News*, 9 May. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2016/05/09/Moodys-rating-should-be-a-reminder-for-SA-to-avoid-junk-status> (accessed 11 May 2016).
- Lobasz, J.K. 2009. Beyond border security: Feminist approaches to human trafficking. *Security Studies*, 18: 319–344.
- Lodge, T. 1998. Political corruption in South Africa. *African Affairs*, 97(387): 157–187.
- Lodge, T. 2014. Neo-patrimonial politics in the ANC. *African Affairs*, 113(450): 1–23.
- Logan, T.K., Walker, R. & Hunt, G. 2009. Understanding human trafficking in the United States. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 10(1): 3–30.
- Lopez, D.A. & Minassians, H. 2017. The sexual trafficking of juveniles: A theoretical model. *Victims & Offenders*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2017.1329173>

Louth, J. 2011. From Newton to Newtonianism: Reductionism and the development of the social sciences. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, 13(4): 63–83.

Loveland, I. 1999. *By due process of law? Racial discrimination and the right to vote in South Africa 1855 – 1960*. Portland, OR: Hart Publishing.

Lowes, L. & Prowse, M.A. 2001. Standing outside the interview process? The illusion of objectivity in phenomenological data generation. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 38: 471–480.

Luhman, J.T. & Boje, D.M. 2001. What is complexity science? A possible answer from narrative research. *Emergence*, 3(1): 158–168.

Luiz, J.M. & Roets, L. 2000. On prostitution, STD's and the law in South Africa: The state as pimp. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18(1): 21–38.

Lyotard, J. 1984. The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge. In Cahoone, L. (ed.) 2003. *From modernism to postmodernism: An anthology*. 2nd edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Maani, K.E. & Maharaj, V. 2004. Links between systems thinking and complex decision making. *System Dynamics Review*, 20(1): 21–48.

Mabotja, K. 2016. SA needs to know the Constitution – Mbeki. *The Star*, 9 May. From: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sa-needs-to-know-the-constitution---mbeki-2019442> (accessed 10 May 2016).

Macharia, J. 2017. ANC succession battle in focus after South Africa's Zuma vote. *Reuters*, 9 August. From: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-safrica-politics-zuma-idUSKBN1AP1TU> (accessed 12 August 2017).

Maguire, S. 2011. Constructing and appreciating complexity. In Allen, P., Maguire, S. & McKelvey, B. (eds.) 2011. *The SAGE handbook of complexity and management*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Maguire, S., Allen, P. & McKelvey, B. 2011. Complexity and management: Introducing the SAGE handbook. In Allen, P., Maguire, S. & McKelvey, B. (eds.) 2011. *The SAGE handbook of complexity and management*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

- Mainzer, K. 1994. *Thinking in complexity: The complex dynamics of matter, mind, and mankind*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Makatile, D. 2016. High cost of Nkandla exceeds R246m. *Sunday Independent*, 7 February. From: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/high-cost-of-nkandla-exceeds-r246m-1981002> (accessed 24 November 2017).
- Makhubu, N. 2015. Missing kids tragedy: Poverty, human trafficking behind children disappearing without trace. *Pretoria News*, 5 June: 1.
- Malterud, K. 2001. Qualitative research: Standards, challenges, and guidelines. *The Lancet*, 358(9280): 483–488.
- Maluleke, W. & Mabaso, B.T. 2017. Integrated perceptions on child trafficking: A lifeless life practice. *Child Abuse Research: A South African Journal*, 18(1): 70–85.
- Manson, S.M. 2001. Simplifying complexity: A review of complexity theory. *Geoforum*, 32: 405–414.
- Marais, C.W. 1992. *Physical evidence in crime investigation*. Wierda Park, South Africa: Henmar Publications.
- Marcus, A., Horning, A., Curtis, R., Sanson, J. & Thompson, E. 2014. Conflict and agency among sex workers and pimps: A closer look at domestic minor sex trafficking. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 653: 225–246.
- Marcus, A., Sanson, J., Horning, A., Thompson, E. & Curtis, R. 2016. Pimping and profitability: Testing the economics of trafficking in street sex markets in Atlantic City, New Jersey. *Sociological Perspectives*, 59(1): 46–65.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. 2011. *Designing qualitative research*. 5th edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Martens, J., Pieczkowski, M. & Van Vuuren-Smyth, B. 2003. *Seduction, sale & slavery: Trafficking in women & children for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa*. 3rd edition. Pretoria: International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Mashego, A. 2017. Cops vs cops as net closes in on Phahlane. *City Press*, 14 May: 1–2.

Mashego, P. 2016. ANC election manifesto launch poorly attended. *Business Day*, 16 April. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/politics/2016/04/16/anc-election-manifesto-launch-poorly-attended> (accessed 10 May 2016).

Mashiya, T. 2010. The effectiveness of human child trafficking legislation in South Africa. Unpublished masters dissertation. Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, RSA.

Masiloane, D. 2014. Crime statistics: A critical discussion of more policeable and less policeable crimes. *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, 27(1): 129–143.

Masombuka, S. 2013. 30 000 kids trafficked in SA. *Times Live*, 7 October. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2013/10/07/30000-kids-trafficked-in-sa> (accessed 3 May 2016).

Mason, J. 1996. *Qualitative researching*. London: Sage.

Masys, A.J. 2012. Complexity and the social sciences: Insights from complementary theoretical perspectives. In Minai, A.A., Braha, D. & Bar-Yam, Y. (eds.) 2012. *Unifying themes in complex systems volume VII: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Complex Systems*. Berlin: Springer.

Mataboge, M. & Faull, L. 2011. Scorpions disbanding unconstitutional. *Mail & Guardian*, 18 March. From: <https://mg.co.za/article/2011-03-18-scorpions-disbanding-unconstitutional> (accessed 25 August 2017).

Mavrofides, T., Kameas, A., Papageorgiou, D. & Los, A. 2011. On the entropy of social systems: A revision of the concepts of entropy and energy in the social context. *Systems Research and Behavioral Science*, 28: 353–368.

May, T. 2011. *Social research: Issues, methods and process*. 4th edition. New York, NY: Open University Press.

McCulloch, J. & Pickering, S. 2012. *Borders and crime: Pre-crime, mobility and serious harm in an age of globalization*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

McDougall, G.J. 2016. Twenty years of South African Constitutionalism. *New York Law School Law Review*, 60: 25–36.

McGrath, R. 2011. The world is more complex than it used to be. *Harvard Business Review*, 31 August. From: <https://hbr.org/2011/08/the-world-really-is-more-compl/> (accessed 13 February 2015).

McKelvey, B. 2003. Emergent order in firms: Complexity science vs the entanglement trap. In Mitleton-Kelly, E. (ed.) 2003. *Complex systems and evolutionary perspectives on organisations: The application of complexity theory to organisations*. Amsterdam: Pergamon.

McPherson, C. & McGibbon, E. 2014. Intersecting contexts of oppression within complex public systems. In Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. (eds.) 2014. *Applying complexity theory: Whole systems approaches to criminal justice and social work*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Meadows, D.H. 2009. *Thinking in systems: A primer*. London: Earthscan.

Meijer, K. 2015. Reports of attempts to snatch children rising. *Centurion Rekord*, 6 November: 2.

Merali, Y. & Allen, P. 2011. Complexity and systems thinking. In Allen, P., Maguire, S. & McKelvey, B. (eds.) 2011. *The SAGE handbook of complexity and management*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Merten, M. 2017. Violence on women: Police action will speak louder than words. *Daily Maverick*, 9 August. From: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-08-09-violence-on-women-police-action-will-speak-louder-than-words/#.WY9kn1V97IU> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Midgley, G. 2007. Systems thinking for evaluation. In Williams, B. & Imam, I. (eds.) 2007. *Systems concepts in evaluation: An expert anthology*. Point Reys, CA: EdgePress.

Midgley, G. & Richardson, K.A. 2007. Systems thinking for community involvement in policy analysis. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, 9(1-2): 167–183.

Miko, F.T. 2003. *Trafficking in women and children: The U.S. and international response*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.

Minnaar, A. 1999. A symbiotic relationship? Organised crime and corruption in South Africa. Paper delivered at the International Anti-Corruption Conference: Global Integrity: 2000 and Beyond – Developing Effective Anti-Corruption Strategies in a Changing World (9th: 1999: Durban, South Africa).

Minnaar, A. 2003. Early efforts at corruption prevention in post-1994 South Africa. Paper delivered at the Institute for Human Rights & Criminal Justice Studies, Technikon SA Seminar on Corruption and Organised Crime (2003: Florida, South Africa).

Mitchell, M. 2006. Complex systems: Network thinking. *Artificial Intelligence*, 170: 1194–1212.

Mitleton-Kelly, E. 2003. *Complex systems and evolutionary perspectives on organisations: The application of complexity theory to organisations*. Amsterdam: Pergamon.

Mkize, V. 2013. 45 000 kids prostituted in SA. *The Star*, 24 May. From: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/45-000-kids-prostituted-in-sa-1521439> (accessed 3 May 2016).

Mojeed, M. 2008. How immigration officials and voodoo aid human trafficking business in Nigeria. *Edoworld.net*. From http://edoworld.net/How_immigration_officials_and_voodoo_aid_human_trafficking_business.html (accessed 22 May 2016).

Mollema, N. 2013. Combating human trafficking in South Africa: A comparative legal study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria, RSA.

- 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, South Africa: Molo Songololo.
- Molo Songololo. 2000b. *The trafficking of women into the South African sex industry*. Cape Town, South Africa: Molo Songololo.
- Moloney, C.J. 2015. Sociology of human trafficking. In Palmiotto, M.J. 2015. *Combating human trafficking: A multidisciplinary approach*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Moore, A.S. & Goldberg, E.S. 2015. Victims, perpetrators, and the limits of human rights discourse in the post-Palermo fiction about sex trafficking. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 19(1): 16–31.
- Moran, D. 2000. *Introduction to phenomenology*. London: Routledge.
- Morawska, E. 2007. Trafficking into and from Eastern Europe. In Lee, M. (ed.) 2007. *Human trafficking*. Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Morçöl, G. 2005. Phenomenology of complexity theory and cognitive science: Implications for developing an embodied knowledge of public administration and policy. *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, 27(1): 1–23.
- Morçöl, G. 2012a. *A complexity theory for public policy*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Morçöl, G. 2012b. Urban sprawl and public policy: A complexity theory perspective. *Emergence: Complexity and Organisation*, 14(4): 1–16.
- Morehouse, C. 2009. *Combating human trafficking*. Heidelberg, Germany: Germany VS Research.

- Morgan, P. 2005. *The idea and practice of systems thinking and their relevance for capacity development*. Maastricht: European Centre for Development Policy Management.
- Morley, P. 2010. *A man's guide to work: 12 ways to honor God on the job*. Chicago, IL: Moody Publishers.
- Mortlock, M. 2016. Human trafficking on the rise in South Africa. *Eyewitness News*, 14 July. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2016/07/14/Human-trafficking-on-the-rise-in-South-Africa> (accessed 18 April 2017).
- Moultrie, T. 2005. Racism and reproduction: Population rhetoric in South Africa, 1900–1974. *African Studies*, 64(2): 217–242.
- Mouton, J. 2001. *How to succeed in your master's and doctoral studies: A South African guide and resource book*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Mphande, H. 2007. Police fear more attacks after three woman raped. *The Herald*, 17 October: 1.
- Mpumlwana, T. 2016. The violation of SA women. *The New Age*, 6 March. From: <http://www.thenewage.co.za/the-violation-of-sa-women/> (accessed 17 May 2016).
- Mtshaulana, P. 1997. South African constitutional history and background. In Nel, F. & Bezuidenhout, J. (eds.) 1997. *Policing and human rights*. 2nd edition. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.
- Mumford, E. 2006. The story of socio-technical design: Reflections on its successes, failures and potential. *Information Systems Journal*, 16: 317–342.
- Murray, J. 2006. Criminal exploitation of women and children and the important role of community policing. *Police Practice and Research*, 7(2): 125–134.
- Mwambene, L. & Sloth-Nielsen, J. 2011. Benign accommodation? Ukuthwala, 'forced marriage' and the South African Children's Act. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 11: 1–22.

Naidoo, V. 2013. The politics of anti-corruption enforcement in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31(4): 523–542.

Nair, P.M. 2010. *Human trafficking: Dimensions, challenges and responses*. New Delhi: Konark Publishers.

Najemy, L.B. 2010. South Africa's approach to the global human trafficking problem: An analysis of the proposed legislation and the prospects of implementation. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, 9(1): 171–184.

Narsee, A.J. 2015. Women tell of forced prostitution nightmare. *Sunday Times*, 26 July. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2015/07/26/Women-tell-of-forced-prostitution-nightmare> (accessed 7 May 2016).

National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. 1978. *The Belmont Report: Ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects of research*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. From: https://videocast.nih.gov/pdf/ohrp_appendix_belmont_report_vol_2.pdf (accessed 28 August 2017).

Nel, F. & Bezuidenhout, J. (eds.) 1997. *Policing and human rights*. 2nd edition. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.

Newham, G. 2015. Avoiding another Marikana massacre: Why police leadership matters. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 53, September: 39–48.

Ngcobo, Z. 2016. Moody's rating shows SA is approaching a turning point. *Eyewitness News*, 8 May. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2016/05/08/Moodys-rating-shows-SA-is-approaching-a-turning-point> (accessed 11 May 2016).

Ngcukana, L. 2009. Help on way for child brides. *Daily Dispatch*, June 29: 1.

Nkwi, W.G. 2015. Getting smart and scaling through: Narcotics/Prostitutes' trafficking as organized crimes in colonial and post-colonial West-Africa, C.1920-C.1998. *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, 10, January: 3–22.

Nowotny, H. 2005. The increase of complexity and its reduction: Emergent interfaces between the natural sciences, humanities and social sciences. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22(5): 15–31.

O’Callaghan, M.G. 2012. The health care professional as a modern abolitionist. *The Permanente Journal*, 16(2), Spring: 67–69.

O’Leary, Z. 2004. *The essential guide to doing research*. London: Sage.

Olujuwon, T. 2008. Combating trafficking in person: A case study of Nigeria. *European Journal of Scientific Research*, 24(1): 23–32.

Olutola, A. 2014. The ruling political parties and the war against crime and corruption in Nigeria and South Africa: The case of two brothers with headless bodies. *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, Special Edition 2/2014: Research and Application in Criminology and Criminal Justice: 81–95.

Ontvoering-drama – buurvrou se onthulling: Molesteerder het gebieg oor vermistes [Kidnapping-drama – neighbour’s revelation: Molester confessed about the missing]. 1990. *Die Burger*, 18 January: 1.

From: <http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1990/01/18/1/10.html> (accessed 8 May 2016).

Optimus Study. 2016. *Optimus Study South Africa: Technical report: Sexual victimisation of children in South Africa*. Switzerland: UBS Optimus Foundation. From: http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/08_cjcp_report_2016_d.pdf (accessed 6 June 2016).

Orleans, M. 2000. Phenomenology. In Borgatta, E.F. & Montgomery, R.J.V. (eds.) 2000. *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. 2nd edition. New York, NY: Macmillan Reference USA.

Ortberg, J. 2010. *The me I want to be: Becoming God’s best version of you*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Osterburg, J.W. & Ward, R.H. 2010. *Criminal investigation: A method for reconstructing the past*. 6th edition. New Jersey: Anderson Publishing.

- Outshoorn, J. 2005. The political debates on prostitution and trafficking. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(1): 141–155.
- Outshoorn, J. 2015. The trafficking policy debates. In Dragiewicz, M. (ed.) 2015. *Global human trafficking: Critical issues and contexts*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Palombo, J. 2013. The self as complex adaptive system part II: Levels of analysis and the position of the observer. *Psychoanalytic Social Work*, 20: 115–133.
- Pappas, I.O., Kourouthanassis, P.E., Giannakos, M.N. & Lekakos, G. 2017. The interplay of online shopping motivations and experiential factors on personalized e-commerce: A complexity theory approach. *Telematics and Informatics*, 34: 730–742.
- Pardhoothman, S. 2015. An analysis of the modus operandi of perpetrators in human trafficking. Unpublished M-Tech dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria, RSA.
- Palmary, I. 2016. *Gender, sexuality and migration in South Africa: Governing morality*. Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Patton, M.Q. 2002. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. 3rd edition. London: Sage.
- Pauw, J. 2017. *The President's keepers: Those keeping Zuma in power and out of prison*. Cape Town, South Africa: Tafelberg.
- Pearson, P-J. 2013. The Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act. *Polity*, 7 August. From: <http://www.polity.org.za/article/the-prevention-and-combating-of-trafficking-in-persons-act-august-2013-2013-08-07> (accessed 19 May 2016).
- Penny, T. 2016. Damning report reveals wrongdoing at Auction Alliance. *Eyewitness News*, 13 May. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2016/05/13/Reports-Auction-Alliance-marred-in-damning-forensic-financial-report> (accessed 14 May 2016).
- Penny, T. 2017. Spa visited by Minister Mahlobo also a brothel? *Eyewitness News*, 19 January. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2017/01/19/chinese-owned-spa-mahlobo-visited-might-be-a-brothel> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Perkins, J. 2011. Response to Chapter 1: Reflective questions. In Davidson, A.W., Ray, M.A. & Turkel, M.C. 2011. *Nursing, caring, and complexity science for human-environment well-being*. New York, NY: Springer.

Peshkin, A. 1993. The goodness of qualitative research. *Educational Researcher*, 22(2): 23–29.

Petrus, T. 2015. 'They smoke it, then they go "mal" ...': An anthropological perspective on the drugs-gangs-violence connection and South Africa's National Drug Plan. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, Special Edition No 3/2015: Illicit Drugs: Local and International Realities: 180–195.

Pharoah, R. 2006. *Getting to grips with trafficking: Reflections on human trafficking research in South Africa*. ISS Monograph Series No 123, June. Pretoria, RSA: Institute for Security Studies.

Pithey, B. 2004. Do new crimes need new laws? Legal provisions available for prosecuting human trafficking. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 9, September: 7–10.

Platoon (film). 2016. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia. From: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Platoon_\(film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Platoon_(film)) (accessed 27 May 2016).

Poggenpoel, M. 2000. Data analysis in qualitative research. In De Vos, A.S. (ed.) 2000. *Research at grass roots: A primer for the caring professions*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Poli, R. 2012. Complexity, acceleration, and anticipation. *Emergence: Complexity and Organisation*, 14(4): 124–138.

Porter, T. & Cordoba, J. 2009. Three views of systems theories and their implications for sustainability education. *Journal of Management Education*, 33(3), June: 323–347.

President Zuma signs new Trafficking Act into law. 2015. Media Statement. Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. From: http://www.justice.gov.za/m_statements/2015/20150809-TIP.html (accessed 31 May 2016).

Pretorius, W. 2016. Ramaphosa launches 'historic' plan to aid sex workers. *News24*, 11 March. From: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ramaphosa-launches-historic-plan-to-aid-sex-workers-20160311> (accessed 4 June 2017).

Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act see South Africa. 2013.

Prinsloo, J. & Ovens, M. 2015. *Ukuthwala* as an aberrant traditional practice: The State versus Nvumeleni Jezile 2014 WCD. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, Special Edition No 4/2015: Criminology in democratic South Africa: Coming of age: 169–181.

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime see United Nations. 2000a.

Pycroft, A. 2014. Complexity theory: An overview. In Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. (eds.) 2014. *Applying complexity theory: Whole systems approaches to criminal justice and social work*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. 2014. Introduction. In Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. (eds.) 2014. *Applying complexity theory: Whole systems approaches to criminal justice and social work*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Quintal, G. 2014. ANC wins 2014 election with reduced majority. *Business Day*, 10 May. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/politics/2014/05/10/anc-wins-2014-election-with-reduced-majority> (accessed 9 May 2016).

Quintal, G. 2016. South Africa moves five places on Corruption Perception Index. *Times Live*, 27 January. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2016/01/27/South-Africa-moves-five-places-on-Corruption-Perception-Index> (accessed 15 May 2016).

Quirk, J. & Richter, M. 2015. Human trafficking and Africa's 'pornography of pain': The pitfalls of CSR. *Open Democracy*, 2 September. From: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/beyondslavery/marlise-richter-joel-quirk/human-trafficking-and-africa%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98pornography-of-pain%E2%80%99-pitfal> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Raphael, J. 2017. Returning trafficking prevalence to the public policy debate: Introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 3(1): 1–20.

Raymond, J.G. 2001. *Guide to the new UN trafficking protocol*. From: http://www.no-trafficking.org/content/pdf/guide_to_the_new_un_trafficking_protocol.pdf (accessed 19 March 2016).

RDM News Wire. 2015. Human traffickers are everywhere: Hawks general. *Times Live*. From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2015/07/30/Human-traffickers-are-everywhere-Hawks-general> (accessed 7 May 2016).

Reiners, G.M. 2012. Understanding the differences between Husserl's (descriptive) and Heidegger's (interpretive) phenomenological research. *Journal of Nursing Care*, 1(5): 1–3.

Repanovici, A., Barbu, I. & Cristea, L. 2008. Information literacy learning model for engineering students. Paper delivered at the International Conference on Engineering Education (5th: 2008: Greece).

Richardson, J.R. 2012. *Heidegger*. London: Routledge.

Richardson, K.A. 2007. Systems theory and complexity: Part 4: The evolution of systems thinking. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, 9(1-2): 166.

Richardson, K.A. 2011. Complexity and management: A pluralistic view. In Allen, P., Maguire, S. & McKelvey, B. (eds.) 2011. *The SAGE handbook of complexity and management*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Richter, M. 2017. An open apology to sex workers in South Africa. *Daily Maverick*, 29 May. From: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-05-29-an-open-apology-to-sex-workers-in-south-africa/#.WWM5nVV97IU> (accessed 10 July 2017).

Richter, M. & Delva, W. 2010. *Maybe it will be better once this World Cup has passed: Research findings regarding the impact of the 2010 soccer World Cup on sex work in South Africa*. United Nations Population Fund. From: <http://www.nswp.org/sites/nswp.org/files/SWEAT%20report%20-%20low%20res%20%282%29.pdf> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Roberts, B. & Gordon, S. 2016. Pulling us apart? The association between fear of crime and social cohesion in South Africa. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 55, March: 49–60.

Rocky Balboa. 2016. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia.

From: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rocky_Balboa (accessed 27 May 2016).

Rodgers, B.L. & Cowles, K.V. 1993. The qualitative research audit trail: A complex collection of documentation. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 16: 219–226.

Roelofse, C. 2011. Human trafficking as an organised crime in South Africa pre-, during and post soccer World Cup 2010. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 24(3): 1–19.

Roos, M. 1991. Kinderverdwyning styg dramaties [Child disappearances escalates dramatically]. *Beeld*, 11 September: 8.

Rosenau, P.M. 1992. *Post-modernism and the social sciences: Insights, inroads, and intrusions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ross, R. 2010. Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape, 1500 – 1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B.K. & Ross, R. 2010. *The Cambridge history of South Africa: Volume 1: From early times to 1885*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Rotmann, B. 2005. Trafficking legislation in South Africa after Beijing + 10. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 19(64): 114–116.

Rzevski, G. 2011. A practical methodology for managing complexity. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, 13(1-2): 38–56.

SA's economy drops into third place in Africa. 2016. *Business Day*, 11 May. From: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/economy/2016/05/11/SA%E2%80%99s-economy-drops-into-third-place-in-Africa> (accessed 11 May 2016).

SAFM. 2015. Child kidnapping remains a problem in SA [The forum @ eight]. 13 May.

- Saniee, I., Kamat, S., Prakash, S. & Weldon, M. 2017. Will productivity growth return in the new digital era? An analysis of the potential impact on productivity of the fourth industrial revolution. *Bell Labs Technical Journal*, 20: 1–20.
- Sanpath, A. 2006. NGOs fear 2010 soccer world cup will increase trafficking of women and girls. *Agenda*, 20(70): 120–124.
- Savona, E.U. & Stefanizzi, S. (eds.) 2007. *Measuring human trafficking: Complexities and pitfalls*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Sawadogo, W.R. 2012. The challenges of transnational human trafficking in West Africa. *African Studies Quarterly*, 13(1&2): 95–115.
- Sawyer, R.K. 2005. *Social emergence: Societies as complex systems*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Schloenhardt, A. 1999. Organized crime and the business of migrant trafficking: An economic analysis. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 32: 203–233.
- Schneider, A.L., Ervin, L. & Snyder-Joy, Z. 2001. Further exploration of the flight from discretion: The role of risk/need instruments in probation supervision decisions. In Pope, C.E., Lovell, R. & Brandl, S.G. (eds.) 2001. *Voices from the field: Research in criminal justice research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Schultz, R. 2012. Adjacent opportunities: Change, change, change – change of fools. *Emergence: Complexity and Organisation*, 14(1): 95–98.
- Scott, C.D. 2012. The death of philosophy: A response to Stephen Hawking. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 31(2): 384–404.
- Seekings, J. 2007. *Poverty and inequality after apartheid (Working Paper No. 200)*. Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town.
- Sello, L. 2015. Combating human trafficking: Working the law. *eNCA*, 28 July. From: <http://www.enca.com/south-africa/combating-human-trafficking-working-law> (accessed 19 May 2016).

Seltzer-Kelly, D.L., Cinnamon, S., Cunningham, C.A., Gurland, S.T., Jones, K. & Toth, S.L. 2011. (Re) Imagining teacher preparation for conjoint democratic inquiry in complex classroom ecologies. *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education*, 8(1): 5–27.

Sexual Offences and Related Matters Act see South Africa. 2007.

Shamase, N. 2016. Damned by the 'blessers'. *Mail & Guardian*, 11 March. From: <http://mg.co.za/article/2016-03-10-damned-bythe-blessers> (accessed 4 June 2016).

Shaw, M. 2015. South Africa's place in the global criminal economy. *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, Special Edition No 4/2015: Criminology in democratic South Africa: Coming of Age: 1–7.

Shelley, L. 2012. The relationship of drug and human trafficking: A global perspective. *European Journal on Criminal Policy & Research*, 18: 241–253.

Sherman, L.W. 2000. Postmodern constructivist pedagogy for teaching and learning cooperatively on the web. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 3(1): 51–56.

Shoaps, L.L. 2013. Room for improvement: Palermo Protocol and the Victims Protection Act. *Lewis & Clark Law Review*, 17: 931–972.

Shrivankova, K. 2006. Combating trafficking in human beings. *International Review of Law, Computers and Technology*, 20(1-2), March-July: 229–232.

Siegel, D. & De Blank, S. 2010. Women who traffic women: the role of women in human trafficking networks – Dutch cases. *Global Crime*, 11(4): 436–447.

Siegel, D. & De Wildt, R. (eds.) 2016. *Ethical concerns in research on human trafficking*. Springer: London.

Sigfridsson, T. 2012. Trafficking of children: The case of South Africa. Unpublished masters dissertation. University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, RSA.

Silverman, D. 2005. *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Silverman, D. 2013. *Doing qualitative research*. 4th edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Sim, S. (ed.) 2005. *The Routledge companion to postmodernism*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Simon, H.A. 1962. The architecture of complexity. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 106(6), December: 467–482.

Simon, M.K. & Goes, J. 2011. *What is phenomenological research?* From: <http://dissertationrecipes.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Phenomenological-Research.pdf> (accessed 2 September 2017).

Singapore Statement on Research Integrity. 2010. World Conference on Research Integrity (2nd: 21-24 July 2010: Singapore). From: www.singaporestatement.org (accessed 3 May 2013).

Singh, D. 2004. Piercing the veil on trafficking in women. *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 37(3): 340–363.

Skade, T. 2017. Jeff Radebe entangled in nude picture scandal – report. *Destiny Magazine*, 21 May. From: <http://www.destinyconnect.com/2017/05/21/jeff-radede-entangled-nude-picture-scandal-report/> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Skinner, B. 2008. *A crime so monstrous: Face-to-face with modern-day slavery*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Skosana, I. & Wilkinson, K. 2017. Fact-checked: 2 claims about slavery & ‘child prostitutes’ in SA. *Africa Check*, 26 October. From: <https://africacheck.org/reports/fact-checked-2-claims-slavery-child-prostitutes-sa/> (accessed 27 October 2017).

Skyttner, L. 2005. *General systems theory: Problems, perspectives, practice*. 2nd edition. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing.

Smith, J. & Jenks, C. 2006. *Qualitative complexity: Ecology, cognitive processes and the re-emergence of structures in post-humanist social theory*. London: Routledge.

Smith, M. 2011. Philosophical and theoretical perspectives related to complexity science in nursing. In Davidson, A.W., Ray, M.A. & Turkel, M.C. 2011. *Nursing, caring, and complexity science for human-environment well-being*. New York, NY: Springer.

Smythe, E.A., Ironside, P.M., Sims, S.L., Swenson, M.M. & Spence, D.G. 2008. Doing Heideggerian hermeneutic research: A discussion paper. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 45: 1389–1397.

Solidarity. 2017. Panel says government incites racism in South Africa. 20 April. From: <https://solidariteit.co.za/en/panel-says-government-incites-racism-south-africa/> (accessed 12 August 2017).

Solontsi, J.L. 2016. The blesser phenomenon: Has it always been around? *News24*, 2 September. From: <http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/the-blesser-phenomenon-has-it-always-been-around-20160902> (accessed 30 April 2017).

Somekh, B. & Lewin, C. (eds.) 2011. *Theory and methods in social research*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Sonke Gender Justice. 2014. *Sex workers and sex work in South Africa: A guide for journalists and writers*. Sonke Gender Justice, Sisonke Sex Worker Movement, Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce, and Women's Legal Centre. From: <http://www.sweat.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Journalist-Guide.pdf> (accessed 4 June 2016).

Southall, R. 2016. The coming crisis of Zuma's ANC: The party state confronts fiscal crisis. *Review of African Political Economy*, 43, 147: 73-88.

South Africa. 1977. The Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. 1996. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 108 of 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. 1998. Refugee Act 130 of 1998. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. 2002. The Regulation of Interception of Communications and Provision of Communication-related Information Act 70 of 2002. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. 2007. The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. 2013. Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. 2015. Commencement of the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2013 (Act no. 7 of 2013) Proclamation R 32 *Government Gazette*, 39078, 7 August 2015. Pretoria: Government Printer. From: http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/39078_proc32.pdf (accessed 1 May 2017).

South Africa's economy 'in crisis'. 2016. *BBC News*, 24 February. From: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35650701> (accessed 11 May 2016).

South Africa Map. 2017.

From: <http://southafricamap.facts.co/southafricamapwithprovinces.php> (accessed 24 June 2017).

South African History Online. 2011. *South Africa wins the 2010 Bid to host the Soccer World Cup*. From: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-africa-wins-2010-bid-host-soccer-world-cup> (accessed 4 May 2016).

South African Law Reform Commission. 2009. *Discussion Paper 0001/2009: Sexual offences: Adult prostitution*. South African Law Reform Commission. From: http://www.justice.gov.za/salrc/dpapers/dp0001-2009_prj107_2009.pdf (accessed 7 July 2017).

South African Law Reform Commission. 2017. *Report on Project 107: Sexual offences and adult prostitution*. South African Law Reform Commission. From: <http://salawreform.justice.gov.za/reports/r-pr107-SXO-AdultProstitution-2017.pdf> (accessed 7 July 2017).

South African Police Service (SAPS) Bureau for Missing Persons. 2016. Missing persons statistics. Private email message to M. Van der Watt (21 November 2016).

South African Police Service (SAPS). 2017. *SAPS Crimestats*. From: <https://www.saps.gov.za/services/crimestats.php> (accessed 20 April 2017).

Spaull, N. 2015. While the rich get education, SA's poor get just 'schooling'. *Sunday Times*, 8 November.

From: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/opinion/2015/11/08/While-the-rich-get-education-SAs-poor-get-just-schooling> (accessed 17 May 2016).

Spence, D.G. 2016. Supervising for robust hermeneutic phenomenology: Reflexive engagement within horizons of understanding. *Qualitative Health Research*, 1–7. DOI: 10.1177/1049732316637824.

Spurrier, K.J. 2015. *A multi-perspective report on the status of the knowledge of and response to commercial sexual exploitation of children with a specific focus on child prostitution and child sex tourism: a social work perspective*. D.Phil Social Work thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Stanton, M. & Welsh, R. 2012. Systemic thinking in couple and family psychology research and practice. *Couple and Family Psychology: Research and Practice*, 1(1): 14–30.

Statistics South Africa. 2016. From: http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=595 (accessed 31 March 2016).

Statistics South Africa. 2017. From: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=10658> (accessed 24 November 2017).

Steinfatt, T. 2011. Sex trafficking in Cambodia: Fabricated numbers versus empirical evidence. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 56: 443–462.

Steinfatt, T. & Baker, S. 2011. *Measuring the extent of sex trafficking in Cambodia, 2008*. Bangkok: United Nations Interagency Project on Human Trafficking. From: http://www.no-trafficking.org/reports_docs/estimates/uniap_cb_estimates_report.pdf (accessed 2 May 2016).

Stelfox, P. 2009. *Criminal investigation: An introduction to principles and practice*. Devon: Willan Publishing.

Sterman, J.D. 1994. Learning in and about complex systems. *System Dynamics Review*, 10 (2-3): 291–330.

Sterman, J.D. 2006. Learning from Evidence evidence in a Complex complex Worldworld. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(3): 505–514.

Steyn-Barlow, C. 2006. *Publish and be damned: Two decades of scandals*. Alberton, South Africa: Galago.

Stoll, J., Edwards, W.K. & Mynatt, E.D. 2010. Interorganizational coordination and awareness in a nonprofit ecosystem. Paper delivered at ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work, February 6 – 10 (2010: Savannah, Georgia, USA).

Stop the Traffik. 2016. *The scale of human trafficking*. From: <https://www.stopthetraffik.org/the-scale-of-human-traffiking> (accessed 21 May 2016).

Stowell, F. & Welch, C. 2012. *The manager's guide to systems practice: Making sense of complex problems*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.

Strauss, V. 2014. The Difference difference between 'Complex' complex' and 'Complicated' complicated' – and Why why it Matters matters in School school Reformreform. *The Washington Post*, 8 August. From: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2014/08/08/the-difference-between-complex-and-complicated-and-why-it-matters-in-school-reform/?utm_term=.4db3881b0d65 (accessed 20 July 2017).

Sturmburg, J.P., Martin, C.M. & Katerndahl, D.A. 2014. Systems and complexity thinking in the general practice literature: An integrative, holistic narrative review. *Annals of Family Medicine*, 12(1): 66–74.

Stuurman, L. 2004. Anti-trafficking legislation can no longer be delayed. *Eye on Human Trafficking*, 3: 5.

Surowiecki, J. 2005. *The Wisdom of Crowds*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.

Swart, D.N. 2011. Problems surrounding the combating of women and child trafficking in Southern and South Africa. *Child Abuse Research: A South African Journal*, 12(1): 26–37.

Swart, D.N. 2012. Human trafficking and the exploitation of women and children in a Southern and South African context. *Child Abuse Research: A South African Journal*, 13(1): 62–73.

Swart, H. 2014. Of victims and victimhood. *Daily Maverick*, 27 August. From: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2014-08-27-of-victims-and-victimhood/#.WWEz7FV97IU> (accessed 8 July 2017).

Tacopino, J. 2010. 40,000 prostitutes bound for South Africa for 2010 World Cup, officials warn. *Daily News*, 6 March.

From: <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/40-000-prostitutes-bound-south-africa-2010-world-cup-officials-warn-article-1.162894> (accessed 5 May 2016).

Taiwan sal SAP help kyk na 'wit slawehandel' [Taiwan will help SAP look into 'white slave trade']. 1991. *Beeld*, 16 April: 4.

Taliani, S. 2012. Coercion, fetishes and suffering in the daily lives of young Nigerian women in Italy. *The Journal of the International African Institute*. 82(4): 579–608.

Tatlow, D.K. 2013. 27 million people said to live in 'modern slavery'. *IHT Rendezvous*, 20 June. From: http://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/06/20/27-million-people-said-to-live-in-modern-slavery/?_r=0 (accessed 21 May 2016).

The Belmont Report: Ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects of research see National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research.

The nine provinces of South Africa. 2016. SouthAfrica.info. From: <http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/population.htm#.VvzcJfmqgko> (accessed 31 March 2016).

Theron, A. 2003. Perspectives on general and work behaviour. In Bergh, Z.C. & Theron, A.L. (eds.) 2003. *Psychology in the work context*. 2nd edition. New York, NY: Oxford.

The Telegraph see World Cup 2010...

Thelwell, E. 2014. SA is hiding 100 000 slaves, report claims. *News24*, 17 November. From: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SA-is-hiding-100-000-slaves-shock-new-report-claims-20141117> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Thelwell, E. & Van der Merwe, C. 2014. Don't look away: SA's dirty slavery secret in 2014. *News24*, 10 November. From: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Dont-look-away-SAs-dirty-slavery-secret-in-2014-20141110> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Tibane, E. & Honwane, M. 2015. *South Africa yearbook 2014/2015*. Pretoria: Government Communications (GCIS). From: <http://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/sa-info/yearbook2014-15> (accessed 30 March 2016).

Tjale, K. 2012. Lolly lounges rife in Gauteng. *Eyewitness News*, 21 May. From: <http://ewn.co.za/2012/05/21/Lolly-lounges-rife-in-Gauteng> (accessed 13 February 2017).

Tobias, P.V. 2002. Saartjie Baartman: Her life, her remains, and the negotiations for their repatriation from France to South Africa. *South African Journal of Science*, March/April, 98: 107–110.

Tondo, L. & Kelly, A. 2017. The juju curse that binds trafficked Nigerian women into sex slavery. *The Guardian*, 2 September. From: <https://amp-theguardian-com.cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/amp.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/sep/02/juju-curse-binds-trafficked-nigerian-women-sex-slavery> (accessed 4 September 2017).

Transparency International. 2011. *Corruption and human trafficking*. Working Paper 3: 1–6. ISSN 1998-6408.

Transparency International. 2015. *People and corruption: Africa Survey 2015: Global Corruption Barometer*. Berlin: Transparency International. From: http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_africa_survey_2015 (accessed 15 May 2016).

Trenholm, S. & Ferlie, E. 2013. Using complexity theory to analyse the organisational response to resurgent tuberculosis across London. *Social Science & Medicine*, 93: 229–237.

Tsutsumi, A., Izutsu, T., Poudyal, A.K., Kato, S. & Marui, E. 2008. Mental health of female survivors of human trafficking in Nepal. *Social Sciences & Medicine*, 66: 1841–1847.

Tyldum, G. & Brunovskis, A. 2005. Describing the unobserved: Methodological challenges in empirical studies on human trafficking. *International Migration*, 43(1/2): 17–34.

Tyler, M. 2015. Does decriminalising pimping further women's rights? *The Conversation*, 14 August. From: <https://theconversation.com/does-decriminalising-pimping-further-womens-rights-46083> (accessed 22 May 2016).

Umraw, A. 2015. Rescued kids were abused. *The Witness*, 20 November. From: <http://m.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/rescued-kids-were-abused-20151119> (accessed 4 June 2016).

Umraw, A. 2017. The new Gupta emails are a lot. Here's what they say, in 5 quick facts. *Huffington Post*, 1 June. From: <http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2017/06/01/the-new-gupta-emails-are-a-lot-heres-what-they-say-in-5-quick-a-22120706/> (accessed 12 August 2017).

UNESCO. 2007. *Human trafficking in South Africa: Root causes and recommendations*. Policy Paper No 14.5 (E).

UN.GIFT (United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking). 2008. Background paper 020 Workshop: Corruption and human trafficking: The grease that facilitates the crime. (UN.GIFT B.P.:20). The Vienna Forum to fight Human Trafficking, 13-15 February 2008, Austria Center, Vienna.

UNISA. 2007. *UNISA policy on research ethics*. Florida, South Africa: UNISA.

United Nations. 1956. Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery. Economic and Social Council resolution 608(XXI). United Nations: Geneva. From: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SupplementaryConventionAbolitionOfSlavery.aspx> (accessed 28 August 2017).

United Nations. 2000a. *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime*. General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000. Vienna: United Nations.

United Nations. 2000b. *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000. Vienna: United Nations.

United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI). 2010. *Trafficking of Nigerian girls in Italy: The data, the stories, the social services*. Rome: UNICRI.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons: Global Programme Against Trafficking in Human Beings*. New York, NY: United Nations.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2007. *Synergy in Action: Protocol on the Structure and Function of the Integrated Anti Human Trafficking Unit in India*. New Delhi: UNODC Regional Office for South Asia.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2011. *Issue Paper: The role of corruption in trafficking in persons*. Vienna: United Nations.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2012. *Global report on trafficking in persons*. New York, NY: United Nations. From: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/Trafficking_in_Persons_2012_web.pdf (accessed 12 August 2017).

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2014. *Global report on trafficking in persons*. New York, NY: United Nations. From: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/GLOTIP_2014_full_report.pdf (accessed 12 August 2017).

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2016. *Global report on trafficking in persons*. New York, NY: United Nations. From: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2016_Global_Report_on_Trafficking_in_Persons.pdf (accessed 12 August 2017).

Uprichard, E. & Byrne, D. 2006. Representing complex places: A narrative approach. *Environment and Planning A*, 38: 665–676.

Urry, J. 2005. The complexity turn. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22(5): 1–14.

U.S. Department of State. 2008. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/105655.pdf> (accessed 31 August 2011).

U.S. Department of State. 2012. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192587.pdf> (accessed 21 May 2016).

U.S. Department of State. 2013. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/210741.pdf> (accessed 27 June 2013).

U.S. Department of State. 2015. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245365.pdf> (accessed 27 June 2016).

U.S. Department of State. 2016. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2016/> (accessed 25 July 2016).

U.S. Department of State. 2017. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2017/> (accessed 25 August 2017).

U.S. Department of State. 2018. *Trafficking in persons report*. From: <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/> (accessed 27 July 2018).

Usher, K. & Jackson, D. 2014. Phenomenology. In Mills, J. & Birks, M. 2014. *Qualitative methodology: A practical guide*. London: Sage.

Vandenberg, M.E. & Skinner, E.B. 2015. Preface. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 1: 6–7.

Van der Berg, R-J. & Scholtz, H. 2011. *Bid vir ons, vra 'moordman' se vrou [Pray for us, asks murder-man's wife]*. From: <http://m.news24.com/rapport/Suid-Afrika/Nuus/Bid-vir-ons-vra-moordman-se-vrou-20111015> (accessed 14 July 2013).

Van der Watt, M. 2014a. Towards a complex-systems understanding for combating human trafficking. *Cancer InCytes Magazine: Cancer Research and Social Justice (Culture, Policy and Law Enforcement)*, 3(1): 1-3.

Van der Watt, M. 2014b. Efforts to dignify SA sex trade. *Pretoria News*, 4 December: 10.

Van der Watt, M. 2015a. Racism: Invisible shackles with a tangible key. *Gatewaynews*, 1 April. From: <http://gatewaynews.co.za/racism-invisible-shackles-with-a-tangible-key/> (accessed 23 July 2016).

Van der Watt, M. 2015b. Human trafficking in South Africa: An elusive statistical nightmare. *The Conversation*, 16 July. From: <http://theconversation.com/human-trafficking-in-south-africa-an-elusive-statistical-nightmare-43949> (accessed 19 December 2015).

Van der Watt, M. 2015c. The preliminary investigation phase. In Zinn, R. & Dintwe, S. (eds.) 2015. *Forensic investigation: Legislative principles and scientific practices*. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.

Van der Watt, M. 2016a. Foreword. In Robinson, T. 2016. *The symbol of no escape: A South African story*. Bryanston: Partridge.

Van der Watt, M. 2016b. Foreword. In Frankel, P. 2016. *Long walk to nowhere: Human trafficking in post-Mandela South Africa*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Press.

Van der Watt, M. 2017. Combating modern slavery. *Just Stories*, 6 March. From: <https://ourstoryliving.wordpress.com/2017/03/06/combating-modern-day-slavery/> (accessed 5 July 2017).

Van der Watt, M. & Kruger, B. 2017. Exploring 'juju' and human trafficking: Towards a demystified perspective and response. *South African Review of Sociology*, 48(2): 70–86.

Van der Watt, M. & Ovens, M. 2012. Contextualising the practice of *Ukuthwala* within South Africa. *Child Abuse Research: A South African Journal*, 13(1): 11–26.

Van der Watt, M. & Van der Westhuizen, A. 2017. (Re)configuring the criminal justice response to human trafficking: A complex systems perspective. *Police Practice and Research*, 18(3): 218–229.

Van der Westhuizen, A. 2015. *Co-mapping the maze: A complex systems view of human trafficking in the Eastern Cape*. D.Phil Psychology thesis, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth.

Van der Westhuizen, F. 1991. Tracey-Lee se familie erg gekwel na berigte [Tracy-Lee's family very concerned after reports]. *Beeld*, 15 April: 4.

Van Dijk, R. 2001. 'Voodoo' on the doorstep: Young Nigerian prostitutes and magic policing in the Netherlands. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 71(4): 558–586.

Van Heerden, A. & Minnaar, A. 2016. The use of South African drug mules in the cross-border smuggling of drugs. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 29(3): 16–48.

Van Manen, M. 2014. *Phenomenology of practice: Meaning-giving methods in phenomenological research and writing*. New York, NY: Left Coast Press.

Van Rooyen, H.J.N. 2007. *Crime scene investigation*. Pretoria: Henmar.

Van San, M. & Bovenkerk, F. 2013. Secret seducers: True tales of pimps in the Red Light District of Amsterdam. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 60: 67–80.

Van Wyk, P. 2012. Steyn diep gebere: Gevonniss vir Sondag-dade [Steyn buried deep: Sentenced for Sunday-crimes]. *Beeld*. 20 September: 1.

Venter, Z. 2017. Elation as court convicts brothers of human trafficking. *Pretoria News*, 14 December. From: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/elation-as-court-convicts-brothers-of-human-trafficking-12418801> (accessed 21 December 2017).

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. Published online: 31 March 2011. DOI 10.1007/s12117-011-9126-0.

Versluis, J-M. 2014. Polisie weier klag na 2-ling byna ontvoer is [Police refuse case after twins were almost kidnapped]. *Beeld*, 11 July. From: <http://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Polisie-weier-klag-na-2-ling-byna-ontvoer-is-20140711?mobile=true> (accessed 3 May 2016).

Viljoen, J. 2005. Another teenager raped. *Our Times*, 9 December: 2.

Von Bertalanffy, L. 1968. *General system theory: Foundations, development, applications*. New York, NY: George Braziller.

Wadesango, N., Rembe, S. & Chabaya, O. 2011. Violation of women's rights by harmful traditional practices. *Anthropologist*, 13(2): 121–129.

Walby, S. 2007. Complexity theory, systems theory, and multiple intersecting social inequalities. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 37(4), December: 449–470.

Walk Free. 2014. Global Slavery Index 2014: Methodology. From: http://d1p5uxokz2c0lz.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/GSI2014_full_methodology_new-op.pdf (accessed 5 June 2016).

Walk Free. 2016. Global Slavery Index. From: <http://www.globalslaveryindex.org/country/south-africa/> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Walk Free. 2018. Global Slavery Index. From: <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/2018/data/country-data/south-africa/> (accessed 28 July 2018).

Walker, G. 2017. *Tell, Explain and Describe (TED)*. Callcentre Helper. From: <https://www.callcentrehelper.com/practical-tips-for-effective-questioning-techniques-9045.htm> (accessed 8 September 2017).

Walker, J.T. 2007. Advancing science and research in criminal justice/criminology: Complex systems theory and non-linear analyses. *Justice Quarterly*, 24: 555–581.

Wallace, M. 2007. Coping with complex and programmatic public service change. In Wallace, M., Fertig, M. & Schneller, E. 2007. *Managing change in the public service*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Wallace, M., Fertig, M. & Schneller, E. 2007. *Managing change in the public service*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Walsh, J. 2014. Human trafficking: It's not just about sexual exploitation. *Human Rights Watch*, 6 November. From: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/11/06/human-trafficking-its-not-just-about-sexual-exploitation> (accessed 26 July 2016).

Warria, A. 2017. International and African regional instruments to protect rights of child victims of transnational trafficking. *Victims & Offenders*, 12(5): 682–699.

Watson, A. 2017. Mahlobo's 'spa' actually a brothel – Hawks. *The Citizen*, 19 January. From: <http://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1402409/mahlobos-spa-brothel-hawks/> (accessed 13 August 2017).

Weaver, W. 1948. Science and complexity. *American Scientist*, 36(4), October: 536–544.

Weitzer, R. 2014. New directions in research on human trafficking. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653, May: 6–24. DOI: 10.1177/0002716214521562.

- Welman, J.C. & Kruger, S.J. 2001. *Research methodology for the business and administrative sciences*. 2nd edition. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Wertz, F.J. 2005. Phenomenological research methods for counselling psychology. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 52(2): 167–177.
- Whittles, G. 2017. Human trafficking, especially for labour, is rife in SA. *Mail & Guardian*, 9-14 June: 12-13.
- Wilkinson, K. 2015. Africa Check: No new evidence that 30,000 children are trafficked in SA each year. *Daily Maverick*, 24 July. From: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-07-24-africa-check-no-new-evidence-that-30000-children-are-trafficked-in-sa-each-year/#.Vy1v2vmqgkp> (accessed 7 May 2016).
- Williams, K. 2016. Where were South Africa's enslaved people from? *Media Diversified*, 18 May. From: <https://mediadiversified.org/2016/05/18/where-were-south-africas-slaves-from/> (accessed 5 June 2016).
- Williams, P. 2009. Combating human trafficking: Improving governance institutions, mechanisms and strategies. In Friesenhof, C. (ed.) 2009. *Strategies against human trafficking: The role of the security sector*. Vienna: National Defence Academy & Austrian Ministry of Defence and Sports.
- Willig, C. 2008. *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. 2nd edition. Berkshire: McGraw-Hill.
- Willis, J.W. 2007. *Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Woermann, M. & Cilliers, P. 2012. The ethics of complexity and the complexity of ethics. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 31(2): 447–463.
- Wojcicki, J.M. 2003. The movement to decriminalize sex work in Gauteng Province, South Africa, 1994-2002. *African Studies Review*, 46(3): 83–109.

Wolfram, S. 1984. Complex systems theory. Presentation at workshop on 'A response to the challenge of emerging syntheses in science'. (6-7 October 1984: Santa Fe, New Mexico).

Wolf-Branigin, M. 2014. Complexity and the emergence of social work and criminal justice programmes. In Pycroft, A. & Bartollas, C. (eds.) 2014. *Applying complexity theory: Whole systems approaches to criminal justice and social work*. Bristol: Policy Press.

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.

Wolfson-Vorster, R. 2015. Lies, damned lies and statistics: Unravelling South Africa's child trafficking conundrum. *Daily Maverick*, 14 August. From: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-08-14-lies-damned-lies-and-statistics-unravelling-south-africas-child-trafficking-conundrum/#.VywCofmqgko> (accessed 6 May 2016).

Woolman, S. & Bishop, M. 2006. State as pimp: Sexual slavery in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 23(3): 385–400.

World Cup 2010: 40,000 prostitutes to enter South Africa. 2010. *Telegraph*. From: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/world-cup/7374301/World-Cup-2010-40000-prostitutes-to-enter-South-Africa.html> (accessed 5 May 2016).

Xiao, Y., Zhao, K., Bishai, D.M. & Peters, D.H. 2013. Essential drugs policy in three rural counties in China: What does a complexity lens add? *Social Science & Medicine*, 93: 220–228.

Yin, R.K. 2011. *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

- Yingwana, N. 2018. South Africa. In Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW). 2018. *Sex workers organising for change: Self-representation, community mobilisation, and working conditions*. From: <http://www.gaatw.org/publications/SWorganising/SWorganising-complete-web.pdf> (accessed 18 February 2018).
- Young, R.A. & Collin, A. 2004. Introduction: Constructivism and social constructionism in the career field. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 64(3): 373–388.
- Zack, S. 2011. Domestic minor sex trafficking: The challenges faced in prosecuting those who prey on America's youth. *Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk*, 2(1): 1–4. Article 13.
- Zedong, M. [n.d.]. Mao Zedong quotes. From: <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/maozedong146717.html> (accessed 15 September 2016).
- Zeleny, M. 2002. On the social nature of autopoietic systems. In Khalil, E.L. & Boulding, K.E. (eds.) 2002. *Evolution, order and complexity*. Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Zhang, S.X. 2011. Woman pullers: Pimping and sex trafficking in a Mexican border city. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 56: 509–528.
- Zhang, S.X., Spiller, M.W., Finch, B.K. & Qin, Y. 2014. Estimating labor trafficking among unauthorized migrant workers in San Diego. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653, May: 65–86. DOI: 10.1177/0002716213519237.
- Zhang, S.X. 2016. The ethical minefield in human trafficking research – real and imagined. In Siegel, D. & De Wildt, R. (eds.) 2016. *Ethical concerns in research on human trafficking*. London: Springer.
- Zheng, T. (ed.) 2010. *Sex trafficking, human rights and social justice*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Zibi, S. 2014. *Raising the bar: Hope and renewal in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Zimmerman, C., Hossain, M. & Watts, C. 2011. Human trafficking and health: A conceptual model to inform policy, intervention and research. *Social Science & Medicine*, 73: 327–335.

Zuma, J.G. President of the Republic of South Africa. 2015. Foreword. In Tibane, E. & Honwane, M. 2015. *South Africa Yearbook 2014/2015*. Pretoria: Government Communications (GCIS). From: <http://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/sa-info/yearbook2014-15> (accessed 30 March 2016).

Zuma says ANC is making progress in key areas. 2016. *SA Breaking News*, 16 April. From: <http://www.sabreakingnews.co.za/2016/04/16/zuma-says-anc-is-making-progress-in-key-areas/> (accessed 10 May 2016).

Court Cases

S v Benjamin Obioma Abba and Another, case number CC 41/2017.

S v Christian Ndukauba + 5 others, case number 27/9847/09 (Port Elizabeth – Humewood CAS 125-04-2009).

Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others; Democratic Alliance v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others [2016] ZACC, 11.

ANNEXURE 1: Media coverage of the researcher's investigations



ANNEXURE 2: Controversies in South Africa's governance and politics

Headline	Date	Source
<i>Former NPA, current police spokesperson denies running a brothel</i>	15 September 2013	http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/59b56300411ad5c39993b9434f2981a1/Former-NPA,-current-police-spokesperson-denies-running-a-brothel
<i>Zuma's Nkandla: A timeline</i>	18 March 2014	https://mg.co.za/data/2014-03-18-zumas-nkandla-a-timeline
<i>'By letting Omar al-Bashir escape, South Africa has sided with tyrants'</i>	16 June 2015	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/16/omar-al-bashir-escape-south-africa-african-union
<i>How Zuma and ministers plotted Omar al-Bashir's escape</i>	19 June 2015	https://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-18-how-zuma-and-ministers-plotted-omar-al-bashirs-escape
<i>Editorial: SA took the world for fools</i>	19 June 2015	https://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-18-editorial-sa-took-the-world-for-fools
<i>Calculating Zuma's R500bn #Nenegate blunder – rand depreciation excluded</i>	7 March 2016	http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/calculating-zumas-r500bn-nenegate-blunder-rand-depreciation-excluded-20160307

<i>Constitutional Court confirms Zuma must pay back R7.8 million for Nkandla</i>	27 July 2016	https://mg.co.za/article/2016-07-27-constitutional-court-confirms-zuma-must-pay-back-r78-million-for-nkandla
<i>Security Minister Mahlobo denies involvement in illicit rhino trade</i>	14 November 2016	http://www.polity.org.za/article/security-minister-mahlobo-denies-involvement-in-illicit-rhino-trade-2016-11-14
<i>Spa visited by Minister Mahlobo also a Brothel?</i>	19 January 2017	http://ewn.co.za/2017/01/19/chinese-owned-spa-mahlobo-visited-might-be-a-brothel
<i>How The Hell Did 94 Psychiatric Patients Die? The Life Esidimeni Deaths Explained</i>	1 February 2017	http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2017/02/01/the-life-esidimeni-deaths-explained/
<i>Acting Prasa CEO ups his own pay by 350% and demands chauffeur</i>	26 February 2017	http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2017/02/26/Acting-Prasa-CEO-ups-his-own-pay-by-350-and-demands-chauffeur
<i>State accused of trying to launder millions through Life Esidimeni</i>	2 March 2017	http://citizen.co.za/news/news-national/1444375/state-accused-trying-launder-millions-life-esidimeni/
<i>Deputy Minister Manana charged with assault</i>	7 August 2017	http://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/deputy-minister-manana-charged-assault

<i>'ANC planned to sell drugs to fund 1999 election campaign' – claim surfaces in court</i>	3 May 2017	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-planned-to-sell-drugs-to-fund-1999-election-campaign-claim-surfaces-in-court-20170503
<i>Sex scandals that have rocked the ANC in recent years</i>	22 May 2017	http://www.metronews.co.za/sex-scandals-that-rocked-the-anc-in-recent-years/
<i>Betrayal of the Promise: The Anatomy of State Capture</i>	26 May 2017	https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-05-26-betrayal-of-the-promise-the-anatomy-of-state-capture/#.Wa5HI1V97IU
<i>Where politicians 'shop' for hitmen</i>	23 July 2017	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/where-politicians-shop-for-hitmen-20170722
<i>Life Esidimeni death toll rises to 143</i>	10 November 2017	https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/life-esidimeni-death-toll-rises-to-143-20171110
<i>State capture proves SA on autopilot: Mashatile</i>	2 December 2017	https://www.enca.com/south-africa/state-capture-proves-sa-on-autopilot-mashatile
<i>Second SANDF General arrested for fraud, corruption</i>	14 December 2017	http://ewn.co.za/2017/12/14/second-sandf-general-arrested-for-fraud-corruption

ANNEXURE 3: Participants, subsystems and sampling employed

City law enforcement – CLE (2 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
CLE 1	Male	Municipal Safety & Security	11 years	Purposive
CLE 2	Male	Law enforcement	5 years	Snowball

Civil society – CS (10 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
CS 1	Female	Psychologist and NFN member	6 years	Purposive
CS 2	Male	Social activist	12 years	Purposive
CS 3	Female	Street outreach ministry	12 years	Purposive
CS 4	Female	Social activist and home owner	26 years	Purposive
CS 5	Female	PI, sex crime and missing persons investigator	4 years	Purposive
CS 6	Male	Street ministry leader	3 years	Snowball
CS 7	Female	Home owner	3 years	Purposive

CS 8	Female	Home owner	3 years	Purposive
CS 9	Female	Home owner	3 years	Purposive
CS 10	Male	Buyer of sex	8 years	Purposive

Department of Home Affairs – DHA (3 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
DHA 1	Male	Immigration officer	9 years	Purposive
DHA 2	Female	Director: Investigations	9 years	Purposive
DHA 3	Female	Information analyst	4 years	Snowball

Department of Justice – DOJ (2 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
DOJ 1	Male	Magistrate	2 years	Purposive
DOJ 2	Female	Magistrate	4 years	Snowball

Department of Social Development – DSD (6 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
DSD 1	Female	Social worker & Chair of Task Team	7 years	Purposive
DSD 2	Female	Social worker	2 years	Purposive
DSD 3	Female	Social worker & Policy Nodal Point	7 years	Purposive

DSD 4	Male	Director: VEP Services	8 years	Snowball
DSD 5	Female	Social work supervisor	11 years	Purposive
DSD 6	Female	Social worker	5 years	Purposive

Health Services – HS (1 participant)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
HS 1	Male	Clinical manager	33 years	Purposive

International – INT (5 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
INT 1	Male	Investigator	20 years	Purposive
INT 2	Female	National human trafficking coordinator	7 years	Purposive
INT 3	Female	Human trafficking and irregular migration specialist	8 years	Purposive
INT 4	Male	Political officer	4 years	Purposive
INT 5	Female	Supervisory foreign affairs agent	6 years	Snowball

Media – MED (3 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
MED 1	Male	Journalist	8 years	Purposive
MED 2	Female	Journalist	4 years	Purposive
MED 3	Female	Journalist	7 years	Purposive

National Prosecuting Authority – NPA (7 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
NPA 1	Female	Prosecutor	8 years	Purposive
NPA 2	Female	Prosecutor	7 years	Purposive
NPA 3	Female	Prosecutor	9 years	Purposive
NPA 4	Female	Prosecutor	6 years	Snowball
NPA 5	Female	Prosecutor	6 years	Purposive
NPA 6	Male	Prosecutor	12 years	Purposive
NPA 7	Female	Prosecutor	6 years	Purposive

Non-Governmental Organisations – NGO (11 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
NGO 1	Female	Director	6 years	Purposive
NGO 2	Female	Director	6 years	Purposive
NGO 3	Female	Counsellor	3 years	Snowball

NGO 4	Female	International Director	7 years	Snowball
NGO 5	Male	Advocacy	7 years	Snowball
NGO 6	Female	Director	3 years	Purposive
NGO 7	Female	Operational director	7 years	Purposive
NGO 8	Male	Managing director	5 years	Snowball
NGO 9	Female	Project manager	4 years	Purposive
NGO 10	Female	Country development manager	6 years	Purposive
NGO 11	Female	Founder and director	5 years	Purposive

Ports of entry – POE (4 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
POE 1	Male	Sub-section commander	34 years	Purposive
POE 2	Male	Intelligence handler and commander	19 years	Snowball
POE 3	Female	Ports Coordinator	16 years	Purposive
POE 4	Male	Intelligence officer	3 years	Snowball

Sex trade professionals – STP (10 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
STP 1	Male	Ex-brothel owner and current organised crime member	15 years	Purposive
STP 2	Male	Ex-brothel manager	10 years	Purposive
STP 3	Male	Ex-Pimp	3 years	Snowball
STP 4	Female	Owner of two massage parlours	7 years	Purposive
STP 5	Male	Ex-brothel bouncer	9 years	Snowball
STP 6	Male	Ex-drug user and biker gang member	13 years	Snowball
STP 7	Female	Police informant	5 years	Purposive
STP 8	Male	Ex-brothel owner	26 years	Snowball
STP 9	Female	Person in prostitution / Activist	9 years	Purposive
STP 10	Female	Receptionist in brothel	1 week	Snowball

Shelters – SHT (9 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
SHT 1	Female	Shelter manager	9 years	Purposive
SHT 2	Male	Shelter administrator	11 years	Purposive
SHT 3	Female	Programme manager	11 years	Purposive
SHT 4	Female	Shelter manager	6 years	Snowball
SHT 5	Female	Shelter director	6 years	Snowball
SHT 6	Female	Therapist	5 years	Snowball
SHT 7	Female	Service manager	3 years	Purposive
SHT 8	Female	Shelter manager	8 years	Purposive
SHT 9	Female	Shelter manager	3 years	Purposive

South African Police Service – SAPS (13 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
SAPS 1	Female	National coordinator & Investigator	2 years	Purposive
SAPS 2	Female	Investigator	7 years	Snowball
SAPS 3	Male	Provincial coordinator &	12 years	Purposive

		Investigator		
SAPS 4	Male	Investigator	3 years	Purposive
SAPS 5	Female	Provincial coordinator & Investigator	7 years	Purposive
SAPS 6	Female	Investigator / Info Analyst	6 years	Purposive
SAPS 7	Male	Intelligence handler	9 years	Purposive
SAPS 8	Male	Investigator	5 years	Snowball
SAPS 9	Male	Provincial coordinator & Investigator	7 years	Purposive
SAPS 10	Male	Provincial coordinator & Investigator	5 years	Purposive
SAPS 11	Male	Investigator	12 years	Snowball
SAPS 12	Male	Missing persons commander	25 years	Purposive
SAPS 13	Female	Visible policing officer	3 years	Snowball

Victims of trafficking – VOT (5 participants)

Participant	Gender	Role	Exposure to human trafficking	Sampling method
VOT 1	Female	Survivor	30 years	Purposive
VOT 2	Female	Survivor	9 years	Purposive
VOT 3	Female	Survivor	16 years	Snowball
VOT 4	Female	Survivor	13 years	Snowball
VOT 5	Female	Survivor	24 years	Snowball

ANNEXURE 4: Informed consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT NUMBER	
PARTICIPANT NAME (IF APPLICABLE)	
DESIGNATION/AFFILIATION/SECTOR	
REGION	
DATE	

RESEARCHER:

Marcel van der Watt, University of South Africa, Department of Police Practice, School of Criminal Justice, College of Law (email: vdwatm1@unisa.ac.za, mobile: +27836864432).

TITLE OF STUDY:

Investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation: A phenomenological exploration towards a complex-systems understanding

PURPOSE OF STUDY:

The researcher wants to establish the lived experiences of participants in terms of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The research will attempt to identify multiple perceptions and perspectives, lack of understanding, ignorance, communication strategies, good practice, bad practice, organisational challenges and decision making processes, all of which contributes to the complex nature of investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation. An attempt will therefore be made to create a conceptual toolkit for understanding the problem which will pave the way for better coping strategies during the complex undertaking of a multidisciplinary investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The aim of this research is to determine the value of complex-systems theory in understanding the multi-stakeholder response to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What have you experienced in terms of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation?

What contexts / situations have typically influenced / affected your experiences of the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation?

PROCEDURES:

Participants were selected due to their knowledge and/or experience of the topic under research. The researcher will be conducting an unstructured and in-depth interview which is very similar to an informal conversation. The researcher may also make use of a voice recorder to record conversations. The interviews will not be longer than three hours, but may end sooner by natural process or on request of the participant or researcher, depending on the circumstances. One primary face-to-face interview will be done with each individual participant and this may possibly be followed up with e-mail verification. Interviews will be transcribed by a professional transcription company with whom a confidentiality agreement will be signed to ensure anonymity and ethical considerations. A confidentiality agreement will also be signed with a coder or any other party involved in the data analysis process. The transcription of the interview will be sent to the participant for verification before data analysis begins. After all the data has been analysed, the participants will be invited to a seminar where the research results will be discussed. The participants will then have a further opportunity to comment on and contribute to the study.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:

The participant may become tired or feel emotional discomfort at which point a break may be requested or the interview may be postponed to a later date or terminated if so desired. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the comfort and minimize the risks for the participant. The researcher is bound to the ethics code for research of the University of South Africa. Permission for this project has been obtained from the College of Law Ethics Committee.

BENEFITS:

It is my hope that the participants partaking in this study will experience the satisfaction of contributing to solving a social problem and facilitate in illuminating the problem for those studying the phenomena. The participant shall also assist in providing insight into the problem, which can stimulate future research that will ultimately benefit society as a whole.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

On a personal level, it is the hope of the researcher that the participant will obtain personal satisfaction from discussing the relevant issues with the researcher and thus gaining personal insights that were not gained prior to the interview.

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS:

Participation in this study is voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time without negative consequences for the participant. All information is treated as confidential and anonymity is assured by the researcher. The data shall be destroyed should the participant wish to withdraw. The researcher (and his study leader) are the only individuals who will have access to raw data from interviews, and hereby ensure that data will be treated as stipulated above.

RIGHT OF ACCESS TO RESEARCHER:

Participants are free to contact the researcher on the telephone number as stipulated on this form, at a reasonable hour, in connection with interview particulars, if they so wish.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY

I hereby agree to participate in this research voluntarily without duress and that information supplied by me can be used in this research.

I prefer to remain anonymous

I prefer not to remain anonymous

SIGNED ATON THISDAY OF..... (Month) 20.....

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT:

PRINTED NAME:

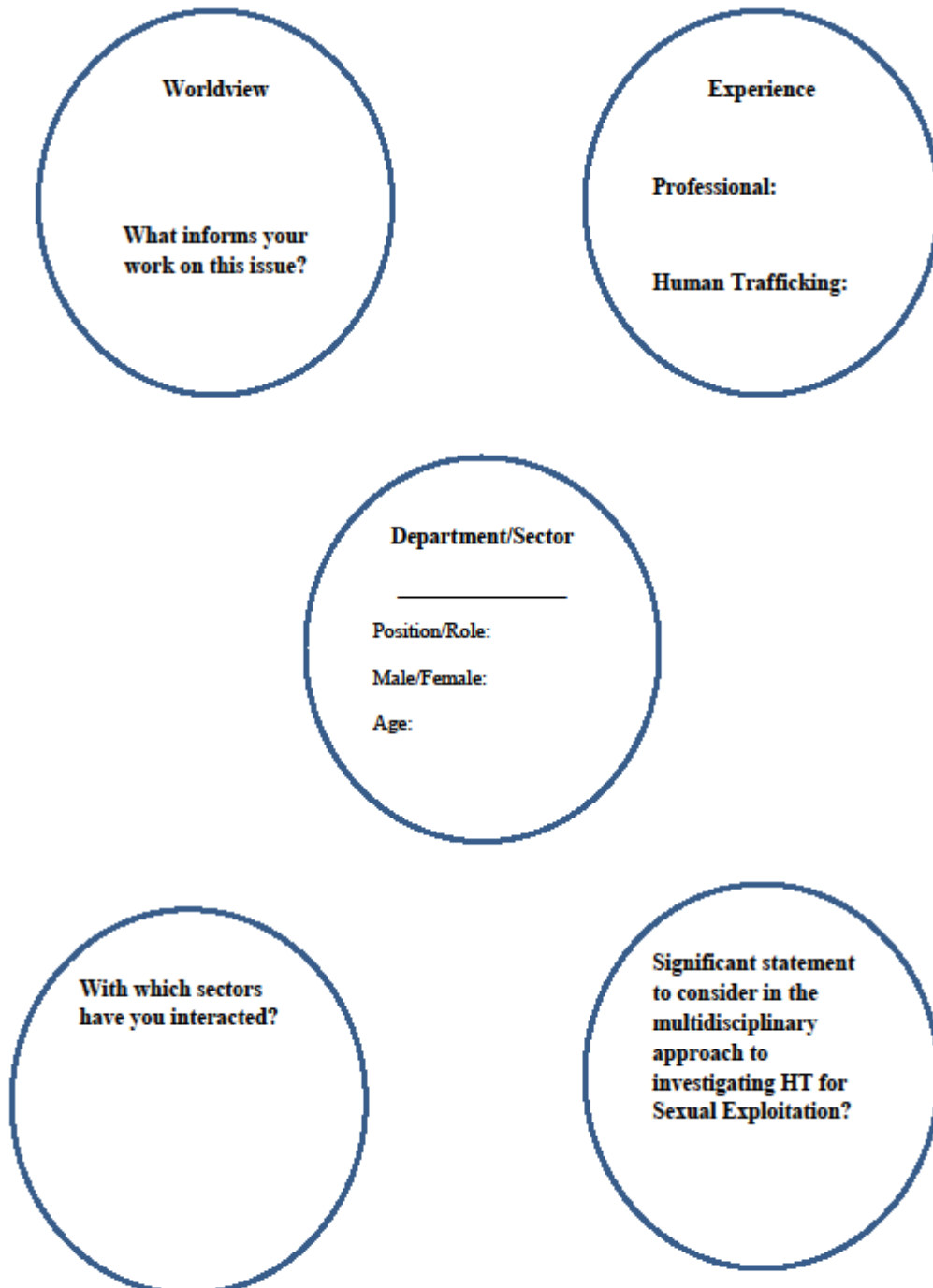
SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER:

PRINTED NAME:

ANNEXURE 5: Actor attribute form

Actor attributes in the HT investigative response systems

Participant:



Worldview

What informs your work on this issue?

Experience

Professional:

Human Trafficking:

Department/Sector

Position/Role:

Male/Female:

Age:

With which sectors have you interacted?

Significant statement to consider in the multidisciplinary approach to investigating HT for Sexual Exploitation?

ANNEXURE 6: Complex systems characteristics form

Complex Systems Characteristics Form

1. Complex versus Complicated
2. Boundaries, Environment and Perspectives
3. Hierarchy
4. Entropy and Negentropy
5. Interconnectedness, Interaction and Communication
6. Feedback and Feedback Loops
7. Unpredictability and Constant Change
8. Self-Organisation and Emergence
9. Learning and Evolving

Version 2015-03-25

ANNEXURE 7: Confidentiality forms – Nikann Transcription Solutions



Tel: 011 957 6946
Cell: 079 456 5726
Fax: 011 957 8100
Email: niki@nikann.co.za
PO Box 426, Midway Hotel, 1515

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I, Nikki Solomon, hereby declare that I understand and agree to the following conditions and ethical considerations with regards to the transcription of the audio recordings.

1. I understand that the audio recordings are received for the purpose of transcribing records of interviews held with the participants in a research study.
2. I understand that the identity of the participants and any departments discussed as well as the content of the interviews are confidential and may not be revealed.
3. I understand that the information contained in the audio recordings are sensitive and may adversely affect the participants or the researcher should it be disclosed or made public by me.
4. I undertake to treat all audio recordings as confidential content to which only I will have access. I will keep the audio recordings and any copied material securely.
5. I will return all copies back to the researcher on completion of the transcription.

NAME (TRANSCRIBER): Nikki Solomon

COMPANY: Nikann Transcription and Typing Solutions

SIGNATURE: 

DATE: 2018/04/16

www.nikann.co.za



01 858 433 52
 02 120 250 514
 03 090 62 140
 04 010 000 000
 05 000 000 000

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

1, Florence Lillian Smit, hereby declare that I understand and agree to the following conditions and ethical considerations with regards to the transcription of the audio recordings as received:

1. I understand that the audio recordings are received for the purpose of transcribing records of interviews held with the participants in a research study.
2. I understand that the identity of the participants and any departments discussed as well as the content of the interviews are confidential and may not be revealed
3. I understand that the information contained in the audio recordings are sensitive and may adversely affect the participants or the researcher should it be disclosed or made public by me.
4. I undertake to treat all audio recordings as confidential content to which only I will have access. I will keep the audio recordings and any copied material securely.
5. I will return all copies back to the researcher on completion of the transcription.

NAME (TRANSCRIBER): Florence Smit

COMPANY: Nikann Transcription and Typing Solutions

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

29.7.2015





Tel: 011 257 6908
Cell: 075 889 5226
Fax: 085 357 8166
Email: nik@nikann.co.za
100 Box 4 30, Muckles Farm, 1662

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I, Tamara Keyser, hereby declare that I understand and agree to the following conditions and ethical considerations with regards to the transcription of the audio recordings.

1. I understand that the audio recordings are received for the purpose of transcribing records of interviews held with the participants in a research study.
2. I understand that the identity of the participants and any departments discussed as well as the content of the interviews are confidential and may not be revealed.
3. I understand that the information contained in the audio recordings are sensitive and may adversely affect the participants or the researcher should it be disclosed or made public by me.
4. I undertake to treat all audio recordings as confidential content to which only I will have access. I will keep the audio recordings and any copied material securely.
5. I will return all copies back to the researcher on completion of the transcription.

NAME (TRANSCRIBER): Tamara Keyser

COMPANY: Nikann Transcription and Typing Solutions

SIGNATURE: 

DATE: 


www.nikann.co.za

ANNEXURE 8: UNISA College of Law ethical clearance for research



COLLEGE OF LAW RESEARCH ETHICS SUB-COMMITTEE

24 February 2014

Dear Mr. M van der Watc

REQUEST FOR ETHICAL CLEARANCE: INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLORATION TOWARDS A COMPLEX-SYSTEMS UNDERSTANDING

The application for ethical clearance for the above research project has been approved.

The ethical clearance is granted for the duration of this project. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated to the College of Law Ethical Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if applicable.

It is your responsibility to ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Research Ethics Policy, which can be found at the following website:
http://www.unisa.ac.za/cmsys/staff/contents/departments/res_policies/docs/Policy_Research%20Ethics_rev%20app%20Council_22.06.2012.pdf

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M Schoeman".

Prof Marellze Schoeman
Chairperson
Ethics Review Committee
College of Law

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "S Songca".

Prof S Songca
Executive Dean
College of Law



University of South Africa
Pretoria Street, Mankweng Ridge, City of Johannesburg
PO Box 192, Unisa, 0003, South Africa
www.unisa.ac.za/law

ANNEXURE 9: Permission for research from government departments



Enquiries: Nomakholo Makuluze

Email: makuluze.n@dha.gov.za

Telephone: 012 406 7281

Mr Marcel van der Watt
49 Mimosa Park
Mimosa Street, Cluoview
Centurion
0157

Dear Mr van der Watt

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

I acknowledge receipt of your request for permission to conduct research in the department, as part of your studies towards a PhD degree at the University of South Africa, in the School of Criminal Justice.

The Department has evaluated your request and grants you permission to conduct interviews with DHA officials both in the Head Office and Provinces to fulfill the requirements of your PhD study.

Upon completion of your studies, the Department of Home Affairs requests that you furnish our departmental Resource Centre with a copy of your thesis, which can be shared with the entire departmental staff.

I wish you all of the best in your studies.

Yours sincerely

Mrs N Mohoboko

DDG: Learning Academy

DATE: 07/11/2014

SIGNATURE

**MAGISTRATES
COMMISSION**

**LANDDROSTE-
KOMMISSIE**

P O BOX 9096, PRETORIA, 0001

(012)325 3951

FAX (012)325 3957

Mr Marcel van der Watt
Department of Police Practice
School of Criminal Justice
College of Law
University of South Africa

Reference: 6/5/1(SMC)
Enquiries: Mr A D Schoeman

7 August 2014

Dear Sir

**PERMISSION FOR DOCTORAL RESEARCH: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE:
CONSULTATION WITH MAGISTRATES**

1. With reference to our email correspondence.
2. Your application to conduct research in the Department of Justice was received and considered.
3. The Magistrates Commission has no objection if you want to interview magistrates as part of your research on condition that participation by magistrates to be on a voluntary basis and that the interviews should not interfere with their official duties.
4. I assume that all cases involving human trafficking will be tried in the regional courts. As your research consists of a National study, I have forwarded your email correspondence together with all the attachments which accompanied your earlier request to all Regional Court Presidents and Chief Magistrates [Cluster Heads] for their information. I have also attached a contact list of all Regional Court Presidents and Cluster Heads for your use. I suggest you contact the relevant Regional Court Presidents and Cluster Heads as regards to all further arrangements as part of your research.

Address letters to: The Secretary/ Rig briewe aan: Die Sekretaris

5. The Magistrates Commission has no jurisdiction over judges and you will have to contact the relevant Judge President for permission to consult with judges.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'A D Schoeman', with a stylized flourish at the end.

A D SCHOEMAN
SECRETARY: MAGISTRATES COMMISSION
(ads3079)

Address letters to: The Secretary/ Rig briewe aan: Die Sekretaris

Mr. MARCEL VAN DER WATT

Dear Marcel van der Watt

**RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**


Thank you for your application to conduct research in the Gauteng Department of Social Development.

Your application on the research "**Investigating human trafficking for sexual exploitation: a phenomenological exploration towards a complex-systems understanding**" has been considered and approved for support by the Department as it was found beneficial to the Department's vision and mission. The approval is subject to the Departmental terms and conditions as endorsed by you on the 25/04/2015.

May I take this opportunity to wish you well in the journey that you are about to embark upon.

We are looking forward to a value adding research and a fruitful co-operation.

With thanks,



Ms. A. Hartmann
Deputy Director General: Social Development
Date: 5/6/2015

Corporate Services



The National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa
Igunya Siselele Labeshutshini bolizanga Afrika
Die Nasionale Vervolgingsagregat van Suid-Afrika

Enquiries : 012 845 7084
Ext. 001 : 7084

Tel: +27 12 845 6000

Victoria & Griffiths
Mxenga Building
123 Westlake Avenue
Waavind Park
Siyerton
Pretoria

P/Bag X752
Pretoria
0001

TO : MR. MARCEL VAN DER WATT
FROM : MARTHU DU PLESSIS
DIRECTOR: RESEARCH MANAGEMENT
DATE : 03 MARCH 2015
SUBJECT : RESPONSE TO YOUR RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Dear Sir

Your research request refers.

I received your research request via the CEO's Office. After careful consideration of your proposal as well as consultation with the Sexual Offences and Community Affairs Unit (SOCA) we do not have any objections in principle, however no information relating to sub-judice cases can be divulged to the researcher.

You should further identify the NPA staff members you intend interviewing. You must further furnish us with a schedule outlining the places and dates for interviews. In addition to the letter we would also request that you make your questionnaire available to us.

Please submit a formal undertaking of this nature through the Office of the CEO addressed to Marthi du Plessis, Director: Research Management as soon as possible so that we do not delay your research unnecessarily. Please also CC the SOCA unit.

Kindest regards

Marthi du Plessis
Director: Research Management
Date: 3/3/15
Office No: 012 845 7084
Tell: 082 447 4726



Justice in our society, so that people can live in freedom and security

Page 1 of 2

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Privaatsak/Private Bag X94

Reference Nr Verwysing	3/34/2
Navrae Enquities	Col J Schnerler Lt-Col GJ Joubert
Telefoon Telephone	012-393 3177/3118
Faksnommer Fax number	012-393 3178

**STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT COMPONENT
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA**

- A. The Deputy National Commissioner
DIRECTORATE FOR PRIORITY CRIME INVESTIGATION**
- B. The Divisional Commissioner
DETECTIVE SERVICE**
- C. The Divisional Commissioner
CRIME INTELLIGENCE**
- D. The Divisional Commissioner
VISIBLE POLICING**

RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLORATION TOWARDS A COMPLEX-SYSTEMS UNDERSTANDING: D LITT ET PHIL (POLICE SCIENCE): UNISA; RESEARCHER: MR M VAN DER WATT

- A-D 1. The research request of Mr Marcel van der Watt, pertaining to the above mentioned topic, refers.
- 2. The aim of the research is to determine the value of complex-systems theory in understanding the multi-stakeholder response to the criminal investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation (see proposal attached).
- 3. The objectives of the research are to:
 - 3.1 explore the inherent complexities of the criminal investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation as experienced by investigators;
 - 3.2 explore the multi-stakeholder complexities inherent to the criminal investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation as experienced by other stakeholders;

RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: INVESTIGATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLORATION TOWARDS A COMPLEX-SYSTEMS UNDERSTANDING; D LITT ET PHIL (POLICE SCIENCE): UNISA; RESEARCHER: MR M VAN DER WATT

- 3.3 reflect on the value of complex-system theory in contributing to a more effective multi-stakeholder response to the investigation of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.
4. The researcher requests permission to interview police officials in the SAPS who have sufficient experience in dealing with cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Due to the complex nature of the crime, the researcher may need to include members from various SAPS Divisions in the study (see memo regarding the participants attached).
5. The researcher is part of an international and national of multidisciplinary volunteers group on issues related to the combating of human trafficking. He is also part of the Gauteng Rapid Response team which is chosen by the NPA and is therefore able to identify members with personal experience in the research problem.
6. The proposal was perused according to National Instruction 1 of 2006 by this office and the relevant line managers are requested to assist the researcher in obtaining the relevant information. A undertaking should be obtained from the researcher prior to the commencement of study, stating that:
 - 7.1. the research will be at his exclusive cost;
 - 7.2 he will conduct the research without any disruption of the duties of members of the Service and where it is necessary for the research goals, research procedure or research instruments to disrupt the duties of a member, prior arrangements must be made in good time with the commander of such member;
 - 7.3 the researcher should bear in mind that participation in the interviews must be on a voluntary basis;
 - 7.4 the information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential;
 - 7.5 if information pertains to the investigation of crime or a criminal case, the researcher must acknowledge that he, by publication thereof, may also be guilty of defeating or obstructing the course of justice or contempt of court;
 - 7.6 the final draft document will be tested with the SAPS, prior to the publication of the research report, and
 - 7.7. he will donate an annotated copy of the research work to the Service.

With kind regards,


MAJOR GENERAL
HEAD, STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT
M MENZIWA

Date: 2014/09/26

● COMMENTS

Request supported


LIEUTENANT GENERAL
DEPUTY NATIONAL COMMISSIONER: POLICING
K J SITOLE

2014-10-07
APPROVED/NOT APPROVED


LIEUTENANT GENERAL
DEPUTY NATIONAL COMMISSIONER: CORPORATE SERVICE MANAGEMENT
CN MBEKELA

12/10/2014

ANNEXURE 10: TIP case process flow



GAUTENG TIP RAPID RESPONSE PROTOCOL



Gauteng TIP Case Process Flow

