

Of Nigerians, albinos, satanists and anecdotes

A critical review of the HSRC report on human trafficking

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The deluge of news articles about human trafficking in South Africa, and the media preoccupation with trafficking in the run-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, could lead an observer to believe that South Africa is a 'hotbed' of human trafficking. Yet, there are no baseline data about the extent or nature of the problem. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) released a research report in March this year that purports to provide 'the first comprehensive assessment of human trafficking in South Africa.' The report is beset with methodological problems and assumptions. It is based on very little original research. The authors of this review argue that it represents a missed opportunity to provide much needed information about human trafficking in South Africa and fuels sensationalism about human trafficking.

In 2009 the HSRC won a tender to undertake what should have been an important piece of research on human trafficking for the Sexual Offences and Community Affairs (SOCA) Unit of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). The research¹ was intended to provide data about human trafficking in South Africa to inform the NPA's approach to human trafficking.² The 206-page report that resulted from this tender states that it 'provides the first comprehensive assessment of human trafficking in South Africa',³ and that it would address Result 1 of the

programme of assistance to the South African government to '[deepen] knowledge and understanding of trafficking'.⁴ It is our contention that the research report did neither.

For reasons set out below we believe that a vital opportunity has been missed to establish a baseline on the extent and nature of the problem of human trafficking in South Africa. The report also fails to adequately inform governmental decision-making by failing to provide evidence-based interpretations of key concepts. There were many contributors to the report, each an expert in their respective fields. Those sections of the report that required desktop research, or analysis and descriptions of national and international legal instruments, for example, offer a valuable collation and analysis of existing material. However, the report is weakest where it should have been strongest – providing new evidence-based knowledge about the phenomenon

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of human trafficking in South Africa and a baseline against which future trends could be identified and measured.

Researching human trafficking is a notoriously difficult undertaking, not least because those involved in trafficking have a strong incentive to keep their activities hidden. However, the complexities of revealing hidden social phenomena are not a sufficient excuse for reporting weak data or generalising findings from qualitative studies. Several fields of study have made it their business to devise methodological strategies for overcoming the difficulties of accessing hidden populations or researching the extent of highly stigmatised or illicit social practices (such as drug taking, domestic violence, sex work and illegal immigration).⁵

The HSRC report has a number of disquieting limitations and failings. The researchers acknowledge that 'reliable information on the scale, direction and nature of trafficking remains sparse'.⁶ Yet, the report contains no detail about the limitations of the research. In particular there is no discussion about the extent to which the qualitative findings could, or could not, be generalised to South Africa as a whole. The report therefore creates the impression that trafficking is an overwhelming problem in South Africa, that it is evident everywhere and that it requires a massive social response. This fuels fear-mongering, sensationalism and public anxiety about trafficking and attracts attention away from other equally serious social and economic problems. In view of the fact that the research report does not provide evidence for many of its findings, it is deeply flawed.

In the executive summary the authors merely note that they faced three major challenges: the huge scope of the project; the difficulty they had accessing key South African government informants; and the lack of official data. Further on, the authors acknowledge that the study is 'exploratory'.⁷ Yet the report presents its research findings as if based on robust and systematic research that provides the basis for confident

assertions about the extent, nature and characteristics of trafficking in South Africa. Indeed, the press release accompanying the release of the report claims that '[H]uman trafficking in South Africa is a serious problem and warrants intervention on all fronts' and that '[T]he study confirmed that, as elsewhere, women constitute the largest group of victims in human trafficking in South Africa, with the main purpose of sexual exploitation. Young girls are also trafficked for sexual exploitation because they are perceived to present less of a risk in terms of HIV and AIDS and because of the "sexual desirability of youth".⁸ Nowhere did the researchers establish these as facts.

Since the HSRC report has received wide media interest⁹ and since policy makers and civil society organisations are likely to base their plans of action and resource allocation on its findings, it is necessary to critically interrogate the report's claims, methodology and findings. This article identifies a number of serious flaws in the report that compromise the integrity and rigour of the HSRC's research. In this article we focus on three issues only:

1. Unrealistic and unreasonable terms of reference
2. The use of problematic research methods
3. Unsubstantiated claims that result in a distorted view of the problem.

POOR TERMS OF REFERENCE

The shortcomings of the research and report cannot be laid at the door of the HSRC or the researchers alone. The terms of reference for the research and the short timeframe within which the research was to be conducted set it up for failure. The terms of reference required the HSRC to do the following:

- a. Identify trafficking trends in order to develop an appropriate response
- b. Identify national legislative measures, policy frameworks, and women's and children's rights instruments
- c. Analyse counter-trafficking responses regarding human trafficking (HT) in the

Southern African Development Community (SADC) region and other countries with comparative features

- d. Identify the profile of victims and characteristics and motives of the agents in human trafficking
- e. Identify the purposes of human trafficking and the key driving factors
- f. Identify the socio-economic aspects related to the demand for trafficking and the cultural values and practices influencing human trafficking
- g. Identify the interrelation between human trafficking and other forms of migration in the context of globalisation
- h. Identify the linkage between organised crime networks and corruption, and human trafficking
- i. Identify indicators for a national Trafficking Information Management System
- j. Make recommendations on the outcome of the above results.¹⁰

Even at first glance, the terms of reference clearly are an unrealistic basis for a study that is intended to provide definitive baseline information about human trafficking in South Africa. Particularly problematic are requirements (a), (d), (e), (f), and (h). Below we focus on (a), (d), (f) and (h).

Identification of trafficking trends

The analysis and identification of trends require that quantitative data about the phenomenon being studied are gathered and analysed over time. In order to identify a trend, one requires a starting point, and baseline data – data from a point in time that can be compared with data from a later point in time. For example, it would be possible to determine the trends in house robberies by comparing data about house robberies in 2000 with data about house robberies in 2009. The analysis could consider the time at which the crime was committed, the number of individuals involved as perpetrators and victims, the location of the crime, and so on.¹¹ The changes in these characteristics over time would allow for the identification of the way in which house robberies are changing, or remaining the

same, and perhaps even for a prediction of future patterns and trends. Identifying trafficking trends, as required by the terms of reference, assumes that data that can be analysed to determine trends must exist.

However, as the report notes often, there is a paucity of data about human trafficking in South Africa. Thus, determining a trend or trends would be conceptually and practically unachievable. Certainly it would have been possible to identify baseline data and to provide the basis against which data collected at a later point in time, or systematically over time, could be assessed. This would have been a useful exercise and had it been done, it would have added to the small body of systematic knowledge about human trafficking in South Africa. However, this is not what the terms of reference required.

Identify the profile of victims and characteristics and motives of the agents in human trafficking

In order to provide a reasonable profile of victims, a sample of victims would be required whose life experiences and circumstances could be analysed and compared. This is conceptually different from identifying the 'characteristics and motives of the agents in human trafficking' – which would require again the consideration of a sample of individuals involved in the trafficking of others. Yet, the terms of reference treat these two issues as if they are the same.

In order to meet the requirement of profiling victims, one would expect the researchers to have analysed the circumstances, characteristics and experiences of individuals involved in known cases of trafficking – those identified by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and inter-governmental organisations (IGOs) and those that have already been prosecuted under existing laws (albeit not under a trafficking-specific law, which is yet to be passed). Indeed, the International Organisation on Migration (IOM), which seems to have been involved in informing the research, has dealt with 300 confirmed cases

of human trafficking in southern Africa since 2004.¹² These cases would provide a strong basis for an analysis of the profile and experiences of victims, and should provide at least anecdotal information about traffickers. Yet, there seems to have been no interrogation of the IOM data. Rather, the researchers relied on research conducted by the Western Cape-based NGO Molo Songololo and the IOM in 2000 and 2003 – the veracity of which the report itself calls into question, stating: 'While this study draws on previous studies of human trafficking in South Africa and the region, the evidence base of many of these studies is problematic and needs to be expanded and improved through more systematic investigation and analysis.'¹³

It should be noted that only four adult victims of trafficking were interviewed for the study.

Identify the socio-economic aspects related to the demand for trafficking and the cultural values and practices influencing human trafficking

The information needed to identify the social, cultural and economic factors associated with trafficking would have called for primary research and analysis that goes beyond that which already exists. But, since the researchers seemed to have only just over 12 months within which to set up the research process, determine their methods, train field staff and collect data, it was impossible to collect much primary data.

In the end the report does not contain any original findings relating to the demand for trafficking or the cultural practices and values influencing it (if indeed such practices exist), and merely repeats assumptions and anecdotes that are contained in other reports on human trafficking. This material is often repeated without any critical analysis or the scepticism required by robust research. Indeed, the researchers present their findings as if they independently validate the findings of earlier reports – 'much of the data gathered supports the findings of previous studies'.¹⁴

This tendency in human trafficking discourses and research was noted with concern by Jyoti Sanghera, Advisor on Human Trafficking for the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.¹⁵ The danger of uncritical repetition and circulation of anecdotes is that similar assumptions about who is vulnerable to being trafficked are circulated around the world without being interrogated by rigorous research. This often gives rise to the perpetuation of stereotypes and fears in public consciousness. While there may be some validity in the assumptions by the HSRC, not being able to verify this by systematic research means that interventions – particularly interventions aimed at preventing trafficking – could be targeted incorrectly. This leads to an unethical waste of resources and energy, and may even result in unintended human rights abuses against those presumed to be most at risk.¹⁶

In 'Collateral Damage' the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women presents the findings of research to analyse the effect of counter trafficking initiatives. They found that in several countries efforts to counter trafficking resulted in human rights abuses. For example, fears about women and children from rural areas falling victim to traffickers led to restrictions on the movement of women and children in those areas targeted for interventions.¹⁷

Identify the linkage between organised crime networks and corruption, and human trafficking

This requirement of the research also necessitates a reasonable sample from which to draw inferences about the role of organised crime. On the issue of the link between organised crime, corruption and trafficking, the report is ambiguous.

The report states that while the United Nations definition of trafficking 'bases itself on the model of transnational trafficking, which is often attributed to the presence of large networks of organised crime' this does not appear to be the case in Africa where 'trafficking is usually (but not

always) through small, family-related networks and does not always take place across national borders.' A perilous assertion certainly, and one that is difficult to assess the validity of since the report provides no further detail or any reference against which to verify the information provided.

In summary, the terms of reference and the time frame for the research did not allow for a rigorous research process that could significantly add to existing knowledge about trafficking. There is a lesson in this. It is essential that government departments and agencies that outsource research ensure that the terms of reference are appropriate and realistic. At the same time, if the HSRC had believed the terms of reference to be unrealistic, the researchers should have challenged the terms of reference and the short time frames provided and included strong caveats about these aspects of the research in their final report.

RESEARCH METHODS

There are a number of major methodological weaknesses and missed opportunities in this research. The methodology section of the report – which is less than a page long – provides no detail on how the data were collected or how informants were selected. Indeed, the only description given of the primary research conducted is the following:

Researchers obtained data using survey and questionnaire tools. Key informant interviews were conducted with law enforcement officials, immigration and or customs officials, embassy officials, social service representatives, government representatives, NGOs, international organisations, traditional healers, with victims of trafficking and with other relevant parties thought to have information on trafficking in persons. Obtaining data on the criminal activity of human traffickers necessitated the use of covert observation as there are some issues that cannot be studied overtly.¹⁸

No indication is given of the sample size, the relative samples of each of the sources of

information, the interview schedules or the nature of the questions directed to informants. This is significant because, for example, victims of trafficking are more likely to be in a position to answer questions about the methods traffickers employ than customs officials would be. At the same time, none of the groups interviewed would be in a position to assess the prevalence of trafficking or trends. Indeed, as described above, establishing such trends and patterns was the purpose of the HSRC's research and to simply ask key informants how many trafficking victims they believe there are, takes us no closer to understanding the true extent of trafficking in South Africa. It merely tells us what those individuals believe or perceive the extent of the problem to be.

A list of people and organisations interviewed or approached should have been appended to the report. The 'use of covert observation' and assertion that 'a component of the research was intelligence-led'¹⁹ sound intriguing, but are not referred to again in the report, nor is it indicated how, or the extent to which, this kind of investigation informed the findings of the study. There is also no discussion about the ethical issues that this kind of investigation is likely to confront.

UNSUBSTANTIATED AND GENERALISED CLAIMS

Perhaps the most alarming aspect of the report is how, based on key informant interviews (number unknown), over-generalised and unsubstantiated claims are made throughout the report and in its findings and recommendations. Some of the most pertinent examples are discussed below.

Early in the report the claim is made that 'there is an increased likelihood of HIV infection in the case of women trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation'.²⁰ Given that there has not been a representative survey of victims, let alone one that determined their HIV prevalence, it is unclear where information like this comes from. The researchers also do not explain what they believe the cause of the increase might be. Indeed, the

statement raises a number of questions. Do they mean higher HIV prevalence levels than the general South African population, or higher than the prevalence levels of a control group of people who have not been trafficked?

Later in the report the claim is made that 'while the root causes of trafficking are complex, the vulnerability resulting from poverty is a major contributor.'²¹ This is a common assumption in the trafficking discourse,²² and one that has been challenged by research.²³ This assertion was not tested within the HSRC research project itself, but it has been the basis of counter-trafficking programmes and influences the selection of targets of such interventions.²⁴ Thorough investigation of such an assertion would have been useful for directing further intervention campaigns and resources. Furthermore, while poverty may be the cause of vulnerability to certain types of trafficking, this might not be the case for all kinds of trafficking. This complexity is glossed over in the report, but it may have important implications for government and civil society's ability to develop appropriate interventions for different kinds of victims and perpetrators of trafficking, or those trafficked into different sectors.

When describing the routes and 'trends' the report uncritically repeats the findings of IOM²⁵ and Molo Songololo²⁶ reports. It is claimed that 'traffickers in Russia and Eastern Europe recruit women to work in up-market clubs and brothels in Johannesburg and Cape Town on behalf of the Russian and Bulgarian crime syndicates that have bases in South Africa.'²⁷ This is drawn directly from Martens et al.²⁸

Claims such as this are startling, not least because they reflect a simple recasting of stereotypes into the language of research. Certainly no information is given about the number of cases that informed this 'trend'. However, given that the total sample of victims in the Martens report was 25, reflecting seven different trafficking syndicates, it is unlikely to be based on more than one or two cases.²⁹

In the current climate of xenophobia in South Africa, this is a dangerous and highly

irresponsible conclusion. The reliance on stereotypes over data is also conspicuous in the way that Nigerians are represented throughout the report. In describing the syndicates allegedly involved in trafficking, the researchers include a footnote stating that 'research suggests that a large number of these syndicates are Nigerian.'³⁰ No sources are given for this claim.

Similarly, the report states that 'evidence suggests that the diaspora communities are often channels for the trafficking of victims to South Africa'.³¹ No source is provided for this information, nor evidence presented. The generalisation associated with stereotypical perpetrators is equally evident in how victims of trafficking are described: victims are children, sex workers, the poor, or 'gay men in bars', again without sources being provided or evidence presented.³²

Similarly, over-generalised statements occur in the section of the report titled 'Domestic trafficking in South Africa'. The authors claim that:

The modus operandi of traffickers involved in internal or domestic trafficking is similar to that used for trafficking across international borders. Very often the same criminal syndicates are involved. South African nationals often become victims of human trafficking through various forms of deception. Kidnapping also has been documented in some cases.³³

No evidence is presented on where the information comes from and how many cases it is based on – thus making it impossible to assess its credibility.

Finally, there are claims made in the report which, whilst being methodologically weak are also not clearly related to human trafficking. For example, the report claims that '[I]n the areas of Bushbuck-ridge in northern Mpumalanga and the southern Limpopo region of Tzaneen, people who are albino are at the greatest risk of falling prey to traffickers for the harvesting of body parts.'³⁴ No details are provided. There is no indication of

how many cases this claim is based upon, whether there have been successful police investigations into the phenomenon, or how the conclusion is drawn that albinos are any more at risk than other groups. It is also not clear whether the victims are murdered or merely maimed in the process of the harvesting of body parts, or whether the body parts are used by the individuals who are doing the harvesting, or sold on. If the victims are murdered, as one would presume might be the case, the crime would surely be a murder rather than that of trafficking.

Even more obscure is the section of the report that deals with satanic rituals. Here it is claimed that through 'interviews with key informants'³⁵ it is known that there are people involved in Satanic cults who are affluent white women and men who buy their victims from Nigerians and who sacrifice children'.³⁶ Again, if human sacrifice is involved, it is not clear why the crime would be trafficking rather than murder. The authors claim that:

Respondents believe that victims are either recruited by cult members or purchased by criminal syndicates that specialise in human trafficking: these are said to be mostly Nigerian. Alternatively, satanic cults will kidnap victims often from rural areas. Other targets are street children and prostitutes ... If the ritualistic killing requires a man, gay men in bars are targeted and sedated to overcome physical resistance.³⁷

In some instances the above will constitute trafficking according to the Palermo Protocol,³⁸ and in other instances it will not. The above examples suffer from the same problems of lack of evidence and methodological integrity.

With regard to the extent of trafficking, the authors report on the perceptions of the scale of the problem offered by interviewed prosecutors. One prosecutor estimated that approximately '60 per cent [of victims of trafficking] had been involved in prostitution in their home countries....'³⁹ No prosecutor would be in a position to know this and the information is of no

more value than if any other member of the general population had been asked this question. It is not made clear why the perceptions of prosecutors about the scale of the problem are relevant to the report.

Under the section 'Human Trafficking Routes', the report notes that 'there appears to be no area within South Africa not affected by some form of human trafficking'.⁴⁰ This is alarming and sensationalist and contributes to the scaremongering evident in popular literature or the press on trafficking.

In addition, the reliance on stereotypes and opinions of key informants who are not in a position to answer the questions put to them, means that there is considerable risk that the authors may have missed trafficking in sectors where they typically do not expect to find it. There has been an extensive focus on trafficking into the sex work industry. However, we still know almost nothing about other sectors that include extensive exploitation, such as farm work or domestic work.

Yet there are at least two sources of information that would be useful in understanding trafficking in South Africa. The first is the cases that prosecutors have actually dealt with. The report does in fact provide an analysis of cases that occurred between 1996 and 2009.⁴¹ However the data analysed are drawn from interviews with prosecutors rather than from documentary evidence (such as statements of victims, court records and dockets), which weakens the analysis. Moreover, at least as far as the sequence of events in cases was concerned, 'some respondents found it difficult to recall the time frames with accuracy'.⁴² In addition, no detail is provided about the cases. This information could have helped to inform our understanding of the types of cases that come to the attention of the prosecuting authority. Indeed, the information provided is minimal.

The second source of information that could have been tapped is the IOM's database of victims. The IOM has assisted 300 victims of trafficking cases

in southern Africa over a six-year period.⁴³ An analysis of these cases could have provided a useful picture of what we know to date about the victims and the circumstances of their trafficking experiences. The report ignores the potential value of this data. Whilst such analyses cannot assist in determining prevalence, trends or profiles of trafficking victims and perpetrators, the information could have offered useful case studies that, reported along with their limitations, might have been employed to guide interventions and form the basis for future research.

CONCLUSION

In summary, there are two overwhelming problems with the HSRC report on trafficking:

1. Very little information is provided about methods used, there is no clear presentation of the data and no indication is given as to whether information has been verified for accuracy. It is therefore very difficult to know what one can trust in the report, and what is mere scare-mongering.
2. Through over-generalised claims that support popular and often xenophobic perceptions, the report provides the illusion that the researchers have uncovered a clear and comprehensive picture of the situation of trafficking in South Africa. This is misleading and dangerous at a time when there was a great deal of focus on trafficking, particularly in the run-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which presents an opportunity to shape meaningful legislation for victims of trafficking.

Systematic and robust research can assist in the effort to eradicate trafficking and ensure that victims are properly assisted. Furthermore, vigorous research with trustworthy findings can help shape legislation that could better address the needs of victims and ensure that perpetrators are brought to book. Yet the HSRC report provides little more than a picture of current opinions, prejudices and common preoccupations regarding trafficking. It does not provide any new knowledge of the phenomenon, its trends or the profiles of those involved.

According to section 3(c) of the Human Sciences Research Council Act of 2008, the HSRC should 'stimulate public debate through the effective dissemination of fact-based results of research'. Indeed, the HSRC is funded by public money to do so. It is our contention that the *Tsireledzani* report fails to provide a fact-based representation of trafficking in South Africa and recycles a number of dangerous and sensationalist stereotypes. The report failed to live up to its own terms of reference and the HSRC's mandate. In view of above, the HSRC should withdraw the report and its findings.



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NOTES

- 1 Human Sciences Research Council, *Tsireledzani: understanding the dimensions of human trafficking in Southern Africa*, Research Report, March 2010, i.
- 2 South Africa committed itself to tackling human trafficking, and enacting domestic legislation to criminalise human trafficking, when it ratified the Palermo Protocol (United Nations, *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime*, 2000) in February 2004.
- 3 HRSC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, i.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 See for example, Robert Magnani et al, Review of sampling hard-to-reach and hidden populations for HIV surveillance, *AIDS 19*, Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2005, S67-S72; Chandre Gould and Nicole Fick, *Selling Sex in Cape Town: sex work and human trafficking in a South African city*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2008.
- 6 HRSC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, iii.
- 7 HRSC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, x.
- 8 Ina van der Linde: HSRC Media Liaison, Study reveals human trafficking as a serious problem in South Africa, Media briefs 2010 http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Media_Release-391.phtml (accessed 5 July 2010).
- 9 See for example Jacaranda FM, Human trafficking a serious problem in SA, 24 March 2010, <http://www.jacarandafm.com/kagiso/content/en/jacaranda/jacarandanews?oid=601491&sn=Detail&pid=6182&HUMAN-trafficking-a-serious-problem-in-SA> (accessed 4 May 2010); and SABC News, HSRC report raises alarm on SA's escalating human trafficking, 24 March 2010, <http://www.sabcnews.com/portal/site/SABCNews/menuitem.5c4f8fe7ee929f602ea12ea1674daeb9/?vgnextoid=182bb8140a097210VgnVCM10000077d4ea9bRCRD&vgnextfmt=default>; (accessed 24 March 2010).
- 10 HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, 2-3.
- 11 For a detailed discussion about crime trends analysis see Mark Shaw, Jan van Dijk and Wolfgang Rhomborg,

- Determining trends in global crime and justice: and overview of results from the United Nations Surveys of crime trends and operations of criminal justice systems, *Forum on crime and society*, 3 (1), 2003, 35 – 63.
- 12 Nordic Consulting Group, *Southern African Counter-Trafficking Programme (SACTAP): Review Report*, 29 March 2010. Unpublished.
 - 13 HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, 1.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, x.
 - 15 Jyoti Sanghera, Unpacking the trafficking discourse, in K Kempadoo, (ed), *Trafficking and prostitution reconsidered: new perspectives on migration, sex work and human rights*. Boulder, Paradigm, 2005.
 - 16 For detailed research and analysis about this see: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, *Collateral damage: The impact of anti-trafficking measures on human rights around the world*, Thailand: GAATW, 2007.
 - 17 According to the GAATW report 'Efforts to prevent adolescents from being trafficked seem... to have resulted in a wide range of young people's other rights having been subordinated to anti-trafficking measures which made no effort to take the principle of proportionality into consideration. Numerous prevention programmes have been based on an assumption that keeping adolescents in their home communities is a justifiable objective in itself, on the grounds that it enables children to continue attending school (thus, in theory, avoiding economic exploitation while enjoying their right to education.) In contrast, the child rights approach suggests that priority should be given to making it safe for adolescents who leave home, not keeping them in an environment which may not automatically promote either their ability to exercise their human rights or their general wellbeing.' GAATW, *Collateral Damage*, 2007, 9.
 - 18 HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, 13.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, 2010, iv.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, 2010, 5.
 - 21 *Ibid.*
 - 22 S Sihlwayi, Community stabilisation can reduce human trafficking, *Eye on Trafficking*, International Organisation on Migration, (20), 2009, 5.
 - 23 F Lackzo and M Gramegna, Developing better indicators of human trafficking, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, X (1), 2003. The authors reported that research in the Balkans of trafficking trends showed that roughly a third of identified victims came from rural areas and most did not classify themselves as very poor.
 - 24 Programme of assistance to the South African government to prevent and react to human trafficking: Provision of services in the field of prevention, public education and awareness (127-108/D/SER/ZA). Terms of reference: Baseline study on understanding of human trafficking in South Africa, final draft 22 April 2009.
 - 25 J Martens, M Pieczkowski, and B van Vuuren-Smyth, *Seduction, Sale and Slavery: Trafficking in Women and Children in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: IOM Regional Office for Southern Africa, 2003.
 - 26 Molo Songololo, *The trafficking of women into the South African sex industry*, Cape Town: Molo Songololo, 2000; and Molo Songololo, *The trafficking of children for purposes of sexual exploitation – South Africa*, Cape Town: Molo Songololo, 2000.
 - 27 HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, 6.
 - 28 Martens et al, *Seduction, Sale and Slavery*, IOM 2003.
 - 29 *Ibid.*, 13.
 - 30 HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, 15.
 - 31 *Ibid.*
 - 32 "If the ritualistic killing requires a male victim, they target gay men in bars and sedate them through the use of drugs, as it is more difficult to kidnap men directly from the street due to the level of resistance.", HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010:153.
 - 33 HSRC, *Tsireledzani*, 2010, 16.
 - 34 *Ibid.*
 - 35 *Ibid.*
 - 36 *Ibid.*, 16 and 153.
 - 37 *Ibid.*, 17.
 - 38 The Palermo Protocol is the shorthand term for the "United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Person, especially Women and Children", which provides a definition of trafficking.
 - 39 *Ibid.*, 57.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, 149.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, 65.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, 66.
 - 43 Nordic Consulting Group, *Southern African Counter-Trafficking Programme (SACTAP): Review Report*, 29 March 2010. Unpublished.