

ORIGINAL RESEARCH ARTICLE

The intersection of corruption and gender-based violence: Examining the gendered experiences of sextortion during migration to South Africa

DOI: 10.29063/ajrh2022/v26i6.6

Ashleigh Bicker Caarten*, Loes van Heugten and Ortrun Merkle

United Nations University-MERIT and Maastricht University, the Netherlands

*For Correspondence: Email: a.bickercaarten@alumni.maastrichtuniversity.nl

Abstract

Sextortion, a gendered form of corruption where sexual favours are the means of exchange, frequently occurs during migration. While the consequences of surviving sextortion are devastating, sextortion remains relatively understudied. Hence, this paper explores the experiences of sextortion of African migrants migrating to South Africa. Based on interviews with experts on migration, corruption, and gender in South Africa, this paper answers the research question: "What are the experiences of sextortion for African migrants migrating to South Africa and how are they gendered?". The results confirm irregular, female migrants are most vulnerable to experiencing sextortion both during their journeys and in South Africa. This is alarming as there are various psychical, mental, and sexual health consequences like trauma, STIs, pregnancies, and stigmatisation. These consequences have both short- and long-term consequences and will continue to exist without adjusted policy frameworks, improved support systems for survivors, and a broader discussion on gender norms. (*Afr J Reprod Health* 2022; 26[6]:45-54).

Keywords: Sextortion, migration, corruption, sexual violence, south-south migration, South Africa

Résumé

La sextorsion, une forme de corruption sexiste où les faveurs sexuelles sont le moyen d'échange, se produit fréquemment pendant la migration. Bien que les conséquences de la sextorsion survivante soient dévastatrices, la sextorsion reste relativement peu étudiée. Par conséquent, cet article explore les expériences de sextorsion des migrants africains émigrant vers l'Afrique du Sud. Basé sur des entretiens avec des experts de la migration, de la corruption et du genre en Afrique du Sud, cet article répond à la question de recherche : "Quelles sont les expériences de sextorsion pour les migrants africains qui migrent vers l'Afrique du Sud et comment sont-ils sexués ?". Les résultats confirment que les migrantes irrégulières sont les plus vulnérables à la sextorsion à la fois pendant leurs voyages et en Afrique du Sud. C'est alarmant car il existe diverses conséquences sur la santé psychique, mentale et sexuelle comme les traumatismes, les IST, les grossesses et la stigmatisation. Ces conséquences ont à la fois des conséquences à court et à long terme et continueront d'exister sans des cadres politiques adaptés, des systèmes de soutien améliorés pour les survivants et une discussion plus large sur les normes de genre. (*Afr J Reprod Health* 2022; 26[6]:45-54).

Mots-clés: Sextorsion, migration, corruption, violence sexuelle, migration sud-sud, Afrique du Sud

Introduction

Driven by desperation to find a better life or fear of persecution and conflict, many migrants try to cross country borders without the permission of states. These 'irregular' migrants often find themselves in precarious situations where they face physical and financial risk, exploitation, or even death^{1,2}. These experiences can take place at every step of the journey, including pre- and post-migration, and frequently have severe consequences on migrants' health. These consequences can be aggravated by

their limited access to healthcare during transit or at the destination^{3,4}.

As there is consensus that the experiences during the journeys of irregular migrants cause various mental and physical health issues^{3,4}, existing literature explores the health implications of migrants' experiences specifically. For example, there is substantial research considering the consequences for the health of migrants who have encountered gender-based violence (GBV)⁵⁻⁷. However, when one considers the survivors of corruption, there has been a focus on the monetary

aspect, neglecting any health implications caused by encountering corruption. This becomes all the more true when one looks at the gendered forms of corruption that migrants experience, like sextortion, where corrupt officials abuse their positions of authority to extort sexual favours in exchange for something within their power to grant or withhold⁸. Here, sex, rather than money, is the currency of the exchange⁹, putting this form of corruption at the intersection of corruption and GBV. The consequences of this form of corruption are likely to be more severe than those of traditional corruption and can be expected to be similar to those of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)¹⁰. While sextortion is only slowly receiving more attention in the literature it is important to better understand where and when sextortion occurs in the context of migration, as well as how it impacts the survivors.

With sextortion, gender is considered the most important factor influencing one's vulnerability. Another factor that has been identified in the literature is the lack of legal status, causing female irregular migrants to be targeted disproportionately¹¹. Because women are more likely to be survivors of sextortion, they also bear the burden of the consequences to their mental, physical and sexual health. For this reason, this study focuses particularly on the experiences of female irregular migrants.

The importance of this focus is relevant given the increasing number of women migrating independently, both through regular and irregular channels¹², and the finding that the experiences of men and women in countries of origin, transit, and destination differ based on these locations' different social norms¹³. Hence it is crucial to understand the norms and values that inform the experiences of female migrants are context specific.

Thus, this paper addresses the question, "What are the experiences of sextortion for African migrants migrating to South Africa and how are they gendered?" and specifically looks at the health consequences for survivors. South Africa has been chosen as a case study for this research as it is a significant destination for migrants mostly from within Africa¹⁴. The majority of these migrants are

either seeking refuge¹⁵ or have economic motivations¹⁶. Yet, South Africa provides a challenging socio-political situation with strong xenophobic sentiments towards migrants^{17,18}. In South Africa, xenophobia is systemic and spurred on by the "lack of effective policing to protect foreign nationals and their properties"¹⁹. This situation is worsened by the fact that corruption is a major concern within migration institutions²⁰ as migrants and asylum seekers are often at the mercy of corrupt officials who are not held accountable²¹⁻²³.

Furthermore, female migrants are particularly vulnerable in South Africa when considering the prevalence of GBV in its society²⁴⁻²⁷. This culture of GBV has serious consequences for women's emotional and physical health, which can lead to homicides, suicides, and AIDS-related deaths, as well as physical injuries, complications during pregnancy, and miscarriage, amongst others²⁴. While many of the consequences of sextortion are like those of GBV, the *quid pro quo* aspect of sextortion distinguishes the two^{8,11}. For one, it potentially changes how women view sextortion as they "received something they should not have received", which can lead to sense of a feeling of agency¹¹ or further stigma and shame⁸. Alternatively, women may be perceived as a willing participant in a corrupt exchange which puts them at risk of criminal charges, which is a deterrent from reporting these interactions for irregular migrants who are already in a precarious situation due to their lack of status and means that they are unlikely to receive adequate support³⁷.

Therefore, considering South Africa's two pre-existing attitudes of inferiority, one against women and one against migrants, South Africa is an appropriate case study and underlines the importance of considering how women migrants experience the double burden of the two attitudes when extorted for sexual favours.

Sextortion as a form of corruption

In most literature relating to corruption, there is an assumption that the medium of exchange is monetary¹¹. Nevertheless, corruption is defined as the "abuse of entrusted power for private gain"²⁸,

where “private gain” may also include other benefits for an individual or a group¹¹. In the case of sextortion, this private gain is of a sexual nature²⁹. Containing both sexual elements and corruption elements, sextortion can be broken down into four components²⁹:

- (1) The offender is in a position of entrusted authority,
- (2) there is a *quid pro quo* element,
- (3) the benefit in the *quid pro quo* element is sexual in nature, and
- (4) the person must rely on the coercive power of authority rather than on physical force to obtain the sexual benefit.

The power of the perpetrator plays an important role in understanding sextortion. As Eldén *et al.*¹⁰ argue:

“The perpetrator in an act of sextortion exploits a power relation, often in terms of gender asymmetry, and always in terms of the entrusted authority of a superior position. With the power imbalance between the parties involved in sextortion in focus, the responsibility of the act must be placed on the person who abuses their entrusted position and authority by offering or threatening to withhold benefits that are available through this position”.

The corruption element is important in understanding sextortion as it differentiates it from “transactional sex”³⁰⁻³⁴. While transactional sex also refers to an exchange of sexual favours for money or gifts³⁵, there is not the same abuse of power as is the case with sextortion. The imbalance of power also explains why sextortion is a form of sexual violence and underlines the element of coercion which may range from physical force to psychological intimidation, blackmail or other threats³⁶. As the migrant feels coerced into participating in the sexual act, sextortion can be considered a form of sexual violence. This, in turn, has several consequences for the migrants sexual and reproductive health which can be both physical and psychological, where some occur at the psychosomatic level with other psychological effects manifesting through physical changes³⁷.

The context of migration is one where sextortion is regularly observed. En route, irregular migrants face various obstacles such as peer pressure and fear of abandonment when confronted with certain choices³⁸. This feeds into the power imbalance that officials hold over migrants, making them easy prey to corrupt officials looking to take advantage of them.

It has been widely researched that existing gender and social norms and values lead to men and women having different migration experiences¹³. This can be clearly seen when assessing the different ways in which women’s bodies are used as a bribe at different points of the journey. When smugglers and traffickers, for example, purposefully carry female migrants in their group in order to use them to bribe border officials with sexual favours. This shows an objectification of the female body³⁹. This same patriarchal structure also translates into families or relationships where women and girls are used to “pay” for the bribes male relatives cannot afford³⁸. In summary, women are not only the participant in this corrupt exchange but are also the means⁴⁰.

While irregular migrants are often extorted from sexual favours to enable movement, sexual favours may also be demanded in exchange for access to basic services during transit or at the destination. Migrants may have to engage in sexual activities to have access to reproductive healthcare, humanitarian aid, basic services or protection⁴⁰. This explains why sextortion can disproportionately affect poor women and girls and it evidences why it is said that gender informs every part of the migration experience from safety and security⁴⁰ to a migrant’s vulnerability to certain types of corruption. These disparities in power dynamics show the necessity for the term “sextortion” rather than classifying it with other types of GBV. Survivors/victims who yield to the coercive power of authority “may believe that, because there was no physical duress, the sex will be viewed as consensual” and “blame themselves for not resisting, feel more ashamed, and fear greater social stigma when sex is obtained without physical force”³⁷. Therefore, this paper promotes

distinguishing sextortion from other forms of gender-based violence.

Methods

This research used a qualitative method for which 16 in-depth stakeholder interviews have been conducted with experts who had a well-informed and detailed understanding of migration to South Africa and the prevalence of sextortion in this field. The interviewees included representatives and staff from academic institutions, civil organisations, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, and governmental bodies (a complete list of the profiles of interviewees can be found in the appendix). Both convenience and snowball sampling were used to recruit interviewees for the interviews that took place June and July 2021. Since this study has been conducted with the COVID-19 pandemic still ensuing, all interviews were conducted online through Microsoft Teams to ensure GDPR compliance. A consent form was signed by each interviewee, allowing the interviews to be recorded. Interviews were made anonymised, and pseudonyms assigned during transcription which were stored separately from the recordings. The interviews were coded using *Atlas.ti* using inductive and deductive coding. Questions were asked about the interviewees' understanding of sextortion and their familiarity with cases of sextortion. The various perspectives were utilised to establish an understanding of the occurrence of sextortion in the context of migration to South Africa. Questions about the perpetrators, survivors, and locations were asked first before sequentially continuing with questions about the various consequences for survivors, the role of gender norms, and what is needed to combat sextortion. It is important to note here that the stakeholders are not migrants themselves and can therefore only give second hand information on the experiences of migrants. While this is a clear limitation of this research, this method was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, as this is an exploratory study, the stakeholders can give insights into different aspects of the research from a broader view point. Secondly, given the already vulnerable situation of irregular migrants, which was further

intensified by the Coronavirus pandemic, the research team could not guarantee confidentiality and safety for potential migrant interviews, hence the focus remained on stakeholders. Nevertheless, these interviews are still a welcome addition to the field given that there is limited literature around sextortion, especially in the context of the global South. While this study provides a foundation to understanding the relatively unknown phenomenon, a priority for future research should be to capture the voices of migrants themselves. The study has received ethical approval at Maastricht University.

Results

Giving up your body to stay in South Africa

To paint a picture of what the experiences of sextortion for African migrants migrating to South Africa look like, this section first reflects on who is most vulnerable to experiencing sextortion and who commits sextortion. These questions lead to discussing the physical, psychological, and sexual consequences of sextortion while continuing to evidence its gendered nature.

Most vulnerable to sextortion

Almost all the interviews confirmed the findings of the literature¹¹ that female, and especially young female, migrants are more vulnerable to sextortion which can be linked to the country's gender norms. Indeed, gender norms inform the experiences of survivors of sextortion because women are sextorted whilst men hold the position of authority and "the resources associated with these positions"¹⁰. Not one single interviewee had heard a story of sextortion, in Southern Africa, where the roles were reversed. This is because in South Africa there is the belief among many that women are fundamentally inferior and with the aid of the patriarchy, a brutal version of male power is affirmed (Interviewee 8, 11, 13, 14, 15). Herewithin lies the belief that women should always be submissive and women are the object of male ownership. Thus, explaining the source of South Africa's epidemic of GBV.

Table 1: List of interviewees

Interviewee 1	Male, Sociologist
Interviewee 2	Female, Political Scientist
Interviewee 3	Female, Anti-GBV Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) worker, Lawyer
Interviewee 4	Female, Migration NGO worker
Interviewee 5	Female, Anti-human trafficking NGO worker
Interviewee 6	Female, Migration Researcher
Interviewee 7	Male, Political Scientist
Interviewee 8	Female, Social Worker
Interviewee 9	Female, Migration related international organisation
Interviewee 10	Female, Migration Researcher
Interviewee 11	Female, Journalist
Interviewee 12	Female, Anti-human trafficking NGO worker
Interviewee 13	Male, Gender and LGBTQI+ advocacy NGO
Interviewee 14	Female, Anti-human trafficking NGO worker
Interviewee 15	Female, Anti-human trafficking NGO worker
Interviewee 16	Male, Anti-human trafficking NGO worker

Nevertheless, interviewees recounted instances where women played a key role as a facilitator of sextortion (Interview 8). In cases of trafficking, women would sometimes act as recruiters and facilitate sextortion. In other instances, female migrants used other women (for example a granddaughter, niece, daughter, cousin) as the means of the exchange, often after being subjected to sextortion themselves and thus continuing the cycle of violence (Interviewee 8). Finally, this discussion of gendered experiences would be incomplete without acknowledging that men are victims of sextortion too. However, little is known about sextortion when a man is the survivor.

Besides gender, a lack of educational attainment, rural origin, being undocumented, and a lack of financial means were commonly mentioned characteristics, with the latter two being the most significant social markers. Additionally, one interviewee stated that migrants are identified as being predisposed to sextortion because of their vulnerabilities including being far away from their network and support system, or having increased language barriers which makes navigating immigration processes more difficult (Interviewee 3). Sequentially this means that not all migrant experiences are equal and that migrants, who are from closer within the region and therefore have more cultural and specifically language similarities, have an easier time than other migrants from further afield (Interviewee 6). These findings highlight, what has been discussed by Elden *et al.*¹⁰ who argue

that “the vulnerability of a victim of sextortion is always contextual as well as relational, but it also depends on the coercive level of the demand”. Given the hostile environment in South Africa against migrants and women, those at the intersection, i.e. female irregular migrants, are the most vulnerable to public officials abusing their power for sextortion.

Perpetrators of sextortion

When identifying the perpetrators of sextortion, it is notable that the places where sextortion most commonly took place included border posts, with the Beitbridge border between Zimbabwe and South Africa consistently being named as a hotspot (Interviewee 7, 16). Additionally, the “Bush routes”, the term for the popularly used irregular routes between South Africa and its neighbours, were highlighted (Interviewees 4, 6, 7, 15). Furthermore, smugglers, also known as “the hyenas”⁴¹, were mentioned as common perpetrators of sextortion (Interviewees 1, 4, 6, 7, 13, 15).

And yet, South African Defence Force (SANDF) soldiers are not found to be innocent either (Interviewees 6, 7, 12). SANDF soldiers monitor the borders between South Africa and their neighbours, they work in isolated areas where there is little accountability for any transactions that a corrupt soldier may engage in. This makes it possible to highlight a common characteristic of perpetrators of sextortion: it often involves people who feel disempowered in their vocation or

situation (Interviewee 3). This means that the people who are perpetuating sextortion are people who feel disempowered by their station and are looking for a way to assert their dominance or their power. This is similar to findings in the literature, where rape can be used as a tool of social control by those who feel disempowered by political systems⁴².

Upon arriving in South Africa, the migrant's vulnerability to sextortion remains high. The most mentioned perpetrators of sextortion were the South African Police Service (SAPS) which is perhaps one of the most significant findings of this research (Interviewees 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15). This reveals that the most common incidences of sextortion that a migrant is likely to experience, are not on their journey as originally surmised but rather in the destination. The conclusion that SAPS are the most prevalent sextortion culprits fits with data⁴³ which revealed the high prevalence of violent crimes, including sexual violence, committed by South African police officers. The power discrepancy between survivor and perpetrator is also especially high in these instances seeing that the perpetrators are the actors that should in fact be connecting survivors of GBV to support mechanisms.

Somewhat surprising is that border officials were not included on this list of likely perpetrators. Many of the experts being interviewed were unfamiliar with situations where sextortion took place there even anecdotally. This, of course, does not mean that there is no sextortion taking place in these environments but rather means that it is going unreported if it is happening, which emphasises the insidious nature of this exchange. A group that is mentioned are truck drivers (Interviewee 13), who were offering transportation in exchange for sexual favours. However, as this interaction is missing an element of corruption, it would fall under transactional sex rather than sextortion and will therefore not be elaborated upon for the sake of this research.

Consequences of surviving sextortion

The consequences of sextortion can be physical and mental. Some of the physical consequences are

experiencing physical violence as an addition to this form of sexual violence, STDs and STIs, and the risk of pregnancy (Interviewees 5, 7, 11). Here, it is worth mentioning that pregnancy comes with another mental health deterrent, as women must then decide the best course of action for them, whether they will stay pregnant, abort, or put the child up for adoption all of which come with their own stigmas and triggers (Interviewee 11). Importantly, nearly every expert interviewed noted trauma and mental health consequences as a result of this ordeal.

Indeed, the trauma does not end with the sextortion experience. Multiple interviewees noted that the ramifications of this experience can be seen in their lack of trust of authority figures in the future and the lack of trust in future relationships (Interviewees 8, 12, 14). Moreover, the consequences of surviving sextortion can be seen in the perpetuation of this cycle of violence, where sextortion is normalised and survivors start believing it is okay to use others as a means of exchange in the future, for example, a mother using a daughter as a means of exchange because it was done to her (Interviewee 8). Therefore, experiences of sextortion have a generational impact, as the psychological consequences of these experiences influence every part of their future relationships (Interviewee 1, 7, 8).

A considerable number of interviewees then noted that this trauma is further contextualised by the fact that in many ways Southern Africa is very conservative, and so shame and stigmatisation are common experiences for survivors of any SGBV experience (Interviewees 1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14). Although not uncommon with other experiences of SGBV, guilt is often seen as an added repercussion of sextortion whereby the survivor battles with self-blame as, in the words of an interviewee, "people are filled with guilt because this is not something they wanted to do, so there [it] could easily be claimed that it was consensual" (Interviewee 2). Many victims are met with narratives of blame that prevent them from sharing their stories or narratives of shame, which stop them from admitting to themselves that this has happened and that they need to seek help according to many interviewees.

Indeed, in instances where sextortion or sexual violence occurs, the victim can be blamed as one interviewee puts it,

"It's the stigma, it's the blaming, because a lot of times when we deal with young women who've been violated, or younger girls when they open up and talk to their families, the first question they get asked is – 'What did you do?'. So, because it's seen as their fault." (Interviewee 8)

This is in line with research findings showing that victims blame themselves for being raped or fear that family, friends or law enforcement agencies will blame them⁴⁴. In cases of sextortion, it is even more likely that feelings of self-blame may occur given that these interactions could be perceived as transactional in nature.

An important note here is that the survivor's trauma can be compounded in the destination. This can happen in two ways. The first is that the trauma they experience is compounded either because of further experiences of SGBV or because of the high stress process of trying to regularise within South Africa's unplayable asylum system, which determines someone's ability to access basic services like healthcare and employment^{45,46} thus further marginalising the survivor (Interviewee 6).

The second way that the trauma can be compounded, according to the interviewees, is through the experience of second victimisation (Interviewee 11, 13) whereby "behaviours and attitudes of social service providers that are 'victim-blaming' and insensitive, and which traumatize victims of violence who are being served by these agencies"⁴⁷. Second victimisation is known to happen in situations where survivors bravely came forward to police services and are either disregarded, shamed or sexually harassed or assaulted again^{43,44,48}. Women, in particular, may stand the risk of not being believed when they tell their story, because there is the belief that women are beneath men. Their gender means they are disqualified from being a reliable source, when reporting SGBV, at many police stations according to a social worker.

In instances where the survivor has been harassed again, this can lead to the normalisation of violence which has long term psychological consequences (Interviewee 13). For example, one interviewee recounted that someone who had endured an experience of sextortion (in partnership with other forms of SGBV), asked "do you think I am still human?". This shows the level of degradation and dehumanisation that can occur when someone is abused multiple times (Interviewee 1).

In culmination, the physical, mental, and sexual health consequences of surviving sextortion, which while similar to other forms of GBV, have a key power imbalance which warrants the differentiation in term.

Conclusion

This research clearly shows the importance of researchers and practitioners focussing more on sextortion. By looking at the case study of African migrants migrating to South Africa, it becomes clear how female migrants are targeted disproportionately, which is motivated by existing gender norms. While exploring migrants' journeys as a whole, the results strongly underline the prevalence of sextortion in South Africa itself. This is concerning especially seeing that surviving sextortion comes with both physical and psychological health consequences, such as physical injuries, STIs, STDs, pregnancy, trauma, and loss of trust in others. Especially in Southern Africa's conservative environment, the consequences are often aggravated through processes of shame, stigmatisation and second victimisation, leading to self-blame or losing the feeling of being human at all. At this point it also becomes important to differentiate sextortion from other forms of sexual violence and discuss how the psychological consequences of sextortion may differ from other forms of sexual violence. Indeed, because of the power imbalance at play here, there are different psychological consequences to other forms of SGBV. Therefore, to adequately prosecute sextortion and achieve justice for those who have survived this phenomenon, all governments should develop a legal definition and framework for

sextortion specifically. Importantly, if sextortion is not explicitly addressed, survivors potentially face serious consequences. For one, they might be punished under existing corruption legislation as they are seen as a willing participant in a corrupt exchange. For another, they will have a hard time getting legal recourse against the perpetrator and consequently access to services and resources available to survivors of GBV, including health services. To close, while more attention for sextortion in the migration context is desirable, this research has created a solid foundation of its occurrence in the context of migration to South Africa. It provides enough evidence for those supporting migrants on the one hand, emphasising the importance to develop mechanisms that will help survivors overcome the traumas and realise the blame should never be put on them. On the other hand, it opens debate about the prevalence of sextortion in a culture which is controlled by GBV. This should therefore function as a motivation for policymakers to develop frameworks that bring justice to survivors, prosecute perpetrators and prevent any form of sextortion in the future.

References

1. Kuschminder K, de Bresser J and Siegel M. Irregular Migration Routes to Europe and Factors Influencing Migrants Destination Choices. Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- En Documentatiecentrum. 2015. <https://www.merit.unu.edu/publications/uploads/1436958842.pdf>
2. David F, Bryant K, and Larsen JJ. Migrants and Their Vulnerability. IOM. 2019.
3. Davies A, Basten A and Frattini C. Migration: A Social Determinant of the Health of Migrants. IOM. 2006. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.462.6286&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
4. World Health Organisation (WHO). Migration and Health: Key Issues. <https://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/health-determinants/migration-and-health/migration-and-health-in-the-european-region/migration-and-health-key-issues>
5. Spencer R, Essaid A, Usta J, Shukri S, El Gharaibeh Y, Abu Taleb H, Awwad N, Nsour H, United Nations Population Fund-Lebanon and Clark CJ. Gender Based Violence Against Women and Girls Displaced by the Syrian Conflict in South Lebanon and North Jordan: Scope of Violence and Health Correlates. 2015.
6. Camlin CS, Kwena ZA, Dworkin SL, Cohen CR and Bukusi EA. "She Mixes Her Business": HIV Transmission and Acquisition Risks among Female Migrants in Western Kenya. 10'4. Social Science & Medicine. 102, 146–156. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.11.004>
7. Wirtz AL, Pham K, Glass N, Loochkartt S, Kidane T, Cuspoa D, Rubenstein LS, Singh S and Vu A. Gender-Based Violence in Conflict and Displacement: Qualitative Findings from Displaced Women in Colombia. 2014. Conflict and Health, 8(1), 10. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1752-1505-8-10>
8. International Association of Women Judges (IAWJ), Marval, O'Farrell and Maira, and Thomas Reuters Foundation. Combating Sextortion: A Comparative Study of Laws to Prosecute Corruption Involving Sexual Exploitation. 2015. <http://www.trust.org/publications/i/?id=588013e6-2f99-4d54-8dd8-9a65ae2e0802>
9. UNODC. Global Judicial Integrity Network Substantive Breakout Session Report. 2018. https://www.unodc.org/documents/ji/session_reports/iawj_launch_report.pdf
10. Eldén A, Calvo D, Bjarnegård E, Lundgren S and Jonsson S. Sextortion: Corruption and gender-based violence. 2020. EBA Report 2020:06, The Expert Group for Aid Studies (EBA).
11. Merkle O, Reinold J and siegel MA Gender Perspective on Corruption Encountered during Forced and Irregular Migration. 2017. Anti-Corruption and Integrity Programme, German Corporation for International Co-Operation (GIZ).
12. Gouws A. Feminization of Migration. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/268056291_The_Feminization_of_Migration. 2007
13. Ferrant G and Tuccio M. South–South Migration and Discrimination Against Women in Social Institutions: A Two-way Relationship. 2015. World Development, 72, 240–254. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.03.002>
14. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 'International Migrant Stock 2020'.
15. World Data Info, 'Asylum Applications and Refugees in South Africa'.
16. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA). Population Division (2019). 2019. <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Migration/>
17. Klotz A. Migration after Apartheid. Deracialising South African foreign policy. 2000. Third World Quarterly, 21(5), 831–847. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014365900750012007>
18. Otu MN. The Politics of Identity, Belonging and the Integration of African Professional Migrants in Post-

- Apartheid South Africa. 2016. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 31(1), 17–96.
19. Human Rights Watch (HRW). South Africa: Punish Xenophobic Violence: At Least 12 Dead, Thousands Displaced. 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/13/south-africa-punish-xenophobic-violence>
 20. GAN Risk and Compliance Portal. South Africa Corruption Report. 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/13/south-africa-punish-xenophobic-violence>
 21. Manyaka RK and Nkuna NW. The Phenomenon of Corruption in the South African Public Sector. 2014. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n27p1572>
 22. Amit R. QUEUE HERE FOR CORRUPTION. A REPORT BY LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE AFRICAN CENTRE FOR MIGRATION & SOCIETY, 56. 2015.
 23. Landau LB. Protection and Dignity in Johannesburg: Shortcomings of South Africa's Urban Refugee. 2006. *Policy. Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fel02>
 24. Enigbokan O, Edkins B, and Ogundele O. Relevance of Migration Theories in the Identification of Influencing Factors for Nigerian and Zimbabwean Migrants in South Africa. 21.
 25. Gouws A. South Africa Is Notorious for Its High Levels of Gender-Based Violence. 2021. <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/south-africa-is-notorious-for-its-high-levels-of-gender-based-violence-81ebad46-e4ec-4a86-b678-5e9bc8b22b02>
 26. Lyster R. The Death of Uyinene Mrwetyana and the Rise of South Africa's "Am I Next?" Movement. 2019. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-death-of-uyinene-mrwetyana-and-the-rise-of-south-africas-aminext-movement>
 27. Dlamini J. Gender-Based Violence, Twin Pandemic to COVID-19. 2020. *Critical Sociology*, 089692052097546. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920520975465>
 28. Transparency International. What Is Corruption. 2021. <https://www.transparency.org/en/what-is-corruption>
 29. IAWJ. Stopping the Abuse of Power Through Sexual Exploitation: Naming, Shaming and Ending Sextortion. 2012. International Association of Women Judges (IAWJ). http://www.iawj.org/iawj_international_toolkit_final.pdf
 30. Zembe Y, Townsend L, Thorson A and Ekstorm A. "Money Talks, Bullshit Walks" Interrogating Notions of Consumption and Survival Sex among Young Women Engaging in Transactional Sex in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Qualitative Enquiry. 2013. *Globalization and Health*, 9(1), 28. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1744-8603-9-28>
 31. Stoebenau K, Heise L, Wamoyi J and Bobrova N. Revisiting the Understanding of "Transactional Sex" in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review and Synthesis of the Literature. 2016. A review and synthesis of the literature. *Social Science & Medicine*, 168(186–197).
 32. Chatterji M, London D and Anglewicz P. The Factors Influencing Transactional Sex Among Young Men and Women in 12 Sub-Saharan African Countries. 2005. *Social Biology*, 52, 56–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19485565.2002.9989099>
 33. Wamoyi J, Ranganathan M, Kyegombe N and Stoebenau K. Improving the Measurement of Transactional Sex in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Review. 2019 *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes*, 80(4), 367–374. <https://doi.org/10.1097/QAI.0000000000001928>
 34. Dunkle KL, Jewkes R, Nduna M, Jama N, Levin J, Sikweyiya Y and Koss MP. Transactional Sex with Casual and Main Partners among Young South African Men in the Rural Eastern Cape: Prevalence, Predictors, and Associations with Gender- Based Violence. 2007. *Social Science & Medicine*, 65(6), 1235–1248. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.04.029>
 35. Kirsch M, Averdijk M, Valdebenito S and Eisner M. Sex Trade Among Youth: A Global Review of the Prevalence, Contexts and Correlates of Transactional Sex Among the General Population of Youth. 2019. *Adolescent Res Rev*, 4, 115–134. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-019-00107-z>
 36. World Health Organisation (WHO). Sexual Violence: Chap 6. World Report on health and violence. World Health Organisation (WHO). https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/global_campaign/en/chap6.pdf
 37. Faigenblatt H. Breaking the Silence around Sextortion: The Links between Power, Sex and Corruption. 2020. Transparency International.
 38. Brigden N and Mainwaring C. Matryoshka Journeys: Im/Mobility During Migration. 2016. *Geopolitics*, 21(2), 407–434. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2015.1122592>
 39. Merkle O, Reinold J and Siegel M. Corruption, Gender and Migration. 2018. Anti- Corruption & Integrity Forum. <http://www.oecd.org/corruption/integrity-forum/academic-papers/Merkle.pdf>
 40. Huijsmans R. Becoming a Young Migrant or Stayer Seen through the Lens of "Householding: Households "in Flux" and the Intersection of Relations of Gender and Seniority. 2014. *Geoforum*, 51, 294–304.
 41. Tshabalala X. Hyenas of the Limpopo: The Social Politics of Undocumented Movement across South Africa's Border with Zimbabwe. 2017. Linköping University Electronic Press 729.

42. Moffett H. 'These Women, They Force Us to Rape Them': Rape as Narrative of Social Control in Post-Apartheid South Africa. 2006. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 129–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070500493845>.
43. Viewfinder and GroundUp. Cops Who Rape Are Rarely Disciplined, Watchdog Data Reveals. Many Stay on the Job. 2021. <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/viewfinder-cops-who-rape-are-rarely-disciplined-watchdog-data-reveals-many-stay-on-the-job-20210804>
44. Du Plessis N. Women's Experiences of Reporting Rape to the Police: A Qualitative Study (Master's Thesis). 2007. Stellenbosch University. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.816.2621&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
45. Schockaert L, Venables E, Gil-Bazo MT, Barnwell G, Gerstenhaber R and Whitehouse K. Behind the Scenes of South Africa's Asylum Procedure: A Qualitative Study on Long-term Asylum-Seekers from the Democratic Republic of Congo. 2020. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 39(1), 26–55. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdz018>
46. Crush J and Tawodzera G. Medical Xenophobia and Zimbabwean Migrant Access to Public Health Services in South Africa. 2014. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(4). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.830504>
47. Campbell R and Raja S. Secondary Victimization of Rape Victims: Insights from Mental Health Professionals Who Treat Survivors of Violence. 1999. *Violence and Victims*, 14(3).
48. Mgozoli SE and Duma SE. They All Laughed and Asked Me If I Enjoyed Having Sex with Those Guys: Exploring Men's Lived Experiences When Reporting Rape to Police in South Africa. 2020. *PLOS ONE*, 15(8), e0235044. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0235044>.