An Investigative Study into the Knowledge and Perceptions of Illicit Drug Trafficking into and within

Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

By

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Declaration

I declare that the thesis, entitled "An Investigative Study into the Knowledge and
Perceptions of Illicit Drug Trafficking into and within Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South
Africa", in its entirety of the work contained therein, is in conception and execution
mine. All sources made use of or quoted in this thesis have been acknowledged by
means of a complete bibliography.

L. Moodley

Date:

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"You have to be odd to be number one" - Dr Seuss.

Abstract

Studies have shown that drug traffickers and organised crime syndicates form transnational networks. They source drugs from one continent, traffic them to another and market them on the third. The drug trade is non-discriminant in its location. However, other than occasional media stories or annual police reports, little is known about the drug trade in South Africa, and particularly in Durban, South Africa's major port. Though drug abuse seems to be on the rise, gaps remain in knowledge concerning exactly where these drugs come from and how they are distributed. This study specifically addressed the knowledge of and perceptions about illicit drug trafficking in Durban. Theoretically, drugs could be received by air, sea, road or rail. This study was an attempt to establish exactly who brought illicit drugs into and distributed them within Durban, where this happened, and how it was accomplished. The investigation included the implications and the prevailing perceptions of this phenomenon. Additionally, an examination was conducted on the efficacy of existing local and national policy as well as regulatory frameworks dealing with illicit drug trafficking. The study employed a threefold mixed-method methodology, consisting of semi-structured interviews, ethnographic research (i.e., in Chatsworth) and a focus group interview that was conducted in Kharwastan. The interview participants ranged from police officers and the Organised Crime Unit personnel to airport and harbour officials, a drug dealer, an informant, and a pharmacist. The study site was located in Inanda, Chatsworth, Durban Harbour, King Shaka Airport (Cargo terminal), Phoenix, and Pietermaritzburg. A variety of themes were uncovered. The main thematic outcomes were the following: monetary reward is a motivating factor for trafficking in drugs; foreign residents are the main perpetrators of drug trafficking; a lack of proper boarder control in South Africa contributes to drug trafficking; unemployment is a contributing factor; a lack of family values and non-existent or weak parental influences are social and economic contributors to the drug trafficking phenomenon; and policies and legislation on drugs are met with a mixed response. Moreover, several participants spoke strongly of the need for a designated drug unit in South Africa. Due to the ever-changing nature of the drug market, it is vital that interventions be pliable and qualitative in nature. The scarcity of data on illicit drug trafficking in Africa, and particularly in South Africa, stands in the way of societies fully understanding the nature of this crime. Better data will result in better policies.

Keywords: illicit drug trafficking; drug networks; Chatsworth; Durban.

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Chapter 1

Introduction And Background To The Study

1.1 Introduction

In 1994 the then President of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, expressed the following views in his the State of the Nation Address:

"We should never underestimate the dangers of the drug problem... it is a serious threat not only to the moral and intellectual integrity of our nation and other nations [but also to] the health and wellbeing of our people. Drug trafficking has escalated to such an extent that it can be seen as the new universal threat to all societies. Drug trafficking networks have grown especially due to their unscrupulous attitude of bribing... and terrorising the honest... it is bad enough that so many individuals are destroyed by drugabuse. The real enemy is the drug merchant." (Mandela, 1994).

The main focus of this study was illicit drug trafficking. Drug trafficking is a crime that imposes complications which are of a global magnitude (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], World Drug Report, 2010:231). Studies have indicated that countries that display predating issues in terms of governance, together with having demonstrated continued instability, are at great risk of becoming drug syndicates' base for the trade of illicit drugs (UNODC, World Drug Report, 210:231). This is a pivotal contributing factor as to why, in recent years, Africa has been on the forefront of drug trafficking syndicates' radar (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2010: 231). This study investigated the knowledge of and perceptions about drug trafficking in Durban, with specific reference to drug trafficking networks in eThekwini. The objective was to enhance present knowledge about the extent of the problem and to understand perceptions that surround the phenomenon.

According to Schram and Tibbetts (2013: 432), the drug-crime nexus may not be as direct as may have originally been perceived. According to these authors, the drug-crime link may be determined by two classifications, which are:

- drug-related crimes that stem from crimes that occur as a result of illegal drug use; and
- Drug-related crimes that are rooted in the sale as well as possession of illicit substances.

This study covered both aspects of the above link between drugs and crime, with special attention being placed on drug-defined crimes; that is, illicit drug trafficking into and within Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

The United Nations Drug Control Convention states that the term 'illicit drugs' is used to describe drugs of which the "use, possession or sale is illegal". Accordingly, illicit drugs differ from general substances or other types of drugs in that they represent substances that fall under narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances (Suchman et al., 2013: 65). The demand for illicit drugs falls under four primary products (Boyes and Melvin, 2011:169), which are cocaine, opiates (mainly heroin), cannabis, and amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2011:75-76).

Following from the previously defined classifications of the drug-crime link, Hale, Hayward, Wahidin and Wincup (2013:172) state that another perception is that crime may in fact be a direct cause of drug use. It is proposed that drugs may be used as a 'weapon' to weaken a victim in an attempt to cause an offence; one example of this is the so-called 'date rape' drug. Drugs may also be used in the celebration of a criminal activity that has resulted in a desired outcome (Hale, Hayward, Wahidin & Wincup, 2013:172). Another view is that the financial profits obtained from criminal activity promote the purchasing of drugs, including illicit drugs (Hale, Hayward, Wahidin & Wincup, 2013:172). Clearly, drug use is an undeniable part of an illegal lifestyle (Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:434).

The culmination of the aforementioned points was originally proposed by Paul J. Goldstein in 1985 in a proposal that he entitled "The Tripartite Conceptual

Framework". This framework reinforces the affiliation between drugs and violence (Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:434). It has been stated that the Tripartite Conceptual Framework was initially formed to specifically address violent crime; however, this framework also provides insight into the economic motivation behind drugs and crime which has also been influential in addressing non-violent crimes, such as illicit drug trafficking (Conaboy, 1997:94). This 'economic motivation' is apparent in the number of South Africans who have been arrested abroad for their involvement in drug trafficking. For example, various headlines disclose this phenomenon, such as: "Suspected SA drug mule arrested in India" (Dawood, 2015); "SA drug mule loses appeal, faces death penalty in Malaysia" (Shange, 2015); "SA cop held in Hong Kong for drugs" (Ntuli, 2015); and "Drug mule pregnant with narcotics" (Govender, 2015).

One contributing factor to the magnitude of individuals involved in drug trafficking may be due to the fact that crimes of this nature are often viewed as "victimless crimes" (Friesendorf, 2007:17). The term 'victimless crime' came into conception in 1965 and was introduced by Schur, who defined a 'victimless crime' in relation to the drug trade as "a willing and private exchange among adults of strongly demanded yet officially proscribed goods...". Schur added that certain types of victimless crime have been known to develop into organised crime (Boutellier & Boutellier, 2002:56). According to Miller (2012), the dissimilarity amongst victimless and non-victimless crimes consists of mala in se and mala prohibita. The former is concerned with nonvictimless crimes like that of property crimes and violent crimes. On the other hand, mala prohibita is in relation to crimes that are considered as illegal only because the law recognises them as such; that is, drug-related crimes, drug-defined crimes as well as gambling (Miller, 2012). However, the consequences that are derived from drug trafficking result in countless victims, with communities being destroyed by drugs and crimes that are directly related to drug use (Yezer, 2014: 48). This view is supported by Lyman (2013:29, 30). According to Sacco and Kennedy (2010:400), a trafficker may be more inclined to commit a victimless crime for the reason that, to the trafficker, the victim in question is non-existent in a "direct and immediate way".

Beare and Naylor (1999) explain the discrepancies associated with the term 'organised crime' by stating the following:

"Discussions related to organised crime are steeped in politics - from the creation of illegal markets to the declaration of the size of the threat and the passing into force of extra-ordinary legislation....organised crime can be whatever the speaker wants it to be - a massive threat, a theatrical legacy, or petty criminals ... due to the lack of consensus around the term."

In light of the above, Sherman (2010:57) provides insight into the term 'drug syndicates', stating that the term is interchangeable with the terms 'drug trafficking organisations', 'drug cartels', and 'drug gangs'. Kash and Cross (1987:17) define drug trafficking networks as follows: "Drug trafficking can be characterised as a system; it is a system made up of complex, decentralised, and infinitely flexible subsystems".

According to Leonard (2009:35), the following definition explains drug trafficking organisations:

"Drug trafficking organisations are complex organisations with highly defined command-and-control structures that produce, transport, and/or distribute large quantities of one or more illicit drugs."

The aforementioned definitions are validated by the UNODC (2002:5). The organisation states that drug trafficking has been known to be associated with organised crime and that organised crime groups are in turn linked to a number of other criminal activities such as car-jacking as well as the smuggling of firearms and precious metals. Research has indicated that a drug trafficking organisation's ideal country of choice is one that is politically unbalanced or fragile. This is a deliberate consideration on the trafficker's part in order to insinuate him-/herself into an organisation that holds more control than that country's government (Sherman, 2010:57). The illegal drug trade is a global black market which is in direct competition with the legal drug trade and it is devoted to the cultivation, production, supply and sale of illegal substances that are subject to drug prohibition laws (Carpenter, 2014:111). Various studies have shown that drug syndicates consist of people from various backgrounds, and that he syndicates themselves are usually relatively small in size (Gaines and Kremling, 2013:269). The latter authors

elaborate on the diversity of drug syndicate members, stating that those affiliated with drug trafficking syndicates are a diversified range of individuals consisting of gang members, businessmen, and even housewives (Gaines and Kremling, 2013:213). A study conducted in 2001 by Person and Hobbs revealed the operations of high level drug syndicates that operated in the United Kingdom. The study discovered that a small number of traffickers dealt specifically with traders and that these traders themselves worked with small suppliers and clientele (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:269). Another study that was conducted in Canada uncovered that 80 high-ranked drug syndicates functioned in small groups and acquired illicit drugs from traders who were more advanced on the drug chain. The syndicates would then sell these drugs to smaller groups below them in the drug distribution network (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:269). However, it was also found that large drug syndicates were operational and exceedingly efficacious (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:270) and that drug syndicates in third world countries, particularly in Africa, operated in large or medium size groups.

There is a paucity of research into the structure of how drug syndicates function. What is known is that there is an established hierarchy with core members in place (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:271). This means that the head of the organisation handles members below him/her who manage proceedings. The members at lower levels take most of the risks and deal predominantly with recruits at significantly lower levels. In this structure members learn very little about the person in charge, and in this way the dealer eludes self-incrimination (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:270).

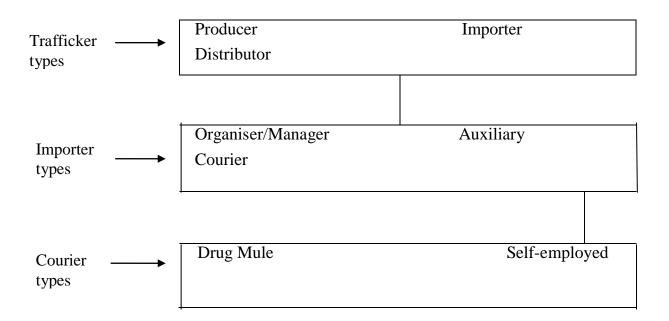


Figure 1.1: Summation of twitches

Source: Adapted from The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction: A proposed typology of the structure within drug syndicates (2012).

Drug usage in South Africa has increased tremendously since 1990, especially in urban areas. Gauteng and Cape Town in particular have noted a substantial increase in heroin use since 2001 (UNODC, 2002:4, 5). This finding is supported by Peltzer, Ramlagan, Johnson, and Phaswana-Mafuya, (2010) who state that the increased trafficking of illicit cannabis may be attributed to the growing cultivation of cannabis, poor security, and a lack of a reliable intelligence network within the South African Police Services (Martin, 1999:124). Cannabis is the most prevalent illicit drug used in South Africa and is frequently referred to as 'dagga' (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:197). Next on the list is methaqualone, which is commonly referred to as Mandrax, followed by cocaine and ecstasy (MDMA)¹ (Roman, Ahn-Redding, Simon, 2007:197). According to (Peltzer et al., 2010), South Africa has experienced difficulties in social transformation post 1994, which has had a negative effect on the redistribution of economic power. This in turn has had an effect on the accessibility, use, and treatment of illicit drugs (Peltzer,

¹ MDMA is the acronym for Methylene-dioxymethamphetamine which is also known as ecstasy Koblentz (2011:135).

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Ramlagan, Johnson, & Phaswana-Mafuya, 2010). A consequence of this is that societal

view is more tolerant to drug use in relation to the inadequate enforcement of drug laws. Other consequences are: more leniency towards new ideas and behaviours in terms of drug use; a reduced prevalence of policing in the field (i.e., little visible policing); an amplification of the availability and diversity of illicit drugs; weak border control due to political change; and enforcement policies and debates about the decriminalization of marijuana (Peltzer, Ramlagan, Johnson, & Phaswana- Mafuya, 2010).

Statistics made available by the South African Police Services (SAPS, 2011) substantiate the challenges encountered in drug-related fields. Research indicates that in the period between 2003 to 2011, reported drug-related crime in South Africa has risen by 140.3%. KwaZulu-Natal alone has seen an increase of 138.7%. According to the November 2011statistics made available by the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU), 35% of the total admittance to rehabilitation programmes in the Western Cape was attributed to methamphetamines (Tik), 18% to dagga (with 61% of the admissions being under the age of 20), 13% to heroin, and 15% to a dagga and Mandrax permutation, which is known as 'white pipe'. This term refers to a dagga and Mandrax mixture being smoked in the bottleneck of broken glass.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2011:8), drug use not only affects individuals, but also their families, their social circle, and the community as a whole. This observation is corroborated by Kimble and McFadden (2002:229). It is a known fact that drugs generate crime. Moreover, in some areas correlations have been made between illicit drug use and the increase of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and hepatitis B and C (Shadidullah, 2008:86). This view is supported by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction [EMCDDA] (2012: 81), who states that the mortality and morbidity rates initiated by the abovementioned infectious diseases are some of the most severe health concerns of drug use.

Historically, South Africa has not had proper systems in place to collect data relating

to substance abuse (Taylor et al., 2002:2). To date, data that are accessible have been established through ad hoc cross-sectional studies which have been conducted in single locations with easily reachable populations (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:135). Information concerning illicit drug use has been derived from police arrests and seizers (Chin & Zhang, 2015:198); however, such data may be subjective, not only

because of the limited resources available, but also because of restrictive police policies, initiatives and actions. Additionally, the evidence that is accessible only comprises cases that have been reported and data that have been captured (Leonard, 1998:22). However, many new systems have been established with the aim of providing more consistent data on illicit drug use and, as a result, valuable information has been recovered regarding drug abuse in South Africa (South African Institute of International Affairs, 1998:153). Nonetheless, key gaps around illicit drug use still continue, which renders illicit drug use an area that needs to be addressed (Bean, 2014:264). The smuggling of people, illicit drugs and weapons, as well as the exploitation of maritime resources, has increased rapidly in current times. This observation is supported by the Brenthurst Foundation (2010:3) that states that the dilapidation of the road systems in Africa contributes to the fact that the sea is being used as a prevalent choice for illicit transnational trade in drugs (South African Defense Review, 2012). In light of the above, it is clear that increased drug smuggling has inevitably created a major social problem which is closely linked to the socio-economic issues that are existent in South African societies (Shally-Jensen, 2010:386). The underlining concerns are that South Africa's current drug policies are insufficient to curb this scourge and that Government is not yielding the best returns on its investments in preventative measures (Ritter, Lancaster, Grench, & Reuter, 2011).

1.2 Significance of the Study

As the researcher, I had to dig very deep to unearth studies conducted in KwaZulu-Natal that investigated illicit drug trafficking. Any drug trafficking information could be obtained by means of researching other drug-related concerns, and these seemed to centre on drug abuse and use (Kibble et al., 1998), drug control and drug policies (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:197), and drug-related diseases (Karim & Karim, 2010: 242).

The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction [EMCDDA] (2012:9) provides two reasons concerning the problems around the collection of adequately representative data on the covert drug trade. The primary issue pertains to the lack of availability with regards to collecting data around drug trafficking (Shanty, 2011:xi), particularly because drug trafficking may be regarded as a consensual crime. A consensual crime, which is a term that is interchangeable with victimless crime (Boyes-Watson, 2013:188), is when it is through law enforcement's involvement that the public comes to hear about the detection and reporting of drug offences (Gregory, 1999:37).

This explains the argument that recorded offences and seizures do not reflect the true size of the drug market, but rather the level of action by the police (EMCDDA, 2012:9). Data about drug traffickers and trafficking are exceptionally inadequate (Kash & Cross, 1987:52). One reason for this is that the majority of the available data are acquired from incarcerated traffickers and can therefore only be obtained as a result of effective law enforcement activity (Brownfield, 2011:461). This also implies that these jailed traffickers may not be the best source to base overall deductions on (EMCDDA, 2012:9, 10).

A secondary matter surrounds data reliability and comparability. For instance, law enforcement systems in Europe boast having 30 different legal systems, each with its own practices, norms and legislation (Cruz-Cunha & Manuela, 2014: xxxiii). The problem that arises from having systems with an extensive contrast in terms of institutional and influential frameworks is that of large breaks in the data, which may be filled by educated guesses (EMCDDA, 2012:35). With a lack of data that provide adequate representation of the actual number of persons involved in the trafficking of illicit drugs, this remains an on-going issue (De Keseredy & Dragiewicz, 2011:26).

In 2004, a panel of experts united to discuss the challenges and threats related to political uncertainty and organised crime, mainly drug trafficking. This panel noted the following:

"One of the core activities of organised crime groups - drug trafficking - has major security implications ... in some regions, the huge profits generated through this activity even rival some countries' GDP [Gross Domestic Product], thus threatening State authority, economic development, and the rule of law" (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, World Drug Report, 2010:231).

Also in 2010, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, stated the following at the African Union Summit: "Drug trafficking is... a rising threat to international peace and security in Africa" (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, World Drug Report, 2010:231).

Rondganger (2015:1) provides insight into the prevalence of drug trafficking from a KwaZulu-Natal perspective by indicating that drug labs have become a prominent issue in Durban. In 2015 alone, ten drug factories located in upmarket suburbia homes as well as in holiday flats in KwaZulu-Natal were identified and closed by police. The locations of these drug labs in KwaZulu-Natal were indicated as being situated in areas such as Margate, La Lucia, Ballito, Hillcrest, Pinetown and Point Water-Front. Drug dealers believe that the use of suburbia area aids in avoiding detection from the police, as these homes generally have high walls, neighbours that keep to themselves, and quiet streets (Rondganger, 2015:1). The premises are usually rented on a short term lease with cash payments being made upfront (Rondganger, 2015:1). Recently, arrests made in these areas resulted in an accumulative amount of about R30 million in illicit drugs being seized (Rondganger, 2015:1). Rondganger (2015:1) states that the drug epidemic in Durban is rather disturbing and that police feel discouraged. One officer stated:

[&]quot;We are fighting an uphill battle in curbing these plants [drug labs], as drug kingpins - in their drive to supply South Africa's insatiable drug demand - open another [drug lab] as quickly as one is shut down."

Three main syndicates appear to operate in the Durban area: 'West Africans', who deal predominantly with crack cocaine; the 'white syndicates', who regulate the cultivation of hydroponic dagga; and the 'Indian syndicates', who deal mostly with the sugars and 'whoonga' trade (Rondganger, 2015:1). In one incident police were informed of illicit drug activity in the Durban Berea area (Moodley, 2014:1). This particular incident resulted in the confiscation of hydroponic marijuana, 'magic' mushrooms, as well as chemicals used in the manufacturing of illicit drugs valued at an estimated R80 000 (Moodley, 2014:1). As a result of the need for increased police support, 548 previous members of the South African Police Services were provisionally approved for reenlistment in 2015 (Petersen, News24). This reenlistment is attributed to crime and drugs being taken seriously and that crime intelligence is an area that is being reworked (Rondganger, 2015:1).

Other provinces in South Africa are not exempt to drug-related crimes. It was reported that in 2012, the Western Cape police seized over R30 million in illicit drugs, as was stated on 28 June 2012 by the provincial police Commissioner, Arno Lamoer. It was further stated that by April 2012 the state had secured 5 400 convictions for drug-related crimes (SAPA, 2012). In 2010, an incident was revealed by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS, 2012) that brought attention to a consignment of 1.7 tons of pure

cocaine with a street value of R2 billion. This consignment was intercepted on a boat at Knysna, and three of the six men on board were convicted of drug trafficking.

Mngoma (2014:11) drew attention to Albert Park in Durban, which is commonly referred to as "Whoonga Park", which is located in Margaret Mncadi Avenue.

According to Mngoma (2014:11), "Addicts live there, not wanting to be too far from the supply, lest the intestine-knotting craving hits." Madlala and Lancaster (2014:1) also

mention that 'Whoonga Park' may be described as "the breeding ground for criminals and the rotten heart of Durban." 'Whoonga' is a heroin-based substance that is similar to sugars (Madlala & Lancaster, 2014:1). When a user takes whooga, the body's tolerance levels increase; as a result the drug user would have to increase both the

frequency and quantity of this drug in order to achieve the craved sensation (Madlala & Lancaster, 2014:1). As a consequence of the drug activities and in hope of eradicating this problem in 'Woonga Park', a task team was deployed to look into the surge of drug prevalence in Durban (Madlala & Lancaster, 2014:1).

Due to an ever-changing drug market and drug use patterns, it is vital that the measures that are employed to counter them must also be quick to adapt (Howard, 2013:53). Although Europe has seen a decline in the consumption of heroin, this has been offset by the recent expansion of heroin use in Africa (Global Illicit Drug Trends, 2003:1985). However, the lack of data on the illicit drug market, especially in Africa and Asia, stands in the way of us fully understanding this market. For this reason better data need to be generated to aid in the creation of more effective policies (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2011:8). It is important to note that South Africa does have legislation in place to ensure drug counter measures. However, due to the phasing out of certain law enforcement units, this has impacted negatively on the country's capacity to effectively deal with organised crime groups that specialize in illicit drugs (UNODC, 2002:4). According to the National Drug Master Plan (NDMP, 2012-2016), South Africa has not yet seen a national study on the nature and extent of the use of alcohol and/or other drugs (Rocha-Silva, 1998:42). The research that has thus far been conducted has centred around the psycho-pharmacological and chemical boundaries relating to drug use (Rocha-Silva, 1998:43). Consequently, accurate data on this matter are underprovided. The Central Drug Authority (CDA) did commission a national survey of the aforementioned problem which was intended to be finalised by 2010; however, for reasons beyond the CDA, this survey has not come to light (NDMP, 2013-2016). The above discussion has clearly illuminated a dire need for updated data regarding the drug trafficking phenomenon, particularly in the Durban area. It was therefore envisaged that the current study would fill this gap not only by providing insights into more effective law enforcement strategies, but also by illuminating shortcomings in existing policies dealing with illicit drug trafficking and use.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The key research questions for this study were: *How do illicit drugs find their way into Durban*? The second question was: *Once illicit drugs are available to dealers in Durban, how are they trafficked to users within the city*? The final question was: *What is the reaction of the police to the issue of illicit drug trafficking*?

In order to address these questions, the following sub-questions needed to be answered:

- 1. Who gets illicit drugs into and within Durban?
- 2. Where do illicit drugs get into and within Durban?
- 3. Why do illicit drugs get into and within Durban?
- 4. What is *being done to stop* illicit drugs getting into and within Durban?
- 5. What is *not* being done to stop illicit drugs getting into and within Durban?
- 6. What *should be done* to stop illicit drugs getting into and within Durban?

Closely related to these questions, the objectives of this study were to:

- 1. identify the *nature* of illicit drug trafficking in Durban;
- 2. identify the *extent* of illicit drug trafficking in Durban;
- 3. establish *the knowledge* and *perceptions of*, and *attitudes to*, drug trafficking networks in Durban;
- 4. *evaluate the efficacy* of existing local and national policy and regulatory frameworks governing issues dealing with illicit drug trafficking.

1.4 Research Methodology

This study was both qualitative and quantitative in nature (Taylor, 2005:244). The researcher utilised three methods of data collection, namely: personal interviews, ethnographic research, and a focus group. These aforementioned forms of data

collection address the primary method of collection, as suggested by Hair et al. (2015:122). The secondary method of data utilised in this study compromised newspaper reports, website searches, as well as information provided by the South African Police Services (Emma, 2008). The researcher gained access to the participants in this study via the snowballing sampling technique. According to Maxfield and Babbie (2011:198), the covert nature of drug trafficking would render the snowballing technique to collect data on this subject matter the most suitable method.

The study site of this research consisted of several areas within Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, namely: Inanda, Chatsworth, Kharwastan, Durban Central Business District (CBD), Durban harbour, King Shaka International Airport (Cargo terminal), Phoenix, Windermere, and Pietermaritzburg. The duration of the data collection phase of this study was between 19 June 2013 and 1 December 2013 (i.e., almost six months).

Seventeen interviews were conducted with identified participants and these interviews were transcribed by the researcher. Eleven of the interviews were deemed appropriate for the purposes of the study and the data were analysed. During the analysis process, themes were identified and codes were allocated to each theme. The responses were then categorised under the various themes, as proposed by Singh (2007:82). To maintain the anonymity of the participants, no names will be mentioned in this study report. To augment the data, a focus group discussion was held in Kharwastan. Additionally, Ethnographic research was undertaken which took place in the Chatsworth area of KwaZulu-Natal. The comparisons and cross-referencing of these dates served as a triangulation method to ensure reliability and validity of the qualitative data.

This study engaged in a professional code of ethics. Ethical clearance was provided by the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, who approved the study (Annexure C). All the participants completed and signed a form of voluntary consent (Annexure B).

1.5 Limitations of the study

At the time the study commenced, no study could be traced that had been conducted in KwaZulu-Natal relating specifically to illicit drug trafficking. Studies that had been conducted centred around drug use and drug trends. For this reason the researcher had to draw on limited data (Heathershaw & Herzig, 2013:144), which rendered this study unique in concept and execution in this particular field of study. The study sample was relatively small and, as a result, the findings do not reflect the views of the general public (Heathershaw & Herzig, 2013: 144). Although this may be regarded as a limitation, Hair et al. (2015:122) maintain that when a researcher employs primary data collection techniques, which was the case in this study, the sample size may be reduced.

A more apparent limitation to this study was the nature of the crime of drug trafficking (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:266), because gaining access to possible participants was not only unsafe, but it was also extremely difficult to locate participants involved in a crime of this nature (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:266). Another challenge was that it was difficult to establish beforehand the extent to which some research subjects would be willing to assist in research of this nature (Ritchie et al., 2013). This meant that an over-reliance was placed on secondary data. These 'second-order data' included newspaper articles, internet reports, and statistics made available by the South African Police Services, as proposed by Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:266). Bernard (2015) points out that possible discrepancies may occur in the over-reliance on statistics made available by the South African Police Services, specifically because government provides performance incentives to South African police officers for a decrease in crime rates, and incentives may therefore encourage under-reporting. Another possible problem with crime statistics may be the manipulation of statistics, as these statistics are not independently audited (Barnard, 2015). Barnard (2015:1) suggests that crime statistics be available in real-time, due to

the current model reflecting statistics that are already 6 months to a year old and are not reflective of present-day crime trends.

1.6 Structure and Chapter Layout

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to this study by providing a background to the knowledge of and perceptions regarding illicit drug trafficking networks in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

Chapter 2 provides insights into available literature that applies to illicit drug trafficking, with specific reference to historical perspectives, drug type classifications, routes and trends, motivational reasons, the knowledge and perceptions around this crime, and possible counter measures to curb it.

Chapter 3 applies the following theories relating to illicit drug trafficking as a framework for the study: the Routine Activity Theory, the Developmental Smuggling Model (DSM), and the Differential Association Theory.

Chapter 4 demonstrates the mixed methods approach employed in this study and describes the use of secondary sources such as newspaper articles and an analysis of policies accessed from relevant institutional databases and electronic sources that were used to complement the findings from primary sources. The use of primary sources is illuminated, such as the questionnaires used as a tool for gathering data from in-depth interviews conducted with police officials within the Durban metropolitan area, harbour officials, concerned NGOs, drug traffickers, informants, and a pharmacist. The primary data also included the views of affected communities such as Chatsworth residents. An analysis of policies accessed from relevant institutional databases and electronic sources was done to complement the findings. Moreover, a focus group discussion and ethnographic research were employed as additional methods of primary data collection.

Chapter 5 and 6 present a discussion on the analysed data, focusing specifically on addressing the questions: Who brings illicit drugs into and distributes them within Durban? and Where does this happen, and how and why? Another question that was addressed was: What is being done to stop illicit drugs getting into and circulating within Durban? These chapters also evaluate the efficacy of existing local and national policy and regulatory frameworks that deal with illicit drug trafficking.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter served as an introductory explanation of illicit drug trafficking as well as the rationale for researching this subject matter. The chapters to follow will provide further insight into illicit drug trafficking as well as the prevalence of this crime in KwaZulu-Natal.

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Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is said to provide the reader with insight into existing awareness of a particular topic (Polit & Beck, 2004:89), while at the same time attempting to tackle the significance of the research at hand (Fink, 2013:10). The research involved in this thesis investigated the knowledge and perceptions of illicit drug trafficking in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. The researcher attempted to provide insight into this crime by examining literature that addresses i) the history and definition of drug trafficking; ii)

knowledge and perceptions of drugs; iii) the reasons why drugs are trafficked; iv) known trafficking routes and trends; v) methods of drug trafficking in Durban; and vi) drug trafficking interventions.

According to the National Drug Master Plan (2013-2017:18), an illicit drug is defined as "a psychoactive² substance, the production, sale or use of which is prohibited" (*NDMP*, 2013-2017:18). Conversely, a licit drug is a drug that one can obtain legally either with a medical prescription or, in some cases, without. Alcohol, for instance, is an example of a licit drug (National Drug Master Plan, 2013-2017:18). Drug trafficking is stated to be the illegal trade that occurs globally, comprising of the production, supply and sale of drugs that go against established drug legislature and laws (Liu, Hebenton, & Jou, 2012:116).

2.2 Historical Perspective

Studies indicate that as early as the twentieth century, there was a rise in the growing of and smoking of opium (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:14). As a result, in 1909 the Shanghai Conference was initiated (Kleiman & Hawdon, 2011). The purpose of this conference was to maintain relations with countries in an effort to assist in the decrease of opium use as well as the reduction relating to the export of opium (Lodwick, 2015:183). In conjunction with these two concerns, other issues that were addressed were that opium be restricted to medical use only (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:14) and that the countries that attended the Shanghai conference implement legislature that would support the initiatives discussed at said conference (Padwa, 2012:92). In 1921 the League of Nations was established. One of its main objectives was to deal with trepidations related to the trafficking of opium and other drugs (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:12). As time passed, inadequacies within the aforementioned initiatives were revealed due to the ineffective restrictions on the use of and trade in illicit drugs. This gave rise to the trafficking of drugs becoming more widespread (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:14). To address this issue, a conference was held in Geneva

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² A substance that once ingested has the ability to change the individual's behaviour, thinking processes and mood, National Drug Master Plan (2013-2017: 19).

which took place from November 1924 to February 1925 (McAllister, 2002:ii). The Geneva Conference hoped to address two issues, namely, that the manufacturing of heroin, morphine and cocaine be limited, and that there be a considerable limitation placed of the growing of these specified drugs (Booth, 2013:183). However, some countries did not agree to make the smoking of opium illegal, which resulted in the Geneva Conference failing to achieve the goals it had set out to accomplish (Musto, 1987:202). Trafficking continued to escalate. By the end of World War II, the League of Nations was no longer in existence (O'Brien, 2002:221), which paved the way for the birth of the United Nations (Ebbe, 2013:187). Meanwhile, various initiatives were put into place in hopes of eradicating the trafficking of drugs. By 1948 the Paris Protocol (Buxton, 2006:54) endorsed international control over synthetic drugs that the World Health Organisation (WHO) had classified as unsafe (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:14). In 1953 the Opium Protocol made it unlawful for certain nations to produce opium for trade purposes, and the countries that were within legal means to produce opium had to implement a national opium organisation (Claussen, 2001:755). The Opium Protocol stipulated that farmers had to be both registered and certified to farm the poppy for the opium (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:14). It was only in 1961 that the United Nations reconsidered the numerous drug control treaties in existence (Ruyver, 2002:8) and validated by the World Health Organisation (1984:128). According to Roman, Ahn-Redding and Simon (2007:14), by 1972 the United Nations had 72 states enlisted as parties. This was supported by the World Health Organisation (1984:128). These parties worked together to:

- establish the convention on psychotropic substances;
- establish a convention to monitor new drug classes such as sedatives, amphetaminetype³ stimulants, and hallucinogenic drugs;
- put the 1972 Protocol in place to counteract the increase of illicit production of opium, cannabis³ (henceforth marijuana) and heroin⁴ (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:14).

³ Psychoactive drugs come from the Cannabis sativa plant. Although cannabis is made of many components, it is THC (delta-9-tetrahydrocannabinol) which is the ingredient that is the main psychoactive element (DEA, 2011:68). ⁴ Heroin is derived from the raw opium gum; that is, the seed pod of the poppy plant, which is then produced into diacetylmorphine (DEA, 2011:36).

However, it was stated that the efforts that were executed by the 1972 Protocol were tenuous in inhibiting the agriculture, manufacturing and production of illicit drugs (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:15). This view is supported by Korf (1995:5). By the 1980s, illicit drug trafficking had become an 'ungovernable crime' (Ghodse, 2008:158) which brought about an increase in drug use and confirmed the relationship between drug trafficking syndicates with other corrupt criminal activities (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:15). Smart (1989:61) shares that this resulted in the 1988 United Nations Convention which was implemented to sanction the control over the export and import of precursor chemicals, to decrease the raw manufacturing of illicit drugs, to oversee the seizure of the assets from the trafficking in drugs, and to prosecute those involved in drug related offenses (Roman, Ahn-Redding, & Simon, 2007:15).

Crossley, Lees, and Servos (2012:354) mention that since the 1960s, South Africa's geographical position and inaccessibility due to political disputes have caused South Africa to be somewhat removed as a major competitor in the illicit drug trade (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002:2). However, with the positive changes since the 1990s, such as the reopening of international trade and this country's participation in worldwide events (Purkitt & Burgess, 2005:32), South Africa has risen as drug syndicates' ideal location (UNODC, 2002: 2). All the same, pre-1990 South Africa was not exempt from the drug epidemic, as it is alleged that apartheid officials in the 1980s manufactured ecstasy and MDMA for the use of 'crowd control' (UNODC, 2002:15). It is also alleged that the apartheid government was involved in unlawful dealings with drug syndicates in an attempt to provide ecstasy to certain ethnic groups within South Africa as a tool to suppress as well as assist with control in both societal and governmental dealings (UNODC, 2002:15).

2.3 Classification of Drugs

Narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances were classified by the United Nations Convention on Drugs according to three factors: (1) threat to health; (2) the risk level in terms of abuse; and (3) their healing significance (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction [EMCDDA], 2005:5). Classifications were then further refined, as the 1961 Convention classified narcotic drugs into four schedules. Conversely, the 1971 Convention placed psychotropic substances into four schedules that differed from the aforementioned 1961 categories (EMCDDA, 2005:5). In addition, the 1988 Convention added precursors to the clssification of two schedules (EMCDDA, 2005: 5). The Drug Enforcement Administration [DEA] (2011:9) provides the following categorization for drugs:

Schedule I drugs

These are drugs that have a high risk of abuse and have no indicated use for medical purposes. These drugs are listed as: heroin, marijuana, methaqualone⁵, gamma hyroxybutyric acid (GHB)⁶, and lysergic acid diethylamine (LSD)⁷ (DEA, 2011:9)

Schedule II drugs

This drug category has a high physical dependency potential. The drugs have properties that aid in medical use, but they also have a high probability for abuse (DEA, 2011:9). These drugs are morphine⁸, cocaine⁹, methamphetamine¹⁰, methadone¹¹, and phencyclidine (PCP)¹² (DEA, 2011:9).

Schedule III drugs

⁵ Known as Mandrax in the United Kingdom, it is a sedative substance that is manmade (King, 2009:121).

⁶ Synthetically produced drug, variants of which are used as a fish tank cleaner, and for body building and weight loss (DEA, 2011:54).

An hallucinogen man-made drug that is said to alter the user's ability to make logical decisions as the user may view dangerous encounters as safe (DEA, 2011:65).

⁸ Used as a pain relief drug, it is obtained from the opium poppy plant (Olive & Triggle, 2011).

⁹ Coloumbia, Peru and Bolivia all grow the cocao leaves from which cocaine is derived. It is stated that the main source of cocaine in the USA is Mexico (DEA, 2011:45).

¹⁰ Commonly referred to as 'meth', it is a stimulant drug, with Mexico known as the most prominent supplier of this drug (DEA, 2011:48).

¹¹ Produced in a laboratory, this drug is said to have been developed during World War II due to the shortage of morphine (DEA, 2011:38).

¹² A drug which was developed in the 1950s for surgery as an anaesthetic, resulting in effects that include hallucinations and disorientation (Pastorino & Doyle-Portillo, 2015:164).

These drugs are stated as having a lower potential for drug abuse. They assist with medical treatments and have a low physical dependency (DEA, 2011:9). These drugs are comparable to steroids (DEA, 2011:9).

Schedule IV drugs

These drugs have a notably lower potential related to abuse. The drugs in this category, similar to schedule II and III drugs, are also used for medical treatment with a low dependency rate (DEA, 2011:9). Additionally, these drugs share comparable traits to those of diazepam (DEA, 2011:9).

Chemical Precursors

A chemical precursor is defined as "a chemical that is used to illegally form an illicit drug (International Narcotics Control Board [INCB], 2010:1). It is noted that chemical precursors are generally licit chemicals, which makes the trafficking of these chemicals easy due to these substances going undetected because they are listed as a legal chemical or compound (Wyler & Cook, 2009:24-26). According to Wyler and Cook (2009:26), South Africa differs from other African countries in that it has a high synthetic drug market. For this reason the import of chemical precursors from countries like China and India is in high demand which, in turn, increases illicit trade (Wyler & Cook, 2009:26).

Figure 2.1 below presents a visual image of various licit and illicit drugs under their various classifications.



<u>Image 2.1</u>: Classification of both legal and illegal drugs Source: Criminal Justice, United States of America

2.4 Knowledge and Perceptions Related to Drugs

In a 2003 study conducted by the World Health Organisation, the knowledge, attitudes and practices of substance use amongst young adults were researched. The study site included Pretoria (Gauteng Province) and Bela-Bela (Limpopo Province), providing both an urban (Pretoria) and rural (Bela-Bela) demographic demarcation (World Health Organisation, 2003:6). The study found that illicit psychotropic substances such as cocaine, Mandrax and heroin were common in both sites but more prevalent in the urban site (WHO, 2003:25). Substance use was not limited to a particular site; that is, equal usage occurred in the urban and rural areas (WHO, 2003:25). It was uncovered that trafficking networks recruited youth from the rural site to provide services such as cross-border truck driving. One reason provided as to why this occurred was that social pressure was a contributing factor to teenagers being forced or recruited into substance trafficking (WHO, 2003:25).

'Perception' is described as the process by which people translate sensory imprints into a coherent and unified view of their current position in the world (Lewin, 2005:58). Though perception is constructed on unreliable information, it is compared with reality for the most useful purposes and guides human behaviour in general (Lewin, 2005:58, 59). According to MacDougall (2011:8), media is in a sense a form of communication, and therefore drugs that are depicted in the media can impact one's perception in all aspects - from drug use to drug dealing and trafficking.

Orsini (2015:13, 14) argues that the media's representation of illicit drugs and drug users can at times be overstated. Specific cases are cited where authorities gained privileged information resulting in the capture of traffickers and, in some instances, where the media tended to exaggerate a possibly mediocre arrest (Orsini, 2015:14). Additionally, like newspapers, the entertainment media plays a part in society's knowledge and perceptions of drug traffickers and drug use (Orsini, 2015:17). An example of the aforementioned is the Nixon administration of America in 1968 (Kleiman & Hawdon, 2011: 592). This administration took a direct position against illicit drug usage (Orsini, 2015:17; Kleiman & Hawdon, 2011:592) by requesting television broadcasting networks to deliberately

embed an increased number of campaigns and advertisements addressing the dangers relating to drug use (Orsini, 2015:17). In South Africa, the World Health Organisation

(2003:26) criticised the fact that tobacco was not advertised as it was prohibited from advertisements, while alcohol was prominently marketed on television and radio and in the printed media (WHO, 2003:26).

In addition to television, there is also the influence that music may have on altering the way in which drugs are perceived by the public (Goldberg, 2009:59). According to Goldberg (2009:59), prior to a 2009 study illicit drugs featured significantly in 51 music videos, alcohol featured in 95 music videos, and tobacco appeared in 53 music videos (Goldberg, 2009: 59). Accumulatively, an array of substances and drugs featured in the music videos, therefore the sum exceeded the 100% mark (Goldberg, 2009:59). However, Goldberg's study was vague on the 'street names' of the drugs that were also included in the study; that is, it was questioned if the count only reflected scientifically identifiable names, or whether it included drugs that were commonly known by their 'street names' as well.

Hunt, Moloney and Evans (2010:109) state that a perception that occurs regularly is that specific genres of music, such as hip-hop, have a greater influence on the youth and young adults. This argument is, however, invalidated by Graff and Durchholz (2012:126) who provide insight into a song by The Beatles entitled '*Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds*' stemming from the musical genre of 'Rock and Roll'. This song has been probed for years to elucidate the meaning of the lyrics and to determine whether the song in fact suggests the experience of taking drugs and the euphoric feeling that follows (Moore, 2007: 64). The lyrics are:

"Picture yourself in a boat on a river, with tangerine trees and marmalade skies. Somebody calls you, you answer quite slowly, a girl with kaleidoscope eyes..." Perone (2004:121).

The debates seem to centre on the fact that only the lyricists, i.e., John Lennon and Paul McCartney, knew the true intention behind the lyrics and that the interpretation and perception thereof would fall entirely on the listener (Moore, 2007:64).

Another common perception around drug trafficking is that it is foreigners who are largely responsible for organised crime (Allum & Gilmor, 2012:311). Allum and Gilmor (2012:311) indicate that research conducted in Europe to investigate foreigners' participation in drug trafficking employed data that did not represent the whole of Europe. A small sample size is not representative of an entire continent, and therefore the results may have been an over representation of the impact foreigners may have had on the drug trade (Allum and Gilmore, 2012: 311). Keim (2010: 49) adds that once a country like South Africa views a foreigner in a negative light, violence ensues. Such xenophobic attacks affect all aspects of a country's development, including its economy (Keim, 2010:49). One reason that is given for these attacks is that foreigners are responsible for crime. The irony here is that xenophobic attacks are also criminal acts. An additional reason listed is that South Africans have to compete for jobs with foreigners. Mulholland (2014:11) sheds light on the prejudice experienced by foreigners in South Africa, demonstrating that immigrants are beneficial to the economy and stating that, in some instances, immigrants have experienced an education far superior to that of the South African educational system. Mulholland (2014:11) suggests that South Africans should learn from foreigners and develop South Africa with skill and determination, as opposed to making South Africa a nation that is hostile to others (Mulholland, 2014:11).

Money has also been listed as a motivating factor for illicit drug trafficking. According to Morselli (2013:185), it is possible to characterize distinguishing features of drug markets, thereby making the drug market easier to notice and describe. For instance, the cocaine market is primarily found in South America, whereas the marijuana market can be equated to the world economy as marijuana is grown worldwide (Reinert, Rajan, Glass, & Davis, 2010:611). Drug trafficking is also known to take place transnationally (Stoecker & Shelley, 2005:107). Moreover, global drug trafficking syndicates may be better understood by exploring market-based offences (Vlassis & Williams, 2013:22). In a market context, there is the exchange of goods among producers, distributors and consumers; similarly, the same can be said for drug trafficking, with the exception of course that the 'goods' on offer are illegal (Trager, 1986). In terms of monetary value, Frueh (2012:161) points out that the full financial impact that this crime has on

investment within a country will remain unknown.

'Push and pull' factors are often used to describe market forces in the tourism field (Beeton, 2006:36). However, these factors may also be applied to the drug commodity market. 'Push' factors include: effective drug policies, diligent intelligence driven law enforcement, and efficient border control (Wyler & Cook, 2009:23). Alternatively, 'pull' factors are: an increase in demand for a particular drug, lack of proper law enforcement, weak borders, a corrupt government, and high levels of poverty (Wyler & Cook, 2009:24). Wyler and Cook (2009: 9) maintain that African countries share many similarities relating to socio-economic weaknesses that allow traffickers to view the continent as the perfect surroundings for illicit drug trafficking. For example:

- In order to monitor and regulate drug trafficking, a reputable working communication system is needed, including a proper internal transport infrastructure. These are underprovided in most African states (Wyler & Cook, 2009: 9).
- A number of studies indicate that African states have weak border control as well as a lack of proper documentation systems to record illicit cross-border drug trade (Wyler & Cook, 2009:9).
- Africa is notorious for having large rural areas that are marginally populated in isolated areas. These areas are only occasionally monitored, which acts as an ideal transport route as well as a space for vast storage capacity (Wyler & Cook, 2009:9).
- High rates of corrupt officials, high levels of poverty, and tenuous judicial systems all play a part in trafficking increase (Wyler Cook, 2009:9).

The United Nations Drugs and Crime report on Afghan opiate trafficking through the Southern Route (2015:86) maintains that Africa not only has a high population percentage rate, but that Africa's high population rate is proportionately connected to a high poverty level. This in turn is seen as a valuable market to a trafficker who now may potentially have a larger consumer base in Africa as opposed to previously having used Africa as an interim destination (UNODC, 2015:86). Poverty is essentially associated with the unemployed (Ravallion, 2015:184). However, Seekings and Nattrass (2015:131) refer to a third world occurrence which is widespread in South Africa. This is a term referred to as the 'working poor', *which is* an expression that refers to individuals

who are employed but who still continue to live in poverty (Buhlungu, 2006:50). High rates of poverty breed many social decays (Pandit, 2009), such as depression and low self-esteem, which in turn make one more vulnerable to possible drug usage and/or adopting a life of crime (Manning, 2004: 41).

According to Benson (2008), a 'drug mule' is a person who carries illicit drugs in a variety of ways. Pillay (2014:7) monitored multiple drug mule cases. One incident involved a South African woman who had been recruited to traffic cocaine from South Africa to Brazil. She was apprehended at Sao Paulo Airport with a 9 kilogram block of cocaine in her suitcase (Pillay, 2014:7). Another case mentioned in the same article relates a 2009 incident when the wife of the then Minister of Intelligence had collaborated with a Nigerian to recruit someone to traffic cocaine from South America. Both are currently serving a twenty year sentence in a correctional facility (Pillay, 2014:7). Afrika and Hofstatter (2014:1, 2) share the story of South African women who were recruited to traffic cocaine from Brazil to India. They were eventually apprehended at Maputo International Airport. In another article Salmon (2004: 3) reports that a resident from KwaZulu-Natal was approached to traffic 10 kilograms of cocaine in her luggage to Sao Paulo. She was apprehended and is now serving a twelve year sentence in a correctional facility in Brazil (Salmon, 2004:3).

2.5 The Drug and Crime Nexus

Different illicit drugs have been noted to display different effects. As a result, certain drugs may have a stronger relation to violent behaviour as opposed to other drugs, as explained by Atkinson et al. (2009:5). This researcher divides drugs and their effects into three categories: (1) Depending on the duration of usage, a drug may change an individual's biological functioning. (2) Drugs related to crime may be directly linked to economic constraints; that is, if an individual is addicted and has a weak financial standing, he or she may commit crimes in an effort to fund his/her addiction. (3) Illicit drug trafficking is rife with criminal activities. The natural progression can only result in the perpetuation of crime; for instance, violence may be utilised to reprimand an

informant, to resolve differences between dealers, or to collect payments (Atkinson et al., 2009: 5).

Furthermore, studies have indicated that drugs like cocaine, amphetamines and benzodiazepines¹³ are noted to have a higher aggression rate than that of marijuana and heroin (Atkinson et al., 2009: 5). Moreover, if children come from a household where the use of illicit drugs is prevalent, the chances of them using illicit drugs as adults are greater (Atkinson et al., 2009:5).

Evidence has shown that certain drugs are used specifically in preparation for involvement in violent conduct (Atkinson et al., 2009: 5). On the other hand, drugs used in an attempt to combat depression are associated with a user having been a victim of violence (Atkinson et al., 2009:5).

From a South African context, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2002:67) indicated that in the 1970s and 1980s, the South African police positioned all their resources into maintaining political oppression as opposed to combating crime (UNODC, 2002:67). As a result, the driving force behind the transformation since the 1994s in law enforcement agencies and legislative frameworks may be attributed to the rise of organised crime in South Africa (UNODC, 2002:86). Post-1991, the South African Police adopted a 'targeting upwards approach'. This meant that the street pushers and low level criminals were no longer the desired target, as investigations were targeting the heads of syndicates (UNODC, 2002:86). However, intelligence driven investigations came up short as investigative skills were lacking (UNODC, 2002:86). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2002:67) argues that South Africa not only provides resources for organised crime, but also creates opportunities for crime to be sustained internally with its abundance of gold, illicit drug laboratories, as well as opportunities for rhino poaching. Moreover, UNODC (2002:71) reflected that border police in South Africa were observing 9 sea, 10 air and 53 land border markers. Notably, of the arrests that occurred that year (2002), the figures of 14 396 illegal refugees and 108 people with

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¹³ This drug can be obtained with a prescription as it assist with medical ailments like that of, muscle spasms (DEA, 2011: 53).

fraudulent documents stand out (UNODC, 2002:71). The majority of seizures at the border posts involved illicit drug substances such as cocaine, marijuana and Mandrax. At the time, various operations had been implemented to counteract border issues such as trafficking. One initiative was termed 'Operation Voyager' (UNODC, 2002:72).

2.5.1 Drug trafficking linked with money laundering and terrorism

Transnational organised crime garners its largest income from illicit drug trafficking (Rosen, 2015:7) which accounts for 20% of all crime profits (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:7), with crime remunerations being higher in developing states (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:7). Research relating to illicit funds acquired from illicit drug trafficking and how these funds are laundered is limited due to incomparable studies (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:7). However, it is estimated that about 0.2% of the incomes generated through money laundering worldwide is seized (Rosen, 2015:7). A contributing factor to this low result is that existing anti-money laundering efforts are ineffective (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:7). Funds that are attained illegally and then inserted back into a country's economy provide more problems than solutions (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:8). One major problem is that local businesses gain a weak standing in society, which in turn has a direct influence on that country's investments, trade and industry status (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:8). It is stated that criminal funds only prolong a country's weaknesses relating to criminality (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:8).

Alderson (2015) shares information about an incident in 2012 in which one the United Kingdom's leading banking corporations, HSBC, was convicted of involvement in tax evasion as well as money laundering for illicit drug syndicates. These transgressions had allegedly occurred for an estimated 10 years. This resulted in HSBC having to pay a drug-money laundering settlement of 1.9 billion dollars in an effort to avoid criminal charges (McCoy, 2012). It is noteworthy that HSBC operates in 80 countries and has a branch in KwaZulu-Natal. Daly (1996:81) adds that drug traffickers, who are predominantly in the heroin trade, have been known to use a covert banking system

referred to as *hundi*¹⁴ (specifically in Southwest Asia). Drug trafficking organisations that utilise underground banking systems impact on government investigations, as these transactions are harder to trace. The process transpires whereby dissident bankers move traffickers' funds through transnational systems. Moreover, it is purported that in an effort to increase traffickers' profits, the bankers also delve into gold investments with said funds. The gold is then trafficked into other countries and sold. Daly (1996:81) goes on to share that another popular trend of *hundi* traders is that of invoice manipulation. Invoice manipulation is noted as the moving of money from one county to another while making the 'business deal' look like an authentic commercial transaction.

These abovementioned money laundering trends are more evident where legislature has been effectively implemented against money laundering (Daly, 1996:81). In Europe, even with counter measures having been implemented to combat money laundering, there has been a detectable escalation in the trend of *bureaux de change* in terms of the global movement of funds (Daly, 1996:81, 82). Leslie (2014:80) adds that has been notable cases where traffickers transferred funds via online poker websites as a means of cyber-crime. This trend is aptly referred to as 'cyber laundering'. Ordine (2015) supports this observation, stating that in the United States of America, laws were implemented in 2011 that have been applied to bank fraud and money laundering law suits in the 'shut down' of popular online poker websites.

With this in mind, there still remains a dependency on assumptions involving illicit crimes (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:8). The nature of this crime is still relatively unknown; for example, the number of traffickers is unknown and the reasons that influence traffickers to engage in money laundering are also unknown (UNODC, Illicit Financial Flows, 2011:8). The questions that arise here are: *How does one trace the start of such an operation?* And *how does one determine the extent of a trafficker's involvement in money laundering?*

Further investigation into this phenomenon may assist in providing answers (Rosen,

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¹⁴ *Hundi* (India) and *Hawala* (Middle East) are terms used interchangeably to describe an indigenous banking system that is stipulated as holding an historical precedence over the western banking system (Mertens & Ginsberg, 2009:427)

2015:78).

Research has indicated that terrorist organisations are involved in drug trafficking with the ultimate objective of financing their terrorist organisations (Wyler & Cook, 2009:4). One of the most well-known terrorist organisations associated with drug trafficking and terrorism is the Revolutionary Armed Force of Columbia (Wyler & Cook, 2009:24). It is suspected that this group exports cocaine from West Africa and then traffics the cocaine into Venezuela (Wyler & Cook, 2009:24). Another organisation referred to as Hezbollah. According to research conducted by the Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force (2011:22), studies reflect that illicit drug trafficking and terrorism are similar in that they both intimidate the safety, economy and strength of countries. Research has also indicated that although terrorist groups are also involved in the trafficking of weapons and money laundering, the main source of financial income comes from illicit drug trafficking (Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force, 2011:22). Alternatively, Heathershaw and Herzig (2013:144) indicate that terrorism and drug trade differ and that the illicit nature of both terrorism and drug trafficking is the only commonality that exists between the two. One may add that studies have indicated that evidence displays various terrorist groups' participation in the usage of drugs in order to sustain an establishment with criminal elements (Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force, 2011:22). This is confirmed by Lines (2015) in an online article entitled: "ISIS Paris attack terrorist who appeared zombielike during slaughter may have taken 'Terror Potion'". It is alleged that the terrorist group known as ISIS that operates from Syria provides its members with the drug Captagon²² (Lines, 2015). The foregoing was brought to light in the Paris attacks that took place on 13 November 2015, when it was noted that the suicide bombers had supposedly taken the drug Captagon, which is also referred to as 'Terror Potion'. This drug reduces the user's pain threshold, nullifies the user's inhibitions, and leaves the user feeling a sense of pure bliss, all of which then result in the user presenting with dangerous and wild behavioural patterns (Lines, 2015).

One of the reasons the drug is a popular choice for terrorists is that it keeps the user alert for longer periods, as the drug inhibits the body's need for sleep (Lines, 2015).



2.5.2 Routes used for drug trafficking

Smuggling routes in Africa are less well known than the routes utilised in Europe (UNODC, 2015:88). Recently South African officials intercepted the trafficking of heroin in eastern and southern Africa where trafficking occurred by crossing the Indian

Ocean via south-west Asia (UNODC, 2015: 88). In addition, it was uncovered that the final destination of those consignments was Central Europe (UNODC, 2015:88). One of the contributing factors related to a lack of knowledge on smuggling routes in Africa may be weak border control (Bornman & Eeden, 1998:47). Another reason may be that traffickers rarely abide by a set schedule; for instance, an increase in law enforcement at one point of entry may result in a change of location for delivery of the 'goods' (UNODC, 2015:88). An example of this is when the usual route for opiates trafficked from Arab and South Asian countries had at first utilised a fixed destination in southwest Asia, Kenya and Tanzania (UNODC, 2015:88); however, due to investigations into these shipments, law enforcement was increased on that particular route. The result was that this specific route was then altered, with trafficking now occurring through Mozambique and South Africa (UNODC, 2015:88).

Welsh and Farrington (2012: 12) provide insight into the sporadic nature of traffickers, attributing this to the notion of displacement. Theoretically, "crime takes place at particular hot spots" (Kennedy & Brunschot, 2009:69). In relation to drug trafficking, one specific route may be more suitable to a trafficker for the trafficking of drugs. However, once law enforcement in that particular area has increased and officials have consequently become more vigilant, the trafficker would then rethink his or her initial route of choice and change it while still continuing to commit the crime (Welsh & Farrington, 2012:12).

Research has indicated that traffickers prefer the shorter routes via the ocean. A case in point is the distance between South America and Africa, which is a considerably shorter route by sea than a direct route between South America and Europe (Wyler & Cook, 2009:11-12). Large quantities of cocaine seizures indicate a popular route being Latitude 10 North that runs between northern South America and the West African Coast (Wyler & Cook, 2009: 11-12). The latter route is so popular amongst traffickers that authorities have termed it "Highway 10" (Wyler & Cook, 2009:11, 12). An example of a route used to transport drugs into South Africa was shared by Rondganger (2013:1), who reported that 13 men had used 30 donkeys to transport marijuana by a mountain trail from Lesotho into South Africa. In total, 66 bags of marijuana were apprehended together with

unlicensed firearms and ammunition (Rondganger, 2013:1).



Major Trafficking Routes and Growing Areas

Map 2.1: Map indicating the most prevalent global drug trafficking routes

Source: Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force, 2011:14.

The map above illustrates that South Africa is both a receiver of and a transit point for illegal drugs. This map also illustrates cocaine as the drug trafficked to and through South Africa. Afghanistan, Mexico and Colombia are known to cultivate opium and poppies; South Africa on the other hand does not cultivate either opium or poppies. Although this map points out that South Africa is not an opiate route, regular media reports of drug busts on opiate drug 'dens' suggest otherwise (South African Police Services, 2012).

2.5.3 Drug trafficking trends

A number of instances related to maritime trafficking have indicated that the level of complexity employed by traffickers is rather unimaginative (Rover, 2009:12). This is attributed to large shipments of drugs concealed in cargo containers that were not concealed that well, which indicated that law enforcement was either non-existent or, if law enforcement personnel were present, they were not feared (UNODC, 2015:90). An alternate possibly is that law enforcement individuals may themselves be part of

the crime. The lack of efficient law enforcement results in traffickers viewing certain routes as 'safe', for instance those routes that are used to move opiates out of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan (UNODC, 2015:90).

Another identified trend is that traffickers in East Africa employ tenants residing in the coastal settlements (UNODC, 2015:90). For example, a large shipment of heroin arrives via a maritime route and the coastal residents, under the guise of fishermen, use smaller boats to bring the heroin ashore (UNODC, 2015:90). The reasons for using local tenants are their unique knowledge of the shoreline, the fact that they speak the local language, and the advantage that they know the local security personnel (UNODC, 2015:93).

Referring to drug trends in South Africa, Laganparsad and Bornman (2015:10) narrate an incident in which a family from Johannesburg, who lived less than 10 kilometres from a police station, were cultivating and selling marijuana in addition to transporting the drugs by means of the South African Postal Services. Once apprehended, it was revealed that a father and three sons had been running the drug operation from Johannesburg to KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town, and from there across the border to Swaziland. It was also alleged that the family had diverted the cash earnings via other family businesses, including buying properties, one of which was in Bona Manzi farm on the North West border, which is said to have been one of the locations where the family had farmed the marijuana (Laganparsad & Bornman, 2015: 10). In total, R150 million worth of marijuana was confiscated, as well as equipment to produce or grow the drug from six of their drug laboratories. Considering the fact that marijuana takes about two to three months to grow, depending on various conditions, the sales figures generated by this family of around R60 000 to R95 000 a kilogram made it a most profitable enterprise. Moreover the buyers could resell their portion at R100 to R300 a gram (Laganparsad & Bornman, 2015:10). The family was not only charged with dealing, cultivation and possession of marijuana, but also with racketeering and money laundering (Laganparsad & Bornman, 2015:10).

Pillay (2014:1) shares the incident of a drug bust at the Durban harbour where a haul of

95 kilogram of cocaine with an estimated value of R28.5 million was seized. The drugs were wrapped in plastic and taped liberally to make them waterproof. The cocaine was packed in a shipping container and was 'piggybacked' with legal cargo from Buenos Aires to Durban. Pillay (2014:1) indicates that the drug syndicate used a 'rip on or off' tactic; that is, the removal of a shipping container's seal so that the drugs could simply be placed inside the container and removed quickly (Laganparsad & Bornman, 2015:10).

Studies have indicated that numerous African countries are being used as hubs for the export of chemical precursors (Wyler & Cook, 2009:2) It has also been noted that South Africa has been involved in the production, sale and export of methamphetamine to Europe and South Asia (Wyler & Cook, 2009: 2). The increase in trade indicates that drug syndicates are expanding with regards to international influence and competency (Wyler & Cook, 2009:3).



<u>Image 2.4</u>: The image depicts 130 000 kg of marijuana trafficked in conjunction with 330 000 psychotropic tablets. As shown, these drugs were smuggled by land inside car tyres.

Source: Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force, 2011:4.

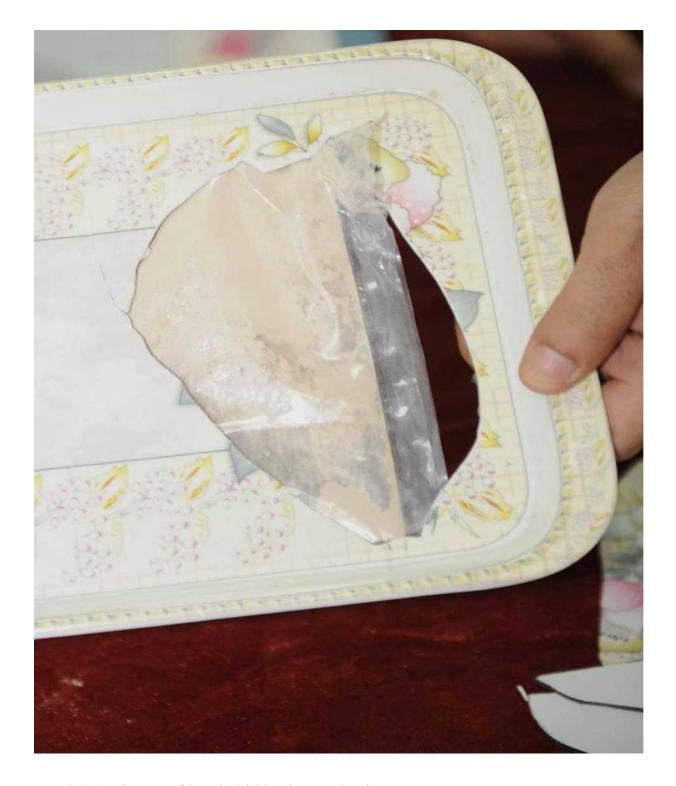


Image 2.5: An image of heroin hidden in a melamine tray

Source: Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force, 2011:14

2.5.4 Counter measures to combat drug trafficking

Profiling

Profiling is used for investigative purposes to asses criminals' psyche, behavioural patterns as well as their demographic information (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:15). This method is usually established from clues obtained at a crime scene (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:15). In relation to this study, the question that arose was is: *How does one link a trafficker to a 'crime scene'*?

According to Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven (2015:16), the aim in profiling criminals is to concentrate on risk factors that may contribute towards a person potentially becoming a trafficker. Such profiling takes cognisance of social interaction and demographic background without being prejudiced (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:16). Moreover, Rijken, Muraszkiewiez and Ven (2015:16) maintain that research into trafficking as well as the literature relating to trafficking is limited; the information that does exist comes from a victim's recollection and perspective, legal documents that are made available, evidence from seizures or busts, as well as from media reports.

Madlala (2013:1) shares the incident of a Bolivian medical student who was arrested at King Shaka International Airport in 2013. He was in possession of pure cocaine with a street value of R600 000. It was indicated that the drugs were intended for a businessman in the Durban area. A police source revealed to the reporter that the cocaine trade in Durban was "kept alive" by the rich. It is noteworthy that the student had been profiled by crime intelligence because he had entered South Africa more than 6 times in a couple of months from Tanzania or Dubai, using fraudulent documents each time (Madlala, 2013:1). The drugs that he carried had been sealed well in a silicone bag and taped with resin in an attempt to deter sniffer dogs from the smell of the drugs. In a separate incident another student had flown to South Africa on a flight from Brazil to Dubai en route to

Durban where he was apprehended with R6.5 million worth of crystal methamphetamine. It was subsequently discovered that this student had been a regular drug mule for the Brazilian drug Mafia (Madlala, 2013:1). This arrest was also a result of profiling.

Research conducted by Rijken, Muraszkiewiez and Ven (2015: 28) delved into human trafficking in the following countries: Romaina, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, England, and Cyprus. The findings revealed that most of the traffickers were foreign nationals (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:28), that the educational level of the traffickers was low (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:29), and that their criminal history reflected that they were not first time offenders (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:33). These traffickers displaying a history relating to other trafficking crimes as well as that of illicit drug trafficking. The motivation for choosing this line of work was listed as: financial gain, addictive lifestyle, and fun and power, to name a few (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:36).

Profiling has been criticised over the years as a tool that poses difficulty in measuring its effectiveness, goals and outcomes (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:15). The principles of profiling are rather subjective, because in essence the profiler is providing a personal assessment of what and who the criminal could be. Another critique in this regard is that personal judgements may be based on the profiler's personal disposition (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:15). Because the profiler is to some extent making an educated guess, this has also brought into question the uncertainty that is associated with 'creative interpreting' as, in some instances, it may lead to the confirmation of bias (Rijken, Muraszkiewiez, & Ven, 2015:15). According to Petherick (2012:118), creative interpreting is the process whereby an individual may look at information that is ambiguous in nature, and from that point draw up a profile. The issue here is that the ambiguity could go either way; and therein lies the dispute, as there is a 50% chance of accuracy with the equal chance of a 50% inaccuracy (Petherick, 2012:118).

Demand, Supply and Harm Reduction

Illicit drug trafficking has seen a rapid escalation in recent years, having now extended to developing countries (World Health Organisation, 1984:141), and therefore innovative initiatives to find solutions are vital. Initiatives to address demand reduction, supply reduction and harm reduction have been taken and all aim to take measures against illicit drug use and trafficking (World Health Organisation, 1984:141). According to NDMP (2013-2017: 29), 'demand reduction' targets existing users as well as those not yet exposed to drug use. The idea around this initiative is to provide users with knowledge pertaining to drugs in an effort to change the thought processes to a negative one relating to drugs. Another aim is to delay the initiation of drug use (National Drug Strategy, 2010-2015:ii). This initiative also aims at imposing greater restrictions on drugs such as alcohol by increasing the legal age limit for use.

'Supply reduction' on the other hand is aimed at dealing with the availability of drugs as well as reducing their production and supply (National Drug Strategy, 2010-2015:ii). One example of the sanctions in place in supply reduction is to prohibit the farming of certain plant-based drugs. Another strategy is crop fires; this strategy aims to destroy illegal crops on farms by burning them (NDMP, 2013-2017:29).

'Harm reduction' is a treatment-based initiative that targets those users already experiencing the damages that have resulted from prolonged drug use. The aim of this approach is not only to diminish the harm caused by drugs, but also to address the social and economic concerns related to drug use and addiction (National Drug Strategy, 2010-2015:ii). Strategies include assisting the user with aftercare and skills for reintegration into society (NDMP, 2013-2017:29).

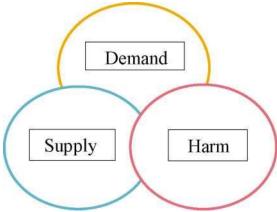


Figure 2.1: Summation of twitches

The above diagram illustrates the joint initiative methods to address demand, supply and harm reduction in order to assist in the reduction of substance abuse. Source: NDMP, 2013-2017:29.

Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:151) maintains that a co-operative initiative between government, the criminal justice system and law enforcement towards drug-related harm will render the best results against the supply and demand of drugs.

Policy and Law Enforcement

South Africa has many initiatives in place to combat drug trafficking. For example, the National Prosecutor of Public Prosecutions authorized the introduction of Investigative Directorates on Organised Crime (IDOC), the Asset Forfeiture Unit (AFU), and the Directorate for Special Operations (known as the 'Scorpions') (UNODC, 2002:87). However, due to various reasons – most that are unknown - the Directorate for Special Operations was dismantled. According to Soobramoney (2013:1), the dismantling of the drug and tracking task teams at cluster level in all provinces allegedly occurred due to internal audit reviews that indicated that police stations did not have sufficient manpower at station level to combat other crimes if so much attention was given to drug-related crimes (Soobramoney, 2013:1). In the same article the task team's previous success rate from 1 October 2012 to 31 December 2012 was revealed.

The number of cases that were handled by drug task teams amounted to 630 and the number of arrests were 672. The quantities of drugs seized were as follows:

• heroine straws: 48 418

• marijuana: 1 407 kg

• Mandrax tablets: 2 265

• crack cocaine (blocks): 1 568

The total street value of these hauls was R9 650 065 and the total number of cash seized amounted to R1 984 779 (Soobramoney, 2013:1).

The War on Drugs

Research speaks to the numerous initiatives in place to combat illicit drug trafficking, the results of which have been unfavourable. According to the UNODC, World Drug Report (2010:232), efforts to stop drug trafficking may in fact act as a catalyst towards an upsurge of violence. It is noted that smaller illicit organisations may then become "pray to their rivals, and any attempt to close in on one organisation will only result in different drug trafficking syndicates progressing", and thus expanding their operations (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2010:232). This view is corroborated by Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:151), whose study also addressed the issue of displacement, which is later discussed in this chapter. Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:151) argues that the key goal in any anti-drug strategy is to reduce the availability of drugs. However, putting a stop to supply and demand is not as simple as many consider, as dealers will always supply in a demand in innovative ways (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:151).

In 2011, Dr J. P. van Niekerk addressed the argument surrounding the legalization of drugs. He stated:

"The war on drugs has failed! Humans have always taken psychoactive substances and prohibition has never kept them from doing so. The international evidence suggests that drug policy has very limited impact on the overall level of drug use. Making people criminals for taking psychoactive substances is in itself criminal, for one is dealing with, at worst, a vice but not a crime." (Kalunta-

Crumpton, 2015:150).

Murphy (1996:59) maintains that decriminalizing drugs will aid in lower numbers of offenders in courts, lower numbers in correctional facilities, and high cost savings. The argument here is that the consumption of alcohol is legal, yet individuals still abuse this substance. Legalization will indeed provide many benifits such as ensuring stringent quality control on the composition of formerly illicit drugs. On the other hand, substantial research will need to be conducted into the legalization of drugs before a standpoint can be taken on this matter. One thing is for sure, research has indicated that drug trafficking will not be declining any time soon.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the history of drug trafficking, the classification of drugs, knowledge of and perceptions about drugs, poverty in South Africa as a motivational factor for drug abuse and trafficking, the routes used to traffic drugs, the trends related to this crime, how crime and drugs are interconnected, and counter measures in place to assist against drug trafficking. The chapters to follow will provide additional insight into this crime.

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Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In the book entitled "Criminological theories: introduction and evaluation", Akers argues that theories are viewed by some researchers in a negative light because they may be seen to "involve no more than impractical mental gymnastics" (Akers, 2013:1). However, Akers nobly defends the essential importance of theories by pointing out that certain relationships have a direct link to one another; for instance, the impact that a high unemployment rate has in relation to the increase in crime. Akers (2013:1) further argues that theories assist us in making sense of existing facts and allows us to test what is known against the unknown. This is supported by Curran and Renzeti (1994:2), who define a theory as "a set of interconnected statements or propositions that explain how two or more events or factors are related to one another."

Considering that the focus of this study centred on illicit drug trafficking, a real concern was that most theories tend to focus on drug use and drug abuse as opposed to drug trafficking. In light of the foregoing, this chapter draws on three criminological theories to explain drug trafficking, specifically:

- the Routine Activity Theory, which is a subdivision of the Rational Choice Theory;
- the Developmental Smuggling Model (DSM), which was employed in conjunction with the Routine Activity Theory; and the
- Differential Association Theory.

3.2 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The three theories referred to above may serve to assist in explaining both the rationale and the motivation for the illicit drug trade and the personnel involved (Aronowitz et al., 2010:30).

3.2.1 Routine Activity Theory

The key contributors to the Routine Activity paradigm are Marcus Felson and Lawrence E. Cohen. It was developed in 1979 and is sometimes referred to as the Lifestyle Theory (Miller, 2014:263). Routine Activity theory is, as stated, a subdivision of the Rational Choice Theory, which illustrates the significance of social interaction in the victimization of others (Ceccato, 2012:27). The premise for the Routine Activity Theory is that, for a crime to take place, three elements are required:

- (1) a motivated offender with criminal intentions and the ability to act on these preferences;
- (2) a suitable target; and
- (3) the absence of a capable guardian (Miller, 2014:736).

Routine Activity Theory does not provide the reasons that motivate an offender to commit a crime (Paulsen, Bair, & Helms, 2009:13); however, the assumption is that the motivation exists (Cullen & Wilcox, 2010:187). With reference to a suitable target, Gerber and Jensen (2007: 254) state that, depending on the nature of the crime, the suitable target can take a number of forms. For example, a suitable target maybe an object such as a 'straw' of heroin someone intends to steal, or it may even be more traditional forms of property. In addition, Derek et al. (2009:13) maintain that the absence of a capable 'guardian' may be anything that allows the suitable target to be victimized. The guardian in this sense does not have to be a person; nor, indeed, does the suitable target (Gaines & Miller, 2008:56). Guardianship may in fact be video surveillance, security systems, or even something more nebulous such as the lack of laws or legislature in relation to a particular crime (Mustaine & Tewksbury,

1999:63, 62). The presence of physical security measures helps to reduce the access to the suitable target (Forest, 2006: 235). In this context, the land, air and maritime borders of South Africa are possibly going to continue to be exposed to trafficking (Meyer, 1962:13) because of the absence of adequate capacity to successfully implement safeguarding measures (South African Defense Review, 2012:131).

One of the social activities that is given distinct consideration in Routine Activity Theory is that of alcohol and illicit drug usage (Cullen & Wilcox, 2010:189). Studies have indicated that there is a direct correlation between criminal behaviour and drug use; in particular, violence is increased when drug use occurs in the context of the young adult society (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003:56). The correlation between drug use and criminal activity is also validated by Bennet, Trevor, Holloway and Katy (2005:78), whose study addressed drug use and crime relationships. According to these authors, in some instances the desire for drugs may cause a direct trajectory towards crime or, conversely, a life dominated by crime may result in drug use (Bennet et al., 2005:78). Reynald (2013:14) indicates that when a guardian has been identified as either a security guard, police officer or any member of law enforcement, such personnel would be well aware of specific areas or locations where crimes such as drug trafficking would flourish. As a result, these areas (clubs, bars or shebees¹⁵) would most probably be under surveillance (Adams & Blinka, 2014:59). Alternatively, Cullen and Wilcox (2013:7) argue that when someone frequents areas where drugs are easily accessible (such as clubs, shebeens, or bars), they are allowing themselves to be exposed to possible criminal activities. This observation is validated by Karmen (2015:168), who states that people allow themselves to be exposed to strangers in some of these locations, which is fraught with an element of uncertainty. Gaines and Kremling (2013:99) support this view and add that, in certain instances, routine financial and societal occurrences may contribute in explaining the inconsistencies in trends and patterns of illicit drug trafficking and drug use.

¹⁵ Shebeen is a word of Irish origin, defined as "an illicit bar where alcoholic beverages are sold without a licence". In South Africa the word shebeen is known as an informal licensed area where alcohol is sold in an unlicensed premise (Smith, 2012:215).

Additionally, Davis (2005) maintains that areas that have a high frequency of drug distribution and usage could also be areas of recruitment for crimes such as drug trafficking. It is in such areas where victims' inhibitions are lowered and they are thus less suspicious of being lured into criminal activities. Cullen and Wilcox (2013:7) validate Davis's (2005) statement by sharing that drug usage may inhibit individuals from protecting themselves, which in turn reduces guardianship and the helplessness of the target is thus enhanced.

The limitation of the Routine Activity Theory is that it ignores the background of the offender (Ross, 2013:361). If an individual has been raised on good values and comes from a secure and loving home, then, even though the opportunity for criminal activity presents itself, such individuals very often refrain from criminal activity (Tierney, 2009:113). Gaines and Kremling (2013:100) support this view by stating that the General Theory of Crime stipulates that when one is raised in a good home and provided with the necessary skills to implement self-control, this is effective in deterring a person from criminal activity. Conversely, the General Theory of Crime notes that poor parenting may result in low self-control, and research has shown that individuals with low self-control indicate a higher likelihood of engaging in criminal activities (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:100). An additional limitation to the theory of Routine Activity is the problem of how one measures what is rational for everyone. If a reasonable person understands rational behaviour, then it can be argued that, equally, a criminal will accept the committing of a crime as rational (Miller, 2014:740).

The Routine Activity Theory is based on the notion that, for a crime to be committed, the criminal will carefully consider if the benefits outweigh the costs (Glick, 2004:78). In relation to substance abuse offenders, the decision to take drugs has been reported to be related to the benefits that are associated with their use (Petraitis et al., 1995:67-86). Conversely, when considering the distribution of drugs, MacCoun and Reuter (1992:8) found a correlation between drug dealing and the economics of the trade. They established that drug dealers' involvement in the drug trade was frequently motivated simply by a desire for an additional income. Aronowitz et al. (2010: 32) add that, quite simply, in order

to undermine that which entices a trafficker towards his or her specific target or victim, a more effective prevention programme should be implemented with the ultimate aim of disrupting criminal activity. This author warns that locations such as those mentioned above, where specific targets and victims are recruited, can be investigated (Aronowitz et al., 2010:32).

3.2.2 Developmental Smuggling Model

The second theory considered for this study is a relatively new one, referred to as the Developmental Smuggling Model (DSM). The key contributor to this model is Dr Terrance G. Lichtenwald. According to Lichtenwald (2004:14), the model came about when an individual he examined to determine his fitness to stand trial claimed to be an international drug smuggler. Lichtenwald then carried out in-depth interviews paired

with psychological testing and cross-evaluation of information available in the United States government's records from databases made available by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to name the most prominent organisations concerned in the investigation. The outcome, which took seven years, provided an in-depth survey of the behaviour of individuals and organisations involved in drug smuggling (Lichtenwald, 2003:16). The three-phase Developmental Smuggling Model emerged from this investigation. One of the main outcomes of the investigation was that smuggling operations are, what Lichtenwald terms, a "natural developmental process" (Lichtenwald, 2004:14).

The Developmental Smuggling Model makes use of a three-phase evolving model which is used to detect both smugglers and smuggling organizations alike (Lichtenwald, 2003:20). The three phases are as follows:

• *Phase I*: Smugglers usually sell enough to meet their own financial needs. This is the category into which a so-called 'drug mule' would fall. Smugglers in this cluster are usually the offenders most frequently caught by police and government officials (Lichtenwald, 2003: 22).

• *Phase II*: Smugglers are the group that receive the most media attention. Phase II has two different sub-types of individuals and is also further divided into three different types of structures.

The two different categories are Subtype 1 and Subtype 2. Subtype 1 consists of individuals that are well-known to each other and often share a common value system. They may also refer to each other as friends (Lichtenwald, 2004:14-15). Although Subtype 2 consists of a group such as a mob, syndicate or gang whose individuals may have a common value system, they may not have established a friendship, as the individuals from Subtype 1 do (Lichtenwald, 2004:15).

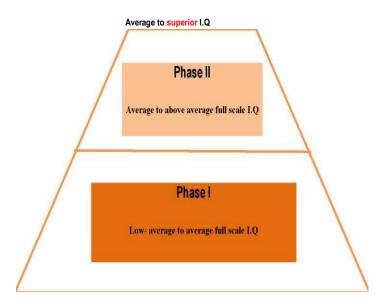
Then, in addition to the subtypes, Phase II has three different structures which may be divided into three types. Type 1 is a small business that is usually established for the sole purpose of smuggling. The second type (Type 2) of this organisation is where a legitimate business turns to smuggling in an effort to cover its operational expenses. This is followed by Type 3, which is usually the largest of all three enterprises. Type 3 includes airline, shipping, boating and land transport industries that may be incorporated into the smuggling operation. Lichtenwald (2004:15) adds that smugglers from Type 3 usually fulfil a managerial role within the organisation.

It has been stated that trafficking organisations function as legitimate businesses (Desroches, 2005:38) and that, like a legitimate business, the trafficker's ultimate goal is to obtain higher profits while reducing operating expenses (Lyman, 1997:169). According to Aronowitz et al. (2010:32), one cannot help but wonder how decisions to reduce operating expenses may be reached. Whelan and Msefer (1996:6) state that the concept of supply and demand stems from the Economic Theory. For the consumer to display traits of 'demand', two aspects are required, namely taste and the ability to buy, whereas 'supply' is related to the quantity of the goods offered at a single value (Whelan & Msefer, 1996:9). Hanson at al. (2011:107) argue for the need for a concerted effort to ensure a more effective reduction of supply and demand relating to drug use initiatives. (Ghodse, 2008:193)

These authors are adamant that more effective legislature is needed on drug polices and rehabilitation programs and that intervention is required on proper values, behaviour and attitudes. They further propose that these could all aid in drug prevention strategies which should ideally result in supply and demand reduction (p. 107).

Phase III: Smugglers are noted as being 'born and raised' in an environment where smuggling is not only accepted, but also encouraged (Delmas & Young, 2009:103).
 These individuals are raised with a strong family history of smuggling. Phase III individuals have sophisticated their craft and have been known to delve into counter intelligence, money laundering, and other organised criminal activities (Lichtenwald, 2004:17).

Lichtenwald (2003:16) maintains that once evidence has been made available by an international smuggler, it is then cross-referenced with released government documents, sources open to the public, and published literature (Gedda, 2009:100). Once all these processes have taken place, only then is the evidence applied. This was the process that resulted in the development of the DSM (Lichtenwald, 2003:17). The Smuggling Model has been revised and critiqued by agents from several government services as well as criminal defense attorneys, all of whom are knowledgeable in trafficking. A final anecdote relates that the Developmental Smuggling Model was tested on two detainees who had been arrested for participating in smuggling operations (Lichtenwald, 2003:17) Due to the Developmental Smuggling Model being relatively new and the crime of drug trafficking rendering little or no extensive research, the limitations of this model are a few and far between.



<u>Figure 3.1</u>: *Summation of twitches*. Diagram depicting the three phases incorporated in drug trafficking.

Source: Adapted from Lichtenwald, 2003:20

3.2.3 Differential Association Theory

Differential Association Theory was created as early as 1937 by Edwin H. Sutherland (Cullen & Wilcox, 2010:1 059). Differential Association concentrates on social relations rather than on an individual's qualities or traits (Bottero, 2004:164). According to Soloman (1981:21), Differential Association is a logical consequence of the principle of learning by association (Akers, 2013:62). That is, "he who associates with thieves is very likely to become a thief" (Goodman, Steffensmeier, & Ulmer, 2005:57). Thomson (2004) adds that the key points to this learned behaviour is that the behaviour is learned in close relation to people in small groups from people whom one may consider important (Ellis & Tod, 2013:140). The learning process includes techniques as well as a specific set of motives, drives and attitudes. The premise of learned behaviour is that if you and the company you keep view the law as unfavourable, it will be easier to break from societal values and pursue a criminal career (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010:158). Additionally, if most people (people you socialize with) view the law as unfavourable, it is most likely that you will

side with the majority (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010:158). Kinnear (2009:96) supports this view by stating that those who are involved with youth gang activity are most likely learning how to be in a potential organised crime syndicate. Sutherland (as cited by Cullen & Wilcox, 2010:125) stipulates that nine basic principles are needed in this theory. These principles are:

- (1) Criminal behaviour is learned, which disputes any evidence that criminal behaviour is inherited (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010:158). Criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with people. According to Volt (1958), the common bond of association in every group is the sharing of interests, be it from drug usage to organised drug syndicates. It is inevitable that some groups will subscribe to and support criminal patterns of behaviour (Fijnaut & Paoli, 2007:362), and this may even be linked to that sense of camaraderie one may feel when engaging in crimes such as drug trafficking.
- (2) Because criminal behaviour is learnt through interactions with small groups of people, it is argued that movies, newspapers and plays hold an insignificant role in one becoming a criminal (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010:158).
- (3) Once criminal behaviour has been learnt, the learning includes techniques of how to commit the crime as well as attitudes, motives and specific drives (Coleman & Norris, 2013:36).

- (4) When one understands what behaviour is deemed favourable as opposed to what is deemed unfavourable, this assist in the directions of motives and drives for criminal activity (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010:158).
- (5) When one notices the amount of money that can be obtained from committing a criminal act (Caliyurt & Idowu, 2012:153), for instance drug trafficking and the amount of income that can be generated from this crime as opposed to working in a legitimate employment setting, the criminal activity then becomes a more favourable option (Goode, 2015: 95).
- (6) Differential association may vary due to the rate of recurrence, length of time, significance and intensity (Cressey, 2012:18)
- (7) The process of learning criminal behaviour involves all the mechanisms involved in any other learning process (Siegel, 2011:237).
- (8) Whilst criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values (Elsenbroich & Gilbert, 2013:54), it is not explained by these general needs and values.

A motivating factor for a drug trafficker may be monetary gain; however, this may also be the motivating factor for the honest labourer (Cressey, 2012:18).

Durand and Barlow (2015: 428) list factors that enhance the development of future crimes that, once paired with the environment, act as social predispositions. These factors are: negative peer influences, academic failure, unemployment, poor housing, bad schools, and overcrowding.

Below is a diagram that illustrates these factors.



<u>Figure 3.2</u>: *Summation of twitches:* Diagram of Sutherland's Differential Association Theory.

Source: Cullen & Wilcox, 2010:901.

A limitation of the Differential Association Theory (Siegel, 2008:205) is that there are some people who act individually without any influence from their peers. Earlier, Volt (1958) noted that not everyone who comes into contact with criminality adopts or follows the criminal pattern. The question that comes to mind here is: *What causes some people to be influenced by their peers and others not to be lead astray?* (Martin, 2012: 22). One suggestion is that those that are not influenced may have stronger family values, a 'better' upbringing, and possibly belong to a closer knit family (Volt, 1958). Towl et al. (2013:101) argue that family factors are amongst the most important predictors of delinquency and criminality. In this context, the following variables show a link between behaviour and offending (Palmer, 2013:7), namely: drug trafficking, parental abuse, child abuse, marital conflict, neglect, and erratic and inconsistent punishment. It has also been proposed that will-power plays a role as to why some are not as easily influenced as others (de Lange, 2010:98).

Debates that are centred on free will address the issue whether individuals have a free choice with respect to their actions (Erwin, 2002:215). According to Machan (2009:48), the assumption around free will is that one either has free will or not; however, it seems much more likely that free will lies on a continuum (Rose, 2011) and that there are different degrees to which each of us has a free choice in most of our daily actions (Wilson, 2015:167).

Wilson adds that the problem that arises from one using the term 'free will' in relation to crime is that each person's background, level of education and discipline would ultimately render a different connotation to the term 'free will'. For instance, those known as 'compatibilists' acknowledge the existence of free will, whereas those that classify themselves as 'hard determinists', which is a term that falls under 'incompatibilists' deny the existence of free will (Wilson, 2015:167). Similarly, the discussion around 'dispositional mindfulness' argues that one who employs a dispositional mindfulness mentality lives in the moment and is in constant

¹⁶ An incompatibilist rejects free will and is of the belief that man has to be the original cause of an action (Wilson, 2015:169).

consideration of one's own thoughts, actions and attitude (Baer et al., 2006:27-45). Similar to free will, dispositional mindfulness is said to vary on an individual basis (Baer et al., 2006:27-45). With that in mind, both free will and dispositional mindfulness are valid limitations to the Differential Association Theory.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided an evaluation of three theories that are relevant to illicit drug trafficking. These theories are: the Routine Activity Theory, the Developmental Smuggling Model (DSM), and the Differential Association Theory. The discussion centred aroud how each theory presents a different approach to how one may view the crime of drug trafficking (Lemieux, 2013:261), how one may gain a unique understanding of the illicit drug trade (Ghodse, 2008:153), and the reasons for the motivation to engage in such a crime.

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Chapter 4

Research Methodology and Design

4.1 Introduction

In recent years, research pertaining to understanding societies at large has shifted from the side lines to becoming a main focus (Singh, 2006:1). This could be attributed to a number of reasons, one of which being the growth in societal progression (Singh, 2006:1). The word 'research' is described by Kumar as "a careful, systematic, patient study and investigation into some field of knowledge, undertaken to establish facts or principles" (Kumar, 2005:3). Similarly, a more direct definition provided by Kothari (2004:18) is that research "refers simply to the search for knowledge".

When a researcher engages in a research project, a number of techniques are required (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011:65), all of which fall within the framework of research approaches (Kumar, 2005:2). Such approaches may be qualitative and/or quantitative. In addition, the methods employed must be tested for their validity and reliability (Hammond & Wellington, 2012:150). Also, the research must be designed to be both unbiased and objective (Brace, 2013:11). According to Kumar, it is the combination of the aforementioned points that culminates into the methodology that constitutes 'research' (Kumar, 2005:2).

In this chapter the researcher will address the process by means of which this research was conducted, with special attention being given to the design of this study, the tools used for data collection, the data analysis procedures, and the ethical considerations and research outcomes.

4.2 The Research Process

Using the Kumar model (2005:7) to achieve the desired study outcomes, a step-by-step process needed to be followed. These included the following:

Step 1: Formulating the research problem

Step 2: Extensive literature review

Step 3: Developing the objectives

Step 4: Preparing the research design

Step 5: Collecting the data

Step 6: Analysis of data

Step 7: Generalization and interpretation

Step 8: Preparation of the report

For the purpose of a discussion of the methodology employed in this study, steps 1 to 6 that were followed are illuminated below.

Step 1: Formulating the Research Problem

The initial step was to formulate the research problem (Holloway & Wheeler, 2013:31). This is the first step in the research process which allows the researcher to decide what it is he/she would like to uncover about a particular subject matter. In order for this process to be effective, Kumar (2005:9) insists that conditions need to be in place during the selection of the research problem (Cargan, 2007:18). As stated by Kumar (2005:9), these conditions are as follows: the researcher should have an *interest* in the topic, possess a *level of expertise*, ensure that the *topic is relevant*, make sure that *data can be made available*, and consider the *ethical issues* that are attached to the topic in question (Kumar, 2005:9).

Step 2: Literature Review

Kumar states that by reviewing the literature, this will in turn provide clarity in relation to the research problem, will advance the researcher's methodology, and extend the knowledge base in the particular research area. It will also aid in contextualizing the findings (Kumar, 2005:10).

Step 3: Developing the Objectives

Kumar (2005:13) suggests that understanding the purpose of objectives allows the researcher to set goals that he/she should aim to accomplish. The main research questions for this research were:

- 1. Who gets illicit drugs into and within Durban?
- 2. Where do illicit drugs get into and within Durban?
- 3. Why do illicit drugs get into and within Durban?
- 4. What is *being done to stop* illicit drugs getting into and within Durban?
- 5. What is *not* being done to stop illicit drugs getting into and within Durban?

6. What *should be done* to stop illicit drugs getting into and within Durban?

Closely related to these questions, the objectives of this study were to:

- 1. identify the *nature* of illicit drug trafficking in Durban;
- 2. identify the *extent* of illicit drug trafficking in Durban;
- 3. establish *the knowledge of* and *perceptions about*, and *attitudes to*, drug trafficking networks in Durban;
- 4. Evaluate the efficacy of existing local and national policies and regulatory frameworks governing issues to do with illicit drug trafficking.

Step 4: Preparing the Research Design

Kothari (2004:31) defines 'research design' as a proposal, map or guide for data collection and interpretation. This means that the researcher will have to state the structure within which the research will take place (Kothari, 2004:31). Step 4 consists of the methods of data collection and sources of information – i.e., the sample design and the tools used for data collection (Kumar, 2005:19).

Step 5: Methods of Data Collection

This research utilised both primary and secondary methods of data collection (Kumar, 2005:19). The primary methods used in this study were twofold: (1) personal interviews were conducted with individuals (intercept interviewing) and (2) a focus group. (3) In addition, ethnographic research was undertaken. In this process the researcher was taken on a patrol of Chatsworth by local police officers. During the patrol the researcher was shown 'hot spots' where large quantities of drugs were

allegedly sold. The patrol with Chatsworth police officers also provided insight into the daily workings of the police in the Chatsworth region.

The collection of secondary data comprised the utilisation of newspaper reports, web sites, as well as information provided by the South African Police Services. This included statistics made available by non-government organisations that provide predominately drug related statistical information about South Africa's crime situation. Kothari (2004:128) maintains that when using secondary data, the researcher should take the following into consideration: the reliability of the secondary data, as well as their suitability and adequacy, as certain secondary data can be unreliable. The researcher was cognicant of the possibility of the unreliability of certain data during the analysis of the secondary data.

Determining Sample Design

The selection of the study participants was based on a non-probability sampling technique. According to Sekaran and Bougie (2010:276), non-probability sampling is when some elements of the population have no knowledge that they are being selected, which is sometimes referred to as 'out of coverage' or 'undercover' sampling. This method is favoured by many researchers because it is not time consuming and is cost efficient (Amandeep, 2014:146). Non-probability sampling methods include accidental sampling, quota sampling, and purposive sampling (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010:276-278). Because this research required information from individuals that would be familiar with this specific area of investigation, the use of purposive sampling was engaged, as proposed by Sensing (2011:84). Purposive (or purposeful) sampling, which is also known as 'judgmental sampling', is selected when the researcher uses his/her own experience to select a sample typical or knowledgeable of the population under study (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010:277). This is due to the surmise that the researcher has experience with regards to the topic in question (Kumar, 2005:25, 26). The disadvantage of using the non-probability sampling technique is that it gives rise to exclusion bias, thus placing limits on how much information a sample may provide about the particular population (Kothari, 2004:76).

Tools Used for Data Collection

For this particular research, an interview process was employed using a combination of close- and open-ended questions that had been prepared in the form of an 'interview schedule' by the researcher. According to Pentland et al. (2007:202), interviews allow for richer data to be obtained. This view is supported by Freeman et al. (2008:221), who add that the combination of both close- and open-ended questions allows for a more detailed response from the participants. For instance, if a participant mentions something that the researcher may not have considered, this may then be an advantage to the research as the information may be incorporated into the study (Aldwin, 2012:80). Moreover, Pentland et al. (2007: 202) maintain that an interview process should ideally be flexible, vibrant and semi-structured. This allows for the participants to provide a more subjective account during the interview (Pentland et al., 2007:202). Such interviews may result in the researcher having a better understanding of the issues at hand, and they may hence provide a basis from which possible solutions may be sought (Kumar, 2005:27).

Interviews

According to Pentland et al. (2007:202), in-depth interviews usually consist of the following variations: conversational, funneling, narrative, and storytelling. For this study a conversational model was employed. This is when an interview resembles everyday conversations but with a special focus on the researcher's need for data (Green, 2007:13). Green (2007:13) adds that conversational interviews are conducted in a labour intensive manner in order to guarantee a stringent validity and reliability process.

Validity, Reliability and Practicality

Validity is the degree to which an instrument measures that which it is designed to measure (Rubin & Babbie, 2009:85). Reliability addresses the consistency of the instrument; i.e., if the instrument consistently renders the same result, then that instrument can be regarded as reliable (Rubin & Babbie, 2009:87). Practicality in measuring an instrument is determined by how economical, convenient and

interpretable that instrument is (Kothari, 2004:90-92).

In this study the researcher used an interview schedule comprising open-ended questions to direct the interview discourse. Interviews were held with 17 participants. These participants varied from NGO employees, police officers, members of the organised Crime Unit, airport officials, harbour officials, drug dealers, informants, and a pharmacist. The second phase of interviews involved a focus group. This interview was conducted in Kharwastan (which is on the outskirts of Chatsworth) with 18 participants. Due to the difference in expertise that one participant had over another - considering their experience in specific fields - seven different sets of questions were asked, all of which were based on similar subject matter (Pentland et al., 2007:202). For example, the set of questions asked of and tailored to a police officer could not be asked to the pharmacist or members of the focus group. Pentland et al. (2007:202) indicate that matching questions to the participants' frame of reference allows for establishing rapport with the participants. In this study, the anonymity that stemmed from the interview schedule with pre-designed questions that were flexibly applied to the various interviews ensured the validity and reliability of the data, because the participants were not required to reveal their personal details (Marrow et al, 2015:185).

Face-to-face interviews have one great advantage over other methods of data collection in that they enable the researcher to develop rapport with the participants, which in turn ensures their cooperation (Kothari, 2004:117-121). According to Dantzer and Hunter (2006:147), the potential disadvantages of interviews are that interviewer bias¹⁷ may be present, guiding the cues ¹⁸that may impact on the validity and reliability of the research. However, with semistructured interviews, the researcher is able to clarify any misinterpretations and allow the participants to provide for a more detailed description (Burns, 2012:83). This will result in rich data being obtained (Sheldon, Davies, & Howells, 2012). However, if a small sample size

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¹⁷ Interviewer bias refers to the influence of the interviewer in manipulating the results of the research (Kothari, 2004: 120).

¹⁸ Non-verbal cues may be displayed by the researcher subconsciously; an example of this could be facial expressions in relation to what the interviewee has relayed during the course of the interview (Silva, Healey, Harris, Broeck, 2014:151).

is used, the findings will not be reflective of the wider general population (Mansi et al., 2015:5).

Focus Group

As formerly indicated, a focus group was also utilised in this study for primary data collection purposes. Fern (2001: 97) defines a focus group as "a qualitative research tool that entails the recoding of responses and a detailed transcription from one to two hour group discussion led by a facilitator". By utilising a focus group, the researcher was able to gathered in-depth knowledge through listening to the participants. This allowed the researcher to collect more data in a short time as opposed to individual interviews (Holloway & Wheeler, 2013:125). One advantage of using a focus group is that, due to group relations, this may elicit more data (Hennink, 2007:117). Moreover, focus groups may generate questions that the researcher may not have considered. Additionally, focus groups counterbalance the trend to over rely on what is quantifiable (Connaway & Powell, 2010:175-177). According to Connaway and Powell (2010:175-177) and Hennink (2007:117), one disadvantage associated with focus group interviews is that, due to group dynamics, there may be unbalanced results. Other disadvantages are that the information collected may be suppressed or be biased resulting from the lack of confidentiality and anonymity and the results that are rendered cannot be generalised to the wider community (Connaway & Powell, 2010:177; Hennink, 2007:117). For this study, the researcher conducted one focus group discussion with that was held in Kharwastan.

Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research is a form of phenomenological qualitative research (Rubin & Babbie, 2009:218). When a researcher undertakes ethnographic research, he or she is in essence submersing him-/herself into the values, beliefs and principles of a community in an attempt to understand and describe that community. According to Wallen and Fraenkel (2013:475), there are many advantages in conducting ethnographic research, the main advantage being that the researcher gains insight into a community's day-to-day activities and can deduce happenings on the researcher's

own accord as opposed to being told how things occur in an interview. Myers (2013:97) adds that one possible disadvantage of ethnographic research is the amount of data the researcher has to sift through. In addition, one would have to be in a set community for a lengthy period to uncover actual data, as day-to-day life is unpredictable (Robben & Sluka, 2012:75). During the data collection period of this study, the researcher was taken on a patrole of the Chatsworth community to gain insight into the drug epidemic in that specific community (Orcutt & Rudy, 2003:257).

All the results from the interviews, the focus group discussion and the ethnographic research are discussed in-depth in Chapters 5 and 6.

Collecting the Data

Ethical Issues

During the data collection process it is imperative that the researcher follows a strict set of ethical guidelines (Pastorino & Doyle-Portillo, 2015:20). Therefore, before the data could be collected from the participants, their informed consent needed to be obtained in writing, as suggested by Wallen and Fraenkel (2013: 478). Once informed consent had been given in writing, the researcher then obtained permission for the use of a dictaphone, which aided in recording the interviews. This was vital as the recordings were used when the interviews were transcribed (Kumar, 2005: 29). Illicit drug trafficking is a sensitive subject matter and it might have been potentially life-threating when participants shared information regarding this crime, as warned by Kumar (2005:30). Moreover, questions on drug use are intrusive. For these reasons the researcher needed to be sensitive towards the respondents and reassure them that their privacy would be protected and that the sources would remain unknown (Marsh, 2014:53). It was also important that the researcher employed a personal set of ethical guidelines to protect the identity of the respondents (Sieber, 2012:152). Every effort was therefore made to use the shared information appropriately, to report the data correctly and unambiguously, and to seek to avoid bias on an ongoing basis (Kumar, 2005:41).

Ethical clearance for this research was approved on 2 October 2012 by the Humanities

and Social Science Research Ethics Committee, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, subject to gatekeeper permission from the South African Police Services (SAPS). An application was then submitted to the South African Police Services (researcher division) to obtain gatekeeper permission. This was approved on 11 January 2013. Permission to conduct the study was granted in terms of SAPS National Instruction Policy 1 of 2006. This resulted in full approval for this study, granted on the 31 January 2013 by the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus (see Anexure C).

Gaining Access to Participants

The aim of this research was to gain insight into the perceptions and knowledge of illicit drug trafficking with particular focus on affected communities. Finding individuals relevant to the study and having them agree to participate in the research posed obvious problems (Durand & Barlow, 2012:109). With regards to drug traffickers, smugglers and dealers, the researcher came into contact with individuals that were or had been involved in this crime and who were willing to participate in this research (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2009:497). This was achieved through the snowball sampling method. Vogt (1999), as cited by Miller and Brewer (2003:275), provides the following definition of snowballing: "Snowballing is a way in which a researcher gains access to his or her research participants." This process gets impetus as one research participant provides the researcher with the name of another possible research participant, who then provides the name of a third participant, which is a continuous process (Maxfield & Babbie, 2011:198). Snowballing was a preferred choice, as gaining access to participants such as a drug dealer could not be achieved through conventional methods like email or being referred (Maxfield & Babbie, 2011:198). This is validated by Katz (2006:4), who states that snowballing is a nonprobability sampling method, which is often employed in hidden populations where researchers have difficulty accessing participants such as drug users or commercial sex workers.

Location of Study Site

The study sites of this research were Inanda, Chatsworth, Kharwastan, Durban Central Business District, Durban Harbour, King Shaka International Airport (Cargo terminal), Phoenix, Windermere and then the city of Pietermaritzburg, which is about 80 km from these other sites in the eThewkwini municipality. The duration of data collection occurred between 19 June 2013 and 1 December 2013. The researcher conducted both scheduled and unscheduled interviews. The initial stages of the research was met more with unscheduled interviews by visiting different police stations, walking around the harbour and the airport, and by making enquiries as to who would be willing to participate in the research or who would be willing to assist with the research. This was met with mixed reactions, and hardly any vital information came from these interviews. The positive outcome from these unscheduled interviews was when some individuals provided the researcher with reference to possible participants to interview.

Step 6: Analysis of the Data

The process of analysing the data involved summarizing the collected data. That had been been and organising them in a way that would answer the research questions that had initially been formulated (Kumar, 2005:31). According to Kapiszewski (2015:215), prior to field protocol the researcher should consider the guidelines for protocol contents which consist of: question order, tone of the questions, as well as the wording, which all work towards yielding useful data.

Data Analysis Methods

Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2010:434) state that some qualitative researchers may, to some extent, be blinded to the separation between data collection and data analysis. According to Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2010:434), this may be attributed to the data collection and data analysis phases usually occurring concurrently. For this study the researcher analysed the data manually.

These steps of analysis consisted of:

- (1) manually transcribing the conversations of the interviews and the focus group;
- (2) reading through the interviews and focus group transcriptions in an effort to find similarities amongst the data;
- (3) identifying recurring themes in the data;
- (4) grouping the emerging themes together in direct response to specific questions that had been posed to the research participants that would address the research questions; and
- (5) documenting the events that took place whilst on patrol with the Chatsworth police officers. (Monette, Sullivan, & DeJong, 2010:434)

For this study, the researcher applied both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. Quantitative data were obtained from a perusal of the secondary sources; i.e., police reports, newspaper articles and reports by The South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU).

Qualitative data were obtained from interviews conducted with police officials within the eThekwini metropolitan area, harbour officials, airport officials, a drug dealer, a pharmacist, informants, and members of NGOs, as well as the focus group.

The researcher used grounded theory in analysing the data. Grounded theory is an intense research process which leads to the groupings of collective results (Kumar, 2005:33). All the interviews were transcribed by the researcher, and during the analysis process themes were identified and coded (Best, 2014:24). Once the emerging themes had been identified and coded, the researcher again perused the transcriptions and then classified the responses under their corresponding themes. In

order to adhere to the anonymity requirement, no names were used in the analysis or will be reported. Each participant was allocated a number which was in relation to the date in which the interview took place, for instance the first interview will be referred to as Participant 1 [NGO], and so on (Kumar, 2005:34).

In this study the researcher came across a variety of themes throughout the data analysis process. These themes were as follows:

- (1) Money (financial reward) is a motivating factor for the trafficking of drugs.
- (2) Foreign nationals are the main culprits in illicit drug trafficking in KwaZulu-Natal.
- (3) Lack of proper boarder control in South Africa is a contributing factor for the entry of illicit drugs into South Africa.
- (4) Popular drugs indicated being trafficked into Durban include sugars (which are drugs consisting of a mixture of various drugs), heroin, cocaine and marijuana.
- (5) Unemployment, lack of traditional family values and non-existent parental influences are social and economic contributors to the effects of drug trafficking.
- (6) In relation to South Africa's policies and legislation on drugs, there was a mixed response: Some interviewees were for and some were against current legislation.
- (7) Following from the aforementioned, more stringent precursor laws were noted as a significant requirement.
- (8) When asked where the responsibility rests in terms of tackling the crime of illicit drug trafficking, the respondents held mixed perceptions. Some believed it was solely the responsibility of the police, while others felt it was a community issue, and therefore should be dealt with by the community.
- (9) Most participants felt that not enough was being done to curb the crime of

illicit drug trafficking.

(10) Five participants spoke strongly of the need for a designated drug unit in South Africa.

4.3 Conclusion

Chapter Four surveyed the research methodology procedures that were used to obtain data for the topic of illicit drug trafficking that was the key focus of this study. As mentioned in this chapter, the data needed to answer the initial research questions (Kumar, 2005:31). Chapter four provided an understanding of the methodology that this study employed during the duration of the data collection and analysis processes. By using qualitative research techniques, the researcher was able to uncover themes that emerged from the data analysis process. The chapter to follow provides in-depth insight as to the knowledge and perceptions of illicit drug trafficking in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

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Chapter 5

Data Collection and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

Social science in today's society is heavily reliant on data analysis (Arfi, 2010:155). In this context, Peck, Olsen and Devour (2011:6) offer insight into data collection and the process of analysis. Accordingly, Peck, Olsen and Devour (2011:6) state that data collection and analysis mutually consist of a set method which allows the researcher to first plan the process in which data are to be collected, and then to decide which results should be made known with reference to the data that were collected. These views are corroborated by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2010:657). In addition, Peck, Olsen, and Devour (2011:6) argue that, in order for data collection and analysis to be effective, the following steps should be utilised:

- (1) Understand the nature of the problem.
- (2) Consider what information is required to answer the set research questions.
- (3) Ascertain if existing knowledge on the subject matter suffices or if new data need to be collected.
- (4) Review and condense the data that have been collected.
- (5) Engage in formal data analysis.
- (6) Lastly, interpret the results (Peck, Olsen, & Devour, 2011:6).

South Africa has one of the largest emerging markets of illicit drugs entering the country (Benn & Hall, 2000: 309). This problem has escalated to such an extent that South Africa now features on the map of international drug trafficking networks. Illicit drug trafficking is a well-known problem generally (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2011:8). This chapter offers further investigation into the data obtained pertaining to

the research questions, and the research exploration into the critical subject of illicit drug trafficking. A specific focus of this chapter is to report on field work data collection and analysis.

5.2 Brief Overview of Methods and Materials

The fieldwork research component of the study comprised three parts: semi-structured interviews; ethnographic research; and a focus group encounter. The interviews were conducted with 17 participants; however, the responses of only 11 of the 17 participants were included in the analysis and evaluation because six interviews rendered information that did not address the purposes of the study.

The 11 participants were:

- 2x representatives from a non-government organisation
- 3x police officers
- 1x member of the Organised Crime Unit of the SAPS
- 1x airport official (Cargo terminal)
- 1x harbour official
- 1x drug dealer
- 1x informant
- 1x pharmacist

The focus group discussion was conducted in Kharwastan (which is on the outskirts of Chatsworth) with 18 participants who were knowledgeable in the field of illicit drug trafficking. Ethnographic research was also conducted when the researcher was taken on a patrole of the Chatsworth areas where most drugs are sold. Moreover, the researcher was shown the daily workings of the police in the Chatsworth region.

The study site of this research comprised various areas, namely: Inanda, Chatsworth, Kharwastan, Durban Central Business District (CBD), Durban harbour, King Shaka International Airport (Cargo terminal), Phoenix, Windermere, and the city of Pietermaritzburg (some 80 km from Durban).

The period of data collection occurred between 19 June 2013 and 1 December 2013. The researcher conducted both scheduled and unscheduled interviews. The scheduled interviews carried the bulk of informative data, the results of which are discussed in the analyses below.

5.3 Data Analysis

The researcher used Grounded Theory in analysing the data. According to Alston and Bowles (2003:208), Grounded Theory allows the researcher to apply an in-depth thinking process in relation to the data in an attempt to organise and interpret said data. All the interviews were transcribed by the researcher. Subsequently, themes were identified and the data were grouped accordingly. Due to the requirement for the anonymity¹⁹ of the respondents, all the names of the participants were coded (Schutt, 2011:273). Each participant was allocated a number in relation to the sequence in which the interviews took place; for instance, the first interview will be referred to as Participant 1 [NGO], and so forth.

¹⁹ Schutt (2011:273) states that anonymity is employed to protect the subjects of a study from any injury that a subject may incur due to the information being uncovered from the interview process.

5.3.1 Themes

The researcher came across a variety of key themes throughout the data analysis process:

- (1) Money (financial reward) is a motivating factor for the trafficking of drugs.
- (2) Foreign nationals are the main culprits in illicit drug trafficking in KwaZulu-Natal;
- (3) Lack of proper boarder control in South Africa is a contributing factor for the entry of illicit drugs into South Africa;
- (4) Popular drugs that are being trafficked into Durban include sugars (which are drugs consisting of a mixture of various drugs), heroin, cocaine and marijuana.
- (5) A common trend is that drugs enter South Africa from Johannesburg and are then distributed to other provinces within South Africa.
- (6) Drugs within KwaZulu-Natal are being trafficked via taxis and police vehicles. (This revelation accounts for lack of suspicion and fear of police officials.)
- (7) Unemployment, lack of traditional family values and non-existent parental influences are social and economic contributors to the effects of drug trafficking.
- (8) In relation to South Africa's policies and legislation on drugs, there was a mixed response: Some interviewees were for and some were against current legislation.
- (9) More stringent precursor laws are as a significant requirement.
- (10) When asked where the responsibility rests in terms of tackling the crime of illicit drug trafficking, the respondents held mixed perceptions. Some believed it was solely the responsibility of the police, while others felt it was a community issue, and therefore should be dealt with by the community.

- (11) Most participants felt that not enough was being done to curb the crime of illicit drug trafficking.
- (12) Five participants spoke strongly of the need for a designated drug unit in South Africa.

5.3.2 Ethnographic research

Based on the views expressed by Orcutt and Ruby (2003:257), an ethnographic approach was deemed an appropriate choice for additional data collection. These authors explain their view as follows:

"Ethnography is well suited to build on the insights provided by sociologists who problematize the relationship between insider and outsider knowledge claims and the ownership of social problems."

To collect the ethnographic data, and after approval by the appropriate SAPS authorities, the researcher was taken on a patrole of the Chatsworth area by members of the Chatsworth Police Department. Chatsworth is geographically divided into units and the area is monitored as such. On the morning of 7 August 2013, the researcher was escorted by five police officers from the Chatsworth Police Services. The following events transpired:

At 08h00 the first location on the parole was visited. It was a residential building that had previously belonged to a well-known drug dealer in the Chatsworth community. I was informed that this drug dealer had in a way "won the community over", which seems to be a common trait of drug dealers, as this is done in an effort to live harmoniously with the community. According to the Chatsworth police officers, the owner was known by a nickname in Chatsworth. He was notorious for providing social forums with financial assistance to assist the poverty stricken community. The interesting dilemma was that he was contributing to both the social upliftment and the decay that existed within the Chatsworth community. On arrival the house looked

normal, but appeared dilapidated as if it had not been occupied in a while. The house was surrounded by apartment buildings. The house itself stood out in that particular community.

Upon arrival, the researcher was shown exterior evidence, next to a Durban solid waste bin, that drugs were being used on the premises (see Image 5.1 below).



<u>Image 5.1</u>: Image taken by the researcher, depicting evidence of the use of drugs on the premises outside the house.

The house had once been occupied by an alleged drug distributor. The premises were used by the alleged drug distributor to provide shelter for drug addicts. This 'shelter' could be 'rented' by drug addicts at an estimated amount of R10 a day. The occupants in one room of the house (see image below) were provided with a toilet, blankets and two bags (not visible in the picture) of rice and maize meal. The room was inhabited by individuals from all race groups and both genders, and they ranged in age. Because the exterior of the house looked unoccupied, what was uncovered was highly unexpected.



<u>Image 5.2</u>: Image above taken by the researcher, illustrating the interior of the double garage on the premises of a house previously belonging to an alleged drug dealer.

No one driving past the house would suspect that inside lurked a room filled with women, men and boys, all living together in this squalid environment. The air in this room was filled with an intense marijuana redolence. The police shared that the addicts used marijuana as soon as they woke up to give them a 'lift me up' until they could get hold of a stronger drug to support their addiction.



Image 5.3: Image taken by the researcher, of the same room as depicted in Image 5.2.

Within five minutes after entering this room, the researcher had to step outside. This experience was not only an eye-opener, but it was also highly unsettling and disturbing to see in what squalor these people lived. Not only was this unexpected, but it was also troubling to realize that these individuals were, in a sense, there by choice in the first place, but that they had reached a point of no return. The fact that drug addiction is a disease became a stark reality (Nagle, 1999:11). One could not help but wonder why anyone would deliberately choose such living conditions. Lyman (2013:30) asks the very same question: "Why would anyone choose drug abuse as a social lifestyle?" One possible justification may be offered by means of the Social Learning Theory, which is of a similar disposition than the Differential Association Theory (see Chapter 3), as both are learning theories (Gaines & Kremling, 2013: 99). The difference between the two, however, is that the Social Learning Theory denotes attention to drug use and abuse in a

group setting (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:99), whereas the Social Learning Theory suggests that drug abuse within a unit is an outcome of "group-based reinforced learning situations" (Regoli, Hewitt, & DeLisi, 2012:383). Another explanation for the conditions encountered during the visit to the premises in Chatsworth may be offered by the Differential Opportunity Theory (Burfeind & Bartusch, 2011: 237). This theory maintains that when wealth within a community is not evenly distributed, these communities have a higher prevalence of both drug use and the sale of drugs (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:99). The researcher then considered the reality of the number of similar places that must exist in South Africa. Had the researcher not been taken to these premises, this question would have remained unasked. An additional aspect that struck the researcher was that the addicts were so addicted to drugs that they did not seem concerned that the person providing them with the drugs, shelter and food was a contributing factor to the squalid lives they were "living" (Ras, 2010:159). Moreover, none of them realised, or seemed to care, that their 'provider' was living in affluence, enjoying 'the good life'.

Therefore, although the people in this particular room were there by choice (to the researcher's knowledge), she was struck by the applicability of the Stockholm syndrome. The Stockholm syndrome is often used to describe crimes of kidnapping and domestic violence during which the 'hostages' view their captors or tormentors as their friend and the police as their rival (McCue, 2008:20, 21). In this instance, the alleged drug dealer was viewed in a positive light by the occupants in the room, because he was the provider of food and shelter as well as the drugs without which, ironically, they could no longer live. The researcher was told that the drug dealer allegedly provided each occupant with a straw of heroin on Christmas day.

This was truly an overwhelming experience which allowed the researcher to view this study from a human perspective as opposed to having initially viewed the research from a theoretical perspective. The experience showed that drugs do not discriminate and that any person from any area can become a victim, which makes it all the more daunting.

Next on the agenda was a primary school in the Chatsworth area. The police had been called in to conduct a search of the children's bags and lockers in that particular school, as it was rumoured that drugs had been observed among some of the children. Interestingly, one of the police officers shared that he had visited the same school on the previous day when he had conducted a search, and he had misplaced his gloves, probably leaving them in his vehicle. However, on this day (7 August 2013), whilst conducting the search, the police officer found his gloves in one of the children's bags. For ethical reasons, the researcher was not allowed to speak to any of the children. What was perceptible, however, was that a few of the students were in possession of marijuana. Another obvious point was the manner in which the teachers dealt, or rather did not deal, with the situation. It was observed that the staff dealt with the search and the drug confiscation in a rather light-hearted way. One could not help but wonder if that was a contributing factor to the common problem of drug use in this specific area and school. An alternative consideration was that perhaps the teachers were exposed to this so regularly that they themselves felt as if nothing could be done. It was shared with the researcher that the teachers themselves were afraid to search the children or to take decisive action due to the fear of a civil case being brought against them, hence the need for the police to conduct the search.

Because the drug 'raid' at the school took very long, two of the policemen agreed to continue patrolling the 'hot spots' around Chatsworth where drugs were sold and where drug dealers resided. This immediately begged the question: "If this information is known to the police, why are these dealers not in police custody?" However, the researcher was told that these were the 'small fish'; if one dealer was arrested another dealer would quickly 'pop up'. This phenomenon is reminiscent of the displacement issue that was addressed in Chapter 2 and that will again be referred to in Chapter 6 of this study report. In order for the police to make an arrest, the law states that "the criminal in question has to be in possession" of the drugs (Allen, 2008:10). The problem the police are facing is that the dealers are finding innovative ways to sell, store and transport drugs. As a result, finding a dealer in possession of drugs is highly unlikely.

The researcher was shown areas where cameras were mounted on apartment blocks, facing in various directions. These cameras had been purposefully mounted there by drug dealers in order to observe the community. This kind of monitoring is specifically done to see if anyone is talking to the police, who is entering that specific area, and if anyone new is selling drugs in that particular dealer's 'territory'. Having more than one dealer in a unit in Chatsworth can pose a problem, as dealers stake a claim to their area and clientele. This observation is corroborated by Jean's (2008:101) findings. According to the Social Disorganization Theory posited by Thomas and Znaniecki in 1918 and adapted by Shaw and McKay in 1942 (Treadwell, 2006:46), neighbourhoods that are disadvantaged result in the loss of shared societal control, which then allows "criminal values and traditions to take control of that neighbourhood" (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:99). This has been validated by numerous studies that report accounts of high levels of drug dealing in neighbourhoods that are disadvantaged (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:99).

The researcher was then taken to Shallcross, which is known to be a more affluent area in Chatsworth. One of the police officers shared that he grew up admiring one particular house in the Shallcross area. However, this particular house now served as a symbol of what had become of the area and how drugs were ruining his childhood dream.



<u>Image 5.4</u>: Vandalism and dilapidation of a once beautiful residence. Image taken by the researcher.

The researcher was informed that the house depicted in Image 5.4 in Shallcross was a notorious spot for drug users to 'get high'. As a result, potential buyers have been deterred from buying this property. Vandalism is evident from the pictures. The researcher's presence at the house (Image 5.4) prompted her memory of the Broken Window Theory. This Theory was developed by Wilson and George in 1982 (Kappeler & Gaines, 2010:250). The premise of this theory is that crime feeds on communities where order has been destroyed (Kappeler & Gaines, 2010: 250). Elements such as graffiti, unregulated squatting, and the lack of maintenance of buildings, roads and gardens all contribute towards a community's uncertainty and lack of confidence at both individual and community levels (Kappeler & Gaines, 2010:250). These factors increase disorder within the community which in turn is reflected by higher crime rates (Kappeler & Gaines, 2010:250). This observation is validated by Vito and Maahs (2011:370), who maintain that drug addicts are known to be more likely to commit crimes as opposed to people who are sober. According to Vito and Maahs (2011:370), when levels of illicit drug use increase, this then has a direct impact on an increase of drug trafficking and crime in a specific area. The visit to the latter premises concluded the patrol experience with the Chatsworth police officers.

On 14 August 2013 the researcher went back to Chatsworth police station. This was an unscheduled meeting in the hope of interviewing additional officers from this area. It was on this day that the researcher was fortunate enough to be allowed into the charge office, which is located adjacent to the main building. The researcher was shown the charge book, which contained the names of units as well as the most prominent drugs found in most units. The drugs were recorded as 'sugars'; however, on this particular day the drug known as 'tik' (Image 5.5 below) had been confiscated. Officers shared that this was not a common drug in the area and that it had yet to develop into a potential contender to the 'sugars' drugs.



<u>Image 5.5</u>: Image taken by the researcher at Chatsworth Police charge office of the drug 'tik' that had been found in Chatsworth.

Upon initially viewing Image 5.5, these drugs do not resemble illicit drugs as they appear to be licit tablets. This once again speaks to the dangers of trafficking, including the manufacturing of drugs, as well as how innovative traffickers are in making a drug look less suspicious (Houck & Siegel, 2009:335, 336). Houck and Siegel (2009:335) suggest that two possible reasons why the drugs aesthetically resemble 'normal' tablets used for medical use may be to allow for an increase in unsuspecting victims and also to lower detection from authorities.

It is important to note that the researcher was not from the Chatsworth area; therefore, to have been taken on patrol of an unfamiliar area provided another perspective into drugs and their effects. Another vital point is that this patrol took place during the day and in a police vehicle. The chances of seeing any illicit behaviour were therefore unlikely, as members of the community who saw the police van instantly become inconspicuous, or

acted innocent. Yet, a great deal was learnt from this experience due to the kind cooperation of the members of the Chatsworth police station.

5.4 The Interviews

The discussion that follows is an attempt to provide critical baseline data and interpretive insight into the nature of drug trafficking in Durban; specifically how the crime of illicit drug trafficking occurs, where it takes places, who the traffickers are, the reasons for trafficking, popular drugs trafficked into and within Durban, and possible interventions that may aid in the reduction of this crime. Interpretations of the baseline information will be of use in targeted interventions.

5.4.1 Reasons behind illicit drug trafficking

Winlow and Atkinson (2013:5) provide insight into how drug markets are related to the capitalist system. When high level traffickers were probed as to why they were involved in this crime, monetary gain was noted as a determining factor. Clark and Tilley (2013:68) validate this observation by maintaining that high rates of unemployment are factored into seeking out unlawful means to earn an income. It seems that in the illegal drug trade the prices are higher than they would be in the legal market (Bertram, Blachman, Sharpe, & Andreas 1996:12). The reason for this may be credited to risk compensation as opposed to the production and transportation costs of legal drugs (Rydell & Everingham, 1994:10).

Note: The comments and observations of the interviewees are presented verbatim, as far as possible. For this reason any grammatical errors were not addressed, as it was important to maintain the authenticity of the data.

Participant 1 [NGO]

"Drugs are trafficked because it is an income, it is a money making industry, even though it may not be a legal money making industry, the focus is money. Traffickers traffic where the market is. To me drug trafficking is illegal trade in any drug, so it would not just be the normal, what people think of as illegal drugs like, heroin²⁰ and cocaine²¹, but it will be the illegal trade of prescription medicines, it would be the illegal trade of alcohol, the illegal trade of tobacco. So to me drug trafficking would cover any illegal trade of any drug" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"Apart from it being easy money, it is also tax free money, which is a major draw card. For the addict he or she has no choice once they are addicted so, in that regard the dealer has a customer that is always there regardless of the price. When one looks at rehabilitation for the heroin addict, it is very poor. There is a higher relapse rate and the numbers of users are increasing rapidly. Heroin is sold in straws for R25 to R30 and are sold by the hundreds and the dealer is selling thousands daily, that alone speaks to the amount of money being made" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 8 [Airport Official]

"Drugs are sold due to the demand and that there is a lot of money to made with the selling of drugs" (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

Participant 10 [Police Officer]

"There are huge profits from selling drugs and different drugs are found in different areas, for example the poorer communities may be rife with Methaqualone²² [Mandrax] and rock [a form of cocaine], whereas in the affluent areas cocaine may be found. Cocaine in its purist form is a powder; this however is not a readily available drug" (Personal Communication, 24 July 2013).

The interviewee's comment that different forms of cocaine are used by people of various financial standing in society is validated by Healey (2013:191), who states that crack cocaine is a cheaper form of cocaine and is usually used in poorer communities. More affluent areas may be more prone to using the powder form of cocaine (Reinarman & Levine, 1997:106).

²⁰ Libby (2007:1) states that heroin originates from morphine and is known for its pain-relieving properties.

²¹ Cocaine originates in South America, from the leaves of a cocao plant. Cocaine is available in two forms; a powder (cocaine hydrochloride, HCI) which is commonly snorted via the nasal cavity; whilst the second form is known as 'crack' cocaine. This type is usually smoked (Great Britain 2010:9).

²² Methaqualone, also commonly known as "Mandrax", was initially introduced as a sleeping tablet (UNODC, 2002:7)

Participant 12 [Harbour Official]

"Due to the economic return being so high, this becomes a career for the trafficker and especially for the syndicates, as there are no taxes, no buildings, no uniforms, and no capital; the only cost that needs to be outlaid is the money needed to move the drugs around" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

In the context of the above responses, Stanhope and Lancaster (2013:446) state that the lack of quality control on illicit drugs is another benefit to the manufacturer and the trafficker. Quality control in relation to illicit drugs focuses only on the strength and purity of the drug and the risks involved, whereas the secondary effects on the user from unknown substances used to manufacture the drug, unexpected overdoses, and the escalation of diseases like acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and Hepatitis C that are contracted through needle sharing, as well as the additional apparatuses used to inject illicit drugs, are ignored (Stanhope & Lancaster, 2013: 446).

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"Apart from illegal cigarettes and copper pipes, illicit drug trafficking is an easy way to make money. In relation to the users, drugs are cheap; they allow for a quicker high than alcohol, drugs are easily available, and the youth especially see drugs as a trendy or cool thing to do. There have been cases where business men invest money in these illegal syndicates - if they invest around R1 million they can receive an amount close to R6 million and all of this occurs without them having a hands-on involvement, so their hands are clean, so to speak" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

The above point is confirmed by Beirne and Messerschmidt (1995:272), who argue that a legitimate business will possibly invest in a drug syndicate operation for a number of reasons that result in monetary gain. Beirne and Messerschmidt (1995: 272) list the reasons as: money laundering, tax evasion, and/or racketeering.

Participant 11 [Police Officer] continued

"Other reasons why drug trafficking is seen as a lucrative business is that the drugs are easy to conceal, there is a very low conviction rate, and the chances of getting caught are rare" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

According to Rainford (2010), drugs are less bulky than other stock involved in the business of import and export, therefore drugs are easy to conceal and store, and quick to move around, which is perceived as a profitable business to traffickers.

Participant 11 [Police Officer] continued

"The criminals that do get caught are the bottom feeders and the runners. The guy at the top doesn't touch the drugs so there's hardly anything to link him or her to the crime. If the runner is caught he relies on the top guy to pay his bail and take care of his family so the chances of him sharing information is highly unlikely. There is also the chance that he may get killed if he does share information. In this situation we as the police need to have more to provide to the runner for him to turn; by more I mean, more money, better technology, initiatives that can help relocate him for the rest of his life - we need to have more and to be able to offer the runner more than the top guy" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Participant 13 [Former Drug Dealer]

"Apart from the amount of money that can be made from trafficking drugs, I also feel ithas a lot to do with power. These people have a lot of power over others. As long as there's a demand there will be a supply. It's like with theft, if no one buys stolen goods no one will steal it" (Personal Communication, 9 August 2013).

Kirchgassner (2008:133) mentions that traffickers attempt to create a demand, in some instances initially giving people the drugs at a cheaper rate or even for free, all in an attempt to create a customer that gets addicted. Hall (2003: 323) adds that if no one purchases drugs illicitly, then there will not be any supply of illicit drugs.

Participant 17 [Informant]

"Money and greed are motivating factors for drug trafficking. However, I know a lot of people that traffic drugs just for the status of living the hard life" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"Drugs are being trafficked because of greed. People that are involved in organised crime structures are trying to benefit from illicit trafficking. In addition, in South Africa we are ideally situated with the infrastructure that we have in Africa. For them [traffickers], they traffic drugs through South Africa to other parts of the world because of the gaps or the vulnerabilities that they [traffickers] have seen in terms of law enforcement and in terms of political will" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Giles-Vernick and Webb (2013:214) state that contributing factors why traffickers move their business to African countries are Africa's fragile borders, political volatility, corruption in governments, and weak infrastructure.

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit] continued

"Money and greed are the main reasons, and that drug syndicates found weaknesses in South Africa. There's corruption, there's communities involvement, if you use a sample size like Chatsworth everyone knows everyone there, they are like family. Prior to 1995 that's how Chatsworth was - someone knows someone involved with drugs so they protect these dealers in a way. No matter who it is; whether it's a policeman from that area, whether it's the public, community worker whatever, the case may be they protect these people without knowing that they are protecting them. In some cases you will get a person saying that 'I'm a member of an anti-drug forum', but he will go to the press and share exactly how policemen are working. Once the traffickers get heed of this then they think, 'Let me change my methods', which makes it that much more difficult to catch them. So everyone has to contributed in aiding in this problem' (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Studies have shown that drug traffickers and organised crime syndicates form transnational networks. These syndicates source drugs from one continent, traffic them to another and market them on the third (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2011:8). The income generated from the illicit drug trafficking trade, in some cases, exceeds the size of certain countries' legitimate economy (UNODC, 2011:8).

5.4.2 Drugs that are popular with traffickers and reasons why they are popular

The discussion below focuses on the drugs that the participants had encountered either in their work or personal lives as a popular choice of drugs for users and dealers.

Participant 1 [NGO]

"Popular drugs are alcohol, marijuana, heroin (in any of its forms) and cocaine. A lot depends on the province, for example in the Western Cape, tik and methamphetamine are popular choices. In Gauteng there is nyaope, which is a combination of marijuana and heroin, same as here [Durban]. We have wonga which is marijuana and heroin so predominately those drugs with a few other additives at times. Our major drug being abused in South Africa, pretty much across the board, is alcohol and it certainly causes the most social problems which proves that if people are given the right to use a drug it doesn't mean they will be sensible with it. Alcohol is very available and socially acceptable" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"In Africa we were at some stage reasonably placed geographically, the international organised crime syndicates and drug traffickers saw this as an opportunity to make money, which displays the greed factor. In terms of which drugs are trafficked into South Africa, I

believe it is cocaine, heroin, chemicals and precursors. We [South Africa] manufacture methamphetamine and we export it to other parts of the world, so this shows you how we have changed, we manufacture here in Africa. Why? Because syndicates saw the gap, South Africa is rife with corruption. All drugs are popular with traffickers. Traffickers are not stagnant when it comes to making money; they will sell anything, they are opportunists. Greed is their fundamental attitude. Trafficked out of South Africa are methamphetamine, cocaine, hashish²³-spring board [drugs from other parts of the world are brought into South Africa and trafficked once again]. There was one major bust in Phoenix relating to the drug heroin, which was also used in South Africa as a spring board. Drugs are easy money; they fetch higher prices because of the Rand exchange rate value when exported to other parts of the world. South Africa's banking system is the best in Africa. So our banking system is used to move their [traffickers'] monies whilst making use of our existing infrastructure" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

According to Goosen, Pampallis, Merwe and Mdluli (1999:189), the South African banking system is very comprehensive. Yikona, Slot, Geller, Hansen, & Kadiri (2011) support this and add that South Africa has effective asset forfeiture policies in place, along with an established anti-money laundering (AML) system. This is validated by Roman, Ahn-Redding and Simon (2007:195). These authors indicate that South Africa's banking system is a draw card to a trafficker, because they can move money across countries and continents with considerable ease from our sophisticated banking system.

Participant 5 [NGO]

"All drugs are with traffickers and all are abused - a contributing factor is affordability. The reasons these drugs are popular are due to the high rate of unemployment. I meet many kids who tell me they do drugs because they are bored. Other issues may be that they are depressed. Many come from a single parent household with no role models, lack of family unit, so in some cases drugs may be used as a form of escapism.

Drugs may be taken initially as a form of experimenting with friends and then one may get hooked. Lastly, there is a lack of education about drugs and the high rate of addiction that some have. From my experience people that are informed about drugs stay away from heroin so the lesser evil becomes more acceptable; that is, marijuana. However, what they do not realise is that addiction increases and that one will eventually seek out a stronger drug" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

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Hashish, having originated in India, is obtained from plants. Hashish can be either smoked, eaten or drunk and is known to have a psychosis effect on its users (Lowinson, 2005:264)

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"Drugs that are popular with traffickers are sugars²⁴ and marijuana and both types of cocaine; that is, rock and the powder form. These drugs are popular because of the high addiction rate and that they bring in money. I have seen many deaths due to sugars. Cocaine is not physically addictive; however, it can result in your heart stopping. Crack cocaine on the other hand is highly addictive" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Olden (2012) indicates that cocaine is not as addictive as other drugs in that cocaine has lower levels of withdrawal and dependency. However, prolonged use of cocaine has adverse effects on the drug user's body, from rotting of the inside of the nose to high chances of cardiac failure (Olden, 2012).

Participant 6 [Police Officer]

"The popular drugs are cocaine, heroin, Mandrax, ecstasy²⁵, crystal meth²⁶ and marijuana. These drugs are popular with the traffickers because there is a market for them and most of these drugs are easy to conceal. What goes hand in hand with the abuse of the drugs is the pricing and composition they come in" (Personal Communication, 10 July 2013).

Participant 16 [Pharmacist]

"The drug that is popular and regularly abused is flunitrazepam²⁷ [rohypnol], also known as the 'date rape' drug. This drug is used for a number of things, for example drugging and raping of people. It is used for the grooming of kids for the brothels in Durban, it is used by cocaine addicts to come down from their high²⁸. It is also used for religious and cultural reasons. In some cultures alcohol may be unacceptable but certain drugs are permitted' (Personal Communication, 15August 2013).

Goldberg (2009: 50) notes that drugs have been used for countless years for religious reasons. Some believe that by using drugs in a spiritually related manner this may then aid in combating substance abuse. Others believe that the drugs provide a hallucinogenic

According to Hunsewaj (2005), 'sugars' is a permutation of heroin mixed with small amounts of cocaine and other substances such as rat poison. Other names that sugars are known by are "ungah", "wonga", and "nyaope".

Ecstasy is a chemically produced drug that has a similar make-up to methamphetamine. Ecstasy affects the user's moods and can increase the heart rate as well as the blood pressure (Hyde & Setaro, 2003:40).

Crystal Meth is known as "Tik". Like ecstasy, it is also chemically produced. The base of the drug is flu medication. From that point other substances are added, one of which may be battery acid (Harrow, 2007).

Flunitrazepam, commonly referred to as "rohyonol" and the "date rape drug", is a tasteless and odourless drug that has been known to cause amnesia. This has resulted in the street name "the forget-me pill" (Nordefren, 2002;269).

According to Nordefren (2002:168), drug users use certain drugs in conjunction with other drugs in order to achieve either a "downer" or "upper" effect.

effect which aids the user to experience a holy encounter.

Participant 17 [Informant]

"Popular drugs with traffickers and users are sugars, cocaine, ecstasy and marijuana. The reason for their popularity is because there is a demand for these drugs" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

5.4.3 Who is responsible for illicit drug trafficking?

Daly's (1996:51) research found that Nigerian traffickers entered South Africa in an attempt to acquire fraudulent documents. They also hoped to take advantage of South Africa's intercontinental transport relations which followed the lifting of international commercial sanctions. Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:91) states that when it comes to foreigners, it is hard to determine the actual number of foreigners in the country due to their illegal status. Finding legitimate employment is difficult for many foreigners, which results in illegal employment avenues being followed, such as drug trafficking, money laundering, and organized fraud, to name a few (Gastrow, 2003:52).

Participant 1 [NGO]

"South Africans are involved, but the talk on the street is of course Nigerians. I met a Nigerian lawyer who told me it is tough being Nigerian in South Africa because every time you say you are a Nigerian, everyone looks at you as if you are a drug dealer. And even the Nigerian consulate admitted that possibly more than half the Nigerians in South Africa are involved in drug trade, human trafficking and weapons trade. I've also heard that a number of Tanzanians are also involved, so you've got South Africans because we're a majority here but then there are also the immigrants" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"Nigerians and Malawians have a home here [South Africa] and this allows them to feel comfortable even if it entails getting involved in illicit drug trafficking. Drug addiction is so huge in South Africa because drugs are so readily available here" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 8 [Airport Official]

"Nigerians are involved. Due to the high unemployment rate in South Africa it is easy for them [Nigerians] to find people to transport the drugs for them as drug mules and their [drug mules'] flights are all paid for' (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

The 'drug mule' phenomenon, which involves a person who transports drugs across international borders by swallowing them or concealing them in a body cavity (Figueira, 2004:21), is quite common in South Africa. One motivation for this seems to be poverty. The *Daily News* reported that a 'drug mule' stated that his arrest was not his first in relation to this phenomenon. Rather, after his first arrest he had left the 'industry' and started to work as a car guard (Barbeau, 2012). He was, however, contacted to work as a drug mule again and did so because this provided a better income. He was asked to transport drugs from South Africa to Brazil and was arrested in Brazil. In Brazil he shared a cell with four other South Africans also convicted of drug smuggling (Barbeau, 2012). Now, back in South Africa, when asked if he would be a drug mule again he said: "Never again. I'm tired. I just want to stay here in South Africa" (Barbeau, 2012).

Participant 10 [Police Officer]

"Nigerians or West African connections are responsible. There are some South African connections. Basically it could be anyone who has contact with international syndicates" (Personal Communication, 24 July 2013).

Participant 12 [Harbour Official]

"Destinations for drugs are Sao Paulo and Nigeria. Drug mules are made use of especially at airports. The other destinations are Columbia and Brazil. We are however mindful of these routes. We have a data base that profiles what comes in from these countries and rate these as high risk" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

According to Singh (1997:110), studies have shown that traffickers make use of air links between South Africa and Brazil for the smuggling of drugs. This is done in an effort to avoid detection. Traffickers have also been known to erratically change flight paths and ways of smuggling, which makes current profiling initiatives tougher (Singh, 1997:111).

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"Nigerians, Tanzanians and Pakistanis are responsible. This is quite well known so how they are granted visas to get into South Africa baffles me. One should then consider a quota system. If you are going to let one Nigerian into South Africa then consider how many policemen you will have to employ to police that one Nigerian. We have a very liberal democracy that is out of touch with the criminality on the street. The punishment and methods of catching the trafficker are way beyond the criminals' expertise.

In South Africa we have: first world country, third world equipment, first world laws" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

An immigration quota system is often used to screen and control the quantity of foreigners that enter a specific country (Fitzpatrick, Kwon, Manning, Midgley, & Pascall, 2013:1 112). South Africa does have an immigration quota system in place; however, there have been criticisms regarding the Immigration Act of 2002, with specific reference to the number of skilled personnel entering South Africa (Neocosmos, 2010:80). Koran (2015) addresses the issue of visa vetting, indicating that it is extremely challenging to be 100% sure security wise 100% of the time when vetting visas.

<u>Participant 6</u> [Police Officer]

"Chinese, Nigerians and Pakistanis are involved in illicit drug trafficking" (Personal Communication, 10 July 2013).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"One person we arrested at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, had a very sophisticated operation that he was running. A final year medical student, he knew how to use the cell phone data communications using certain codes so that the other groups did not break into their organisation. He was making money selling drugs. An educated dealer that's one, syndicates have people that they will lure into the organisation that are educated, like charter accountants, doctors, people that can do strategy for traffickers, law enforcement, lawyers to advise them constantly or be on retainer if something happens to them [the traffickers]. So you get those educated individuals that are lured into organisations. However, on the other end you have the street-wise person that is dealing in the streets in Chatsworth, Phoenix or the Durban area. There are the Nigerians and Pakistanis that have qualifications, major qualifications so they are quite intelligent and have gone through universities and are the bosses of organised crime. You get the Greek syndicate as well as the Mexicans that have post graduate degrees and qualifications" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

5.4.4 Routes that are used to get illicit drugs into South Africa

Daly (1996:51) claims that many African states have conveyed their concern about the exploitation of heroin and other hard drugs that are transited into their countries. According to Daly (1996:51), Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are transit destinations exploited by drug carriers trafficking heroin to Africa and then to Europe. A study by Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:168) revealed that entering from Zimbabwe, South Africa receives Mandrax, methamphetamines and heroin. It is noted that the demand for these particular drugs in South Africa is due to South Africa's population size as well as the affordability of these drugs (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:168). Additionally, Joubert (1996:155) states that the same routes used for trafficking drugs into South Africa are also used to traffic rhino horns and ivory out of South Africa.

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"Firstly, couriers are used by the traffickers. The traffickers seek out people that are unemployed or the people that traffickers find are in need of money. Traffickers exploit those individuals to traffic the drugs. Secondly, our borders are porous, they are not governed the way they used to be previously by the military. Our borders are opened over many countries surrounding South Africa. Our immigration laws allow the movement of people in Africa without a Visa. They can enter South Africa seeking asylum and they manage to get a foot hold into South Africa using the infrastructure and start importing and exporting drugs. Our harbours and airports are points of entry that they [traffickers] can use. If you look at free ports like in Mozambique, the control mechanisms they may have may be weak and it is because the system they have in place allows people to traffic whatever they want to traffic or import whatever they want to import and use that as free port and then transport using our infrastructure our rails and roads into South Africa. So it's the borders, airports (as we have an international airport here), harbours and roads" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Mantu and Guild (2013:123) indicated that on 1 May 2009, the South African government renounced visa requirements for Zimbabweans wanting to either travel to or work in South Africa. This was put into effect due to previous visa applications costing R2 000 with a rather long wait regarding the processing of these documents. Additionally, Mantu and Guild (2013:123) state that the waiving of visa requirement brought along added complications, one of which being the huge inflo**Rage 135 of 238**

undocumented Zimbabweans as well as those who have contributed to corrupt dealings in their countries of origin. Another negative outcome was that the number of bribed border officials had increased considerably (Mantu & Guild, 2013:123, 124).

Participant 1 [NGO]

"There is quite a lot of illicit trafficking going on. I know that often there are runs of illegal cigarettes and tobacco coming in through Mozambique. If we were to look at the profile of people in treatment, we realise a major drug problem for our patients is alcohol. We know that there's illegal trade in alcohol but then let's move on to the second major drug, which is marijuana. And that is in terms of our law an illegal drug, so there has to be trafficking taking place. Then we look at cocaine or crack heroin, whether it's in the form of sugars or wonga, so by nature of the patterns of addiction that we are seeing there must be illegal trafficking going on" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"Durban is a hot spot due to the ideal location of our harbour and airport. I think drugs enter from North Africa by road, rail, harbour and airports" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 8 [Airport Official]

"Cocaine comes from South America, other drugs enter from China and Dubai and Marijuana is grown locally. Transport routes are via airports and buses. The airport is the best means of access because it is difficult to catch the drug mules while they are flying, especially due to the traffickers making use of unsuspecting people, such as the elderly, children and females. Due to Durban being a smaller airport than Johannesburg, we don't deal with too many international flights. Johannesburg handles more. At cargo [terminal] we have two flights daily that come from Johannesburg. These flights are already screened at Johannesburg. Due to these flights coming from overseas, the cargo does not land in Durban, it lands in Johannesburg and then lands in Durban. At the airport we have one flight a day at five o'clock that comes from Dubai. Most of our officials are used to screening passengers that come off that specific flight" (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

Participant 8's account is collaborated by Fleetwood (2014: 8), who states that a common trend is the use of women as drug mules. The reason for this is that females may be perceived as being less likely to engage in criminal activity, in Pager 136:0f 238

their male counterparts (Kravitz, 1979:29). In addition, if women have children in their presence, this will make them seem unlikely to be trafficking drugs or participating in any other criminal activity (Fleetwood 2014:154). The Chivalry Thesis that was introduced by Pollack in 1950 advances the idea that the criminal justice system treats women more leniently. However, with the extent of females engaging in drug trafficking, a judge could also place a harsher sentence on convicted females in an effort to counteract the premise of the Chivalry Thesis by way of setting an example (Marsh et al., 2004:175). This is supported by Zaplin (1998:31), who adds that the "Evil Women Hypothesis" proposes that female offenders who are perhaps perceived by the criminal justice system as being unladylike by violating gender role expectations usually receive no leniency. Alternatively, there are instances where women are influenced into this crime and are taken advantage of due to a lack of alternative economic prospects (Soroka & Bryjak, 1999: 88). The aforementioned is evident in a tragic story reported in the Sunday Times regarding the passing of a South African drug mule's mother whilst she (the mule) was incarcerated in a Brazilian prison (Laganparsad, 2013:5). It is noted that South Africa does not have a prisoner transfer treaty; however, one is currently under deliberation (Laganparsad, 2013:5).

Participant 10 [Police Officer]

July 2013).

Methaqualone [Mandrax]. From India comes Mandrax. From the South American countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Columbia that are involved in the drug trade drugs come rock and crack. From the Far East, Cambodia and Thailand are entry points for drugs. These regions are also closely linked with human smuggling. There are different points of entry and exit into and out of South Africa. These are the airport and the harbour. Once drugs are in South Africa, the roads are then used to transport these drugs inland. There are different border posts such as in Northern KwaZulu-Natal where smugglers have ingenious ways of bringing drugs across the border. There was an incident where the smuggler, either on foot or in his vehicle, traveled from Zimbabwe to Mozambique across the border and returned again within a day - either the border control people were not doing their job or they were bribed. Durban harbour is a much more difficult place for the police to identify drugs, as the containers are sealed. There are also thousands of containers arriving monthly, so the only way to gain any substantial headway on this has to be

investigations which would largely depend on informers" (Personal Communication, 24 Page 137 of 238

From the rest of the African continent the drugs that enter South Africa are cocaine and

"The drugs that enter KwaZulu-Natal come from various countries.

Participant 12 [Harbour Official]

"Drug syndicates are very sporadic in how they move items, especially when there are a high number of officials in busy ports. Once you improve controls in one port of entry and there is a port that is smaller, quieter or not as high volume, the syndicates could easily move their activity to the smaller port or vice versa. We have also learnt that traffickers don't use a direct route. One example was where a container that was carrying oil - it is important to note that an oil container is different from the containers that carry normal cargo - in the frame of that container we found that narcotics had been hidden. That specific container had looped around a few countries just moving from port to port without an actual destination. We eventually tracked down that specific container in Port Elizabeth. The danger in the 'loop technique' that traffickers use, is that, at any stage, anything can be added or removed, you don't know who's involved, where it happened or what was removed or added and when" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

According to Ford, a growing trend is the use of fishing vessels and fishermen in illicit drug trafficking (Ford, 2009:9). In a study conducted by Decker and Townsend in 2007 and cited in UNODC (2011:80), it was found that fishing vessels were chosen because they appear unassuming at sea and they easily blend in at harbours. The choice of fishermen is attributed to their navigational knowledge and experience at sea, resulting in an authentic cover. Ford (2009:9) adds that an additional reason for the use of a fishing vessel is that a larger shipment of drugs could be transported via sea without much difficulty as opposed to a smaller shipment which would be easier to detect via air.

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"Known routes are Swaziland and Tanzania as well as use of the harbour.

Different types of drugs have different routes depending on where the drugs are manufactured, for instance heroin; comes from Afghanistan through Pakistan into Africa over the sea just past Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Methaqualone [Mandrax]; enters from India. Some years back the traffickers transported the Mandrax in medicine containers. Flunitrazepam [rohypnol] also enters via India. Cocaine enters from South America (Colombia). Ecstasy - chemicals used for this particular drug - can be purchased from the chemist. Marijuana is grown locally in Durban and is often referred to as 'Durban poison'. Marijuana enters Chatsworth via Umlazi. Methamphetamine - this drug gives the user a 12 hour high as opposed to sugars which gives the user a 3/4 hour high. As far as I know, methamphetamine is not that prevalent in South Africa. I have heard of cases where dealers have tried to introduce it into Chatsworth. Methamphetamine is dangerous because it can Page 138 cd 238

with items available in the chemist so the trafficker would not need to bring in ingredients illegally. This makes this drug more lucrative for him or her and much cheaper" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Lundau (2013: 59) states that methamphetamine can be produced in a space of six to eight hours. Moreover, the components needed to manufacture methamphetamine are readily accessible, for instance acidic products that are used for drain and pool cleaners are listed as possible ingredients. Khan et al. (2011: 249) agree with Lundau (2013: 59), adding that chemicals required to convert pseudoephedrine into methamphetamine can also be produced from common household items. Additionally, chemicals found in certain pharmaceutical products are noted as also being used to produce methamphetamine (Khan et al., 2011:249).

Participant 6 [Police Officer]

"International routes from Sao Paolo and Nigeria enter South Africa via the airport and harbours. When looking at specific drugs, cocaine comes from the Pakistan and Afghanistan regions whilst heroin and hashish come via Amsterdam to South Africa. Drugs that enter South Africa usually go to Johannesburg, Johannesburg then becomes the distribution point to other provinces, and Durban. The distribution to other provinces takes place via the road in containerised trucks" (Personal Communication, 10 July 2013).

South African news media are often full of anecdotal evidence pertaining to drugs entering and leaving South Africa. Reports that drugs are being used in high quantities and that police are making busts abound. The *Independent on Saturday* on 15 December 2012 reported that a Somali pirate kidnap survivor had been arrested in a police drug bust. This person was allegedly in possession of thousands of Rands worth of narcotics, including magic mushrooms²⁹ and marijuana (News24, 2012).

According to an online article available on iol (2012), another South African, aged 26, was arrested on charges of drug trafficking. The latter had travelled from South Africa to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The type of drugs being smuggled, though reported to have been detected on the airport scanner, was not disclosed. In addition, a South African was detained in Thailand after police had discovered 1.5 kilogram of cocaine

²⁹ Magic mushrooms may be defined as type of drug that grows wild or cultivated, which contains eitleage of 39hof 238 psychoactive hallucinogenic ingredients called psilocybin and psilocin (Jesso, 2013: 14).

in her fake dreadlocks, as reported in *The Star* newspaper and in broadcast news (Medley & Pillay, 2012). According to BBC News (2012), a Wentworth woman was executed in China by lethal injection. She had been arrested on November 2008 after being found with 3 kilograms of methamphetamine at Baiyun International Airport.

Participant 16 [Pharmacist]

"Recently there was a case of a truck coming from Swaziland that was declared as empty. When a truck is declared as empty, this means that no goods are on the vehicle; this is a way to ensure that no one thinks to check the truck. On one occasion a contrary policemen stopped the truck that was declared empty and found movate cream [skin-bleaching cream] that is used on the streets. When we looked at the routes, drugs seem to come from overseas in transit through South Africa by rail to Swaziland. Once in Swaziland it's taken off the train and placed in a truck and then headed straight back into South Africa" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

Manda (2015) reports on a raid that took place in Durban's Central Business District. The investigation which was initiated by Interpol consisted of members of the Hawks in conjunction with Metro police and officials from the Department of Health, SARS, and the SAPS harbour unit. A total of R500 000 worth of illegal products was seized, one of which was movate cream. Other products that were confiscated were counterfeit painkillers including a highly addictive cough syrup known as Broncleer which, according to Manda (2015), should only be prescribed by a doctor. One of the officials participating in the raid stated: "Skin lightening creams, which are banned in the country, are being sold illegally on the street."



<u>Image 5.6</u>: Police officials and an official from the Department of Health confiscating illegal medicines seized from illegal traders in Bertha Mkhize [Victoria] Street in Durban. Image taken by Ndwalane (2015).

According to an online article by Health24 (2015), a study in 2013 which was conducted by a Professor from the University of Cape Town sought to uncover the ingredients in skin-lightening creams which would explain the rationale behind these creams being banned in South Africa. The results showed that the products tested contained illegal or banned substances, one of which was mercury. The danger that mercury holds is that once mercury is applied to the skin, it gets absorbed into the blood stream which then leads to chronic mercury poisoning (Health24, 2015).

Participant 16 [Pharmacist] continued

"There also seems to be a connection between some Cape gangs and smugglers from China. One case identified a large quantoty of ephedrine³⁰ being diverted to the same account number for the purchase of a chemical substance that dries aperlan [disinfectant or detergent]. The rumour was that the Cape gangs got the ephedrine [Tik] from the Chinese and the Cape gangs paid the Chinese with the aperlan that they had stolen. The Chinese then exported the aperlan. The reason behind this is if the Chinese are caught smuggling aperlan into Hong Kong, it is a relatively minor offence as opposed to if they were caught with

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³⁰ Ephedrine is a substance that originates from the ephedra plant and can also be produced in a laboratory. What makes this substance different is that it is used in cough mixtures and weight loss pills and for other legitimate uses. The danger is that it is also used in the manufacturing of illicit methamphetamines as the composition of ephedrine and methamphetamine is remarkably similar, to the extent that a urine test can mistakenly identify ephedrine as a drug (Miller, **Page 4141**hof 238 substance serves as the main component in the drug Tik.

ephedrine [tik]" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

Many existing clandestine drug laboratories in South Africa produce precursors (UNODC, 2002:18). However, there have been noticeable attempts by traffickers to import precursors into South Africa for illicit use. UNODC (2002:18) notes that in March 1998, Chinese authorities intercepted a shipment en route to a South African company. The shipment also contained 20 tons of ephedrine, which is a quantity that can produce an estimated 430 million dosages of methamphetamine (UNODC, 2002:18). Other prominent seizures of precursors in South Africa were that of N-acetylanthranlic³¹ acid and anthranilic acid³². Both these substances are main precursors in the manufacturing of Mandrax. As a result, in 2001 South African authorities requested French authorities to stop a shipment containing 25 tons of anthranilic acid to Mozambique, as it had been uncovered that this shipment was to be transshipped through Mozambique to reach its ultimate destination, South Africa, where the chemical was intended to be used in the production of Mandrax (UNODC, 2002:18).

Participant 13 [Former Drug Dealer]

"Routes used are from Mozambique. The drugs enter Johannesburg, and once in Johannesburg the drugs are taken to a warehouse in Johannesburg and distributed to other provinces from there" (Personal Communication, 9 August 2013).

5.4.5 How illicit drugs are trafficked within KwaZulu-Natal

A consensus amongst participants was that drugs enter South Africa via Johannesburg and from that point are distributed to other provinces and cities, including Durban.

Participant 1 [NGO]

"It's quite interesting, drug suppliers are incredibly resourceful. Some time ago I went to a seminar that the police were holding and they spoke about bananas. What we were told was to look at bananas. If the bananas are green, don't worry about them, but if they look a little

³¹ Listed as one of the substances used in the production of amino acids, to increase the body's production of protein as well as in the production of antioxidant, to name a few (Vanhoutte, 2005: 164). **Page 142 of 238**

³² Used in the production of perfumes and sweeteners (Nair, 2014).

bruised and a little yellow, then open them up and have a look inside because there's a good chance the bananas are being used to transport drugs in nice big boxes that say 'Bananas'. Trafficking can be of a high scale where there is a carefully thought out operation and drugs are being transported around looking like normal cargo. And of course you get the smaller and more underhand dealing where people might use black bags. Straws are used to transport small quantities of cocaine, tik, wonga, heroin and sugars because a straw can be hidden very easily. You can just seal it off into doses and tuck them away. So you move from the individual using or the small time runner of the drugs to the incredibly organised carefully planned supply on a large scale of the drugs. Within this area coming in on the routes from Mozambique and into KwaZulu-Natal down the coast, there are a lot of drugs coming in. For example, in the more mountainous areas you get the donkey trains where particularly marijuana is stored in the supplies along with mealie meal' (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

MacDonald (1988:70) and Vincent (2000) indicate that it is not unusual for farmers to grow plants that hold hallucinogenic properties, such as opium poppy and marijuana, in mountainous terrains. According to McNeill (2002: 44), once the crop has grown to its full capacity, the farmer would harvest the crop and then use a donkey as a means to transport the drugs down the mountain and into the nearest town.

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"There are couriers that bring smaller amounts [of drugs] at a time, but the smaller amounts can at some stages reach bigger levels. The smaller amounts, for example, are referred to as a bullet which as a term is sometimes more frequently used by law enforcement. Also used is a condom or anything that is similar to condoms that are used to pack cocaine into. A person then swallows those bullets, by swallowing about 20 or 30 of them they travel undetected unless they are profiled or x-rayed. The airport cannot x-ray everybody, it's impossible, that's one of the gaps. Other gaps are the borders, transport, our infrastructure, our railway networks, our airports, the movement of people. Those are the ways in which drugs are trafficked' (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

According to South African Defence Review (2012), the land, air and maritime borders of South Africa are likely to remain exposed to illegal crossing due to the lack of capacity to effectively implement safeguarding measures.

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit] continued

"When people are bringing in drugs by swallowing bullets, one gram or a kilogram of heroin that comes from Afghanistan or Pakistan can at some stage be cut. The term cut refers to bulking; when they bulk it there is the addition of other chemicals, like ratax. Any chemical that can disguise the look, smell and the taste of the heroin -they will bulk it up with that chemical and greed is the motive. One kilogram will probably make 3/4 kilograms or 5 kilograms. Antiretroviral 44 [ARV] drugs have also been known to be added as a bulking agent. One drug addict would consume drugs at least three times a day. Sscientifically 0.02 grams to 0.03 grams of heroin is used. The figures 0.02 and 0.03 are given because sometimes they just use a small spoon, it might be a little more or a little less, but not more than 0.02 or 0.03 grams of heroin into those straws or loops that they then tie up. That is one hit, so the person takes it, places it in the foil, adds heat to it (they do not inject in South Africa). He will take it three times a day. Using only one kilo, the dealer can make a rough estimate of about 77 000 loops of heroin at a cost of R20 a loop. Now you can see why the possibility exists of other criminality following this, because if the person takes it three times a day he needs R60. If he is unemployed chances are he is going to steal from his parents. Other crimes are going to follow. At some stage when the Mandrax tablet was unique ... the way we consumed it in South Africa drug addicts became addicted to that. We were the biggest abusers in the world of Mandrax" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Participant 13 [Former Drug Dealer]

"To my knowledge hashish was never big in Durban but it's big in the United Kingdom. When moving drugs from Durban to the United Kingdom we purchased battery casings and packed the drugs [hashish] into those batteries. We then used little 12 volt batteries, the ones that are used for computers. This was done so if anyone was to check the battery with a tester it would reflect as a working battery. This would in turn ward off any suspicion. We then wrapped it [the hashish] in plastic, then buff taped it and lastly used a solution of eucalyptus oil. We used the eucalyptus oil as the smell of the oil puts the [sniffer] dogs off the scent of the hashish. We would move 500 batteries with only about 100 containing the drugs, but those 100 will have a ton worth of drugs. At the time, I was managing the warehouse where all of this was taking place. Initially I was offered a job to manage the warehouse without any knowledge of drug trafficking taking place. Once I became aware of the criminal activities in place - the reason I didn't go to the police was out of fear for my family. It was when I put a stop to the batteries from leaving the warehouse that I got caught. We were caught with 76 batteries that were due to go to the United Kingdom. Without my signature on the documents, the hashish could not go onto the stacks at the airport, so they decided to use an alternative route and got caught on that route. They had packed and wrapped the batteries up the same way including the eucalyptus oil. From what I was told while in prison was that an official at Heathrow airport in the

United Kingdom was walking past the batteries and picked up the eucalyptus oil smell and questioned why batteries had such a strong smell of oil. When he opened them and further investigated it was at that point that the hashish was found.

I think had they replaced me in the company. They would still be running the business because the authorities in the United Kingdom had no suspicions that the drugs [hashish]

were coming

in with the batteries" (Personal Communication, 9 August 2013).

The narrative of Participant 13 was corroborated by Umar (2012), who reported in an online article that an international drug syndicate had "patted down blocks of hashish in eucalyptus oil to ward off sniffer dogs". It was conveyed that there was a need for the hashish to be cut into blocks in order to fit into battery casings. This was met with initial challenges as cutting the hashish with an electric saw would draw unwanted attention as the sound of the electric saw would be too loud. Microwaves were then used to heat the hashish and cut them into blocks. Once this had been done, the hashish was sealed and then placed into battery casings and finally then rubbed with the eucalyptus oil before being exported to the United Kingdom (Umar, 2012).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"It has also been said that some police are involved in the trafficking of drugs. Police vehicles are used to transport the drugs as this is a safer way to transport illegal items without raising suspicion. In Chatsworth we know that sugars is a major problem, we know for a fact that it started in Dalton hostel in town. The taxi drivers used to smoke sugars and introduced the drug to Chatsworth during their daily trips in and out of the community. Eventually Chatsworth users' tolerance levels started to increase and because their withdrawal symptoms were so intense, the user could not wait to go to town to obtain the drug so the drug was brought into the Chatsworth community. From that point, the taxi drivers in Chatsworth, conductors and passengers were using it [sugars] and that became the perfect way to make a business out of it and as a result the market grew. Since heroin is a highly addictive drug, the existing dealers that were selling Mandrax and marijuana then added sugars after seeing how profitable this drug was. Word then spread fast that dealers were needed. Sugars, also known as wonga, was popular in Umlazi. Traffickers saw a market for this drug. However, there were no dealers and that's where the next tier in drug trafficking stemmed from. Drug trafficking is like a major co-operation. Tthere are many tiers in drug trafficking: the CEO or Upper Management, Middle Management, Lower Management, dealers, and runners" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"Taxi ranks are used to transport drugs - from that point as the taxis go around Durban, the drugs are trafficked. There's the T.D.K which is the traffickers' police. They are involved with the prison gang members. Basically, they collect a levy from all the dealers like a tax. If a dealer doesn't pay, then they use violence. What this shows is that the prison payeteness were prison gangs have a hand in this crime. In terms of transporting, to my knowledge there were incidents were Mandrax has been transported in prayer vases and some drugs have also been found in frozen fish" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Page (2001:34) validates the use of taxi ranks as a point of distribution of drugs around Durban. Bowers (2000:185) supports Page (2001:34) by adding that a common reason that taxis are used is that the 'business' is based predominantly on a cash-only method, because it is important not to leave an electronic trail.

Participant 16 [Pharmacist]

"The current runs down the coast of Africa past Mozambique. The main current comes in very close to the coast so the coast gets the ships travelling from India and the Arabian Gulf. Drugs from these ships are then tossed overboard into the water. Small boats retrieve these and bring the drugs back to shore and then into fish trucks, [the smell of] which apparently throws the dogs' scent off the drugs. These drugs are then brought into South Africa via Swaziland. There seems to be a wilful blindness³³ going on, for instance, in another issue, a doctor sends a courier to the pharmacy with a prescription pad filled with about 10/20 scripts, all for pethidine³⁴ or all for Flunitrazepam [rohypnol] for different patients. All of the prescriptions are still joined together in the pad [glued at the top]. The pharmacist sees the scripts and the discrepancies, but because there is a prescription... the fact that the dates are in reverse, the patient isn't collecting it in person, and that the substance is known to be used for recreational drug use, these points are not given a second thought as long as there's a script. In my experience from working with the police every second guy on the street corner after 6pm is selling some sort of drug in little matchboxes" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

Drug syndicates are notoriously innovative in their approach to trafficking (Allen, 2013:79). With constant evolution taking place, the current trend is the consumption of a combination of drugs as opposed to one illicit substance (Robson, 2009: 231). Alters and Schiff (2011:164) state that there has also been an increased use of prescription drugs resulting in a heightened threat of death or serious health ailments.

5.5.1 Reasons for drug trafficking

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"Drugs are trafficked within the community through taxi networks and runners. Peddlers are also used on bicycles or on foot. Vehicles are not used as these may draw attention" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

³³ According to Finnin (2012:173), the term 'wilful blindness' may be defined as the knowledge of **Paigent 46** of a 238 ar circumstance.

³⁴ Pethidine is a chemical that is used to assist with pain relief, specifically for women during the child birth process (Schaefer, 2001:19).

Poverty seemingly creates a fertile recruiting ground for drug mules (Keefer & Loayza, 2010:150). In an online article, Paez (2008) shares a story about [name removed] age, 43, who was promised 3 000 dollars to be a drug mule. There was however a catch, which was that she had to include her children in the crime. The children were aged 15 and 17. [Name removed] accepted the offer because she had "never been offered so much money in her life". On 22 December 2008, [name removed], as well as her two children, were arrested. They had attempted to travel to Buenos Aires in Argentina having ingested 1kilogram of cocaine in plastic wrapping (Paez, 2008). Drug trafficking and drug abuse in South Africa in general and in KwaZulu-Natal in particular seem to be on the rise (SAPS 2012). Studies indicate that drug abuse is fed by drug trafficking because it is trafficking that brings in the drugs (SAPS, 2012).

Participant 1 [NGO]

"Poverty is a major issue because of the lack of job opportunities and parental attitudes are often lacking and that creates an environment and lack of parental networking. When parents take their kids to a shopping mall and just leave them all day without checking who their kids are with, these are absent parents. The whole family structure puts our young people at risk and then, and I hesitate to say it, but I do believe there is a lack of law enforcement... Also greed, I think economic greed. There was an incident where a school principal got caught taking drugs into Heathrow airport, a local school principle from Durban. Nobody is quite sure exactly why, there are rumours that there's a gambling problem or that her partner had a gambling problem, but what was known was that drugs were taken to England in order to get extra money. So in some instances it could also be gambling issues, where a person is trying to fund another problem in some way or another" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"Breakdown in communications, family systems, and being irresponsible. In the areas where drugs are prevalent you can see that there's no other activities that the youth can get involved in, there are no sporting facilities. Unemployment is the other factor as well as school dropouts. We have changing environments in schools, some people cannot adapt, this is historical. The family value has changed, the youth hanging around in the corner rather prefer having their own community than being involved in their own family unit. The dealers saw an opportunity and they went for the opportunity. The other factor is the availability, drugs are so freely available. The effects related to drugs are that these people set an

example: they become nobody to somebody in the community and everyone looks up to them as someone that they can strive to become, they drive posh cars. These traffickers never had a formal education so all these kids say to themselves: 'Why should I study when I can make easy money - let me get involved in illegal activities' "(Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Lyman (2013:30) examined Shaw and McKay's theory pertaining to Cultural Transmission. This theory that was originally proposed in the 1940s explains that an individual's intelligence is not the only cause related to criminality, but that environmental factors seem to show a more direct correlation with an increase in criminal activity (Lyman, 2013:30). It is suggested that criminal activity is a result of "decaying transnational neighbourhoods" (Lyman, 2013:30), indicating that a community once prevalent in triumph would now be poverty stricken (Lyman, 2013:30). The Cultural Transmission Theory stipulates that children who live in communities with high levels of crime in a way become 'programmed' into criminality from an early age". Moreover, studies have shown that criminal activity becomes more prevalent amongst children who view criminals, like drug dealers, as role models (Lyman, 2013:30). In this context, Burfeind and Bartusch (2011: 237) state the following:

"The disparity between what lower-class youth are lead to want and what is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment. Adolescents who form delinquent subcultures...have internalised an emphasis upon conventional goals. Faced with a limitation of legitimate avenues of access to these goals, and unable to revise their aspirations downward, they experience intense frustrations; the exploration of nonconformist alternatives may be the result."

Participant 5 [NGO]

"Some of the social issues that have a hand in the drug problem are boredom, lack of education, experimentation, and depression, as well as poverty and unemployment. The economic issues are double-sided. The area determines the type of drug being sold and the kind of market buying. The poorer communities will seek the lower end drugs like marijuana and heroin, whilst the more affluent areas use cocaine which is more expensive. Both of these can lead to addiction. Different economic backgrounds results in different chaige pages 238 however, no one is immune to the drug problem, it reaches all individuals of all statuses. The effects that I have seen are that drugs destroy communities. Most arrests that are made are of

the bottom runners, not the guy at the top, so the problem is not dealt with as the traffickers can easily replace a runner. Due to the body's tolerance levels increasing, the user is always in need of more and with South Africa having such a high rate of unemployment, one can only wonder where the user is getting money for this habit. That is where crime comes in; first, stealing from home, then from the neighbourhood which then escalates to shop lifting, house breaking, theft of copper pipes and girls may get involved in prostitution. Drugs are directly related to crime" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Glicken (2010: 361) suggests that a number of social issues contribute to drug use, such as broken homes, abuse, and unemployment. All of these factors can also increase a person's risk of developing feelings of low self-worth which in itself perpetuates illicit drug trafficking and even substance abuse.

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"The social effects that I have seen are that unemployment is a major contributing factor, especially with the youth. Sugar addicts experience body pains that result in them needing another hit and this causes them to do all sorts of crimes just to get R60 to purchase the drug [sugars]. Without a strong family structure, the children turn to drugs; they don't see a future for themselves, growing up in poverty and possibly having parents that are alcoholics or users themselves, the child sees using drugs as the norm. When the parent comes home drunk, how he [the parent] then wonders why his child is on sugars baffles me - the message needs to start at home. Some of the effects I have seen due to drugs have been murder, rape, as well as gang activity within in the community. Any crime you can think of is related to drugs" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Participant 17 [Informant]

"The effects stemming from drugs are: house breakings, broken families, people hanging around in the streets, and prostitution. There are also a lot of rivalries that take place between the dealers relating to the selling of drugs. If you open up a shop and sell drugs in an area that is already selling drugs, you will be threatened by the bigger guys because you are taking away their business. There are crimes that take place amongst them also" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

Participant 17's assessment supports the Social Disorganisation Theory that was previously referred to in the discussion on the ethnographic data collection phase of this study.

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5.5.2 Current policies in place and participants' personal thoughts on these policies

Dotinga and Kwiatkowska (2001:154) maintain that South Africa does have legislature in place that assists in protecting against drug trafficking. This view is supported by Hoexter (2014:90). However, participants in this section expressed concerns about the impractical and unworkable nature of these laws, especially in terms of law enforcement that has to deal with innovative and violent criminals.

Participant 1 [NGO]

"South Africa's laws and policies are pretty good. We have a very good medicines control act. I think our drugs and drug trafficking act is very clear and that, in itself, is not a problem. Our labour relations act encourages early identification in the work place, but the problem lies in getting people in to help. We have organisations like NICRO [National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders] which are places that do a rehabilitative approach. It's the application of policy that sometimes is the problem. We visited schools, for example. Many of them don't have a drug policy in place. They should have one but it isn't implemented and the Education Department has put out little pamphlets to guide schools on how to have a policy" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

According to Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:150), the effects of the treatment and rehabilitation programmes on drug addicted people are rarely reported. However, a 2012 report by South Africa's Anti-Drug Alliance revealed that 7.2% of drug consumers had attended rehabilitation facilities. It was also reported that 60% of those who attended such a programme for the specific aim of addiction attended only one to three times in a week (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:150). Paddock et al. (2011:179) argue that a contributing factor for drug addicts not attending rehabilitation programmes may be due to the societal stigma associated with rehabilitation, which may in fact act as a deterrent.

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"The problem with legislation is certain sections of the drug act was challenged. Some of those sections were found to be unconstitutional, which resulted in weaknesses and the weaknesses are all of those cases that are found not guilty. The training and development of investigators have also changed for the worse" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"Legislation and policies need to be relooked at. Once a dealer is arrested, the conviction rate is very low and nothing really happens from that point. The dealers are aware of this. The police say that there are parameters around these sorts of crimes so the question is: Why aren't these parameters being looked at? Home affairs should also be on board keeping an eye out for trends and trafficking abroad, as our border control is non-existent' (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 10 [Police Officer]

"Local police lack education on this matter; there are multi-disciplinary acts that all aid in combating illicit drug trafficking. For example, the Prevention of Organised Crime Act is a huge legislation that has massive ramifications on the illicit drug trade.

The Asset ForfeitureUunit works closely with the National Prosecuting Authorityand the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 Section 252A deals specifically with entrapment; we use this to come after the traffickers with a civil case in partnership with South African Revenue Services and at a later stage the Asset Forfeiture Unit comes on board. My thoughts on these policies are that I would like to see it be easier to seize

assets without having to go to court. For instance, if a car is seized we should be able to then make use of it; also the same goes for the monies. I'm aware of corruption posing as a problem, so not at a local level but these assets should be allowed to be made use of at a national level" (Personal Communication, 24 July 2013).

Participant 12 [Harbour Official]

"South Africa does have some good laws in place, namely, the United Nations Preventions on Narcotics Trafficking. We have international protocol and preventions in place as well as an Asset Forfeiture Act. South African legislature is clear and deals with the use, sale and distribution of narcotics. I don't have any problems with the legislature as they are accurate when dealing with arrests, syndicates and cartels. The area I do feel needs to be worked on is for us to be more innovative with intelligence" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

Participant 16 [Pharmacist]

"South African borders are so porous it is ridiculous. If you were to take a look at the border along Kosi Bay from an aerial view point, the fence is just lying flat and people can just walk across it" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

Research has shown that South Africa has emerged as one of the largest markets of illicit drugs entering its borders. This is to the extent that, as mentioned earlier, South Africa features on international drug trafficking networks. Less stringent controls of air, land and sea entry-points emerged as a result of efforts to open up and boost international trade and commerce in post-1994 South Africa (UNODC, 2002:4, 5). This in turn appears to have inadvertently allowed drug trafficking networks to proliferate. Prior to this, South Africa's economic and political isolation and geographical distance from the world's main drug production sectors during the 1960s prevented the country from evolving as a key drug transit point (UNODC, 2002: 9). This is validated by Peltzer et al. (2010) in their study on substance use and misuse. The study was conducted with specific attention to how changes within the political, social and economic structures within South Africa both before and after apartheid affected illicit drug trafficking. The findings indicated that South Africa had become more susceptible both to drug trade and drug use. Generally, the smuggling of people, illicit drugs and weapons as well as the illegal exploitation of maritime resources have increased rapidly in recent times (Brenhurst Foundation, 2010), with several factors, variables and explanations contributing to this increase.

Participant 16 [Pharmacist] continued

"We had a study done about four or five years ago where we imported about 16 tons of ephedrine into South Africa, of which five or six tons went for legitimate use and the other 10 tons were either diverted fraudulently or stolen. What this showed us was that clearly other countries laws are far more stringent than ours. Another issue is that, convincing prosecutors about certain drugs is met with grave difficuly. If a dealer is caught selling ecstasy there is a big protest made about it, yet those caught with Flunitrazepam [rohypnol] are not viewed as bad, yet the harm caused by the Flunitrazepam is far worse than ecstasy" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013)

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"South Africa has slack immigration laws and border policing is a major problem. The United States of America has 150 000 members on their border police and that is just for guarding the Mexican border. They also have the equipment necessary for checking vehicles - we on the other hand have a total of 130 SAPS members for border policing for the entire of South Africa" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Ganster and Lorey (2005:81) provide insight into the various ways and means of entry into South Africa, as there seems to be the perception that entry into South Africa from neighboring countries is surreptitious. Ganster and Lorey (2005: 81) support the above statement by citing Minnar and Hough (1996:134) who made the following statement:

"Various methods are used by illegals to enter South Africa. The most common is simply to cross the border clandestinely. In the case of Mozambican and Zimbabwean borders, this may be difficult where there are border fences (some electrified) and other obstacles to cross first - not to mention crocodiles in the rivers that need to be swum, the lions in the game reserves and even land mines."

In context of the above, Ganster and Lorey (2005: 81 and 82) maintain that illegal border crossing does occur in South Africa by means of a corrupt immigration system. Moreover, they claim that illegal border crossing is not unique to South Africa and that the key question here is: "How serious are these problems?" (Ganster & Lorey, 2005:81, 82). In an attempt to address this issue, Falanga (2015) reports that three Mozambican men were arrested on Christmas day (2015) on the Lebombo border post in Mpumalanga. They had attempted to smuggle R76 493 523 into the country in their Toyota Hilux 'bakkie'. It was noted that the confiscated money consisted of euros, dollars and rand denominations which lead customs officials to believe that these men might be involved in terrorist activities. They were charged with money laundering (Falanga, 2015). A spokesman for the South African Revenue Services (SARS) stated that the largest arrest by customs was when eight men who attempted to enter the country were apprehended with R78 million in carrybags (Falanga, 2015). However, a serious concern is that of corruption among border officials. A study by Crush and Dodson (2010:74) found that corruption displayed by

border officials poses various problems for immigrants entering South Africa. Their study further reflects on the corruption among border officials. They mention that immigrants who enter into South Africa are limited to a 30-day stay; as a result, immigrants who want to stay longer are obliged to renew their permit, but those who do not do so revert to the bribery of border officials.

Participant 8 [Airport Official]

"The justice system is very lenient so it is very demotivating to arrest criminals that are caught with drugs and then to see them freed so soon after. One incident that sticks out is where we had arrested a guy that had cocaine in his vehicle. He then tried to bribe us. The case went to court and the lawyer had found inconsistencies with the handling of the drugs on the exhibit side and as a result, the case was thrown out of court" (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

Seekings and Murray (1998:45) confirm the sentiments expressed by Participant 8 by stating that South Africa's judicial system reflects an unreasonable leniency towards drug related offences.

5.5.5 Whose responsibility is it to stop illicit drug trafficking?

Studies reflect a consensus of view that the responsibility lies solely on law enforcement to tackle the crime of illicit drug trafficking (Rausching, Wiesbrock, & Lailach, 1997:462).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"The responsibility lies with everyone. Gaps exist where there's corruption, because there's money, everywhere there is greed. They [traffickers] tried to pay me R2 million and I arrested them, that's how drug dealers are. The lack of capabilities is the other issue. If you go to court, 90% of the cases are either withdrawn or not guilty. You ask yourself, why? The why question is: capability. Do we have the capability necessary to do what we have to do as policemen? I'm going to say something that my bosses wouldn't like, and the public wouldn't like. We in the public and the police bosses believe in statistics, the more you arrest the more work is done, so the policeman goes on in his life in 8hrs, 9hrs, 10hrs that he is working, he's arresting, seizing drugs and everyone is happy. The public are happy as are the policing forums. Here's an arrest of a big [name removed]; however, we need to ask ourselves: What is being done for you to take that matter properly to the courts? For instance page 1540 16258 statements right? Do you do your observation correctly? Do you do the necessary or the right thing in terms of legislation for you to bring your

matters before court? When I was with the [name removed], we caught the top people that were supplying South Africa. How did we do that? We needed to go through them by interception means, different means of investigation. And if at a later stage we arrested the main supplier, this person who is a dealer in terms of a certain section of the criminal procedure, you can use him as a witness against the supplier, but then the public [ask]: Why is this cop is not arresting him – he's a dealer! But there are two things you succeed in: one, he is a dealer amongst the community, two, you forced him to be a witness because he is a dealer; you know he is a dealer but you don't have the evidence - why take him to court when he is going to come out not guilty? What you need to do is stop who's supplying him. How do you do that? When his evidence is discovered at a later stage at his defence everyone will know that he is an informant or he informed. You win as an investigator, as a law enforcement official in that. Everyone will be scared to do business with him because they know he spoke to the police. You couldn't arrest him because there's no evidence, you may only have circumstantial evidence. The method of investigation is a long process[but] hopefully one day we will succeed. The dealers found availability, [because] our law enforcement capabilities are incapable and the community involvement makes it much more difficult - what they ought to have done to is implement family values as well as religious values" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"The responsibility lies with the South African Police Services. All agencies can get involved and work together; that is, the Department of Home Affairs, South African Revenue Services, the Organised Crime Unit, and the Special Investigative Unit" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 12 [Harbour Official]

"There is a need for social intervention within the community and family systems need to be strong. Within the community when children are taking drugs the adults need to know where children are getting these drugs from so the community can do more" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

5.5.6 Risks involved in stopping illicit drug trafficking

Participants shared their personal details of their experiences in trying to combat illicit drug trafficking aside from the obvious danger that exists from drug dealers. What is reflected in this section is the high rate of corrupt officials who stand in the way of investigative initiatives (Winterdyk, Perrin, & Reichel, 2011:226).

Participant 4 [Organised crime unit]

"My house was petrol bombed at a time I was away for training. This happened to my home due to corrupt individuals within our organisations as the criminals found me to be a threat. I had people saying that I am corrupt. The reason being is, if you are known to be corrupt, people won't freely give you information and because I built up a big reputation people were giving me information, but by people having spread rumours this hindered people from sharing information with me. They tried to kill my wife while I was away. She was driving my vehicle and they followed her and almost pushed her off a bridge. She suffered major injuries and eventually she had to leave work. My kids were threatened. I was told that they were going to behead my kids. They tried to kill my daughter; she was about 2-3 months old. My sister shielded her which protected her. That's when I moved from [place removed]. There were also many incidents where policemen you work with would scratch your car, throw acid on your paint work. However, that didn't stop me, you work harder when you see these things and then the real criminals know you are a threat that they can't buy you off and that you are going to do everything you can to catch them" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"There are a lot of risks that come with this job. Your life is threatened, and you can be misunderstood and falsely accused. Drugs is a dirty business! If you are a good cop and trying to do your bit to curb this crime, the dealers will start rumours about you and after a time the public, your family, and bosses start to believe it. While at a search the criminal accuses you of having stolen items from their house and a case is opened up against you, your name is mentioned in the paper and the case can drag on for close to a year. Once you are found not guilty it's too late because your name has already been tarnished. This is why, whenever I conduct a search, I always use a camera. There comes a time where you can't help but think that you don't get paid enough for this!" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

5.5.7 What is being done to stop illicit drug trafficking?

On 14 June 2012, South African Police Services flying squad and crime intelligence members apprehended suspects in the Western Cape who were in possession of tik, which was estimated to have a street value of R300 000 (SAPS, 2012). Tik is a slang term for the drug methamphetamine in crystal form (Mesthrie, 2010:223). Another incident resulted in the Hawks and crime intelligence officers uncovering R600 000 worth of Mandrax (SAPS, 2012), a drug that is also known as methqualone. This drug is known to have sedative properties which **are** due to Mandrax. Dawood (2013:6) relates that a sting operation using undercover police officers as drug dealers that bought 'half moons' (which is a street term for cocaine) resulted **Page** 156 of 238

apprehension of a notorious drug dealer operating in the Bellaire area in Durban. Nxumalo (2015:1) adds that in Wentworth, Durban, a metro policeman was arrested twice after allegedly selling cocaine to undercover agents within the Hawks. Additionally noted was that the first arrest was also a cocaine related offence (Nxumalo, 2015:1).

Participant 1 [NGO]

"Customs and execise are very involved in trying to block the holes in terms of what's coming into the country and the police conduct road blocks and searches. We deal mainly with the effects rather than the trafficking itself, so we work on several different levels: one is what we call prevention and community development where we try and provide factual information about drugs and empower individuals and communities so that they hopefully will make positive decisions when it comes to drug use. Also, we hope that they will be able to identify problems early on and go to the appropriate place for assistance - if it's a legal issue go to the police and feel confident when going to the police that your concerns will be heard and everything will be confidential, so one level is educational. The second is that we run treatment programs for people that are drug dependent. In treatment we are dealing with the effects. On the one side we are providing education and development and on the other we are providing treatment, but in terms of legal application we do not have the authority. People phone us and they say: 'Come and sort this out! I think there's drug deals going on in this house!" However, we have no legal authority to do anything about that and it would produce a conflict of interest because a number of our patients have broken the law. Some of them have been caught, some haven't, but if we were seen to be applying the law they might become suspicious about our intentions. We respect the law but we are not responsible for the application. When there was a drug unit they would invite us to go on drug busts and we would say: 'Thank you for thinking of us and trusting us enough to ask us, but we cannot come because one person you bust might need to come to us for help and they might see us at the drug bust and as a result think we are talking to the cops." (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"South Africa has a lot of work to be done - we don't ask the question WHY are all these problems happening, we ask how, who, where, when but not WHY it's happening. We at the [name removed] are currently conducting our research on the 'why' question. Collectively with academics, experts and people that have done their own research and got empirical results, we get them all together to a colloquium or perhaps a seminar and then we try to form a strategy to combat this problem.

When I came over from the [name removed], I put pressure on the policemen. I said: 'Concentrate on project driven investigation, on identified drug suppliers and traffickers and syndicates.' I caught almost everyone sometime in my life or had a hand in some investigation done. I represented South Africa in an international conference in [country removed] and I

was nominated to go to [county removed]. All the law enforcement personnel tell you the same thing. In America they call them confidential informants. You don't pay them anything, you rely on them to give you information so it works that way, that's how they make these big huge busts. I had this major case where we caught a Pakistani national supplying the major dealers in Chatsworth and I investigated that case personally."

[The interviewee moves over to files, opens one file and shows the interviewer documents, all of which were typed by Participant 4 from participant 4's own statements, interceptions, cell phone analysis, and undercover operations record. The person also shows the interviewer page upon page of notes relating to the capture of a supplier in Chatsworth. The average police officer is unaware of the work the [interviewee] is doing undercover. Participant 4 spent a lot of state money to buy kilograms of heroin. The person shows the interviewer pictures of the money, the guy taking his money, and of the drug dealer whose phone they tapped to see who was supplying him.]

"No one else would do an investigation like this."

[The person then shows the interviewer pictures of stake-outs that were taken because no one else wanted to stand in the bush.]

"The big name is [name removed]! R3 million Rands was paid to someone to take me out. But the weight of my evidence would be limited and these were advocates, senior advocates! We had many projects, identifying criminal bosses, it was in the 1997-1999 period that a major drug trafficker in Southern Africa based in Swaziland, he was the biggest. We took 93 million tablets in Dubai [Mandrax tablets]. I had agents undercover - he was investigated for about 18 years by the SAPS prior to that in projects related to my investigation. He never was arrested for reasons best known by those policemen. Inefficiencies, corruption, whatever the case may be, he was protected basically. And I can't say by whom. I was allocated the task to investigate. I had a small group of people and I investigated him; it was the first case where we used assets forfeiture - we seized all his assets, the value of the assets was almost R26 million in South Africa. This included his houses and his cars. However, he also had millions in Swaziland. I kept him in custody for two years before the trial started. He tried to bribe

me with R1 million and I arrested him for corruption. We took 20 million pounds in 1997, 20 million pounds times 18, in the Isle of Man. We took \$5 million worth of his property in Beverly Hills while his son was there. So it was an international investigation. I had 75 lever arch files of evidence. I received a certificate of recommendation from the National Commissioner and the National Prosecuting Authority. I got a conviction for corruption, because you couldn't deny that they gave me the money; it was a peer agreement with [name removed], one of the top advocates. The dealer actually went to the extent of writing to the President saying I was the drug dealer and I was framing him because he belonged to the ANC [African National Congress]. I have those letters kept with my attorney in the event that something were to happen to me if they would be released. The President sent down two ministers to contest to contest to the Minister of Police and the Minister of Justice. When they came down and interviewed me and I

showed them the evidence they then employed me in [name removed] because they wanted me to do that type of investigations there and he [drug dealer that was caught] was deemed to be the untouchable in Southern Africa. [name removed] was widely publicised. We knew where they were getting it [drugs] from. What we did about it, was nothing, that was the first case historically that we went for the head. We cut off the head and Mandrax died off completely in South Africa" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Labrousse, Laniel and Block (2002: 261) address the demise of the aforementioned "king of Mandrax" in Labrousse. Laniel and Block's (2002: 261, 262) research indicated that the only way to defeat the increase in popularity of Mandrax in South Africa was to extinguish the empire that existed under [name removed]. McCollum (2002:34) provides insight into the Enterprise Theory investigation, whereby investigations are based on attacking the whole drug trafficking or organised crime enterprise as opposed to just one aspect of the criminal organisation.

Participant 5 [NGO]

"Not much is being done! Just by looking at how this crime has escalated shows you that it's not being dealt with effectively" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 8 [Airport Official]

"At the airport [Cargo terminal] we have machines that test for drugs. All the cargo that comes in is checked in the presence of the passengers: we search boxes by making use of our drug testing equipment. When passengers see how dedicated we are it acts as a deterrent. Regarding the Dubai flight, we try to search as many passengers as we can. We question them and have a look at their passports to see which countries they have been too, how often they fly in and out of Durban to Dubai, so we can profile them" (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

According to Clutterbuck (2013:195), airports utilise a number of preventative initiatives to screen passengers. These include: enhanced x-ray machines, sniffer dogs, and vigilant staff at entry and exit points, to name a few.

Participant 10 [Police Officer]

"South Africa implements an organised crime approach by getting rid of the dealer. It sends a message to the bigger guys that they can't operate in certain areas" (Pers**Prage 159 of 238** Communication, 24 July 2013).

Participant 12 [Harbour official]

"At the harbour we use a multi-faceted approach: We use profiling as a tool of identification, we work closely with our international allies and identify trends around the world. We also get provided with a list that informs us of trends, syndicates and detection methods around the world, sharing the producers, dealers and peddlers around the world and their modus operandi³⁵. With this data base we can identify containers specifically coming from certain routes and we can then do investigations of the vessel once it's in the port. We search the crew and the containers. It's important to check the crew because had a ship stopped in Brazil to refuel but didn't pick up cargo, that doesn't mean that the crew couldn't have taken anything on board at that stop.

We have small vessels that interface with other vessels at sea; they go out and do random searchers to see if anything looks unusual or if any drugs are to be found. If someone were to slip past the first two stages, we also have random checks. Here we stop containers randomly that are coming in and out of the port. We do this without any notices on any systems. We have a dog with us and we search for narcotics" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

Bumgarner (2014:35) states that profiling was initially implemented for violent serial criminals. As time passed, it was suggested that profiling be applied as a tool for the investigation of drug traffickers (Bumgarner, 2014:35, 36). According to Pickering and McCulloch (2012:82), due to the high levels of trafficking, a "counter-trafficking profiling and software system was established to detect and characterise traffickers in Southern and Eastern Europe." Guzman et al. (2011:196) add that syndicates are known to adapt to a country's infrastructure; that is, those specific countries' local law enforcement would most probably have developed their own improved system of drug courier profiles, subject to the uniqueness of a particular country (Guzman et al. 2011:196-197).

Participant 11 [Police officer]

"There is a unit in Chatsworth called the G6³⁶. They have been the most effective in combating this crime. They are a division of CR SWAT and are feared by the dealers. They have 32 charges against them and who wants that? The G6 have caught [name removed] six times since January 2013, but in order for him to be charged he has to be in possession of drugs. Because he doesn't deal with the drugs directly, he is never in possession - yet we all know that he is the king pin. The people refer to him as the [name removed] of the community. At his bail hearings you will see people wearingT-shirts that say 'the peoples

³⁵ A criminals' modus operandi, often referred to as one's "MO", is the method of criminality in which a criminal is known for his or her unique skill set and preference in committing a crime (Turvey, 2002:229).

³⁶ South African Flying Squad Drug Unit, also known as G6, which represents the Golf 6 GTI moto **Pagge 160 of 238**

champion'. He has been given this status because he provides food and shelter to the poor and at the same time sells them drugs. There was a drug unit that closed down; the better the job they did the more allegations were made against them and once the public starts believing it, it goes downhill from there" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Participant 17 [Informant]

"There are a lot of drug busts that take place and some of the guys get caught, but because they have so much money they always find their way out and this sends the wrong message to the kids in the community" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

5.5.8 What is not being done that participants felt should be done to deal with illicit drug trafficking?

Due to the ever-changing nature of the drug market and drug use patterns (Mann and Andrews, 2007: 429), it is vital not only that interventions be adaptable to modern times, but that they are also qualitative in nature (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:38). The lack of data on the illicit drug market in Africa stands in the way of citizens, organisations and planners fully understanding the nature of this market. Better data will aid in producing better policies (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2011:8). It appears that there is consensus that more and better research is needed (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2010:39).

Participant 16 [Pharmacist]

"A 'precursor' is an active ingredient that, once injected into another chemical, then forms a pharmacologically active substance. Opium is a plant that grows in fields, and there are 57 different chemicals in this plant that are active - if you smoke it or take it you'll get high, they are psycho active. What the traffickers do is they use the residue of the poppy straw, they extract various fractions of the residue and once this is obtained, they chemically modify them. An example of this is morphine. Morphine is a natural occurring compound in the poppy straw. They then recover the morphine and then change the morphine chemically, which then becomes heroin. So a precursor is one of the building blocks to a finished molecule. Sometimes they are active and sometimes they are not. For instance, ephedrine is a stimulant that is moderately active, but if you take ephedrine and change it chemically, you can produce tik, so ephedrine is inactive.

However, it is used as a precursor to produce a drug. You get two types of precursors: 'essential' and 'normal'. Sometimes you can't actually make the final product without using an essential precursor. Acetone [nail polish remover] is not an essential precurpagit if 4 stl238 which is used for extraction of the chemical. The police spend most of their rime tracking or tracing acetone, which is impossible considering most women use it. However, ephedrine is an

essential precursor. You can't make the final product without it! Now that's where the control should be. South Africa's precursor laws are virtually non-existent. The law does recognises precursors but in reality nothing is being done. As a group of chemicals - we are seeing a recent trend where benzodiazepine, which are your tranquilisers, specifically flunitrazepam [rohypnol,or date rate drug], pethidine [used for pain relief during labour] and pseudoephedrine are not used as a drug in itself but as precursors for making tik. If the police were to track these chemicals if stolen or purchased in bulk, then they can work backwards from that point' (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

Brownfield (2011:366) maintains that the only way to win against the trafficking of precursors that are used to produce illicit drugs is to prevent the control and diversion of these precursors. The best way to succeed would be to write up a domestic legislature that controls the import and export of precursors (Brownfield, 2011:366). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2002:17) validates this proposal and adds that drug trafficking organisations tend to have all aspects of the trade in order: from storage and moving to the deployment of large amounts of precursors.

Participant 1 [NGO]

"It is difficult now that we don't have a designated drug unit. It makes life difficult because where do you go? I once was told about a drug supply house and was asked to pass the information on to the police by someone who was scared to go to the police but provided me with an address and a lot of details which sounded incredibly accurate, but all I did was pass it on. When we had a designated drug unit it, was easy. All you had to do was phone in and give the guys the information and often they would say: 'Oh, we're aware of this place, we're watching it' - so we weren't giving them new information, they were already on top of it. This time, without a unit, I got passed from pillar to post just wanting to pass the information on. Eventually I ended up with the Organised Crime Unit. They said to me: 'Is this organised crime that would relate to trafficking? [I.e., the unit asked the NGO if their complaint was related to organised crime]. And I said: 'Well if it's a whole drug house, I'm assuming it is, but the whole point is I'm just passing information.' Oddly enough, a drug user himself was the one that shared this information with me - where he drew the line was when this place was selling to kids in school uniforms and he said: 'I might buy drugs, use it and what I do is illegal ... I really draw the line in supplying to kids in school uniforms.' I think it would really help if we had a designated unit that dealt with it and it could be drugs, weapons and human trafficking, but we need somewhere that we can contact of we have these concerns or that people can contact directly, because contacting generally I've not had a good experience. By contacting a third party will it be conveyed the way I said it? From a policing point of view we need to take the trafficking and drug trafficking act more seriously, because when people believe they could get into trouble it acts as a prevention tool; but it is 102 goings to help your addict. They don't care. They want the drug and will do anything to get the drug. I'm talking about the gap, the occasional users and the regular users who aren't addicted

yet. If they are pretty sure they are going to get caught or if they get caught they will be charged, this can act as a useful prevention [method] that needs to be addressed" (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013).

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit]

"South Africa did have a drug unit that no longer exists due to corruption. We charged the boss of the police for corruption. He was involved with drug dealers. I think there should be another dedicated unit. Training and development should go hand in hand with opening up that unit" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

According to Johnson (2009), the above mentioned 'boss of the police' was also the first individual in charge of Interpol to have had corruption charges brought against him, which then resulted in his suspension.

Participant 4 [Organised Crime Unit] continued

"The other thing is, we must have people security vetted for integrity purposes, continuously. It must be done perhaps on a monthly basis. They should be asked: 'Did you take money from drug dealers? Did you help any drug dealer?' You must have those things in place. We have a tendency in South Africa to say we do not have the money for these incentives. Integrity testing should be in place, continuous integrity testing, you must check my bank account, check my family's bank accounts, check everyone that's associated with me. See what background they have. Don't find out if I have a girlfriend! That's no issue! Find out everything about me. Find out how my family lives - lifestyle analysis. They do not have this capability. I am trying to go into training now or will resign from the police and write my book. [I am thinking about] Resigning because you come to a stage where you cannot move away from ideas that are set from management, and you don't have a leader stepping up and saying, 'This is how we need to do things!'" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Participant 5 [NGO]

"For 8 years I have been lobbying for a designated permanent unit that has specialised members that offer their own expertise in their respective fields. There should be an official from SARS included in this unit as he or she can add a different approach as to how one may be able to get hold of a specific supplier or dealer. He may add that the team should not look at the drugs but rather how that individual got the money to purchase the house, car and so on. They may then look to his taxes, so just imagine the difference each individual can make by just adding a different skill set. The current rumours are that those working in the police are bought off by the dealers, so it's important that a unit that is formed is loyal and they need to go for regular lie detector testing and vetting. Also, in terms of our legal system, we need to make sure that conviction rates increase. We have too many cases being thrown our of court" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Participant 8 [Airport Official]

"South Africa needs harsher sentencing and higher conviction rates. Additionally, there are too many Nigerians being let into South Africa" (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

Participant 11 [Police Officer]

"The law makers need to come and work with us [the police] on the street and see what's happening. They [law makers] are implementing laws that are impractical to use and that make the policeman's job more difficult. There should be money that is made available to pay informants and this should be available fast and efficiently. All these need to be anonymous. If you are paying someone off, no one can know about it - there is money available but it isn't being used due to all the red tape. There should be night vision equipment available, tape recorders, unmarked cars... We can't do all this by filling in a form and waiting for a committee to have a meeting. This is an underhanded crime that happens without a set schedule. The policemen need to be sent for better training. Go to other countries, see how they are trained, and what intelligence they use, and how we can learn from their success. We need to use agents that are not policemen that need to go undercover close to 2-3 years. All of this requires funding, which we don't have. We need better border control and be linked with international policing. They [syndicates] are professional; we've got to be better than them! The magistrates, prosecutors and the police need to work together. They can't throw a case out due to the police not doing the statement correctly. If things need to be changed, then change it. Add the full stop or the comma and change the charge on the docket that is incorrect, or come and show us what it is that they expect and need in order to get a proper conviction. Lastly, high officials should not be associating with drug dealers - the excuse of not knowing they are drug dealers can't fly, especially when we have a data base that indicates who is who" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Harris and Tichenor (2009: 427) share that in order for any level of government to take on drug traffickers, more is needed: better weapons, better law enforcement investigative methods, and an improved judicial system. Moreover, Kranacher, Riley and Wells (2010:112) state that the cyber technology available in today's society needs to have the correct counter measures for investigators that need to arm themselves with the same skills as traffickers in order to "level the playing field" (p. 12).

Participant 6 [Police officer]

"The problem is co-operation, as it is impossible for us to tackle this crime singularly. We need to implement one designated unit this is also closely linked to knowledge of trends of syndicates abroad. I feel that there is more to be done internationally than at a domestic level" (Personal Communication, 10 July 2013)

Kleiman and Hawdon (2011: 219) emphasise that the only way any county can combat drug trafficking organisations is to work cooperatively in an attempt to identify, disrupt and dismantle syndicates that operate over expansive areas. Countries can themselves take on initiatives to burn crops that comprise plants for drug use, as well as to provide educational awareness around the harm of trafficking and the purchasing of illicit drugs (Johns, 2015:246).

Participant 16 [Pharmacist]

"South Africa definitely is in need of stricter enforcement. I have a theory that in the industrial areas there are one or two buildings where these premises are used to manufacture drugs. All of these buildings share a common sewerage system. If you use dogs to sniff the drains and if you follow the scent from the sewerage, it would take you straight to the lab, but our dogs are not trained for this" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

According to an online article in the *Detroit Free Press*, sniffer dogs in Lansing, Michigan are being trained to detect water pollution in an aid to safeguard both public health and the environment (Matheny, 2015). As stated by Participant 16, South African sniffer dogs are not trained to follow the scent of drugs from the sewerage system. In this regard Matheny (2015) states: "It's similar to training any scenting dog - a narcotics dog, a search-and-rescue dog...it's the same principle, just a different scent."

Participant 17 [Informant]

"Drugs - one would think it would be done in the confines of one's home with secrecy involved. In my area it's done on the streets in front of everyone, with no need to be hidden. A lot of blind eyes are turnedto this problem, so clearly enough is not being done. We hear of a lot of 'dirty cops' and corruption being a major issue, but I see lots of cops around the neighbourhood that go into the dealer's house and collect cash. We also have fake busts that take place where the police come in and arrest the dealer and a few weeks later he is released Page 165 of 238

again and all is back to normal. Arrests are just done to show the community that the police are responding to your calls. The bigger units have been doing their jobs pretty well" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

5.5.9 Additional noteworthy remarks

Participant 13 [Former Drug Dealer]

"I never felt good about what I was doing. Some traffickers have it easy because they have the cops under control. The dealers will get caught but it's just to show that something is being done and to take suspicion away from that cop. The cops that are doing their jobs will find it very hard to catch these guys because the methods are always changing, the syndicates are highly innovative, so it's very difficult" (Personal Communication, 9 August 2013).

Proeve and Tudor (2013) share that in some instances drug traffickers are deluded into committing the crime as they may feel as if trafficking of drugs is not directed at a specific victim. Moreover, in certain instances the trafficker may perceive drug trafficking as a victimless crime. Holding a victim at gun point and pulling the trigger may be, in the trafficker's view, more violent and harsh. The danger here is that trafficking of drugs may seem like a victimless crime to a trafficker. However, drugs degrade the social fabric of a community, affecting not just one but many (Proeve & Tudor, 2013). A more in-depth discussion on victimless crime was presented in Chapter 1 of this study.

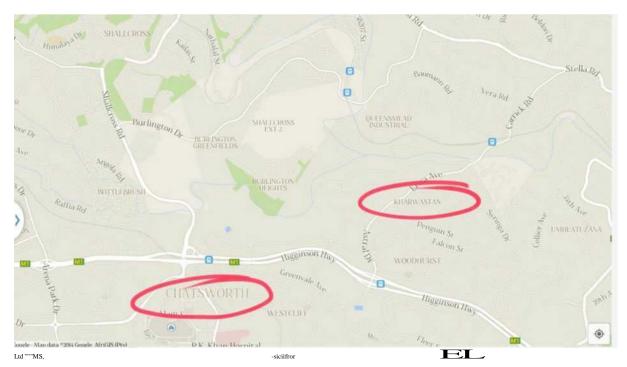
Participant 17 [Informant]

"It's strange because even though my neighbour is now a known drug dealer, initially we did not know. We saw people going in and out of the house but we thought it was just his friends and family. It was only when the police came and did a bust that we knew what was going on. Another reason we did not suspect him was because he lives a rather normal life. He has children that he drops off and picks up from school and does shopping, so no one would think that he was involved in this. Now it's all in the open there is very little concealment that takes place. Our community does take a stand against this crime. If there is any indication of crime taking place in the neighbourhood the dealer is the first person that is blamed. The dealer is selling to these families' children, so there is also the anger that comes with what he [the dealer] is doing to the families and community at large" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

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6. Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion took place on 13 July 2013 in Kharwastan, which is located on the outskirts of Chatsworth.



<u>Image 5.1</u>: Map indicating the distance between Chatsworth and Kharwastan. Image available from Google maps.

The focus group consisted of 11 participants, comprising 3 males and 8 females. All the focus group participants resided in the Khatwastan area. An analysis of the data obtained from the focus group showed consensus in the view that the police were not doing enough to curb the crime of drug trafficking within the Chatsworth area. Some participants felt that their children were not safe in public schools in the Chatsworth area due to drugs being easily available in the community. Some had therefore moved their children to schools in a different area. The main source of information regarding drugs that was gathered from the focus group came from a local radio station as well as a local newspaper (*The Rising Sun*). Some participants seemed taken aback when listening to other participants' comments on the availability of drugs in the area, particularly when they heard how easily accessible drugs are and the high prevalence of drug use. A few participants actually knew the location where drugs could be Page 167 of 238 purchased, one of which was a local 'tuck shop' in the area. Some indicated that they

had frequented that tuck shop; however, they had had no idea that drugs were sold at that specific location.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a discussion of the data collected by means of individual interviews, a focus group discussion, and ethnographic research. The discussion uncovered the knowledge and perceptions of police officials, an informant, a drug dealer, and a pharmacist, among others. The results illuminated the main reasons behind drug trafficking, the profile of persons that are involved in this illicit crime, the routes used to traffic drugs into and within Durban and South Africa, as well as initiatives that can assist in combating drug trafficking. The chapter that follows will provide an analysis of the findings presented this chapter, and will include a discussion on the challenges that the researcher experienced during the data collection process.

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Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This conclusion provides an analysis of all three data collection mediums utilised in this study: the ethnographic research, the focus group discussion, as well as the personal interviews. The challenges experienced during the course of the data collection phase are also addressed in this chapter. The field of study was the crime of illicit drug trafficking in KwaZulu-Natal.

6.1 Analysis of the Findings

6.1.1 Ethnographic research

Ethnographic research in this study revealaed the real, stark face of the victims of drugrelated crime, giving the researcher a different viewpoint into the effects of drugs and
the drug trade, and also providing valuable insight into the workings of the police in
Chatsworth area and their approach to the problem. It was clear from the research and
from the personal contact that the researcher had with these police officers that not
only were they aware of the problem, but they were also knowledgeable about the
effects and consequences of drug trafficking in the study area. As with all detection of
crime, however, they had to have verifiable evidence to proceed with any attempted
arrest for conviction. This 'knowing' who the true pushers and drug-lords are is
important, but that only goes so far. It is the inability to follow-through and to obtain
convictions that is the major problem, and despite the use of forensic science there are
still many more necessary strides to be made in this area. It was clear from this phase
of the investigation that containment and eradication are two different things.

6.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

The use of focus groups initially seemed the best way to gather information which would give a perspective on drugs and drug trafficking from a community point of view. However, from a practical perspective this particular focus group did not provide sufficient information or any new data that could augment existing knowledge and perceptions of illicit drug trafficking.

6.1.3 Interviews

The interviews were far more productive than the focus group discussion. A number of conclusions emerged from the interviews. The most important conclusions are presented below:

The main motivators of illicit drug trafficking are money (financial reward) and greed. This finding is corroborated Desroches (2005:106), who states that due to a lack of legitimate employment opportunities, a trafficker is frequently motivated by wealth. In this study all the interview participants mentioned greed and/or money as a motivation for illicit drug trafficking. The fact that the responses were unanimously directed at money cannot be ignored.

Moreover, the one participant who was interviewed who had been directly involved in trafficking indicated that power was another strong motivator. This is in agreement with Shrader (2001:ii), who indicates that power is a major contributor towards drug trafficking, because once control is given in social, economic and political spheres, there is an underlying power addiction concern. Orford (2013) maintains that there has been a noticeable neglect of power as a driver in addiction research. A clear indication behind the motivation for a trafficker to be involved in trafficking may arguably not be listed as a motivating factor per se, but more so as a perception that police officers, NGO members and the community share in common.

Additionally, a prominent point mentioned was that traffickers own businesses as a front for illicit trade (Daly, 1996:81). It was noted that trafficking was seen as an ideal illicit business choice as it is tax free (Howe, 2011:186). Moreover, a legitimate business may need to purchase uniforms or support its employees in other legitimate ways such as leave, pension benefits and the like. However, drug syndicates exempt themselves from any such legislative requirements. Furthermore, there is no imperative to answer to authorities regarding any quality control of the 'product' – i.e., the drugs - being manufactured or distributed (Gary, 2010:126).

Another theme that clearly emerged from the interviews was that foreign nationals were perceived as being responsible for drug trafficking in KwaZulu-Natal in particular, and in South Africa in general (Kibble,Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1998). According to Carey (2014:96), the notion that foreigners are to blame for drug trafficking is not a new frame of thought; in fact, the origin of this perception was derived by foreigners having been seen as a threat in terms of financial rivalry connected to employment prospects within South Africa, which is a perception that is rooted in xenophobia. Frueh (2012:158) shares the information that a member of the Alien Investigation Unit of the SAPS revealed, namely that "as many as 90% of Nigerians who applied for Section 41 permits - which grant temporary residence to political asylum applicants - were drug dealers."

However, it was revealed that research into illicit drug trafficking in South Africa has not been extensive. Only until full, more coherent qualitative data can be provided, will it be possible to offer a detailed analysis of the phenomenon under study. In this context, Bigo and Guild (2005:172) indicate that if data do exist that reflect foreigners' involvement in a crime, then one needs to also be critical of police reports, as various factors must be considered. One of these is that the statistics should be in the context of the crime in question; that is, if statistics indicate an increase in foreigners' contribution towards criminal activity in South Africa, then there cannot be assumption placed on the crime in question. Statistics should therefore, in their entirety, reflect Page 181 of 238

drug trafficking and should not be a general account of crime, like that of house breaking and car-jacking. Moreover, for any illicit operation to take place in South Africa, South Africans will have to be involved. If in a hypothetical scenario there are four Nigerians involved in a particular trafficking shipment and 15 South Africans, to then place blame solely on the four foreigners and ignore the 15 South African citizens is an unfair deduction and a convenient excuse. Moreover, it then becomes a ruse to absolve South Africans from criminal drug trafficking complicity.

South Africa's weak border controls have been an on-going phenomenon, which is steeped in a deep historical background (Vale, 2003:132). According to Frueh (2012:158), studies have indicated that South Africa has one of the best developed ports in Africa (i.e., Durban), with commercial control pertaining to the transportation of cargo throughout the rest of the African continent. However, South Africa does not have the man power to police all points of entry into the country, which has resulted in South Africa becoming a trafficker's sanctuary (Frueh, 2012:158). One participant sheds light on South Africa's border epidemic by stating the following:

"South Africa has slack immigration laws and border policing is a major problem. The United States of America has 150 000 members on their border police and that is just for guarding the Mexican border. They also have the equipment necessary for checking vehicles. We on the other hand have a total of 130 SAPS border police members for the entire South Africa" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

Insufficient border control allows not just illicit drug trafficking to have a higher rate of occurrence than might otherwise be the case, but it also facilitates other crimes and allows criminals to enter and exit the country almost at will (Haughton, 2011:173). This in turn places a greater security strain on internal investigations and safety within South Africa.

Popular drugs in South Africa, as listed by UNODC (2002:11) in 2002, were marijuana, Mandrax, cocaine and extasy. The knowledge and perceptions of the participants in this study reflected that cocaine, heroin, marijuana, and sugars are the current popular drug choices in KwaZulu-Natal. In addition, there was consensus amongst the participants that different drugs were consumed in different areas, as expressed by one participant:

"... the area determines the type of drug being sold and the kind of market buying. The poorer communities will seek the lower-end drugs like marijuana and heroin whilst the more affluent areas use cocaine, which is more expensive. Both can lead to addiction. Different economic backgrounds result in different choices of drugs; however, no one is immune to the drug problem, it reaches all individuals of all statuses" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Dickovick (2012:314) states that Interpol lists South Africa as the fourth leading manufacturer of marijuana in the world. Consensus seems to be around crop eradication as a preventative measure towards the reduction in production of marijuana (Singh, Batish, & Kohil, 2006:814). This, however, may contribute to an already alarming poverty concern in South Africa, as any preventative action by means of crop eradication may prove to be only a short term initiative, while it may actually rob low income earning families of their wages (Singh, 2007:329). Weavind (2014:4) sheds insight on the income that marijuana crops provide to those living in rural areas with no water and/or electricity. The money that cultivators earn from the marijuana harvest provides the financial means not only to send their children to school, but also to buy clothes and food. Researchers suggest that the control and preventative measures of illicit drugs should in fact be directed at the export of South African produced marijuana (Siegel, 2011: 503). It was noted that drugs enter South Africa from Johannesburg and are then distributed to other provinces within South Africa. According to Daly (1996:27), Johannesburg is the chosen entry point into South Africa due to most international flights entering South Africa via Johannesburg OR Tambo International Airport. This is supported by UNODC (2002:22), that states that there are major vulnerability concerns at Johannesburg International Airport, specifically in trems of high value and small volume drugs. Once drugs have entered Pure apsiroff 238 Johannesburg, they are then distributed overland throughout KwaZulu-Natal in innovative ways. For example, one participant stated that drugs had been found concealed in prayer vases and inside frozen fish (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013). Another participant cautioned that drugs are hidden in ripened bananas and trafficked around Durban (Personal Communication, 19 June 2013). It was also added by an additional participant that trucks are utilised in the manoeuvring of drugs in and around South Africa as he stated the following:

"... recently there was a case of a truck coming from Swaziland that was declared as empty. When a truck is declared as empty, this means that no goods are on the vehicle, this is a way to ensure that no one thinks to check the truck. On one occasion a contrary policemen stopped the truck that was declared empty and found movate cream [skin-bleaching cream] that is used on the streets" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

South Africa's high levels of poverty result in the general public seeking desperate methods to obtain an income. Frueh (2012:161) poignantly describes unemployment as "not just as a cause of crime, but also a symptom of it". It is therefore not strange that an option to seek avenues out of unemployment has been that of becoming a drug mule (Holden and Plaut, 2012). This phenomenon may account for the finding in the study that drug mules are a key component in the manner in which drugs enter South Africa via airports. One participant illuminated this point:

"... The airport [i.e., an aeroplane] is the best mode of transport because it is difficult to catch the drug mules while they are flying, especially due to the traffickers making use of unsuspecting people, such as the elderly, children and females. At cargo [King Shaka International Airport, cargo terminal] we have two flights daily that come from Johannesburg...and lands in Durban. At the airport we have one flight a day at 5 o' clock that comes in from Dubai.Most ofour officials are used to screen passengers that come off that specific flight" (Personal Communication, 19 July 2013).

In a joint investigative procedure between the members of the Durban Organised
Crime Unit and Customs Officials, they investigated a Bolivian man who was
allegedly flying from Brazil via Dubai with two kilograms of cocaine with an

estimated street value of R600 000 (Naidoo, 2013:5). The suspect was arrested at King Shaka Airport as he had been recognised from a tip-off by an informant (Naidoo, 2013:5). The fact that drugs enter South African via the airport does not negate the fact that drugs have been known to enter KwaZulu-Natal by means of the sea, with Durban harbour being the entry point. One participant mentioned the following:

"Durban harbour is a much more difficult place for the police to identify drugs, as the containers are concealed. There are also thousands of containers arriving monthly, so the only way to gain any substantial headway on this has to be investigations which would largely depend on informers" (Personal Communication, 24 July 2013).

Adam (2014:3) reported that intelligence driven investigations resulted in the uncovering of over R3 billion worth of pure heroin found in an upmarket Durban property located in Kloof (Adam, 2014:3). It was alleged that a chemical odour was what had led the police to the squash court on the premises where the industrial sized machinery was still mixing the chemicals (Rondganger, 2015:1). Also uncovered on the Kloof premises were other types of drugs to the value of an estimated R10 billion. There were also industrial size stainless steel boilers in one of the laboratories located in the house as well as 200 drums of a banned chemical known as diacetylmorphine. This chemical is the prominent ingredient used to produce heroin, and when mixed with additional ingredients the drug called *sugars* is produced (Adam, 2014:3).

Owing to the magnitude of the Kloof drug heist, the police subsequently focused their attention on the ports of entry into KwaZulu-Natal in an effort to gather evidence and intelligence on large scale illicit drugs entering Durban (Adam, 2014:3). Rondganger (2015:1) adds that landlords should look for two specific telltale signs that could aid in indicating if an illicit drug laboratory exists on their premise. One of these signs is windows that are covered to avoid natural light from entering, as hydroponic dealers need halogen light for drug production (Rondganger, 2015:1). Also, because these labs need a controlled temperature for the manufacturing of drugs, fans and air conditioners will run day and night. As a result, there may be a sudden increase in water and electricity bills (Rondganger, 2015:1).

One participant provided insight into the unpredictable nature of drug trafficking syndicates. He stated:

"...drug syndicates are very sporadic in how they move items, especially when there are a high number of officials in busy ports. Once you improve controls in one port of entry and there is a port that is smaller, quieter or not as high in volume, the syndicates could easily move their activity to the smaller port or vice versa" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

Siegel (2015: 508) validates the preceding point on the sporadic nature of traffickers and adds that in any area where police officer numbers and visibility are increased, traffickers then employ a different strategyby utilising a different route. Brownstein (2015:484) confirms this by adding that in drug trafficking networks where there is domination by authorities in one geographical area, this then drives the drug network into a different area. This phenomenon has been labelled the 'balloon effect'. The above participant also provided the following information on a practical encounter of the 'balloon effect' to illustrate the method traffickers employ in an attempt to counteract police initiatives:

"... Traffickers don't use a direct route. One example was where a container that was carrying oil - it is important to note that an oil container is different from the containers that carry normal cargo. In the frame of that container we found that narcotics had been hidden. That specific container had looped around a few countries just moving from port to port without an actual destination. We eventually tracked down that specific container in Port Elizabeth. The danger in the loop technique that traffickers use, is that at any stage anything can be added or removed, you don't know who is involved, where it happened or what was removed or added and when" (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013).

According to Siegel (2015:508), investigative strategies are key regarding the displacement of trafficking. However, Seigel (2015:508) maintains that community based initiatives are vital in supplementing police investigations to ultimately render a more positive outcome. This is supported by Albrecht and Das (2011:293), who also indicate that the SAPS 'Crime Line' initiative has been successful in assisting with drug related crimes. In this initiative police response is generated by anonymous 'Ip-238' and 'Ip-238' are key regarding the displacement of trafficking. However, Seigel (2015:508) maintains that community based initiatives are vital in supplementing police investigations to ultimately render a more positive outcome. This is supported by Albrecht and Das (2011:293), who also indicate that the SAPS 'Crime Line' initiative has been successful in assisting with

offs' that are made by community members. Additionally, Brownfield (2011:384) proposes that investigative procedures that are implemented and that direct attention towards the dismantling of the 'head' of drug syndicates is the most effective way to gain ground on drug related crime. Another participant validated this view by sharing a personal investigative initiative that was directed at the head of a drug syndicate (operating in South Africa) and not the dealers at street level. This participant stated:

"... we went for the head, we cut off the head and Mandrax died off completely in South Africa" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Taxis were also noted as a means of transportation of drugs within Durban, signifying that taxis contribute towards a 'triple duty' business. In this context, taxis are a source of *transport* for the drugs. No *suspicion* is attached to minibuses taxis as they are providing transport to the public. The *sale of drugs* takes place on the taxis themselves. Gastrow (2003:112) mentions that turf wars in the 1990s developed within the taxi industry in South Africa; as a result, both drivers and owners alike adopted an interest in drug trafficking to provide surplus services to the market. This was all done in an effort to compete for customers and to grow wealth.

Marked police vehicles were also noted as a mode of transport for the distribution of drugs within Durban, as such vehicles avert any suspicion. It was noted by an informant in this study that in some instances police officers were known to be involved in drug trafficking and that those specific officers used marked police vehicles to transport drugs (Personal Communication, 1 December). One reason noted for police vehicles being used to transport drugs was that no one would question the contents of a police vehicle, so in essence the trend is that drugs are 'hidden in plain sight' (Gaines & Kremling, 2013:27). The participant elaborated on this information, stating the following:

"It's strange because even though my neighbour is now a known drug dealer, initially we did not know. We saw people going in and out of the house but we thought it was just his friends and family. It was only when the police 18716f 238

and did a bust that we knew what was going on. Another reason we did not suspect him was because he lives a rather normal life; he has children that he drops off and picks up from school and he does shopping, so no one would think that he was involved in this" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013).

Moreover, the informant stated that the police in his community would conduct 'fake busts'. This is undertaken in an attempt to portray an efficient work protocol to the members of that community (Marsh, 1991:45). This author adds that 'fake busts' are also a deliberate attempt by police officials to show the community that efforts are being made to eradicate crime and this also sends a message to drug dealers that a drug search could take place at any given time and place. However, some 'fake busts' may be more sinister than they seem, as the participant also stated: "I see lots of cops around the neighbourhood that go into the dealer's house and collect cash" (Personal Communication, 1 December 2013), which implies that some police officers are closer to the illicit drugs trade than meets the eye. Krieger and Murphy (2012: 182) add that there is little or no incentive or motivation for police officers to mend corrupt behaviour and by choosing to continue on a fragmented path, this may also void them from any accountability. According to Gaines and Worrall (2011:195), one should consider if a police officer needs motivation to choose right over wrong. Indeed, credit should be given for a job well done. However, with regards to morals, Gaines and Worrall (2011:195) maintain that it is a near impossible task to instil morality into the heart and thoughts of a police officer, nor is one able to legally request morality from law enforcement and government officials alike. Conversely, it has been alleged that institutions have been known to intentionally conceal corrupt police activities in an effort to produce a positive public opinion (Krieger & Murphy, 2012:182, 183).

For some South African residents a high crime rate is a direct reflection of ineffectiveness and poor service delivery within the South African Police Services (Frueh, 2012:149). The results of the latter study indicated that the responsibility in terms of tackling illicit drugs rests on both the police and the community. However, Page 188 of 238

the police are vested with higher accountability. Brownfield (2011:557) indicates that information has been uncovered of certain occurrences relating to South African law enforcement and illicit drug related corruption. One such report stated that "the quantities of seized drugs are lower than actual seizers and the difference finds its way back out on the street". Call (2007:179) shares that a study conducted by the Institute of Security Studies in 45 police stations in South Africa revealed that 31% of respondents had indicated that policing had deteriorated post 1994. It was also established from the above study that corruption was listed as the main reason for the downward spiral in local policing (Call, 2007:179). The perception of the government's incompetence to deliver on safety and security causes communities to seek ulterior avenues for the well-being and protection of the community (Frueh, 2012:149), such as establishing vigilante groups and increasing private security companies' support (Frueh, 2012: 149-150). According to Albrecht and Das (2011:293), the large number of complaints of misconduct lodged against members of the South African Police Services resulted in cases being referred to the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). However, due to insufficient funds and an escalating work load, most cases were then referred back to the police for inquiry (Albrecht & Das, 2011:293). With this being said, the police still have a job to do and cannot postpone their duties until relations between them and the community are on better terms (Albrecht & Das, 2011:293). However, Spalek (2013: 92) maintains that community driven initiatives that work in conjunction with the police garner the best outcome towards crime prevention. This means that by working together and building a good rapport with the community, the police assist themselves in gaining added information that may otherwise take longer to achieve (Schneider, 2014:298). There may be risks involved in sharing information with the police, but joint initiatives also send a subliminal message to potential or existing dealers that the community has a zero tolerance approach towards drugs (Spalek, 2013:92).

This study revealed a unanimous account among those questioned that not enough was being done to curb the crime of illicit drug trafficking. Issues that were brought up were that proper investigative skills need to be implemented that would aid in an international standard of undercover work. According to Lindholt (2003:142), a major issue with regards to South African Police officers is an increased number of 'functionally illiterate' officers. This results in community members feeling less confident to report crime in their respective areas as communication barriers play a part in those communities' reluctance to provide support to the police (Lindholt, 2003:142). Rotburg and Mills (2010:14) state that there are an estimated 135 known drug syndicates in South Africa, with numerous vehicle, gold and diamond, and commercial fraud syndicates.

Contribution of respondents to the study

To address the main objective and research questions, the researcher conducted 17 face- to-face interviews with selected respondents. However, the responses of only 11 were included in this study because the remaining 6 respondents reflected weak knowledge of illicit drug trafficking, or an unwillingness to offer meaningful answers, with actual answers from police officials and airport officials stating "no comment". In defense of some police officers, the researcher had asked questions pertaining to other crimes such as car-jacking, which in essence had no bearing on drug trafficking. However, the issue here is that crime is interlinked with drug trafficking being interconnected with the illegal weapons trade, money laundering, terrorism, and human trafficking, to name a few (Norwitz, 2009:375). Police should theoretically be working together regardless of their allocated crime division, by sharing information and being trained on the workings of crime in general. This should aid in intelligence driven investigations at provisional, national and international levels (Bellamy, 2014). Gaines and Worrall (2011:195) state that research has indicated that perceived inequalities within the SAPS stem from officers from one unit not understanding the responsibility and risks involved by officers from other units. A proposed as 190 of 238 perceived inequalities within the police, according to Gaines and Worrall (2011:195), is that of job rotation. This may allow for better intelligence driven investigations and promote a more cohesive work relationship (Gaines & Worrall, 2011:195).

During the personal interviews, five participants mentioned the need for a designated drug unit in South Africa. An article by Weavind (2013:36) provides information about an interview that was held with a notorious drug trafficker from Johannesburg who had been involved in illegal scams, tax evasion, fraud, and murder. It was alleged that this drug trafficker had accumulated a rough estimate of R77 million through illegal activities. Proud of his reputation, he discussed his wealth with Weavind, stating:

"Of course it makes you happy. Tell me if you want to fly economy class for 18 hours to New York", indicating that to him, money symbolises comfort (Weavind, 2013:36).

He also stated: "No one makes a lot of money if they are legit", thus insinuating that anyone living a wealthy lifestyle is - in his view - involved in illegal activities (Weavind, 2013:36). This drug trafficker was allegedly involved in the corruption allegations that resulted in the dismantling of the 'Scorpions', a special law enforcement unit. In a way, the message that seems to be eminating from the criminal elite is that South Africa is not equipped to deal with an international multi-billion rand drug industry.

One participant suggested that a unit be put in place to combat drug related crime which should consist not only of police members, but also accountants, members of the South African Revenue Services, and members with a legal background (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

The researcher agrees with the suggestion that an efficient unit should be established to combat crime, and believes that a holistic approach is required. Such an approach should include members from SARS and the Criminal Justice System, and members of the Organised Crime Unit should undeniably be included in this proposed unit.

Moreover, members with a medical background may also make a considerable of 238

contribution to such a unit. This suggestion is endorsed by the researcher's experience of having interviewed a pharmacist related to illicit drug trafficking and the analysis of drugs seized. The pharmacist provided valuable insight into precursor control, diversion methods and possible investigative approaches by means of knowledge of and informed suggestions for the monitoring of precursors. The pharmacist in this study proposed a possible investigative approach for the tracking of clandestine drug laboratories by sharing invaluable knowledge and experience:

"... in the industrial areas there are one or two buildings that are using these premises to manufacture drugs. All of these buildings share a common sewerage system. If you use dogs to sniff the drains and if you follow the scent from the sewerage, it would take you straight to the lab - but our dogs are not trained for this" (Personal Communication, 1 August 2013).

Additional experts that may enhance the above notion concerning the formation of a drug unit could possibly vary between the disciplines of drug addiction and chemistry. These experts may also provide more insight into the supply and demand of illicit drug trafficking. Furthermore, another participant added that vetting should be done regularly of officers investigating organised crime as an anti-corruption initiative (Marten, 2012:181). The suggestion was that such vetting should even include family members:

"...we must have people security vetted, for integrity purposes... it must be done perhaps on a monthly basis... testing should be in place, continuous integrity testing, you must check my bank account, check my family's bank account, check everyone that's associated with me" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

Corruption within law enforcement acts as a direct obstruction of justice (Zaigham, 2013:165). This study acknowledges the seriousness of corruption with reference to the previous paragraph relating to regular vetting of officers. However, because only two participants spoke out strongly against corruption, it was not listed as a major theme in this particular study. During the International Fraud and Corruption Week that was held on 15 to 21 November 2015, it was noted that corruption not only undermines the integrity of the South African Police Services, but also Page 192 of 238

economic growth in the country and impedes the longevity of public assets (*TheMercury*, 2015:7). According to Segell (2000:195), there have been instances where police officials were suspected of being a direct source of protection for drug traffickers. According to Segell (2000:195), the more established trafficker seeks out police protection as a safeguard against their competitors, and this in turn allows those members of the police to demonstrate 'good faith' to public and senior officials in terms of their arrest rate. Hess, Orthmann and Cho (2014:454) validate this argument and add that research has shown that some police members place a greater importance on results than on a sense of duty and values. When the police accept free services or discounts from businesses, this may not be measured as corruption; however, police members who 'look the other way' regarding corruption or crime pay-offs of which they are aware is another matter completely (Hess, Orthmann, Cho, 2014:454). One participant shared his experience of corrupt officers who had engaged in intimidation tactics to attempt to deter him from his investigations. The participant related this experience as follows:

"... corrupt individuals within our organisations had said I am corrupt, the reason being, if you are known to be corrupt people won't freely give you information and because I built up a reputation people were giving me information, but by people having spread rumours this hindered people from sharing information with me... They tried to kill my wife, she was driving my vehicle and they almost pushed her off a bridge. I was told that they were going to behead my kids. There were also many incidents where policemen you work with who would scratch your car, throw acid on your paint work. However, that didn't stop me, you work harder when you see these things and then the real criminals know you are a threat; that they can't buy you off and that you are going to do everything you can to catch them "(Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

In 1996 the Anti-Corruption Unit (ACU) was established, which is a division within the South African Police Services (Call, 2007:179). In 1999 more than 40 000 cases were reported on police corruption and by the year 2000 more than 70 000 cases had been reported (Call, 2007:179). However, one issue that stood out from the ACU reports was the inconsistencies among the number of cases of police corruption thaplad ponof 238

reported and the number of police officials that were charged and then sentenced for corruption (Call, 2007:179). Conversely, Lynman (2013:29) suggests that certain techniques employed by law enforcement may be controversial, especially when dealing with drug trafficking. This is because investigative methods may in some instances be compromised in an effort to gain information. This view was validated by the participant who described the lengths he had employed to gain information on drugs by having to intentionally contradict allocated investigative approaches. He stated:

"...I got a conviction of corruption, because you couldn't deny that they gave me the money. It was a peer agreement with [name removed] one of the top advocates. The dealer actually went to the extent of writing to the President saying I am the drug dealer and I am framing him because he belonged to the ANC [African National Congress]. He [the drug dealer that was caught] was deemed to be the untouchable in Southern Africa" (Personal Communication, 25 June 2013).

South African Police crime statistics for the 2014-2015 period indicated that 57 drug labs had been uncovered. During the reporting period, 324 people were detained for drug related crimes, which resulted in 98 convictions (SAPS Annual Report, 2014/2015:218). According to Davis (2015), the crime statistics made available by the South African Police Services may be inaccurate because of the way in which they are relayed by SAPS officials to the public. Call (2007:174) validates this observation by adding that crime data in South Africa are highly unbalanced, in that a wide range of variables affect the validity and reliability of the data. Call (2007:174) suggests that crime data concerns have been an on-going issue. For example, in 2001 the South African government even issued a 'moratorium' on official crime statistics and thus initiated a second amended phase with regards to a crime recording structure.

In relation to South Africa's policies and legislation on drugs, there was a mixed response. Some participants supported the legislature in place whilst others viewed current legislature relating to drugs in a negative light. South Africa does have legislation against crimes like drug trafficking; however, from the police perspectives in this particular study current legislature was viewed as unfavourable. The frustration 174 of 238

displayed (Perez, 2010: 65) by one law enforcement member regarding this is revealed when he/she stated:

"The law makers need to come and work with us (the police) on the street and see what's happening. They are implementing laws that are impractical to use and make the policeman's job more difficult" (Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

From the foregoing, police officers that are endeavouring to do their best in curbing crime in South Africa have expressed frustration in the criminal justice system. This frustration has been brought about by cases being thrown out of court or documents deemed invalid as a result of incorrect submissions or grammatical errors (Adlam & Villiers, 2003:90). Another issue ardently addressed was the 'in possession' law, whereby officers cannot arrest a known dealer unless that said individual is in possession of drugs. One reason for the 'in possession' law is that if a drug dealer is in possession of the drugs when apprehended, it is then easier to substantiate his guilt from a conviction stand point (Ghodse, 2008:67).

There are beneficial reasons related to government organisations directing their attention towards major drug trafficking organisations. One of these reasons is that by arresting the master minds behind the organisation, this would assist in the achievement of arrests of minor offenders, and thus lessen the load on the Criminal Justice System, as it will be allowed to concentrate on other complex cases (Ghodse, 2008:67). It is a well-known fact that the South African criminal justice system plays a vital role regarding drug control; however, the implementation of relevant drug policies has been unsuccessful (Kalunta- Crumpton, 2015:149), as was demonstrated by the poor, inexcusable 9% conviction rate of drug related crimes in 2012 (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:149). Alternatively, Kelly, Moore and Roth (1995:21) state that a major contribution to the poor conviction rate of drug related crimes is that witnesses are hesitant to come forward, possibly because of fear. According to Ghodse (2008:67), legislation that provides financial incentives to witnesses that offer facts pertaining to drug trafficking, as well as effective protection programmes, may be beneficial in the gathering of information on drug syndicates. Page 195 of 238 Another major reason behind the poor conviction rate is that obtaining solid evidence related to drug trafficking is extremely challenging. An effective consideration may be the re-evaluation of legislature that addresses the conviction of persons that participate in drug organisations (Ghodese, 2008:67). This may be done for the reason that the gathering of evidence that connects the criminal 'heads' to the crime has been proved to be a near impossible task because the crime bosses hardly ever come into contact with the drugs (Ghodese, 2008:67). One participant described the manner in which the above mentioned points have a direct impact on the conviction of drug related crime:

"The criminals that do get caught are the bottom feeders and the runners. The guy at the top doesn't touch the drugs so there's hardly anything to link him or her to the crime. If the runner is caught he relies on the top guy to pay his bail and take care of his family, so the chances of him sharing information are highly unlikely. There's is also the chance that he may get killed if he does share information. In this situation we as the police need to have more to provide to the runner for him to turn. By more I mean, more money, better technology, initiatives that can help relocate him for the rest of his life - we need to have more and to be able to offer the runner more than the top guy "(Personal Communication, 30 July 2013).

The lack of sufficient funds for investigative purposes has been a constant issue related to the South African Police Services (Albrecht & Das, 2011:293). According to Orthmann and Hess (2012:573), one method that may assist law enforcement with additional revenue is by confiscating the money and property belonging to drug syndicates. Asset Forfeiture provides a two-fold advantage by providing financial assistance to the SAPS as well as assisting in the decline of drug trafficking (Orthmann & Hess, 2012:573). By seizing drug traffickers' belongings such as boats and /or aeroplanes and the like, government officials may then be able to use these items in counteracting crime, or they may possibly auction the belongings and use the money acquired to provide for better training concerning drug investigations as well as the purchase of sophisticated equipment to assist with the combating of crime (Orthmann & Hess, 2012:573). In addition, another participant pointed out that South Africa could use Page 196 of 238

a more effective approach to the notion of asset forfeiture. According to him:

"... There are multi-disciplinary acts that all aid in combating illicit drug trafficking. The Prevention of Organised Crime Act (POOCA) is a huge legislation that has massive ramifications on illicit drug trade. The Asset Forfeiture Unit works closely with the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) and the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 Section 252A deals specifically with entrapment. We use this to come after the traffickers with a civil case in partnership with the South African Revenue Services (SARS) and at a later stage the Asset Forfeiture Unit comes on board. My thoughts on these policies are that I would like to see it be easier to seize assets without having to go to court. For instance, if a car is seized we should be able to then make use of it. Also, the same goes for the monies. I'm aware of corruption posing as a problem, so not at a local level but these assets should be allowed to be made use of at a national level' (Personal Communication, 24 July 2013).

Following the above, a significant mistake relating to asset forfeiture is that ownership of extravagant belongings is not illegal (Orthmann & Hess, 2012:573). Various seizures may occur without any discovery of drugs, therefore this poses added difficulties on law enforcement to then prove that the belongings were achieved through illicit activities (Orthmann & Hess, 2012:573). In this case, ownership of property is then investigated by trying to establish a paper trail to determine where the funds had originated from. If these said funds were intentionally hidden or concealed, it would then suggest criminal involvement (Orthmann & Hess, 2012:573).

Davis (2015) indicates that drug related crime in South Africa has seen an increase over the years and that a decline in drug related crime seems rather unachievable with the current implementations in place. According to Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:149), the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992 provides clarity on the investigation, detention, confiscation and prosecution of drug related offences. However, experts in the field have noted weaknesses within this act, one of which is the stipulation that the marijuana plant is illegal (i.e., the seeds, bud and leaves), but that one ingredient, Tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) is not (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015:149). Of a probable 60 acknowledged compounds, THC is the most active ingredient of the marijuana plant. It Page 197 of 238

is noted that THC is found in numerous parts of the marijuana plant, including the leaves (Dasgupta, 2011). Kalunta-Crumpton (2015:149) attributes the legalisation of THC to pressure by certain pharmacists or pharmaceutical companies in South Africa that sell an imported component of THC, referred to as 'marinol', for as much as R1 200 per gram. The Medicines and Related Substances Control Act No 101 of 1966 addresses the sale of medicines that fall within scheduled drugs for medical purposes (Acutt & Hattingh, 2011: 583). However, one participant referred to the issue of 'wilful blindness' around the exploitation of prescription medication. This person illustrated the problem as follows:

"...a doctor sends a courier to the pharmacy with a prescription pad filled with about 10 or 20 scripts, all for pethidine or all for Flunitrazepam [date rape drug] for different patients. All the prescriptions are still joined together in the pad [glued at the top]. The pharmacist sees the scripts and the discrepancies, but because there is a prescription, the fact that the dates are in reverse, the patient isn't collecting it in person, and that the substance is known to be used as a recreational drug use... are not given a second thought as long as there's a script" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

The same participant also provided insight into the International Trade Administration Act No. 71 of 2002 (Ndlovu, 2012:350), which is concerned with the import and export of precursor chemicals (Johnson, 2002:171). This participant stated:

"South Africa's precursor laws are virtually non-existent. The law does recognise precursors, but in reality nothing is being done" (Personal Communication, 15 August 2013).

The International Narcotics Control Board (2005: 38) speaks to the need for further initiatives in effective laws and control relating to pharmaceutical medicines and precursor chemicals that are used in the production of illicit drugs.

This study also attributed unemployment, lack of family values, non-existent or weak parental influences and deprived backgrounds to the social and economic factors that contribute towards illicit drug trafficking and drug use. One participant noted the following:

"Some of the social issues that have a hand in the drug problem are boredom, lack of education, experimentation and depression, as well as poverty and unemployment" (Personal Communication, 5 July 2013).

Puig and Vilanou (2012: 52) agree that the contributors mentioned above increase societal problems. They suggest that all these issues be addressed by a solution based approach that is clearly directed at 'moral rearmament' that should delve directly into community and family based initiatives to address the problem. It is suggested that a holistic approach be applied, from establishing intelligence driven countermeasures to eliminate drug trafficking (Shaw, 1997:17), to initiatives that uplift the youth.

Moreover, therapeutic options as well as psychological treatment should be provided to current users. Those who are addicted should also be assisted with the core issues that may contribute to their drug abuse. Finally, all skills development initiatives should deal with the pressures that are experienced in everyday life (Puig & Vilanou, 2012: 52). Puig and Vilanou (2012: 52) argue that a decline in personal and family values, the failure of youth intervention strategies, stress related to unemployment, and the desire for instant gratification as opposed to tackling one's issues head on, are all factors that contribute towards the susceptibility to and trafficking in drugs.

According to Makhetha and Dzanibe (2013:1), an incident occurred in 2013 in which drugs were uncovered in uMhlanga. A drug factory with R5 million worth of narcoticis was exposed in the bust. The drugs that were found were 3 kilograms of pure heroin, sugars (heroin) in the form of straws that were packed in florist foam, and Mandrax tablets. Also found on the premises were two motor vehicles that had been reported stolen. The suspects were 12 South Africans and a national from Burundi (Makhetha & Dzanibe, 2013:1). It was alleged that a well-known drug dealer from Durban was in charge of the drug factory and provided the rent for the occupants of the house (Makhetha & Dzanibe, 2013:1). A police officer who was page viewed 238

stated that drug busts occurred weekly in KwaZulu-Natal. Frustration was expressed towards the Criminal Justice System as the drug lord in question had been arrested previously, but had been granted bail (Makhetha & Dzanibe, 2013:1). It is interesting to note that the concerns expressed in this article address some of the main themes that were uncovered in this study.

Challenges Experienced in the Execution of this Study

A major challenge that the researcher faced was that of trust. This was an issue as participants questioned the researcher's intentions, even though she was in possession of a letter stating the university's ethical clearance and proof of being a student. Researching a crime like drug trafficking is dangerous by nature. Therefore, a natural assumption was that participants would be wary about participating in the research and providing personal details related to this crime. The collection of data was problematic, not only because it would be difficult to gain access to an actual drug trafficker, but especially to one who would talk honestly and freely to an outsider. Moreover, why would a trafficker choose to be interviewed and place himself at risk of being identified? Not surprisingly, many scheduled interviews with the researcher were cancelled at the last minute, as potential participants became nervous and decided against sharing information. This was also the case when the researcher attempted to arrange a second focus group discussion, which did not come to fruition because the participants reconsidered and withdrew their involvement. The same occurred when interviews had been schedule with other drug dealers; one even insisted on payment in exchange for an interview.

Information relating to illicit drug trafficking in South Africa, especially in KwaZulu-Natal, was limited and difficult to access. Apart from the information that was gathered personally by means of individual interviews, a focus group discussion and ethnographic data collection, the main source of information that provided insight into drug trafficking in KwaZulu-Natal was newspaper articles. However, the media rage 200 of 238

reports may have been ill informed deliberately by intelligence officers attempting to feed false information to the public in an effort to deceive suspicious traffickers (Clavaud et al., 2015:95), or they may have omitted some information that would have added a different slant to their evaluation. Moreover, by being so reliant on news reports and articles, the researcher was susceptible to a third person's interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation, which may have enforced a biased perspective. These reports were therefore approached with caution, and a concerted effort was made to triangulate the information to ensure the reliability and validity of the data. In this process every effort was made to validate the interview data with cross-references to ethnographic, focus group and document reviewed data.

A further limitation was that the information shared with the researcher during the interviews was on a need-to-know basis (Wakefield & Fleming, 2008: 181). This means that information pertaining to actual, on-going investigations could not be shared. Consequently, the information that was shared was probably outdated and did not reflect current investigative operations. However, common trends, operational realities, attitudes and perceptions were deemed authentic at the time of the investigation.

This study investigated the knowledge of and perceptions about drug trafficking in one of South Africa's largest cities and its major port. It is clear that much more indepth information needs to be garnered by the authorities to complete the tapestry of illicit drug trafficking that is, at the moment, patchy, reactive, and incomplete.

In essence, what emerged was that high profile 'busts' and arrests have not eradicated the problem, and will not do so in the near future.

In scope, this thesis has illustrated the nature and practice of the police response to illicit drug trafficking in only one suburb of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, namely Chatsworth, with marginal references to Wentworth and Phoenix. Although the study addressed the research questions and succeeded in surveying differing attitudes and responses to the growing drug trafficking problem across a range of roleplayers that 238

included police officials and a former drug trafficker, a wider scope is required before any such findings can be generalised to the larger South African population. In brief, the results have clearly demonstrated that the complexities of drug trafficking are embedded in socio-economic problems that are not going to go away soon. Moreover, concerted, innovative solutions are required to eradicate a problem that is evidently growing like a cancer among the poor and vulnerable communies of our society.

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Anneure A: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

I am currently a Masters Criminology Student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am conducting an investigative study on the *knowledge and perceptions of illicit drug trafficking in Durban, KZN, South Africa*. I kindly request you to assist me by honestly filling in this questionnaire. All the information obtained in this questionnaire will be kept confidential and only used for purpose of this research.

Please do not write your name.

Are you willing to participate in this study?

Yes	No

Gender?

Male	Female

Please indicate you Occupation?

Age group

18	28	38	48	60+
27	27	47	57	

3. What ethnic group do you belong to?

African	Indian	White	Coloured	Other

If other please specify,

Section B:

Questions for SACENDU (the same questions will be utilised for NGOS):

- 1) Why are drugs trafficked? What is behind drug trafficking?
- 2) How big a problem is illicit drug trafficking in i) KwaZulu-Natal and ii) in Durban?
- 3) How do you think illicit drugs enter Durban? Please describe and explain.
- 4) What are the routes used for drug trafficking in Durban and KZN?
- 5) How do you think drugs are trafficked into and within Durban? Please describe and explain.
- 6) Who do you think is responsible for the trafficking of illicit drugs into and within Durban? Give reasons.
- 7) Why do you think they are trafficking in drugs?
- 8) In your opinion what social issues have contributed to trafficking?
- 9) In your opinion what economic issues have contributed to trafficking?
- 10) In your opinion what policy issues have contributed to trafficking?
- 11) What are the most popular drugs being trafficked?
- 12) Why are these drugs popular with traffickers?

- 13) Which drugs are being abused?
- 14) Why are these drugs being abused?
- 15) What are the effects of trafficking that you have seen in Durban?
- 16) Who should stop trafficking?
- 17) What are the problems and risks of trying to stop trafficking?
- 18) What is being done to stop illicit drug trafficking into and within Durban?
- 19) What is not being done that you feel should be done to deal with trafficking?
- 20) What exactly are you doing as an NGO to deal with drug trafficking and its effects?

Questions for Harbour Officials and Airport officials:

- 1) What is the extent of illicit drug trafficking in South Africa?
- 2) How important is the harbour for drug traffickers?
- 3) How important is the harbour in the fight against drug traffickers?
- 4) How do illicit drugs enter KZN and Durban?
- 5) At which identified sites do illicit drugs enter (and leave) Durban and KZN?
- 6) Where do illicit drugs that enter Durban come from?
- 7) Who is trafficking drugs into Durban?
- 8) Why are they trafficking drugs into Durban?
- 9) What are you doing to stop trafficking into KZN and Durban?
- 10) What are the existing policies for dealing with trafficking?
- 11) What are your thoughts and feelings about these policies?
- 12) What current programmes, operations and campaigns are being conducted against drug trafficking?
- 13) What is not being done but should be done to stop trafficking?

Questions for police officials:

- 1) Why are drugs being trafficked? What is behind drug trafficking?
- 2) How big a problem is illicit drug trafficking in i) KwaZulu-Natal and ii) in Durban?
- 3) How do you think illicit drugs enter Durban? Please describe and explain.
- 4) What are the routes used for drug trafficking in Durban and KZN?
- 5) How do you think drugs are trafficked into and within Durban? Please describe and explain.
- 6) Who do you think is responsible for the trafficking of illicit drugs into and within Durban? Give reasons.
- 7) Why do you think they are trafficking in drugs?
- 8) In your opinion what social issues have contributed to trafficking?
- 9) In your opinion what economic issues have contributed to trafficking?
- 10) In your opinion what policy issues have contributed to trafficking?
- 11) Which kinds of drugs are being trafficked?
- 12) Which kinds of drugs are popular with traffickers?

- 13) Why are these drugs popular with traffickers?
- 14) Which drugs are being abused?
- 15) Why do you think these drugs being abused?
- What are the effects of trafficking that you have seen in Durban?
- 17) What problems and risks have you faced trying to stop trafficking?
- What is being done to stop illicit drug trafficking into and within Durban?
- 19) What is not being done that you feel should be done to deal with trafficking?
- Which past programmes, operations and campaigns were conducted against drug trafficking?
- 21) How successful were they?
- What current programmes, operations and campaigns are being conducted against drug trafficking?
- 23) How successful are they?

Questions for drug traffickers or smugglers and dealers:

- 1) How did you get involved in drug trafficking?
- 2) Why are you involved in drug trafficking?
- 3) How do you feel about being a drug trafficker?
- 4) Please describe a routine day in the life of a Durban drug trafficker.
- 5) How hard or how easy is drug trafficking in Durban?
- 6) How safe or how dangerous is drug trafficking in Durban?
- 7) What are the benefits of drug trafficking?
- 8) What are the risks of drug trafficking?
- 9) Exactly how do illicit drugs enter (and leave) Durban?
- 10) Who else gets the drugs into and (out of) Durban?
- 11) Who distributes drugs within Durban?
- 12) What illicit drugs are trafficked the most? Why?
- 13) How big an industry is drug trafficking?
- 14) Can drug trafficking ever be stopped?
- 15) What other forms of trafficking are you involved in, if any?

16) If anything could be done to stop illicit drug trafficking, what could that be?

Questions for Pharmacist:

- 1) Why are drug trafficked? What is behind drug trafficking?
- 2) How do Illicit drugs enter KZN & Durban?
- 3) Where do illicit drugs that enter Durban come from?
- 4) How big a problem is illicit drug trafficking in KZN and Durban?
- 5) How do you think drug are trafficked within Durban?
- 6) Which kinds of drugs are being trafficked? Why?
- 7) In your line of work which drugs do you come across regularly?
- 8) What legal chemical is most often found mixed to form an illicit drug?
- 9) Where do these chemicals come from?
- 10) What is a precursor?
- 11) What are your thoughts on precursor control in S.A?
- 12) What is not being done- but should be done- to stop trafficking?
- 13) Any other comments?

Questions for informant:

- 1) How big a problem is illicit drug trafficking in i) KwaZulu-Natal and ii) in Durban?
- 2) What the most popular drugs being trafficked?
- 3) Why are these drugs popular with traffickers?
- 4) What are the effects of drug trafficking that you have seen in Durban?
- 5) How did you get in contact with a drug trafficker?
- 6) How do you feel about knowing one or many traffickers?
- 7) Please describe a routine day in the life of a drug trafficker you know in Durban?
- 8) How easy do you think it is to traffic drugs in Durban?
- 9) How safe or dangerous is it to traffic drugs ion Durban?
- 10) What are the benefits of drug trafficking?
- 11) What are the risks of drug trafficking?
- 12) What is being done to stop drug trafficking into and within Durhan? 246 of 238

- 13) What is not being done that you feel should be done to stop drug trafficking?
- 14) Anything that you would like to add?

Focus group questions:

- 1) Why do you think people traffic drugs?
- 2) Which illicit drugs do you know or have heard about?
- 3) How did you know or hear about these illicit drugs?
- 4) Do you know any drug traffickers personally? If you do, describe what they do.
- 5) Would you traffic drugs? Explain.
- 6) What do you know about illicit drug trafficking in i) South Africa ii) KZN and iii) Durban?
- 7) What is your attitude towards drug trafficking?
- 8) How do you think illicit drugs enter Durban?
- 9) How do you think they are trafficked within Durban?
- 10) Who do you think is responsible for the trafficking of illicit drugs into and within Durban? Any evidence?
- 11) What do you think are the most popular drugs being trafficked? Explain.
- 12) Why should drug trafficking stopped/not stopped?
- Do you feel that enough is being done to stop illicit drug trafficking into and within Durban?
- 14) Do you know any illicit drug users?
- 15) Where do you think they get their drugs?
- 16) Any other comments about drug trafficking.

Annexure B: Informed Consent Form INFORMED CONSENT FORM

<u>Masters Research Project (Criminology and Forensic Studies)</u>
Dear Participant,

I am a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am collecting data for my research study on *An Investigative Study into the Knowledge and Perceptions of Drug Trafficking in Durban, KZN, South Africa*. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Please note that you will remain completely anonymous, the data that you provide will be made available to you should you so wish, and that you have the right to withdraw your participation from the study at any time.

The objectives of this study are:

- 1. To identify the nature of illicit drug trafficking in Durban.
- 2. To identify the extent of illicit drug trafficking in Durban. To establish the knowledge and perception of, and attitude to, drug trafficking networks in Durban
- 3. To evaluate the efficacy of existing local and national policy and regulatory frameworks governing issues to do with illicit drug trafficking.

If you wish to obtain information on your rights as a participant, please

contact Ms. Phumelele Ximba, Research office, UKZN, Tell: 031 260 3585

		Yes	No	
(Please indicate your answer with an X)				
1. Have you been adequately informed about the research?				
2. Do you understand that your identity and answers will not be	appear in			
any reports or publications arising from this study				
3. Do you understand that you are free to refuse to answer any quantum of the control of the con	uestions?			
4. Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study at any time,				
without giving any reasons?				
5. Do you understand that any information that you provide will	be treated			
as confidential?				
6. Do you agree to take part in the study?				
Thank you for your time and cooperation in this study.				
I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. I understand that the information I provide will remain confidential and I may withdraw my participation at any time should I wish to do so.				
Signature of participant: Date:				
2 m				
Signature of student/researcher: Date:				

Livasha Moodley	
Signature of supervisor:	Date:

Annexure C: Ethical Clearance Approval



31 January 2013

Ms Livasha Moodley

School of Applied Human Sciences Howard College Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0922/012M
Project title: Perceptions of illicit drug trafficking in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

Dear Ms Moodley

Expedited approva

This letter serves to notify you that your application in connection with the above has now been granted full approval.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5

Best wishes forthe successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)

/p*

cc Supervisor Professor S Singh cc Academic leader cc School Admin.

Professor S Collings (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sc Research Ethics Committee Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa

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Founding Campuses:

Edgewood · · Medical School Howard College

INSPIRING GREATNESS

- Poppy is grown from a plant "poppy plant" which producer's natural opioids that give off an anxiety free feeling, the opioids are also used for medical purposes (DEA, 2011:34-35).
 - Article 12 of the 1988 UN Convention states that a chemical precursor is a chemical that is used to manufacture an illicit drug or psychotropic substance (National Drug Master Plan, 2013-2017: 17).
- ⁸ MDMA known also as ecstasy or speed is a drug produced in a lab that provides the user with an
- energised, euphoric feeling (DEA, 2011:60).

 17 Synthetic drug that can be obtained with a prescription due this drug being used for the treatment of anxiety and muscle spasms (Yudofsky, 1992).
- ¹⁸ Transnational drug trafficking is acknowledged as the process whereby legal commodities are moved
- across borders (Thachuk, 2007: 27).

 ²⁴ Compatibilists believe that free will is a real concept and that one behaves how one chooses to behave without any influence from another all the while acting on determined motives (Wilson, 2015: 169)
- ²⁵ Hard determinists reject free will on the belief that scientific explanations are needed and therefore view free will as an intuitive attribute which to them is a false concept (Wilson, 2015: 168).
- ³³ Racketeering may be described as the act of obtaining money unlawfully in exchange for protection from injury (Barr, 2009:161).