

**DRUG TRAFFICKING: THE USE OF SOUTH AFRICAN
DRUG MULES IN CROSSBORDER SMUGGLING**

By

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for the Masters Degree
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DECLARATION FORM

STUDENT NUMBER: 41952294

I, **ANJELEE VAN HEERDEN**, declare that this dissertation: **DRUG TRAFFICKING: THE USE OF SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULES IN CROSSBORDER SMUGGLING** is my own work and that all the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE

(A. VAN HEERDEN)

DATE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is dedicated to my son, Logan. You are my motivation and my inspiration.

To my husband, thank you for supporting and believing in me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ATS:	Amphetamine-type Stimulants
CDA:	Central Drug Authority
CR:	Central region (North West and Northern Cape region)
DAB:	Drug Advisory Board
DEA:	Drug Enforcement Agency
DIRCO:	Department of International Relations and Co-operation
EMCDDA:	European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction
FATF:	Financial Action Task Force
FS:	Free State
GT:	Gauteng
INCB:	International Narcotics Control Board
LP:	Limpopo
MDA:	3,4-Methylenedioxy-amphetamine
MDMA:	3,4-methylenedioxy-methamphetamine
MP:	Mpumalanga
MRC:	Medical Research Council
NABOR:	National Advisory Board on Rehabilitation Matters
NC:	Northern Cape
NDMP:	National Drug Master Plan
NR:	Northern region (Limpopo and Mpumalanga)
NW:	North West
ORTIA:	Oliver Reginald Tambo International Airport
PRC:	Peoples Republic of China
SACENDU:	The South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SANAB:	South African Narcotics Bureau
SANCA:	The South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence
SAPS:	The South African Police Service
UAE:	United Arab Emirates
UN:	United Nations
UNISA:	University of South Africa
UNODC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WC:	Western Cape

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was conducted in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of drug trafficking with specific reference as to how South African drug mules are used in crossborder drug smuggling. Through media analysis, semi-structured interviews with drug trafficking experts and a literature study the researcher was able to make findings and recommendations as per the objectives of the study. The objectives of the study included examining how drug mules smuggle drugs across South African borders; what role drug mules play in drug trafficking syndicates and the motivations and reasons why South Africans are increasingly being recruited as drug mules. The researcher also attempted to determine the nature and extent of the drug demand supply in and to South Africa. By making the deduction that drug demand and drug supply are interrelated the researcher was ultimately able to conclude that drug mules will continue to engage in drug smuggling as long as there is a demand for drugs and readily available drug supply routes to and from a county.

From the media reports analysed cocaine, methamphetamine and heroin were the drugs most smuggled by South African drug mules. It is also clear from the media reports that cocaine and methamphetamine are smuggled in the largest quantities by South African drug mules. The quantities of heroin found in the possession of South African drug mules were insignificantly small. This contradicts treatment centre data analysed that indicated heroin and methamphetamine users were almost double in numbers in comparison to cocaine users being treated at centres.

Most South African drug mules are used to smuggle drugs to the cocaine markets in Europe and South Africa; the cannabis/marijuana (herb) market in Europe; the cannabis (resin) hashish market in Canada and the United States of America; the crystal methamphetamine market in the Far East (largely Japan and Korea) and the heroin market in South Africa.

Using criminology theories as a basis, the researcher attempted to describe why people are vulnerable to being recruited as drug mules. Findings concluded that structural factors such as poverty and unemployment and substance abuse-related problems, particularly in marginalised and disadvantaged communities, all contribute to South Africans becoming drug mules.

Recommendations by the researcher focused on identifying specific vulnerabilities associated with drug mule recruiting and its consideration in legislation relating to drug trafficking in South Africa. The recommendations focus on the specific prosecution of drug abusers, drug mules, drug distributors and drug mule recruiters. Lastly it is projected by the researcher that the drug demand in South Africa will continue to increase if the drug supply routes and drug smuggling operations by syndicates are not addressed more firmly.

Key words:

Amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS); drug mule or courier; drug producing country; drug destination country; drug demand; drug supply; drug trafficking; home-grown drugs; illicit drugs; illicit smuggling; illicit trade; illicit trafficking; modus operandi; narco-corruption; organised crime syndicate; situation report; social media group; transit country.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COPYRIGHT	i
DECLARATION FORM	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	iv
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	v

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 BACKGROUND	2
1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	3
1.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY	5
1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	5
1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	6
1.7 KEY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS.....	7
1.8 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY	11

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION	13
2.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH	13
2.3 CONTRIBUTION TO CRIMINOLOGY	14
2.4 POPULATION AND SAMPLING.....	14
2.4.1 Geographical delimitation of the area.....	14
2.4.2 Sample size and sample method	15
2.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS	17
2.5.1 Semi-structured interviews	17
2.5.2 Literature study	17
2.5.3 Case study	18
2.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.....	19
2.6.1 Open coding.....	19

2.6.2	Axial coding	19
2.6.3	Selective coding	20
2.7	VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF COLLECTED INFORMATION	20
2.8	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	21
2.8.1	Protection from harm	22
2.8.2	Informed consent	22
2.8.3	Right to privacy	22
2.8.4	Honesty with professional colleagues	22
2.9.	PILOT STUDY	23
2.10	FIELD JOURNAL	23
2.11	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	23
2.12	CONCLUSION	27

CHAPTER 3: DRUG DEMAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1	INTRODUCTION	28
3.2	HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	29
3.3	DRUG DEMAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	30
3.3.1	Current illicit drug market in South Africa	31
3.4	ILLICIT DRUG ECONOMY	36
3.4.1	Determining drug prices	37
3.5	CONCLUSION	39

CHAPTER 4: DRUG SUPPLY TO AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA

4.1	INTRODUCTION	40
4.2	THE ROLE OF ORGANISED CRIME IN DRUG SUPPLY	41
4.2.1	Methodology of drug trafficking syndicates	42
4.2.2	Money laundering.....	49
4.3	DRUG SMUGGLING ROUTES	50
4.3.1	Cannabis smuggling.....	51
4.3.2	Heroin smuggling	52

4.3.3 Cocaine smuggling.....	53
4.3.4 Methaqualone (Mandrax), Methcathinone and Methamphetamine	54
4.4 DRUG SUPPLY, TECHNOLOGY AND CORRUPTION.....	56
4.5 INTERNATIONAL DRUG POLICY APPROACHES.....	58
4.5.1 Drug supply approaches	58
4.5.2 Drug demand approaches.....	60
4.5.3 Drug harm approaches.....	60
4.6 DRUG-RELATED CRIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA	61
4.7 SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG REDUCTION INITIATIVES	64
4.8 CONCLUSION.....	68

CHAPTER 5: DRUG MULES: A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

5.1 INTRODUCTION	69
5.2 DRUG MULES: A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW.....	69
5.3 METHODOLOGY OF A DRUG MULE.....	71
5.3.1 Classical criminological theories	72
5.3.2 Rational Choice Theory.....	74
5.3.3 Sutherland's Differential Association Theory.....	75
5.3.4 Merton's Anomie Theory	75
5.4 CROSS-BORDER DRUG SMUGGLING: THE ROLE OF THE DRUG MULE	76
5.5 CONCLUSION.....	84

CHAPTER 6: SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULES: CASE STUDIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION	85
6.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULE.....	87
6.3 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, TRANSIT AND DESTINATION	88
6.4 MODUS OPERANDI.....	89
6.5 CASE STUDIES	89
6.5.1 Case Study 1: Drug Mule 1	93
6.5.2 Case Study 2: Drug Mule 2	95

6.5.3 Case Study 3: Drug Mule 3	98
6.5.4 Case study 4: Drug Mule 4.....	99
6.6 CONCLUSION.....	101

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION	103
7.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUGS SUPPLIED BY SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULES AND THE DRUG DEMAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	104
7.2.1 The nature and extent of the current drug demand in South Africa..	104
7.2.2 Extent of drug supply to South Africa	110
7.3 THE ROLE DRUG MULES PLAY IN DRUG TRAFFICKING SYNDICATES	115
7.4 SOUTH AFRICANS RECRUITED AS DRUG MULES.....	123
7.5 INITIATIVES AND POLICIES APPLICABLE TO DRUG TRAFFICKING	125
7.6 PROJECTIONS	127
7.7 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	128
7.8 CONCLUSION.....	131
LIST OF REFERENCES	133

TABLES

Table 1.1: Respondents' experience (years) in organised crime investigations or analysis	16
Table 3.1: Illicit drug prices by quantity	39
Table 6.1: Number of media articles published on South African drug mules: 2002-2012	85
Table 7.1: Drug availability: Drug price vs treatment demand.....	108
Table 7.2: Summary of drug smuggling routes and South African drug mules: Drug producing country, transit country and destination country.....	111
Table 7.3: Professional drug mule versus decoy drug mule.....	119
Table 7.4: Methods used in drug concealment	122
Table 7.5: Vulnerable people recruited	124

FIGURES

Figure 3.1:	SACENDU: Treatment centre admissions: 2008-2012	32
Figure 3.2:	SANCA: Treatment centre admissions: 2008-2012.....	32
Figure 3.3:	SACENDU: Drug treatment centre data: Drug use: 2008-2012	33
Figure 3.4:	SANCA: Drug treatment centre data: Drug use: 2008-2012	34
Figure 3.5:	Sum of patients admitted per province: 2008-2012	35
Figure 4.1:	DEA: Cali cartel organisational structure.....	44
Figure 4.2:	Drug trafficking routes: Heroin.....	53
Figure 4.3:	Drug trafficking routes: Cocaine	54
Figure 4.4:	Drug trafficking routes: Mandrax	56
Figure 4.5:	Drug-related crime arrests: 2008-2012	62
Figure 6.1:	Number of articles published relating to South African drug mules: 2002-2012	86
Figure 6.2:	Gender of arrested South African drug mules according to published media articles	87
Figure 6.3:	Age of arrested South African drug mules according to published media articles	88
Figure 6.4:	Country of origin of arrested South African drug mules according to published media articles.....	88
Figure 6.5:	Country/city of destination of arrested mules according to published media articles	89
Figure 6.6:	Method of smuggling used by South African arrested mules according to published media articles	90
Figure 6.7:	Drugs smuggled by arrested mules according to published media articles	90
Figure 6.9:	Quantity of drugs smuggled by arrested mules according to published media articles.....	91
Figure 6.10:	Recruitment method used on South African arrested mules according to published media articles	92

ANNEXURES

Annexure A: Semi-structured interview schedule: Sample B	148
Annexure B: Semi-structured interview schedule: Sample A	152
Annexure C: Media Pro Forma Analysis form	155
Annexure D: College of Law, UNISA Ethics Review Committee Letter of Approval.....	156
Annexure E: Consent form pro forma	157
Annexure F: SAPS permission letter	158

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa has a greater law enforcement capacity to fight domestic and international drug trafficking, drug production and drug abuse, than most African nations. Despite this, statistical data indicates that South Africa is one of the main transit routes in Africa for drugs such as cocaine (from South America) and heroin (from Afghanistan and East Asia), primarily destined for Southern African and European markets (Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2010: 1).

South Africa in particular is seen as an ideal arena for the illicit drug trade, because of its developed transportation infrastructures, modern international telecommunication and banking systems and porous borders (Central Drug Authority (CDA), 2006: 10). There has been a noticeable increase in international drug availability within South Africa's drug market because of the abovementioned factors. After 1994 (the full democratisation of politics in South Africa) and South Africa's opening up to international trade with the lifting of political and economic sanctions the growth in the South African drug market also led to an increase in the number of drug syndicates operating from and in South Africa (Ryan, 1997: 1). This growth of operating drug syndicates continued into the 2000s (see United Nations (UN), 2012; International Narcotics Control Strategy (INCSR), 2013).

In the process of growing the illicit drug trade the drug trafficking syndicates have increasingly targeted South Africans to smuggle drugs, knowingly or unknowingly, between countries (Tsoetsi, 2012: 1). Media reports, both nationally and internationally, have highlighted the increase in the use of South Africans as drug mules (Tsoetsi, 2012: 1). On 20 March 2011, in a media release the Department of International Relations and Co-operation (DIRCO), estimated that 619 South Africans were (at that time) imprisoned in foreign jails for drug smuggling (Lockedup, 2012) (no further later figures have as yet been officially released). In the media release the DIRCO officials indicated that this figure was inaccurate and it was

further suspected that an estimated well over 1 500 South Africans were then imprisoned abroad for drug smuggling crimes. This inaccurate number (of 619) was attributed to the fact that many South African embassies overseas are simply not being informed by a host country's authorities of the imprisonment of South African citizens, let alone that those imprisoned in foreign prisons have been incarcerated for drug smuggling (Lockedup, 2012). Despite this imprecise figure, South Africa is still ranked eighth out of 159 countries, for the highest number of citizens imprisoned in foreign countries for drug trafficking crimes (Tsoetsi, 2012: 1).

This masters dissertation set out to conduct an empirical research study by using qualitative research as the basis of the research in order to understand the phenomenon of drug trafficking with specific reference to the way South African drug mules are used in the crossborder smuggling of drugs. By utilising semi-structured interviews, analysis of documents, media reports and case studies, the researcher examined how South African drug mules smuggle drugs across borders; what role South African drug mules play in drug trafficking syndicates; and why South Africans are increasingly being recruited by the drug trafficking syndicates.

1.2 BACKGROUND

Essentially there are two broad domains of the illicit drug phenomenon: drug supply and drug demand. Drug supply and drug demand are interrelated. According to Ryan (1997: 1), if drugs are in demand they will be supplied to fulfil market needs. In other words, it is a relatively straightforward fact of 'supply-and-demand' economics and needs fulfilment. Therefore, the drug supply to a country, as well as the routes used to smuggle drugs will depend on the specific drug that is in demand in that specific country (Zilney, 2011: 180). As long as drug addicts are prepared to pay for drugs, drug-producing farmers and/organised crime syndicates will therefore keep on producing and smuggling drugs to any profitable market (Clutterbuck, 1995: 4).

There are various modus operandi involved in smuggling drugs across borders (Lee, 2003). These include illicit transit or the licit (i.e. using formal) means of transit

(transportation). In illicit transit the drugs are smuggled across borders using private or unscheduled vehicles as the mode of transporting them. In licit transit, drugs are hidden in regular cargo or baggage on flights or by means of parcels through postal services (Lee, 2003). Law enforcement agencies use information and the knowledge of these smuggling methods to identify or flag transportation methods and other modus operandi for the trafficking/smuggling of drugs. For example specific high risk flights, suspicious behaviour such as unattended or unidentified luggage on long flights. Such 'pre-identification' of factors enable law enforcement agencies to intercept the consignments as well leading to the detaining of the carriers of such illicit drugs being smuggled (Lee, 2003).

Based on such collected information, particularly on modus operandi of the drug syndicates, by law enforcement agencies both maritime (harbours) and airport security is continuously being reviewed and enhanced. Internationally airports and sea ports are now increasingly being equipped with sophisticated container and baggage scanners, while postal distribution centres, that handle international mail, also regularly screen packages (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA), 2012: 9).

In an effort to detect drug mules who smuggle drugs, full-body scans, X-rays of people and luggage, ion scanners that can detect minute particles of illicit substances, and sniffer dogs are used (EMCDDA, 2012: 9). Charles Goredema, a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies, South Africa, as cited in an article on drug mules, states, "[that the] police have to monitor many points of entry, so they rely on tip-offs and information leaks to fulfil their roles more effectively" (Pillay & Medley, 2012: np).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

On 24 August 1996 the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of State expressed their concern about the drug trafficking situation in the SADC region. This concern was expressed as follows in the preamble to the SADC

Protocol on Combating Illicit Drugs:

“...the Southern African region is being increasingly used as a conduit for illicit drugs destined for international markets ... illicit drug trafficking generates large financial gains and wealth enabling trans-national criminals and/organisations to penetrate, contaminate and corrupt the structures of governments, legitimate commercial and financial business and society at all levels” (SADC, 1996: 5).

Although drug mules are an important focus area of law enforcement agencies worldwide, limited research is available on how drug mules are recruited and used in the smuggling of drugs across borders (Huling, 1994: 1). On an international front, global drug markets and trends related thereto are contained in the annual reports published by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). At the European level, similar drug trends and information reports are annually released by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA). The central focus of these reports is on four main drug types, namely: cannabis;¹ amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) (which include amphetamine, methamphetamine and the drug called Ecstasy); products from the coca plant² (almost exclusively cocaine); and opiates³ (almost exclusively heroin).

These descriptions are then followed by a basic explanation of the trafficking routes used, from production, transit and arrival in primary markets (EMCDDA, 2012: 8). Drug reports focusing specifically on data on South Africa are even more limited, since most data relating to drug demand trends are only reflected in treatment centre data as published by the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU) and the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA). Drug-related crime data is only available from the South

¹ Also colloquially or commonly known as '*dagga*' (indigenous South African term), marijuana, 'joint-sticks', 'weed', and 'pot' (UNODC, 2003: 5).

² A coca plant includes any plant related to the species of the Genus *Erythroxylon*, from, which is produced the drug cocaine (UNODC, 2003: 13).

³ Opium is extracted from the seed pods of the opium poppy and contains several highly addictive narcotic alkaloid substances – besides the illicit drug heroin – such as morphine and codeine (UNODC, 2003: 24).

African Police Service's (SAPS) annual crime statistic reports – and at that limited in any specific details of the drug trafficking trade.

By comparing drug abuse trends, drug crime statistics and media reports on South African arrested drug mules the researcher tried to identify the nature and extent of drug trafficking specifically related to drugs being smuggled by South African drug mules. Interviews with experts within the field of drug trafficking and drug crime investigation and the description of case studies relating to South African drug mules detained and incarcerated overseas. All this collected and collated information enabled the researcher to further examine the role of South African drug mules in drug trafficking crimes.

1.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The research should be seen as a point of departure in understanding, through situational analysis, how drug trafficking specifically using South African drug mules, is taking place. The situational report forms the baseline for conducting a more ambitious threat assessment and provides the platform of current understanding from which various analytical techniques can be applied to assist in the production of a threat assessment and formulation of combatting and prevention policies. Beyond forming the baseline for future drug threat assessments in South Africa, the research aimed to contribute towards assisting law enforcement agencies in drug policy development, drug prevention initiatives and drug crime control. Academic institutions will hopefully further be assisted in determining the nature and extent of drug trafficking using South African drug mules with the provision of this baseline research information on the activities of South African drug mules.

1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study aimed to determine how drug trafficking is taking place, through the use of South African drug mules in crossborder drug smuggling. In order to achieve the aim of the study the following objectives were identified:

1. To examine the relationship between drugs supplied by South African drug mules and the drug demand in South Africa by specifically focusing on:
 - the nature and extent of the current drug demand in South Africa; and
 - the extent of drug smuggling to South Africa.
2. To examine what initiatives and policies are applicable to drug trafficking and specifically drug mules in South Africa.
3. To determine what methods are used by South African drug mules to smuggle drugs across borders.
4. To determine what role South African drug mules play in the operations of drug trafficking syndicates.
5. To determine why South Africans are recruited as drug mules.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study the researcher endeavoured to answer the following research questions and stemming from the primary research questions, additional sub-questions – all leading to the expected facilitation for the conducting of a situational report on how South African drug mules are used to smuggle drugs across borders.

The primary research question posed in this research study was the following:

What is the nature and extent of drug trafficking through the use of South African drug mules?

This research question refers specifically to the following aspects:

- drug demand;
- drug supply; and
- use of drug mules in drug trafficking.

The above research question was further supported by the following ancillary research questions:

- 1. *Are there initiatives and policies in place in South Africa to effectively deal with crossborder drug smuggling using drug mules?***
- 2. *How (modus operandi and methods) are South African drug mules smuggling drugs?***
- 3. *What role do South African drug mules play in drug trafficking syndicates' operations?***
- 4. *What factors contribute to South Africans becoming drug mules?***

1.7 KEY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

Amphetamine-type Stimulants (ATS)

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2003: 67) these groups of substances are mostly synthetic and have a stimulating effect on the central nervous system. The stimulants comprise of three specific groups, namely: "Central nervous system stimulants such as amphetamine, methamphetamine and methylphenidate[;] ...anorectics (appetite suppressants) such as phenmetrazine, amfepramone (diethylpropion)[; and] ...entactogens or 'ecstasy'-type substances such as 3,4-methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDMA) and 3,4-Methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDA)" (UNODC: 2003: 67).

Drug mule or courier

A drug mule or courier is defined by Hübschle (2008: np) as a "person who smuggles an illicit drug with him or her across a national border, including smuggling into and out of an international plane, [sic: aircraft] for an international drug syndicate."

Drug producing country

A drug producing country is any country with the agricultural climate that can produce or grow drugs. The Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs elaborates on this definition by categorising a major illicit drug producing country as: “one in which 1,000 hectares or more of illicit opium poppy is cultivated or harvested during a year; or 1,000 hectares or more of illicit coca is cultivated or harvested during a year; or 5,000 hectares or more of illicit cannabis is cultivated or harvested during a year” (International Narcotics Control Strategy (INCSR), 2014: 5).

Drug destination country

A drug destination country includes any country into which illegal drugs are being smuggled and distributed (INCSR, 2014: 5).

Drug demand

Drug demand refers to an individual's desire to consume illicit drugs, or the abuse drugs occurs (Ryan, 1997: 1).

Drug supply

Drug supply refers to the manufacture, cultivation, production, processing, smuggling, distribution and sales of illicit drugs to consumer (of drugs) markets (Ryan, 1997: 1).

Drug trafficking

Drug trafficking is defined in the Drug and Drug Trafficking Act 140 of 1992 (section 4) as “the use or possession of, or the dealing in, drugs and of certain acts relating to the manufacture or supply of certain substances or the acquisition or conversion of the proceeds of certain crimes”.

Home-grown drugs

Since 2010 street drugs have become widespread in especially impoverished townships throughout South Africa. These street drugs have become known as

'home-grown' drugs and have been given names such as, '*whoonga*', '*ungah*', '*nyaope*', '*pinch*' and '*sugars*'. All these drugs have been found to contain numerous illegal chemicals or Amphetamine-type Stimulants. No one combination of the drugs is the same as drug dealers tend to cut the drugs according to their own product availability. These drugs contain a combination of classic drugs such as cannabis, crystal methamphetamine and/or heroin. Household substances such as baby powder and rat poison and even battery acid are then added to the combination above to ensure more quantity and affordability (Tranquilityclinic, 2014).

Illicit drugs

The United Nations (UN) drug control conventions do not recognise any distinction between licit (legal) and illicit drugs, they describe only use to be lawful/legitimate or illicit/illegal. Therefore, according to the UNODC (2010: 27) "the term illicit drugs is used to describe drugs which are under international control (and which may or may not have licit medical purposes) but which are produced, trafficked and/or consumed illicitly".

Illicit smuggling

Illicit smuggling is the division of illegal trafficking that takes place across national borders (Prezelj & Gaber, 2005: 5).

Illicit trade

Illicit trade is defined by Naim (2006: 4) as a "trade that breaks the rules – the laws, regulations, licenses, taxes, embargoes and all the procedures that nations employ to organise commerce, protect their citizens, raise revenues and enforce moral codes".

Illicit trafficking

Illicit trafficking refers to the illegal trade in goods and people that includes trans-border activity (smuggling) (Prezelj & Gaber, 2005: 5).

Modus operandi

'Modus operandi' is a "characteristic pattern of methods observed in a repeated criminal act which can be used to identify a criminal" (US Legal, 2008: 1).

Narco-corruption

The International Narcotics Control Board (2010b: 1) defines 'narco-corruption' as drug-related corruption that allows some criminal organisations to perpetuate their illicit activities, to operate with minimal interference from the authorities and to derive maximum profit from illicit drug markets.

Organised crime syndicate

According to the UNODC (2004: 4) there is no "precise definition of transnational organised crime", nor does it list the kinds of crimes that might constitute it. By keeping the definition broad the UNODC argues that this will enable all countries part of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime to constantly update information on new types of crimes that might emerge. Because of the lack in official definitions of these terms the UNODC Convention did, however, indicate a definition for an organised criminal group. In Article 2(a) of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime the definition for an organised criminal group or syndicate therefore is explained as follows:

"it is a group of three or more persons that was not randomly formed, existing for a period of time, acting in concert with the aim of committing at least one crime punishable by at least four years' incarceration, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit" (UNODC, 2004: 5).

Situation report

A 'situation report' is described by the UNODC (2010: 27) as "a descriptive document which is orientated towards the current serious and/organised crime

situation". In this study the situational focus will be on drug trafficking but more specifically the crossborder smuggling of drugs by South African drug mules.

Social media group

A social media group includes all people who share the same interest in a networking setting. The social networking platforms used by the groups enable them to create, share or exchange information of mutual interest (Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy & Silvester, 2011: 241). Within this research the social media group, Lockedup was used, through the social networking platform Facebook.

Transit country

This includes all countries that are used as a transit or transporting route from a direct source of drugs (i.e. a drug producing country). In other words a transit country is only used for transporting the drugs through the country to the destination and/or another transit country (INCSR, 2014: 5).

1.8 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1: Introduction and motivation for research

Chapter 1 is an introduction and the motivation and rationale behind the study. The problem statement, value of the research and aim and objectives of the research will also be discussed.

Chapter 2: Methodological framework

In Chapter 2, the researcher elaborates on the methods and tools used to collect the information and complete the research. Chapter 2 includes the research methodology used within the study as well as the limitations and other obstacles encountered during the research phase of the study.

Chapter 3: Drug demand in South Africa

In this chapter, by attempting to determine the drug demand in South Africa the researcher gives an overview of the analysis of available drug abuse statistics in

South Africa.

Chapter 4: Drug supply to and from South Africa

All information relevant to how drugs are being smuggled from and to South Africa is discussed in Chapter 4. The researcher also gives an overview of drug policy approaches, as well as legislation and policies in South Africa relevant to drug trafficking.

Chapter 5: Drug mules: A conceptual overview

In Chapter 5 the researcher examined what constitutes a drug mule and the modus operandi of drug mules in smuggling drugs across international borders. In addition, the researcher, through the use of criminological theories, attempts to formulate possible motivations or reasons for drug mules engaging in the smuggling and trafficking of illicit drugs.

Chapter 6: South African drug mules: Case studies

Through the analysis of media articles and by putting together four typical and characteristic case studies of South African drug mules, incarcerated in foreign countries, the researcher aimed to provide a descriptive analysis of the demographics, modus operandi and possible recruitment methods relating to the use of South African drug mules in drug trafficking.

Chapter 7: Findings and recommendations

The findings were analysed based on the information obtained from the literature review, media reports and semi-structured interviews.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 of the research focuses on the research design, sampling, data collection and data analysis of the study. Limitations and obstacles encountered within the study are also described.

The study was conducted using a qualitative research design with document analysis as the basis of the study. The research is both descriptive and analytical in nature. Data collection took place through semi-structured interviews, a literature review and case studies (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2005: 270).

An extensive literature review on drug trafficking enabled the researcher to formulate and enhance the research questions posed in the semi-structured interviews (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008: 91). All available media articles, specifically relating to case studies of South African drug mules smuggling drugs across borders, were content analysed using a pro forma analysis form. Semi-structured interviews with relevant experts working specifically in the field of drug trafficking and investigation were conducted in order to enrich the literature review.

2.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH

The researcher used qualitative research methodology within the study. A case study research design enabled the researcher to examine a specific event or particular crime. In this case drug trafficking by specifically South African drug mules (Babbie & Mouton, 2007: 281). The case study design allowed the researcher to explore and describe how South African drug mules are used in crossborder drug smuggling through in-depth data collection methods involving multiple sources of information (De Vos et al, 2002: 275).

2.3 CONTRIBUTION TO CRIMINOLOGY

In the field of Criminology, this study focused on how South African drug mules are smuggling drugs across borders. The findings obtained in the study hopefully will lead to further research in specifically the field of Victimology, the criminal justice system and/organised crime, as well as postulating more effective interdiction methods by law enforcement agencies and security measures at ports of entry. It is hoped that this study will also stimulate further research on specifically the drug demand in South Africa, limitations of border control (shortcomings in security screening methods as well as investigation and interdiction methods currently being used including the improvement of gathering of crime intelligence) and research into why South Africans are increasingly becoming victims of organised crime syndicates.

2.4 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

According to Maxfield and Babbie (1995: 186), a target population is that aggregation of elements from which the sample is actually selected. The target population consisted of two categories. The first category included a target population of all relevant media articles, case studies and literature on arrested South African drug mules over a period of ten years. Category two included all relevant South African experts or professionals working in the field of organised crime and specifically drug trafficking. Other data included collecting and analysing available drug treatment centre data and crime statistics.

2.4.1 Geographical delimitation of the area

All media articles relating specifically to case studies of South African drug mules smuggling drugs across borders were used in the study. This included all available articles published within South Africa as well as by international media publishing houses.

All treatment centre data analysed, was based on data across all nine provinces in South Africa and divided accordingly: Western Cape (WC); KwaZulu-Natal (KZN); Eastern Cape (EC); Mpumalanga (MP) and Limpopo (LP) (combined as the Northern

Region: NR); Gauteng (GT: Johannesburg, Pretoria); Free State (FS), Northern Cape (NC) and Northwest (NW) (combined as the Central Region (CR) (Plüddemann, Dada, Parry, Bhana, Vawda & Fourie, 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; & 2013).

2.4.2 Sample size and sample method

Through purposive and snowball sampling, the researcher, ensured that the target population interviewed were relevant drug trafficking experts and/or organised crime experts. Incarcerated South African drug mules, families of incarcerated South African drug mules or persons working closely with incarcerated South African drug mules were also identified through purposive sample (Singleton, Straits, Straits & McAllister, 1988: 153). The researcher also used purposive sampling in identifying relevant media reports and subsequently case studies relating to specifically South African drug mules.

i) Semi-structured interview sample

The social media group *Lockedup* was used as a target sample and labelled as Sample A. The group *Lockedup* was used in an effort to obtain information directly from South African drug mules themselves or families affected through the incarceration of South African drug mules. *Lockedup* is a social group started to help educate people on the dangers associated with being recruited as a drug mule and the overall modus operandi of syndicates in recruiting and using South Africans as drug mules. The group's ultimate mission is to put pressure on the South African Government to sign and implement a multi-lateral Prisoner Transfer Agreement and extradite South African drug mules incarcerated overseas back to South Africa. The group has a website <http://www.lockedup.co.za/>, as well as a social page on *Facebook*.

Seventy-three individuals were identified and contacted through the social media group, *Lockedup*. Only ten of the contacted target population in Sample A responded that they were willing to participate in the research. Of the ten respondents only two

finally participated actively in the research through email interviews and by providing the researcher with police statements of drug mules incarcerated abroad (although additional information was available about various aspects of being a drug mule incarcerated in a foreign prison on the Lockedup website per se).

The target population for drug trafficking and/or organised crime experts in South Africa, herewith referred to as Sample B, consisted of thirty people for the study. This sampling population consisted of twelve drug trafficking experts. All of the respondents have either worked in the South African Police Service, state intelligence services or Interpol. For the greater part of their service experience they have been involved in the analysis and/or investigation of organised crime and/or crossborder smuggling. The following table depicts the years of experience of each Respondent in Sample B:

Table 1.1: Respondents’ experience (years) in organised crime investigations or analysis

Sample B: Respondent number	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Years’ experience	30	25	8	12	9	26	12	13	10	23	168

(Compiled from information supplied by Sample B Respondents, 2014).

ii) Document analysis sample

The researcher analysed treatment centre data, media reports and literature. All treatment centre data analysed, as reflected in SACENDU and SANCA reports, was limited to a period of five years 2008-2012. SACENDU and SANCA monitors the trends in alcohol and drug use as well as the associated consequences thereof on a six-monthly basis from specialist treatment programmes (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013). The qualitative data analysed through SACENDU and SANCA reports were provided by a range of stakeholders, including treatment centres, the South African Police Service, specialist researchers, hospitals and mortuaries (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013).

Media publications were used to ensure that all publicised media articles relating to South African drug mules, were analysed. A total of thirty-three media articles were analysed. The media articles were sampled over a ten-year period (2002-2012). The media articles were sourced via search engines available on the UNISA library site. All literature used within the study was also sourced through search engines and detailed library or literature search requests from the UNISA library.

2.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The study used the following qualitative data collection methods.

2.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

The researcher used semi-structured interviews with predetermined questions as depicted in an interview schedule (De Vos et al, 2005: 296). The questions were formulated using the literature review data. Two sets of interview schedules were used.

Set 1, (see Annexure A), was used during interviews with professionals and/or experts working specifically on drug trafficking and/organised crime (Sample B).

Set 2, (see Annexure B), included a schedule of questions drafted specifically for arrested South African drug mules, families of the incarcerated South African drug mules, as well as organisations and/or people working with imprisoned South African drug mules (Sample A).

2.5.2 Literature study

Data collection took place on the basis of an extensive literature review on drug trafficking and the use of drug mules in crossborder drug smuggling. This research was conducted based on data collection through documents, and secondary analysis, overall constituting the analysis of any written material that contains information about the phenomenon (De Vos et al, 2005: 314). Statistical data

research based on books, government reports, UN agencies and other international organisation reports, research papers, commentaries, newspapers both in electronic and hard copy versions was used for the research.

According to Mouton (2001: 88), a variety of bibliographic tools have been developed to assist researchers in the identification of suitable literature. The internet was particularly useful in this regard. The Google search engine was used by the researcher to carry out a search for scholarly articles on drug trafficking. The details of these articles were then forwarded to the University of South Africa (UNISA) library catalogue and copies requested (to be sent to the researcher). The UNISA library was also requested to conduct a literature search on the following key terms 'drug trafficking', 'drug smuggling', 'drug demand', 'drug supply', 'drug mules' and 'South African drug mules'. The UNISA library responded with only limited sources and references to the keyword 'drug mule' and no information whatsoever was supplied for the search term: 'South African drug mules'.

Other documents analysed included data on drug-related arrests, as reflected in publications by the South African Police Service (SAPS). Data on recorded patients reporting for drug-related rehabilitation was also collected through published SACENDU and SANCA reports.

2.5.3 Case study

Case studies, according to (Berg, 2004: 251) involve systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event or group to permit the researcher to understand effectively how the subject operates or functions. The case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied (Stake, 2000: 435). Because of the limited literature available on specifically the core topic 'South African drug mules' and the limitations encountered in attempting to interview incarcerated South African drug mules, mass media publications and outputs were used to obtain and put together case studies relevant to South African drug mules. These documents used by the researcher included newspaper and magazine

articles. Information was obtained from these sources and then analysed using a pro forma analysis form, (see Annexure C), in order to ensure that all themes related to the research topic were identified.

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Data was analysed through content analysis. Content analysis is described by Babbie (2005: 328) as “the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, magazines and postings on the internet”. Content analysis was mainly used in conjunction with the drafted pro forma media analysis form. All media articles relating to South African drug mules were arrested and analysed accordingly. The researcher generated categories, themes and patterns within the data from the literature study, interviews and case studies collected (De Vos et al, 2005: 338). The categories and themes were enhanced through the coding of the data (De Vos et al, 2005: 338). De Vos et al (2005: 340) differentiate between three steps within coding of data in Grounded Theory research.

2.6.1 Open coding

Open Coding involves the naming and categorising of the phenomenon through a close examination of the data (De Vos et al, 2005: 341). The phenomenon (drug trafficking) and relevant sub-categories (drug demand, drug supply and drug smuggling) pertaining thereto were labelled. This ensured that similar incidents were given the same name or label. Categories and sub-categories as depicted by the data were formed in order to group data together (De Vos et al, 2005: 341).

2.6.2 Axial coding

This type of coding takes place after open coding and allows the researcher to make sections between the categories (De Vos et al, 2005: 343). Axial coding is linked to the paradigm model that links categories to “a set of relationship denoting casual conditions, phenomenon, context, intervening conditions, action/interactional strategies and consequences (De Vos et al, 2005: 342). In the research categories were linked to crossborder smuggling and/organised crime.

2.6.3 Selective coding

This is the last step and entails selecting the core category, validating the relationships and establishing what categories need more refinement (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 116). Here all data was coded referring to the aim and objectives of the research. Accordingly all data was limited to only South African drug mules used in crossborder drug smuggling.

2.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF COLLECTED INFORMATION

'Validity' refers to the extent to which the research instrument(s)/methods used have been successful in collecting sufficient information/data that adequately reflect the concept, object or research topic focus that is being studied (researched). In other words the information collected can be considered reliable (consistently accurate) and dependable (trustworthy) and thereby being valid.

In order to ensure reliability and validity within the research, each respondent was asked the same questions by using a standardised semi-structured interview schedule based on the research questions. The researcher was constantly aware of the influence that perspectives, rationality (individual judgement) and assumptions could have on the respondents' answers.

The researcher believes that the samples are representative of the population, because they all work in the specific field on a daily basis. The researcher also included all willing participants who were directly affected by drug trafficking, through family ties. It should, however, be highlighted that a bigger sample in this regard could have provided additional in-depth information or more pertinently confirmed and substantiated the trends and modus operandi as revealed from the collected information and data analysis. However, caution had to be taken in order to ensure that the research remained ethical by considering the sensitivity of the matter and more specifically the privacy and confidentiality of the families of incarcerated drug mules affected. Furthermore, some of the identified drug mules also revealed their

fears of possible retaliation by those drug syndicates that had recruited them – threats that included threats against their families back home in South Africa – if they provided information on their drug smuggling activities, even if done anonymously.

'Reliability' is the extent to which one's study research methods/techniques or instruments give the same results repeatedly (consistency/accuracy of collected information data). In other words reliability emerges when the same information is repeated from individual responders from the same group and saturation (similarity/sameness) levels are reached.

In terms of reliability and validity, the researcher was aware that the documents consulted in this study might not cover exactly what was being researched. However, this was to a certain extent overcome by logical reasoning and replication. According to Babbie (2005: 488), replication is described as the duplication of data to expose an error. Statistical data from different institutions were compared for the purposes of replication within the research. Because statistical data can create problems with reliability, only accredited and academically regarded literature and publications were used in the research to ensure reliability. All sources of information were rated on reliability and compared to previous research to ensure validity.

2.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research proposal was approved by the UNISA College of Law Research Ethics Committee, (see Annexure D).

Ethical considerations made within the study are differentiated within four categories, namely: protection from harm; informed consent; right to privacy; and honesty with professional colleagues. All training material/documentation of law enforcement agencies were used with integrity. All respondents within the study were protected by anonymity in terms of ensuring no specific responses of participants in documents will be exploited in the findings nor that their identities be revealed (Babbie, 2005: 73). All respondents were requested to complete a consent form, (see Annexure E),

indicating anonymity and their free-will to participate voluntarily in the research. The consent form also included a full explanation of the purpose of the research, objectives, methods that were used as well as clear outcomes and expectations of the interview.

2.8.1 Protection from harm

In order to ensure that all respondents were aware of the nature of the research a short briefing was given before the interview indicating the core aims of the research. The interview schedule was drawn up in such a way as not to embarrass, harm or unnecessarily stress the individual respondents.

2.8.2 Informed consent

An informed consent form that included inter alia, the guarantee that all responses would remain confidential, was presented to each respondent. The researcher also obtained permission from the relevant law enforcement agencies in order to conduct this research.

2.8.3 Right to privacy

In order to ensure that no respondents' work was jeopardised, most of the respondents preferred remaining anonymous (i.e. although identities known to the researcher this would be protected by anonymity in the research report by merely being listed as Respondent No. 1, 2, 3... etc.) since the nature of their work limits their information disclosure. The researcher kept the nature and quality of the respondents' work strictly confidential. Accordingly, a number was assigned to each respondent and used to label any written documents.

2.8.4 Honesty with professional colleagues

The researcher relayed all information analysed as it was given. All sources were acknowledged in order to avoid any form of plagiarism.

2.9. PILOT STUDY

A pilot study is defined as the method of research conducted before the larger study. Therefore a pilot study is implemented before the main research study is undertaken. Such pilot Study is done in order to ensure that the methodology, sampling and methods of analysis are complete and adequate and that any possibly vagueness or lack of clarity in question formulation is revealed at the beginning and not during the main body of the research (Bless and Higson-Smith, 200: 155). The researcher conducted a pilot study using the interview schedule and the pro forma analysis form in order to ensure the validity and reliability of the instruments used within the data collection phase. Resulting from the pilot study the interview questions were adjusted accordingly.

2.10 FIELD JOURNAL

A field journal was kept throughout the research to ensure that all limitations encountered within the study were noted. Notes of potential recommendations were also written in the field journal.

2.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following limitations were identified throughout the study:

i) Availability and reliability of national data on drug demand

According to the Central Drug Authority (CDA) (2008: 13), of South Africa accurate baseline data on illicit drug use in South Africa is difficult to obtain and consequently approximations and extrapolations often have to be made of known data and reliance placed on the opinions of experts in this field. The only current data on drug demand in South Africa is that provided by the statistical data of drug treatment as published by institutions such as SANCA and SACENDU. Therefore a large amount of data is still outstanding (not available or not published in the public domain) and thus the overall picture of the current drug demand in South Africa is not a full or completely accurate up-to-date overview with its attendant limitations.

ii) Estimated drug prices

Respondent 9 and Adler (1993: 44) are of the view that drug prices as reflected in Chapter 3 can only be viewed as estimations. Black market prices for drugs can vary considerable when considering the area in which the drugs were sold, the purity level of the drugs and fluctuations in supply.

iii) Treatment centre data

Treatment centre data obtained is only from centres that reported data, state rehabilitation centres are not included in the data and no government body is responsible for regulating (or standardising) the reporting of such data.

iv) Drug crimes

Drug crimes as defined by the SAPS, therefore include all persons that have been arrested for drug possession (from which arrest a conviction might not eventually emanate).

v) Non consideration of external market conditions

No external market conditions were considered when estimating drug prices. External market conditions include the quantity of illicit drugs purchased, the degree of purity, the nationality of the sellers and buyers, the trust relationship between the seller and the buyer and the method of payment (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA), 2000: 77).

vi) Inconsistent reporting of published media articles

Some of the media articles published could not be categorised and coded as per the pro forma analysis form, since most of the articles did not cover the exact data required (for this research study). Therefore there are sections where the exact method, gender, nationality or date of publication could not be determined. Limitations with regards to determining trends in terms of the phenomenon with specific reference to the year of reporting, genders, method of smuggling,

recruitment method and country of origin were noted.

vii) Accessibility to police dockets on specifically drug mule cases

The researcher applied for permission to access South African police dockets relating specifically to drug mules arrested at the OR Tambo International Airport (ORTIA). Subsequently the researcher aimed to use these dockets to identify possible drug mules incarcerated in South African prisons for interviews. Despite numerous attempts made and permission granted (See Annexure F) by the SAPS the researcher was unable to gain access to the dockets. The main reasons given were that all persons arrested were categorised under drug possession thus the police were unable to provide dockets specifically relevant to drug mules. As a consequence the researcher was unable to identify specific persons for interviews in the correctional services. It was also revealed to the researcher by other researchers doing interviews on drugs in prisons that the drug mules arrested at OR Tambo International were largely of foreign origin, i.e. not South African. Accordingly, this information enforced the researcher to refocus the study to include only South African drug mule cases. Because most South African drug mules are incarcerated abroad, it was not possible to include a docket analysis of South African drug mule cases for this research.

viii) Access to drug mules arrested for interviewing

Because of the sensitivity of the subject, most identified South African drug mules did not want to be interviewed. Their reasons were mainly because of fear for the still active drug smuggling syndicates. Most of the drug mules indicated that their recruiters are still operational and therefore they did not want to participate in any research for fear of their own and their families' safety. The researcher, as previously indicated, informed all respondents that the research would be anonymous and their identities protected and kept confidential. This did not reassure the drug mules nor lead them to actively participate in the research by supplying information.

ix) Limited number of experts on the topic

According to Respondent 3 it is clear that most experts within the field of drug

trafficking specifically, are no longer operational within the SAPS or intelligence environments. This is due mainly, according to Respondent 3, to the disbandment of the specialised drug units of the police. The SAPS, according to Respondent 3, is still working on a contingency plan to ensure knowledge management since most of the former special unit experts have moved to the private sector.

x) *Grey information*

Because of the sensitivity of the topic and the unreliability of information due to its criminal nature, it was difficult to determine specific statistics for most of the categories identified. For example, the exact drug demand and drug supply in South Africa. If one considers the phenomenon as a whole, drug demand equals drug supply, it is impossible to understand the drug phenomenon in totality without looking at both of these aspects. The indicators relating to the illicit drug market are not tangible instruments to measure what is the exact drug trafficking phenomenon in South Africa.

xi) *Emotional nature of the information*

Because of the sensitivity surrounding arrested drug mules, families and friends were also reluctant to participate in the research (and also the previously stated reason of fear of possible retaliation by drug syndicates).

xii) *Access to the Department of Correctional Services*

The researcher made numerous attempts to access incarcerated drug mules in the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) correction facilities. DCS documents requesting permission to interview incarcerated drug mules, including the research proposal and questionnaire/interview questions, were submitted for consideration and approval to the DCS Research Committee (which sits every three months). The Department informed the researcher that interviews with any incarcerated drug mules in South African prisons could only be granted if specific names, case numbers and exact prison locations could be included in the application. Because of the problems encountered with the SAPS and the dockets, as well as the

identification of arrested drug mules at ORTIA largely being foreigners, the researcher could not supply the DCS with the information requested. As indicated this resulted in the researcher refocusing the study on only South African drug mules.

2.12 CONCLUSION

Access to research information on drugs, drug trafficking and the use of South African drug mules within the South African criminal justice system is severely limited. This is largely due to the illicit nature of the activity and the data from criminals also difficult to verify or substantiate. However, from the information that is available and in the public domain, as well as certain other information provided in official documents, the researcher was able to analyse the data and find similarities and dissimilarities, draw on certain themes identified and make conclusions based on such information. Chapters three, four, five and six will give an overview of all data collected in the research process. In Chapter 3, as a point of departure, the researcher examines the demand for drugs in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

DRUG DEMAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Illicit drugs are ultimately consumer goods and, similarly to commercial merchandise in modern societies, they are provided primarily because there is a demand in the market (Kilmer & Hoorens, 2008: 20). The success of the market, according to Kilmer and Hoorens (2003: 20), is therefore determined by the drug availability and the quantity of the drug demand. Drugs are sold in black markets, so information about the quality and/or precise quantity of the product being sold, is neither advertised nor readily available (Kilmer & Hoorens, 2008: 20). The steady increase in drug demand has resulted in the increase in drug prices resulting in lucrative criminal drug trafficking businesses (Kelley, 2006: 17).

There is minimal data on the cost of transporting, distributing and selling drugs in consumer countries. Information on the average price paid for drugs, combined with information on how much is consumed in that market (drug demand) can provide insights into what is happening with the supply of the drug. This can also assist law enforcement agencies in determining how effective any combatting and preventative strategies are in influencing or impacting on the price of drugs (Kilmer & Hoorens, 2008: 23).

Therefore in order to ultimately try and determine the drug supply to a country, in this case through drug mules specifically, it is important that an understanding or estimation of the drug demand be given. Accordingly, In order to examine the current drug demand in South Africa, treatment centre data and other institutional data within the South African domain was examined. This allowed the researcher to conclude whether there is a profitable drug market in South Africa, since most high-end drugs like heroin and cocaine, are not produced and grown in South Africa (Gelbrand, 1998: 172). As a point of departure the chapter will give an historical overview of the drug trafficking phenomenon in South Africa.

3.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Legget, Plüddemann, Parry, Louw and Burton (2002: 6), state that historically, the influx of illicit drugs into South Africa came about as a result of the availability of mandrax⁴ (methaqualone) and the creation in 1970 of the 'white pipe'.⁵ The most drug-affected communities at that time being the Coloured and Indian communities in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal respectively. Prior to 1994 this 'ethnic segmentation' of drug cultures was reinforced by apartheid segregation and rapid urbanisation (Legget et al, 2002: 6). In the early 1990s the introduction of the international rave culture in South Africa, led to an increase in the use of the so-called 'club drugs' (ecstasy and LSD) (Legget et al, 2002: 6). After the disbandment of international isolation after 1994, an influx of chemicals used in the manufacturing of drugs was observed in the South African drug markets. With international trade to South Africa also increasing after 1994, drugs such as cocaine and heroin were introduced into the South African drug markets (Legget et al, 2002: 6).

During the apartheid years and due to stringent border controls (as a counter-insurgency measure) and limited international trade South Africa was semi-excluded from exploitation by international drug syndicates. But in the mid-1980s there had occurred the slow influx of Nigerian syndicates. These Nigerian syndicates started to engage in drug trafficking, using South Africa as a strategic transit area for the trafficking of drugs to major drug markets in Europe (Gelbrand, 1998: 172). However, Gelbrand (1998: 175) states that the apartheid era left a large number of institutional weaknesses such as outdated or inadequate laws for complex crimes, inadequate financial regulations, weak judicial and police institutions and after 1994 the relaxing of the previous counter-insurgency related border controls.

At the end of the previous century, Minnaar (1999: 12), already emphasised that since 1994, South Africa was increasingly being used as a transit country for drugs such as mandrax, ecstasy, heroin and cocaine. According to Minnaar (1999: 12).

⁴ Mandrax, is an ATS drug in the form of a pill that is crushed and then smoked using a pipe (Zaga, 2005).

⁵ 'White pipe' is the street name given for mandrax smoking (Zaga, 2005).

South Africa's role as an exporting country of drugs, specifically cannabis, has also become significant since 1994.

With apartheid coming to an end, an evolution in the drug market was noted in South Africa. According to the UNODC (2012: 5), it is evident that when the demographic profile of a given society changes, drug use behaviour may also change accordingly. Socio-demographic trends, such as the population's gender and age balance and the rate of urbanisation, all influence the drug market evolution (UNODC, 2012: 5).

South Africa is now fully globalised in the range of drugs available for consumption. Hübschle (2011: 13) states that there are hardly any popular substances that cannot be bought in the urban centres of the country. This, together with the fact that South Africa is gaining a reputation as a transportation point for illicit drugs, has exposed South Africans to drug trafficking syndicates who then also exploit vulnerable South Africans for the smuggling of drugs (Tsoetsi, 2012: 1).

3.3 DRUG DEMAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

There is a relationship between the basic economic principles of legitimate commodity markets and the global illicit drug market according to Fichtelberg (2008: 202). These basic economic principles can be broadly outlined as follows: when a commodity (drugs) is in demand it will be supplied (Fichtelberg, 2008: 202). This, therefore, creates a criminogenic market, which is defined by Minnaar (1999: 2), as a market structure where there is an unsaturated demand for and ready availability of illegal goods.

Drug abuse trend information is available through the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU) and the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA). SACENDU is a research project coordinated by the Medical Research Council (MRC) of South Africa. Since 1996, this project has drawn on figures and qualitative data provided by a range of stakeholders, including treatment centres, the South African Police Service,

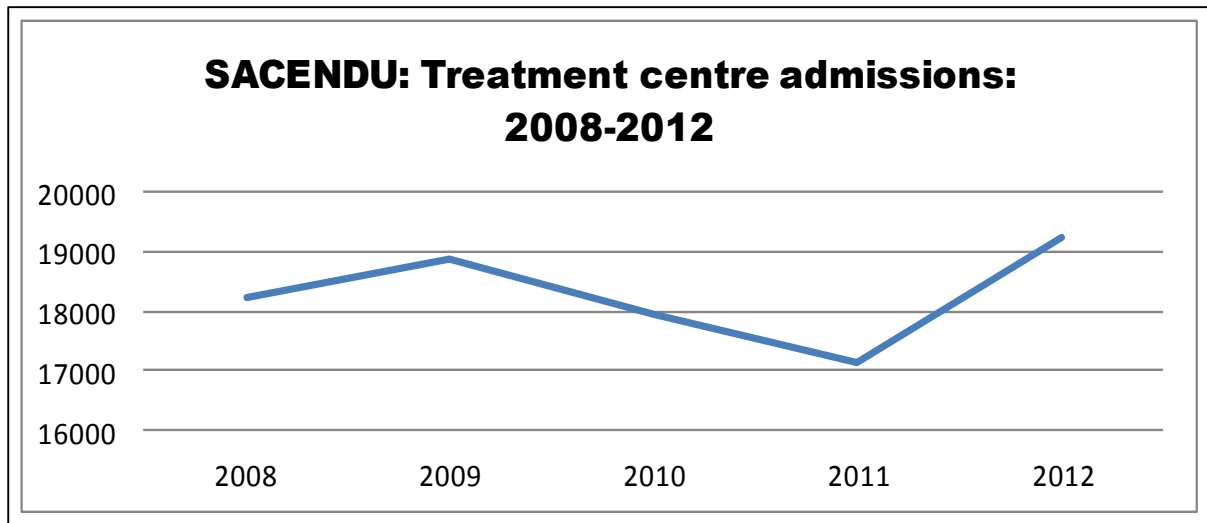
specialist researchers and hospitals and mortuaries (Plüddemann, Dada, Parry, Bhana, Vawda & Fourie, 2008-2013). SANCA's national mission statement for 2020 is "to develop, consolidate and sustain outcome-based addiction services in South Africa through active partnerships with governments and other stakeholders" (SANCA, 2012).

SACENDU monitors the trends in alcohol and other drug use from specialist treatment programmes, as well as the associated consequences thereof and releases this information on a six-monthly basis. The project is an alcohol and other drug (AOD) sentinel surveillance system. The project is operational in all nine provinces in South Africa and divided accordingly: Western Cape (WC); KwaZulu-Natal (KZN); Eastern Cape (EC); Mpumalanga (MP) and Limpopo (LP) (combined as the Northern Region: NR); Gauteng (GT: Johannesburg, Pretoria); Free State (FS), Northern Cape (NC) and Northwest (NW) (combined as the Central Region (CR) (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013). SANCA's National Treatment Portfolio is also located over all nine provinces in South Africa and comprises of data from in-patient centres as well as out-patient centres (SANCA: 2012a). The following section consists of treatment centred data that was analysed, as reflected in SACENDU and SANCA reports, over the last five years 2008-2012.

3.3.1 Current illicit drug market in South Africa

SACENDU reports focusing on treatment centre data from 2008-2012, indicate that there was a decrease in treatment admissions from 2009-2011. A dramatic increase in treatment admission is reflected in 2012 as indicated in Figure 3.1 (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013).

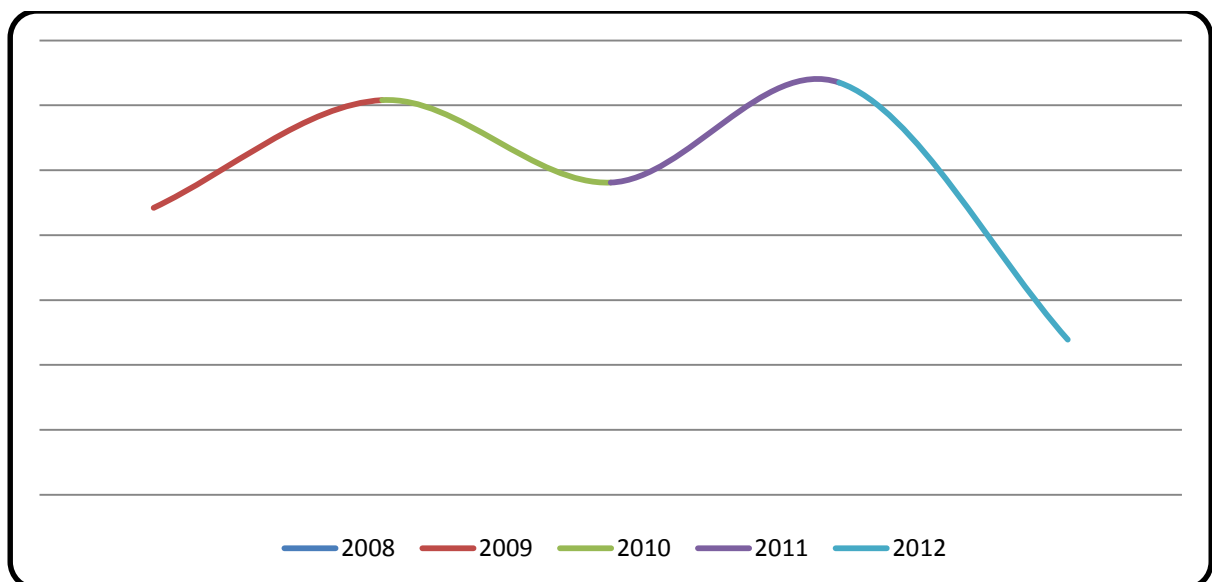
Figure 3.1: SACENDU : Treatment centre admissions: 2008-2012



(SACENDU: 2008-2013).

The treatment profile from SANCA (SANCA: 2012a) for the period 2008-2012 indicates a correlating decrease in patient admissions from 2009-2010. There was a slight increase in treatment admissions from 2010-2011 and a dramatic decrease in patient admissions in 2012, as seen in Figure 3.2.

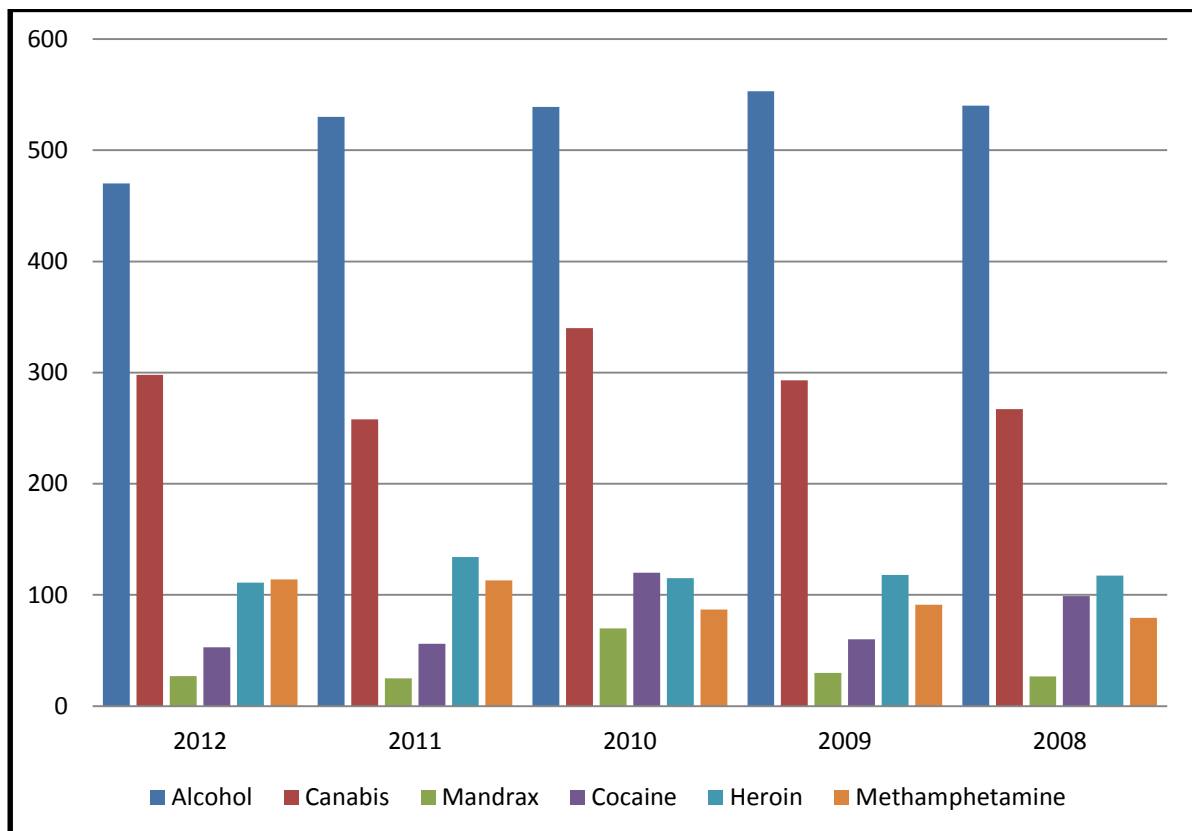
Figure 3.2: SANCA: Treatment centre admissions: 2008-2012



(SANCA: 2012a).

The specific drug use of all admitted patients for both SACENDU and SANCA were analysed over the five year period. As indicated in Figure 3.3, alcohol and cannabis are the most abused drugs in South Africa according to SACENDU. While SACENDU reports indicate that heroin, methamphetamine, cocaine and mandrax are abused to a lesser extent (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013).

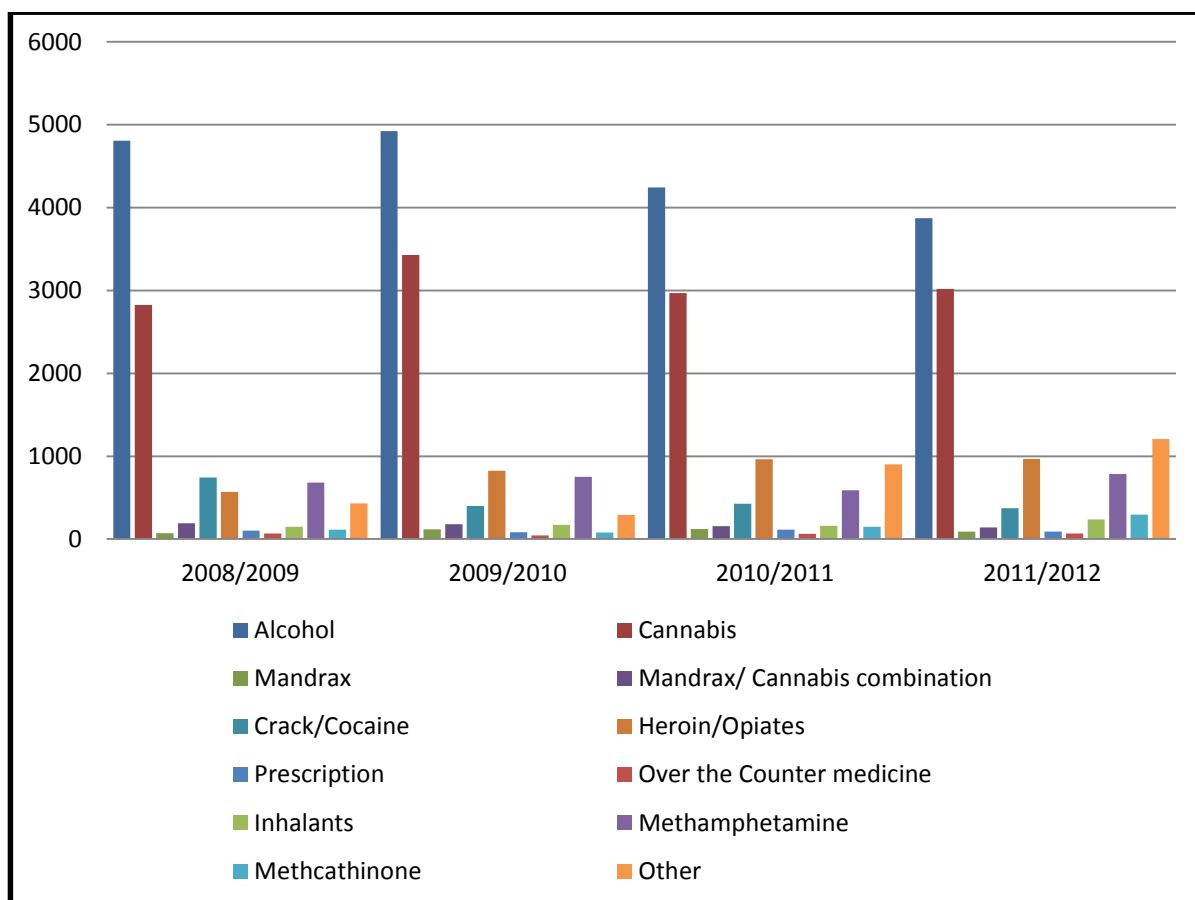
Figure 3.3: SACENDU: Drug treatment centre data: Drug use: 2008-2012



(SACENDU: 2008-2013)

Statistics released by SANCA, in Figure 4, indicate a significant change in the abuse of alcohol. Alcohol dependency according to SANCA (2008-2012) indicates a decrease in 2009/2010-2011/2012. Cannabis usage has stayed significant throughout the five year period. While heroin/opiates is the third most frequently abused substance, followed by methamphetamine, crack/cocaine and methcathinone users (SANCA, 2012b).

Figure 3.4: SANCA: Drug treatment centre data: Drug use: 2008-2012

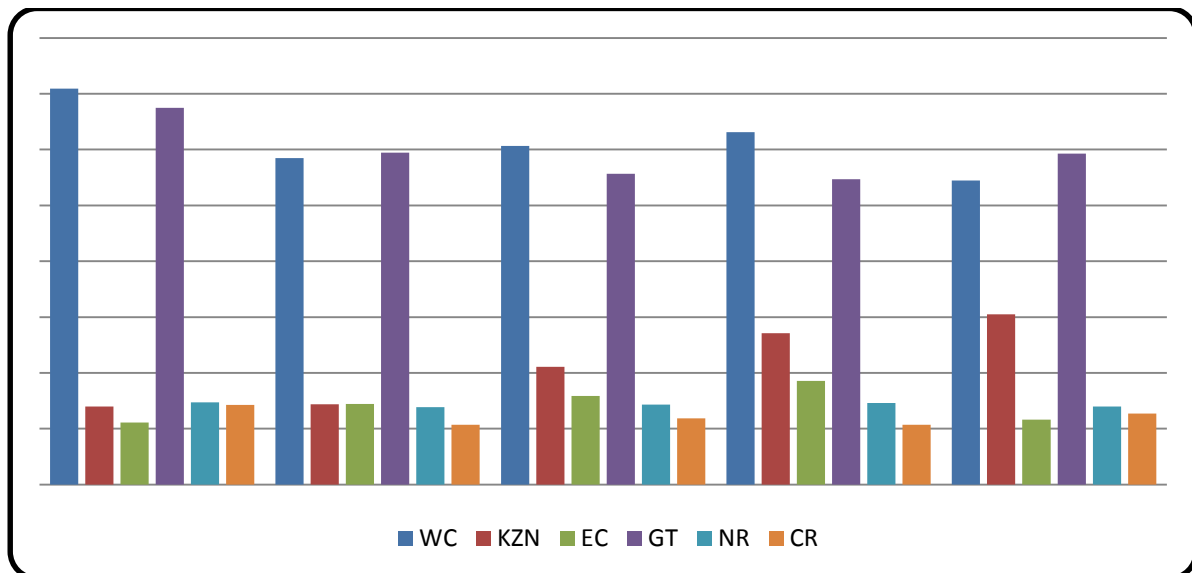


(SANCA: 2012b).

Although alcohol remains the most commonly abused drug in South Africa nationally, this research will only focus on specific illicit drugs that relate to the phenomenon of drug trafficking. In a global context, South Africa seems to follow predictions made by the UNODC, who predicted that the prominence of heroin and cocaine in illicit drug markets may continue to decline, while the abuse of drugs such as cannabis will continue to increase (UNODC, 2012: 5). According to the SACENDU reports, the provinces that have reported the most patients admitted to hospitals, were the Western Cape and Gauteng (as seen in Figure 5). This is substantiated by the Overseas Security Advisory Council's (OSAC, 2012) Crime and Safety Report of

2012, which indicated that Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town are classified as ‘critical’ areas where drug-related crimes manifest.

Figure 3.5: Sum of patients admitted per province: 2008-2012



(SACENDU: 2008-2013).

Factors such as high unemployment rates, high costs of living, insufficient border control and a lack of an awareness of the dangers of drug abuse, all render South Africa an attractive market for drug traffickers and transnational organised crime (Grove, 1994: 5). Local and international drug syndicates have exploited corrupt South African officials and porous borders in order to smuggle drugs (Minnaar, 1999: 13). According to the International Narcotics Control Strategy report of 2013 (INCSR, 2013) the South African government: “actively combats narcotics-related corruption”. Furthermore, according to this INCSR report the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID – formerly the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD)) was primarily established in 1997 to deter and ultimately eliminate police corruption (INCSR, 2013).

Profits from the drug market ensure systematic corruption of the social and economic network in a country (Alvares, 2011: 36). The huge amount of money flowing to

impoverished communities can be effectively used to bribe or coerce entire communities and corrupt governments (Alvares, 2011: 36). The next section of the research will briefly examine the illicit drug economy.

3.4 ILLICIT DRUG ECONOMY

The effects of massive drug transactions can range from economic prosperity and enhanced employment opportunities to environmental degradation, distorted economies and social structures, militarised societies, troubled health care systems, subverted governments, national value systems and terrorised populations (Tullis, 1995: 4). Despite the licit economy, drugs also play a significant role as a form of currency in other crimes, in the form of barter trade (Naim, 2006: 76). An example would be poached rhino horn that is exchanged for drugs (Van Wyk, 2011).

Information about drug prices are important, as the purity-adjusted prices of drugs can assist law enforcement agencies in determining the way that drug markets are responding to law enforcement drug combatting efforts and overall national drug policies (Kilmer & Hoorens, 2008: 41). Models on the illicit drug economy such as the standard competitive model for illicit drug markets, provide a helpful mechanism for evaluating the effects of policy (Caulkins, Reuter & Taylor, 2006: 1). When a drug policy restricts drug supply by means of arresting, detaining and eventual imprisoning a higher number of drug dealers, the supply curve goes up and to the left. The resulting market price increase with the consequent quantity reduction of drugs sold in the market (Caulkins et al, 2006: 1).

If drug dealers are arrested and incarcerated, an effect may be seen in the reduction or the stabilising of drug prices allied drug usage increases (Caulkins et al, 2006: 2). According to Caulkins et al, 2006: 2) this “counter-intuitive outcome occurs, because the arrest of a violent dealer reduces external costs borne by other dealers, with the net effect being a possible reduction in costs for the marginal dealer.”

This is in contrast to the typical behaviour of purchasers in a consumer market. Demand is reduced when the price of a commodity goes up. In other words higher

prices lead to lower consumption. In contrast in the drug market, users are usually not dissuaded from their drug habit by price increases. In the longer term, however, if prices rise markedly overall consumption will eventually decline since dependent users face increasing difficulties to finance their habit (UNODC, 2012: 47). If prices fall purchases may, in fact, go up (increase of sales). Recreational users tend to react quicker to such price fluctuations (i.e. their market reactions are more similar to buying patterns for legal goods (UNODC, 2012: 47).

In addition, dealers may have become more efficient over time, finding ways to reduce the financial and non-financial costs associated with drug dealing. It has been argued that the global economy is being exploited by market savvy drug dealers, with them always on the lookout for maximising profits by utilising more cost-effective distribution channels; recruiting desperate poor and disadvantaged persons in developing countries who are usually more willing to act as drug couriers for less money (Storti & De Grauwe, 2007).

3.4.1 Determining drug prices

According to Adler (1993: 44), the pricing of drugs depends on external market conditions. The quantity of illicit drugs purchased, the degree of purity, the nationality of the sellers and buyers, the trust relationship between the seller and the buyer and the method of payment are all variables that must be taken into account when trying to determine drug market prices (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 2000: 77).

The path that a product takes from being produced to being 'consumed' is called the supply chain (Wilson & Stevens, 2008: np). In line with general market behaviour, illegal drugs' prices increase as they move along the supply chain to the end user (final buyer as consumer).

Economists describe the so-called 'risk profit' as the profit returns over and above profits from normal profit returns. In other words the 'reward' for taking all the legal

risks (i.e. behaving in an illegal manner) in order to bring their goods to the market. These legal risks, therefore, can be thought of as just an additional cost of production and the extra cost that producers/sellers incur to remain undetected by law enforcement is often referred to as an “enforcement tax” (Reuter & Kleiman, 1986; Mejia & Posada, 2008).

Drug traffickers make provision for expenses other than drug costs, employee salaries and equipment rentals. These costs can be categorised as ‘regular’ and ‘sporadic’ costs (Adler, 1993: 41). Sporadic costs include occasional trips to spread goodwill among foreign suppliers, legal costs, product losses (due to bad quality), ‘busts’ costs (losses if a drug courier is arrested and the legal costs involved if supplier is prepared to defend the arrest) and ‘rip offs’ (couriers steal the drugs or other suppliers rob them) (Adler, 1993: 41).

Violence in drug markets is quite common but there are associated costs of establishing a reputation for violence (syndicates accept such reputational costs since the value of deterrence is in the long run in fact a cost saving). Costs involved in so-called ‘turf fights’ refer largely to the purchase of firearms - not so much the actual firearm price but because the weapons purchased are mostly illegal and the risk therefore exists that such illegality can expose the drug sellers to the risk of arrest for possession of an illegal weapon (but not for the actual drugs) and as a result weapons-related convictions often have stiffer sentences imposed than for a drug offence (Caulkins et al, 2006: 3). Sellers may also use violence against more vulnerable targets (e.g., users who owe the dealer money) to enhance and establish their reputation in the eyes of other sellers (Caulkins et al, 2006: 3).

Smugglers therefore adjust their prices to fit the local market, cutting back on profit if need be (Adler, 1993: 46). Prices of drugs are also dependant on the particular style and reputation of the smuggler (Adler, 1993: 46). In 2007 it was estimated that the average amount spent by a drug user in a week on illicit drugs in South Africa to range from R20 to R2 500 (Peltzer, Ramlagan, Mohlala & Matseke, 2007: 17). The

money for buying illicit drugs comes mainly from work (74%), family (13%) and accounts with drug dealers (13%) (Peltzer et al, 2007: 17).

Data obtained from both the website Havocscope (2012) and a presentation to the Human Sciences Research Council in September 2007 (Peltzer et al, 2007: 17) indicate estimates of illicit drugs prices for both 2007 and 2012 in South Africa. Comparing the data provides an indication of whether the prices increased or decreased.

Table 3.1: Illicit drug prices by quantity

Drug type	Price: 2007	Price: 2012	Increase or decrease
Cannabis (1 cigarette)	R26	R10	Decrease
Cocaine (1 gram)	R188	R320	Increase
Methamphetamine/ATS stimulant (1 tablet)	R50	R270	Increase
Heroin (1 straw)	R96	R350	Increase

(Havocscope, 2012; Peltzer et al, 2007: 17).

3.5 CONCLUSION

Within Chapter 3 of the research study, an overview of the drug demand in South Africa was provided. Although the extent of the drug phenomenon and drug market is difficult to determine through available literature, it could be deduced that there is an active drug market in South Africa. Drugs are therefore supplied to this market. Every drug used, by either a recreational user or an addict, supports and feeds the transnational drug trafficking industry (South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), 2013a). Drug mules, whether professional or decoys are just a part of the drug supply chain. They might assist in the trade, but the future growth of the trade in illicit drugs will depend on the extent, size and demand for drugs of the South African drug market. Chapter 4 of the research will examine how drugs are smuggled to and from South Africa. In addition specific reference will also be made to international

drug policy approaches, South African legislation and initiatives in place to deter and combat drug trafficking.

CHAPTER 4

DRUG SUPPLY TO AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

An overview of the processes and procedures used by drug trafficking syndicates to smuggle drugs to and from South Africa will be discussed in this chapter. A Special Assignment documentary (SABC, 2013a) indicated that society blames drug trafficking and the syndicates involved for the increase in drug abuse. Zilney (2011: 180), Ryan (1997: 1) and Clutterbuck (1995: 4) support this view by stating that the drugs that are in demand/or available in a country will be supplied to a country. Therefore it can be stated that the drug market or drug demand will remain interchangeable with the drug supply, in other words they are inexorably linked to each other in a symbiotic relationship (Ryan, 1997: 1).

According to Respondent 5 organised crime syndicates are operating mainly from an international level, but South Africa does have its own organised crime syndicates that operate within the country for both local and exporting drug markets. It furthermore appears, that there is communication and co-operation between national and international crime syndicates in terms of the importing and exporting of drugs to and from South Africa (Respondent 5).

The regulation and criminalisation of drug trafficking, as an international crime, was only implemented within the last century (Fichtelberg, 2008: 205). Drugs were classified as agricultural commodities and so-called 'hard' drugs, such as heroin and cocaine, were used for medical purposes (Fichtelberg, 2008: 205).

Chapter 4 of the research will also conclude with a focus on international drug policy approaches and South African legislation and initiatives in place that can assist in deterring drug trafficking.

4.2 THE ROLE OF ORGANISED CRIME IN DRUG SUPPLY

Organised crime is complex and changes as criminals adapt to new opportunities presented by developments in society such as globalisation, advances in technology and new drug policies and initiatives (UNODC, 2010: 5). While there is an almost fixed hierarchy in drug markets there are well-defined roles in the supply chain to drug markets regarding responsibilities and associated risks and rewards for each position in the chain of supply. But these roles are also highly flexible with the possibility for roles being interchangeable, for example supplier with buyer (Pearson and Hobbs, 2001: vi). Drug smuggling, according to all respondents interviewed is an organised crime activity comprising of different groups and networks working together in the supply country, the transit country and the user or distribution country.

According to Respondent 3, criminal syndicates will use all and any routes available, legitimately or illegitimately. South Africa's large transportation network in terms of international airports and extensive and long land and sea borders make South Africa, in particular, vulnerable in the drug supply chain. Respondent 3 further elaborated by stating that if a route is discovered and targeted by law enforcement agencies, organised crime syndicates would change the smuggling route to adapt accordingly.

There are many organised crime syndicates throughout South Africa according to Respondent 5. The main syndicates identified, operate directly from Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, with specific entry points at Oliver Reginald Tambo International Airport (ORTIA) (Johannesburg), King Shaka International Airport (Durban), Beit Bridge (in the far north at Messina border with Zimbabwe) and the Durban and Cape Town harbours. Respondent 5 further indicated that within the greater Johannesburg area, specific locations in and around the airport such as Benoni, Boksburg and Edenvale seem to house the syndicates. Within Durban syndicated activity is centralised around Chatsworth and Hilary and within Cape Town syndicates operate mainly out of Mitchell's Plain and the Cape Flats.

According to the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2012: 9) maritime security as well as security at airports has been enhanced through information on the modus operandi of syndicates involved in smuggling contraband. Globally airports and sea ports are now equipped with sophisticated container scanners while postal distribution centres, handling international mail, regularly screen packages (EMCDDA, 2012: 9). In an effort to detect drug mules who smuggle drugs, full-body scans, X-rays of people and luggage, ion scanners that can detect minute particles of illicit substances and sniffer dogs are also standardly used at ports of entry all over the world (EMCDDA, 2012: 9). Respondent 8, however, indicated that this equipment is still largely dependent upon the human element in their operations and are therefore still vulnerable to elements such as corruption and untrained personnel. It should also be noted, according to Respondent 8, that South Africa is an international hub, therefore the quantities of goods and number of passengers coming in and out of the country is huge and this makes it physically not possible to scan all people and all goods (lack of capacity and capabilities). However, the implementation of security measures such as the above have forced international syndicates to resort to using different methods of drug smuggling such as postage package by freight rail and drug couriers/mules (Respondent 9).

4.2.1 Methodology of drug trafficking syndicates

The inner workings and operations of syndicates involved in drug trafficking are extremely complex in nature. Literature from different authors will be consolidated to derive at a basic understanding or methodology of the syndicates. According to the literature on organised crime, the debate about the organisational structure and modus operandi of drug trafficking syndicates is yet to be determined (Fichtelberg, 2008: 207). Garcia (2007: 39) states that scholars such as Cressey (1967a), Rogovin and Martens (1997), Fukumi (2003), Nicaso and Lamothe (2005), Mendoza-Nakamura (1999) all describe drug trafficking criminal networks as organised with a hierarchical corporate type structure, with different members of the organisation performing different duties and responsibility.

Albinni (1988), Firestone (1997), Desroches (2005) and Adler (1985), according to Garcia (2007: 39) argue that organised crime does not operate in a rigid organised and bureaucratic style, but instead, these criminal networks operate in loose networks of patron-client relationships. Alternatively, other studies have described the organisational style of organised crime as having elements of both bureaucratic and independent business entrepreneurs loosely connected to their suppliers and clientele (Garcia, 2007: 39).

Tullis (1995: 4), is of the opinion that drug traffickers identify a profitable marketable product, give incentives to growers (to ensure availability), pursue markets, market the drug, eliminate competition, stay ahead of technological and product innovation, engage in political processes, train and discipline employees, diversify economically, earn profits and ultimately repatriate the capital.

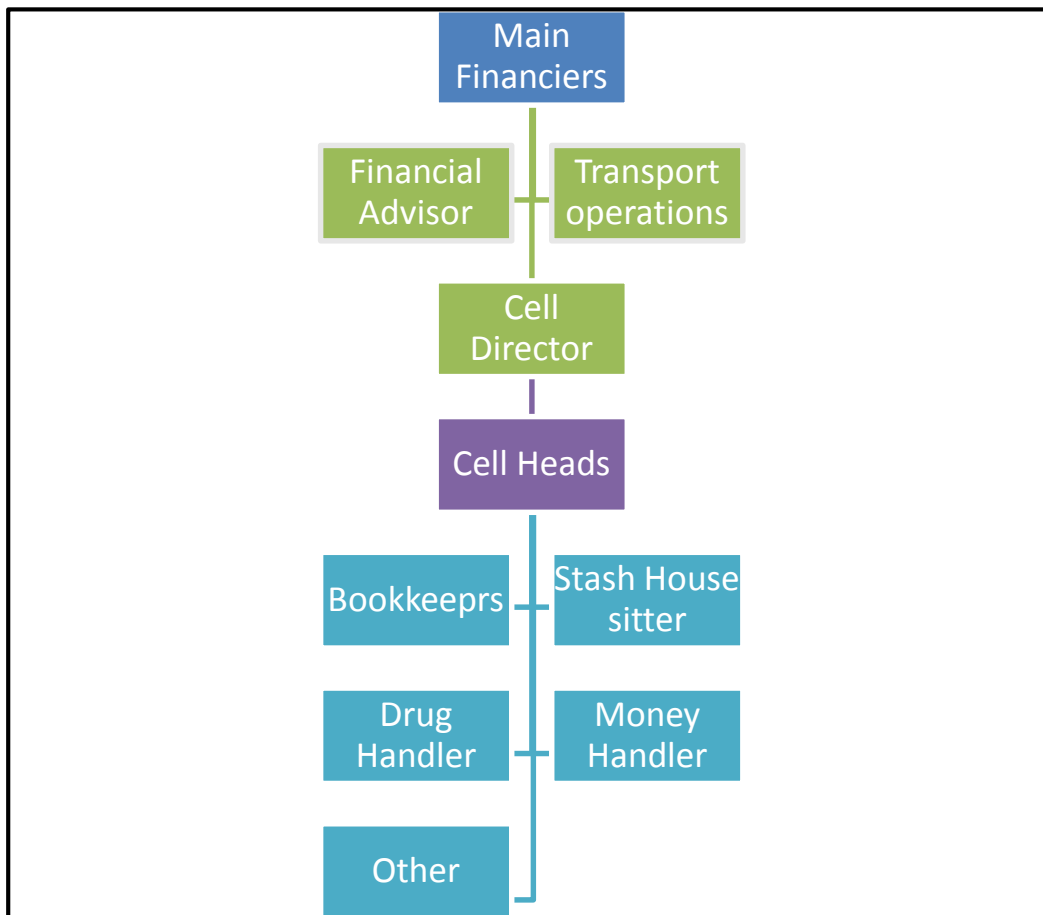
Drug trafficking organisations, according to Zilney (2011: 182), reflect a degree of hierarchy and stages of 'career advancement' similar to that of legitimate businesses. Each level in the hierarchy has a definitive job description and level of responsibility (Vannostrand & Tewksbury, 2006: 316). Higher ranked drug dealers are also expected to train new recruits and/organise, plan and execute their organisation in the same way that a legitimate business would (Vannostrand & Tewksbury, 2006: 316).

The Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) states that the leaders of a drug trafficking syndicate are the main financiers of their operations. These financiers, as illustrated in Figure 4.1, have direct links to both the financial advisors and the transportation operations divisions. According to Pearson and Hobbs (2001: vi), under the main financiers, there are:

“cell directors [who] are regionally responsible for sales, shipment and management of their region. Under the cell director, are the cell heads, [whom] have [a] responsibility to a certain sector of the overall region. The cell heads have [a] responsibility for the collection, distribution and

marketing of their sector. The cell heads [also oversee] the book keepers, stash house sitters, cocaine handlers, money handlers, motor pool and others” involved in the drug trafficking and smuggling operations.

Figure 4.1: DEA: Cali cartel organisational structure



(Pearson and Hobbs, 2001: vi).

Respondent 12 indicated that in recent years it has emerged that syndicates are moving away from operating in a traditional hierarchy. According to Respondent 12 there are individuals traditionally known as leaders of syndicates are now labelled informally as 'super fixers'. A 'super fixer' is described by Respondent 12 as a person who has a specific set of skills, obtained by either experience as a criminal or through the formal education sector (such as accountants, lawyers and brokers).

These 'super fixers' can work as individuals or in networks/groups. Respondent 12 gave two examples. Example one: an individual 'super fixer' who specialises in money laundering connects with another 'super fixer' who specialises in drug smuggling (physical smuggling and transportation) and has an established network already in place. This ensures that all money generated through the drug smuggling operations are laundered effectively. In another example Respondent 12 explains that a 'super fixer', with a strong drug-smuggling network, is used, for example, by a 'super fixer' with a strong rhino horn poaching syndicate/network. The rhino horn poacher 'super fixer' will contact the drug smuggling 'super fixer' when he needs the horns to be smuggled. The drug smuggling 'super fixer' will in turn use the rhino horn poacher 'super fixer' when he is in need of, for example, weapons. In other words different syndicates make use of the expertise and skills of other syndicates in basically a globalised network of criminal operations.

These 'super fixers' will collaborate on certain deals as and when they need each other, but are in no way obligated to work together on every criminal opportunity. This, according to Respondent 12, is creating an opportunity for criminal networks to become 'super powers', as these networks can diversify and expand their criminal activities in multiple crime activities. These networks are also linked globally giving criminals an opportunity to operate not only nationally but also internationally.

By collating all of the above information, the following summary of the hierarchical structure and roles relating specifically to drug trafficking syndicates has been formulated as follows:

1. Drug farmers/growers

The base producers (farmers) are mainly responsible for the plant based drug crops. When the crops are harvested they are processed and packaged (Adler, 1993: 29).

2. Brokers/buyers

Brokers and buyers are people who buy and sell the processed crops from the

farmers. They make arrangements for selling the merchandise to smugglers. According to Adler (1985: 30), the brokers/buyers also ensure that the farmers have adequate equipment and locations to continue their farming/producing activities. Furthermore, most of the brokers are highly organised and only sell to trustworthy sources (Adler, 1985: 35). Once the buyers arrive at a location where drugs are cultivated, they first contact their connections (brokers). At this stage they have various options, namely: they can either purchase the product or transport it themselves; purchase it and arrange for a mule to transport it; or alternatively arrange for an agent to return at a future date and purchase and transport the drugs (Adler, 1985: 36).

3. Testers

The drugs then go to 'testers', who test the quality and purity of the drug. Other professionals may also be used at this stage such as accountants, lawyers (who can arrange safe transportation of even know which officials to bribe in the criminal justice system, etc.) and estate agents (for the renting or purchase of safe houses or transit depot warehouses, etc.), who, according to Wilson and Stevens (2008: 6), facilitate the drug trafficking operation. Wilson and Stevens (2008: 6) further state that, "[a] money collector [is also] involved in the collection of debts accrued through the sale of drugs, [while a corrupt] law enforcement official [that can] facilitate [some aspects of] a drug trafficking operation" is also used in this phase of a drug smuggling operation.

4. Transporting drugs to markets

International smugglers use various means of transport to get the drugs to the consumption market. Some of the transportation modes include:

- i. Air: (this refers to syndicate own transport by air) it is very important for the smugglers to ensure that their actions cannot be foreseen (predicted) by law enforcement agencies. This entails switching aircrafts, varying landing and take-off sites, shift time of flying, skimming the ground to avoid radar detection,

using informers and counter security measures once the drugs are in trucks and transported to final destination (Adler, 1985: 37).

- ii. Water: Maritime smuggling offers the opportunity for larger quantity smuggling. Adler (1985: 42) explains that water smugglers deliver to several customers in a single run by arranging multiple drop-offs (i.e. spreading the risk by splitting total consignment to different 'agents' in the supply chain transportation and delivery for eventual sale.

5. Storage in safe houses

After the drugs have been smuggled across the borders, it is stored in storage or a 'stash house'. This is the storage facility that is used for express storage of large quantities. At the stash house is an employee who lives on the premises and receives and weighs the goods. It is also this person's responsibility to stay in touch with the smugglers (Adler, 1985: 37).

6. Cutting the raw drugs

At either wholesale distribution or retail distribution levels, the substance may be 'cut' (mixed with other substances) in order to increase the profit margin. Therefore, according to Zilney (2011: 180), the services of a specialist, someone with a particular skill (e.g. pill maker or chemist) is required. The specialist or mixer is involved in the cutting and cleaning of drugs between purchase and sale (Zilney, 2011: 180).

7. Distribution

According to Wilson and Stevens (2008: 6), there are four means of drug distribution:

- i. **International Wholesaler:**

Buys drugs outside of the country of consumption and arranges transportation and sells it within the country of consumption.

- ii. **National Wholesaler:**

Buys and sells drugs in bulk across the country of consumption. According to Pearson and Hobbs (2001: vii):

“The middle market multi-commodity drug broker is identified as occupying a strategic position that links upper (importation and wholesale) and lower (retail) levels of the market. If the vertical dimension of the market is relatively simple and shallow, involving few links in the chain, the middle market drug broker’s sphere of operation involves considerable horizontal complexity in terms of how wholesale suppliers are linked to multiple retail-level customers. Middle market multi-commodity drug brokerage networks are typically small: one, possibly two people, who control finances and have established contacts, with a small team of runners working [for] them, [collecting and delivering] quantities of drugs. Some runners are employed on a weekly wage basis; others are paid per transaction, while others are effectively junior partners in the enterprise” (Pearson & Hobbs, 2001: vii).

iii. **Local Wholesaler:**

Buys and sells within one geographical area (e.g. a city or small region).

iv. **Retailer:**

Sells drugs at the street level to users. While some drug distributors or dealers work within an organisational structure, there are many dealers who work alone, either to finance their own drug consumption habits or, more rarely, to earn fast money (EMCDDA, 2000: 11). According to the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2012: 11), in Europe the “street drug market is largely dominated by foreign dealers, especially those who have immigrated recently, are applicants for political asylum or do not have a residence permit.”

Because of the massive profits made from drug trafficking, drug traffickers need to launder their profits without being detected by local and international law

enforcement agencies (Fichtelberg, 2008: 223).

The next section describes the process of laundering proceeds acquired through criminal activities.

4.2.2 Money laundering

In order to effectively launder money the syndicate is dependent on the legitimate financial system in order to conceal and transfer money abroad (Fichtelberg, 2008: 223). According to the UNODC (2013) there are three steps in the money laundering process:

1. Placement

This involves 'placing' of criminally obtained money into criminal financial institutions. This requires the physical smuggling of bills. Because the amounts are usually small the cash carriers are nicknamed 'smurfs' and cash smuggling referred to as 'smurfing'. Once the bills are deposited (in a legal account at a legitimate bank or 'invested' in a legal business) by the 'smurfs', the money is laundered by the financial institution/business in a layering process. Respondent 11 indicated that some drug mules are used as 'smurfs' as well.

2. Layering

This involves a series of complex international transactions, where money is moved from one institution/business to another in order to avoid detection. According to Respondent 12 this process usually takes place on a professional level and involves professionally skilled people such as accountants and bank managers.

3. Integration

This is the stage where the money is returned to the original investor, cleaned of any trace of its illicit source, with the financial institution/legit business having already taken their 'cut' (as a commission). It is due to the profit that the financial institutions make from money laundering that bodies such as the Financial Action Task Force

(FATF)⁶ have been established (Respondent 11). The FATF, according to Respondent 11, is in place to ensure that all signatories remain responsible for adhering to regulations and thereby aim to minimise money laundering and terrorist funding.

The following sections will give an overview of how specific drugs in demand in South Africa are smuggled to and from South Africa.

4.3 DRUG SMUGGLING ROUTES

According to Nair (2012), in terms of drug trafficking routes, South Africa is the origin, transit point and/or destination of many drugs. While only cannabis is cultivated in South Africa in significant quantities, it is, according to Respondent 9, also grown in neighbouring countries for export into South Africa. Respondent 9 emphasised the link between South Africa's drug demand and the supply routes between South Africa and neighbouring countries used as transit countries such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Additionally, cocaine is frequently transported to South Africa from Brazil, as well as other parts of South America, and there are regular seizures of it at ORTIA (Nair, 2012). Although drugs are smuggled from producer countries to transit and eventually user countries, Respondent 3 is of the opinion that all countries surrounding producer countries are used as transit countries to the user countries. Furthermore, according to Respondent 3, there is also the principle of the 'spill over effect', whereby a small portion of the product remains in a transit country as payment to the group moving the contraband. Accordingly, a small user market can resultingly be created as such. According to Respondent 5, the main trafficking routes affecting South Africa include:

⁶ The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) is an inter-governmental body established in 1989 by the Ministers of its Member jurisdictions. The objectives of the FATF are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system. The FATF is therefore a 'policy-making body', which works to generate the necessary political will to bring about national legislative and regulatory reforms in these areas (FATF, 2014).

- South America (Brazil/Peru/Chile) – Dubai – South Africa (Durban)
- South America/Asia – Somalia – Kenya – Europe/North America/South Africa
- India – Dubai – South Africa
- Asia/India – Ethiopia /Kenya – South Africa
- Iran/Pakistan – Ethiopia/Kenya – South Africa
- Nigeria/Kenya – Tanzania – Malawi – Zimbabwe – South Africa
- Nigeria – Chad/Niger/Mali – Kenya

Other less used route countries include:

- Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia in Africa and Portugal in Europe

4.3.1 Cannabis smuggling

Most of the Cannabis cultivation in South Africa takes place in small, remote plots in the following provinces (by order of importance): Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo (formerly Northern Province) and Mpumalanga (UNODC, 2000: 1). Cannabis is usually cultivated in mountainous or otherwise inaccessible areas and a large number of rural families supplement their cash income with cannabis production (UNODC, 2000: 1). A considerable amount of cannabis is also imported into South Africa from Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi (smaller quantities than local production) (UNODC, 2000: 1).

Respondent 3 indicated that there are organised crime syndicates that buy up bags of cannabis in the cultivation areas and then transport them to Gauteng (consumers in this region being firstly miners and then youth in townships and suburbs) and to the Cape Flats for distribution by the local criminal gangs to consumers all over Cape Town. Compressed cannabis in one kilogram blocks from Swaziland is exported primarily to the lucrative markets in the United Kingdom, Belgium and the Netherlands (Respondent 3).

4.3.2 Heroin smuggling

The International Narcotics Control Board's (INCB, 2011b) annual report of 2011 indicated that South Africa is an important country of destination for heroin shipments. In addition, it is also an important area for heroin consignments destined for countries in Southern Africa (notably Mauritius), countries in Europe and Australia. All respondents interviewed indicated that heroin produced in either Afghanistan/Pakistan (Golden Crescent) and in Laos/Myanmar/Thailand (Golden Triangle) are smuggled by syndicates out of surrounding countries using specifically the routes of East Africa (Dubai/Tanzania/Mozambique and South Africa).

According to the INCB report, West African and Pakistani suppliers have introduced heroin into South Africa due to the high profit margins and the addictive nature of the drug (developing a captive market in the process) (INCB 2011b: 44). West African syndicates dominate the smuggling of heroin, although there is a significant level of Pakistani involvement in East Africa. The international airport in Johannesburg, ORTIA, is an important hub for illicit consignments destined for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (INCB, 2011b: 44).

Large consignments of heroin are mainly smuggled from Pakistan, India and Thailand via African states for distribution to markets in Europe and North America (INCB, 2011b: 44). Heroin is also smuggled to Nigeria, the Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Ghana and South Africa for onward distribution to the USA, Europe and Canada. Other routes identified, are from Pakistan and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to Kenya or Tanzania to Mozambique and to South Africa. Heroin consignments, according to the INCB (2011b: 48), are primarily smuggled by courier and in air cargo. Figure 4.2 illustrates the routes used to smuggle heroin (INCB, 2011b: 48).

Figure 4.2: Drug trafficking routes: Heroin



(INCB, 2011b: 48).

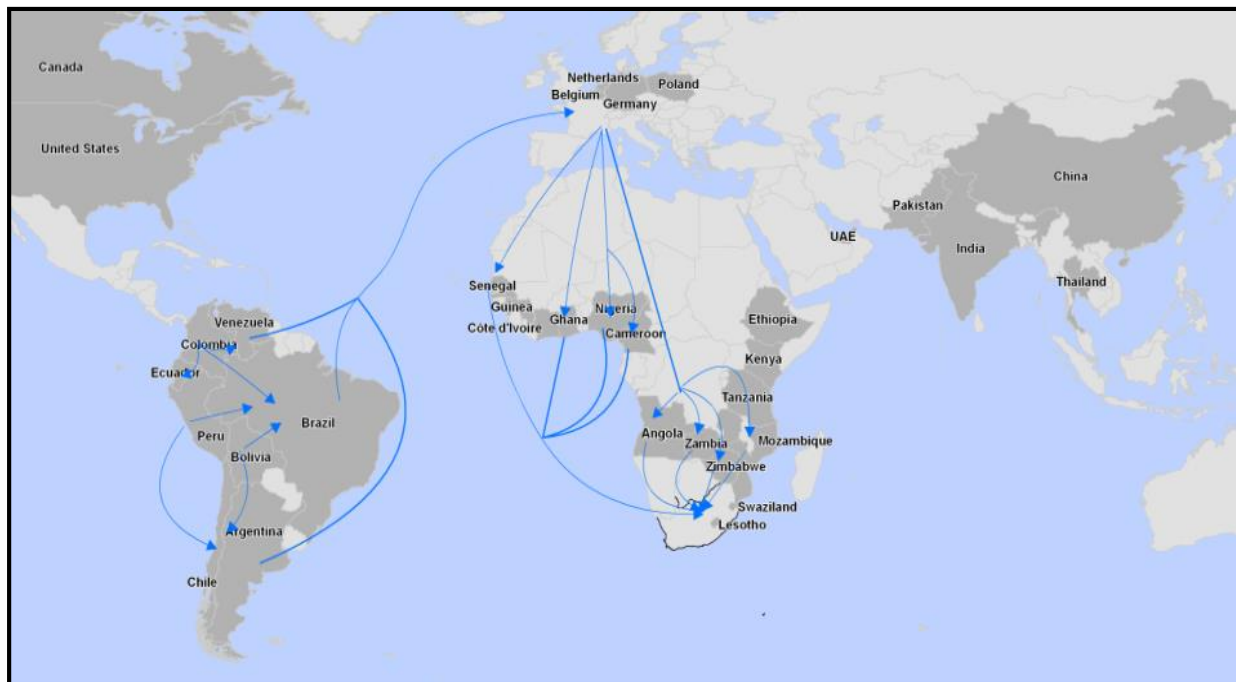
4.3.3 Cocaine smuggling

Cocaine is mainly cultivated in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia and smuggled to South Africa via Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador and Chile as illustrated in Figure 4.3. It either enters South Africa directly or from Europe via Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Cameroon in West Africa, or through Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe (INCB, 2011b: 48). The dominant mode of smuggling cocaine into South Africa is by drug mule activities (INCB (2011b: 48). Some of the cocaine is then smuggled on to Mauritius and Australia. ORTIA remains the primary port of entry, with couriers swallowing 'bullets'⁷ filled with cocaine or concealing the drug in their luggage, in picture frames, parcels, baby milk formula and high-heeled shoes (INCB, 2011b: 48).

⁷ When cocaine is put into condoms, mainly for swallowing purposes, it is referred to as 'bullets'. By swallowing 'bullets', most drug mules can transport the drugs without raising too much suspicion. This practice is, however, very dangerous as some of these condoms have burst in the stomachs of couriers, which led to their subsequent death (Drugaware, 2014).

Since cocaine is produced in the Andes region of South America, Respondent 3 indicated that for drug production purposes different groups operate in countries such as Peru, Columbia and Bolivia. Transporters, also operate from the surrounding countries such as Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Chile (Respondent 3).

Figure 4.3: Drug trafficking routes: Cocaine



(INCB, 2011b: 48).

4.3.4 Methaqualone (Mandrax), Methcathinone and Methamphetamine smuggling

In South Africa, significant quantities of synthetic drugs, notably methaqualone (Mandrax), methcathinone and methamphetamine, continue to be illicitly manufactured and are primarily abused by the local population (INCB, 2011b: 49). The International Narcotics Control Strategy Report of 2010, states that South Africa is the largest consumer of mandrax in the world, consuming 77 percent of global uptake (INCB, 2010a: 555).

According to the INCB, most Mandrax, as reflected in Figure 4.4, is manufactured in the People's Republic of China (PRC), which is the biggest producer followed by

India and Pakistan and smuggled into South Africa via the UAE, Zambia and Mozambique (INCB, 2011b: 49).

According to Respondent 3 the illicit clandestine production of Crystal Methamphetamine in West Africa, especially Nigeria, Togo and Ghana, are also brought to Johannesburg and Cape Town and from there smuggled on to destinations in the Far East in particular South Korea and Japan.

Fichtelberg (2008: 207) states that the use of drugs such as methamphetamine (MDMA) has changed the dynamics of the international drug trade. The main reason for this is that these drugs are synthetic and therefore do not require an organic base or depend on agricultural factors (Fichtelberg, 2008: 205). They can also be manufactured cheaply in the consuming country with pharmaceutical products that can be acquired locally (Fichtelberg, 2008: 207). As indicated by The Central Drug Authority (CDA), it is for this reason that synthetic drugs have grown in demand in South Africa (CDA, 2004: i).

The CDA pointed out in a 2004 report to Parliament that 'new drugs' have surfaced in communities (CDA, 2004: i). These drugs have been labelled as 'home-grown' drugs and given names such as *Nyaope*, *Whoonga* and *Sugars* (CDA, 2004: i).

Figure 4.4: Drug trafficking routes: Mandrax



(INCB, 2011b: 49).

In order to ensure effective drug smuggling through the routes identified above, the drug trafficking syndicates in South Africa make use of a network of corrupted South African officials that protect international drug smugglers and foreigners operating in South Africa (Minnaar, 1999: 12). The next section will examine the relationship between drug supply and smuggling, technology and corruption.

4.4 DRUG SUPPLY, TECHNOLOGY AND CORRUPTION

Naim (2006: 76) states that the advances in technology have brought about new forms of drug trading. Drug sales are conducted via cell phones that are discarded after one use (Naim, 2006: 78). Instant messaging, online chat rooms and webmail accounts ease the communication between drug sales and recruitment (Naim, 2006: 78). The drug traffickers also make use of hackers and encryption software to infiltrate sophisticated government sites to protect their form of communication

(Naim, 2006: 78).

According to Tullis (1995: 16), technology creates a safe way for traffickers to launder vast quantities of money. The internet and internet banking facilities also enable drug traffickers to acquire arms, hire paramilitary personnel, invest in legitimate businesses worldwide, pay bribes and collect political capital (Tullis, 1995: 16). According to Respondent 7, it is also important to consider the role of virtual currencies in organised crime. With virtual currencies it makes it easier for individuals and small groups to operate syndicated crimes, thus eliminating the old traditional hierarchal way of committing crimes.

Respondent 1 and 2 also emphasised the use of social networks such as *facebook* in identifying potential drug mules. The syndicates or specifically the recruiters will recruit people who are emotionally vulnerable either through social sites such as chat rooms, dating sites or *facebook* groups of support (Respondent 1). Respondent 2 was further of the opinion that the syndicates use recruiters in banking houses who identify people who are in debt and then recruit them.

Intimidation by organised crime syndicates and corruption has a debilitating effect on all efforts by law enforcement and governments in curbing the illicit drug trade and can be described as 'narco-corruption' (INCB, 2010b: 1). According to the International Narcotics Control Board the:

“[p]olice face huge pressure from [organised] crime: when they are not fending off attacks or immediate threats of violence and retaliation, they are thwarting attempts to corrupt officials, including officials from their own ranks. ...Without adequate support and protection, many law enforcement and judicial officials find themselves confronted with a difficult choice: to become victims of violence and possibly even lose their lives; or to sacrifice their integrity and become the accomplices of ruthless criminals (INCB, 2010b: 1).

The criminalisation of drugs resulted in the existence and implementation of various

drug policies and combatting strategies. Drug policies overall are widely criticised by scholars such as Tullis (1995: 4), who stated that the only way to effectively deal with the drug problem is to address all three aspects of the drug phenomenon, namely: demand, supply and harm. The next section of this chapter will specifically focus on international drug policy approaches used in criminalising drug trafficking.

4.5 INTERNATIONAL DRUG POLICY APPROACHES

Although there is limited evidence to substantiate debates and/or critiques on drug approaches, this section will examine some critiques relevant to each approach.

4.5.1 Drug supply approaches

Policies focusing on reducing the drug supply to a country are primarily focused on traditional law enforcement approaches that include attempts to eradicate illicit drug cultivation (at source by uprooting and/or burning the drug producing crop or spraying plants with poison/herbicide to kill them off) and production (raiding and destroying processing plants/warehouses and drug laboratories) all these actions abetted by making arrests and prosecuting those detained (Mannava, Zegenhagen & Crofts, 2010: 7).

Supply reduction policies could also include 'alternative development' programs that focus on providing other economic opportunities (such as alternate cash crops) to communities that are economically dependent on drug production and supply (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7).

Drug supply approaches are largely critiqued, according to analysts, because of the lack in focus on socio-economic factors influencing drug demand and drug harm (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7). These approaches are guided by narrowly defined goals and are not based on the political, social or cultural realities of a particular development context. This results in further multiple harms and thereby weakens socio-economic development in communities (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7).

One key effect of supply reduction interventions is the increase and maintenance of

high drug prices (UNODC, 2012: 48). This reduces first of all, the initiation of drug use. Secondly, many empirical studies show that problem drug users respond to increases in purity-adjusted prices by reducing consumption levels. In addition, supply shocks generated by means of supply control interventions have been shown to produce substantial and sometimes long-term reductions in drug availability, purity, use and harm in consumer countries (UNODC, 2012: 49).

Contradictory evidence also indicates that:

“when a high demand for drugs collides with laws that prohibit them, the result is a dramatic rise in drug prices, with low value commodities becoming, quite literally, worth more than their weight in gold” (Transform Drug Policy Foundation (TDPF): 2).

These inflated drug prices result in low income dependent drug users often resorting to property crime, petty theft (stealing cellphones by mugging pedestrians or prostitution to support their habits (TDPF: 2).

However, a drug policy:

“intervention that reduces [drug] use (by increasing prices) but which [could] increase profits earned by successful dealers, may have the socially counter-productive effect of increasing incentives for drug-related violence and entry into the drug trade” (Levitt & Venkatesh, 2000: 10).

Some of that violence comes from the users (e.g., users robbing sellers of their drugs) but much of it is ‘systemic’ seller-on-seller violence usually resulting from disputes over areas of control (so-called ‘turf wars’) (Caulkins et al, 2006: 2).

Some supply reduction initiatives can also contribute to a diversification of smuggling routes, often to countries where law enforcement is weak. It is therefore imperative that counteractions be implemented (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7).

4.5.2 Drug demand approaches

Drug demand policies comprise of a combination of primary prevention efforts through drug awareness campaigns, treatment (secondary prevention) and law enforcement efforts (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7). This approach is also endorsed by institutions such as the UNODC (UNODC, 2012: iv).

According to Mannava *et al*, (2010: 7), while studies on the effectiveness of the treatment for drug users have found that it helps to reduce crime as well as risky behaviour (such as sharing needles), on the other hand stringent law enforcement practices, directed against drug users have only served to increase risky behaviour, shift patterns in drug use and deter them resorting to using health services (to break the habit). Thus, social and economic costs to society are therefore sustained or even intensified and are likely to negatively impact on social economic development (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7).

According to Clutterbuck (1995: 124), during the 1960s and 1970s Europe and America started to focus their drug policy efforts into reducing the demand for drugs by trying to suppress domestic drug trafficking and addiction. Despite their efforts, consumption and addiction continued to grow as drug abuse became more 'fashionable' (Clutterbuck, 1995: 124).

4.5.3 Drug harm approaches

Harm reduction policies and programmes are aimed at reducing harm and/or the impact associated with drug use (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7). The main critique of this approach, is that there is a need for harm reduction approaches to be further developed and integrated and be more broadly defined so that they can have more impact across the whole range of drug issues (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7). The benefits include the reduction in risky drug use behaviour; decreased transmission of HIV; safer disposal of injecting equipment and fewer public nuisance incidents (by drug users). These findings indicate that social and health costs to societies may thus be reduced, thereby helping to enhance socio-economic development (Mannava *et al*, 2010: 7).

The United States of America (USA) is known as the leading country in the fight

against drug-related crimes and has labelled this fight as the 'war on drugs'. Although most of their efforts have focused on cutting or neutralising the drug supply to the country, other methods used, focus on reducing the demand of drugs (Fichtelberg, 2008: 204).

These initiatives largely focus on criminalising all drug use and punishing all those who engage in such activities (Fichtelberg, 2008: 204). According to Fichtelberg (2008: 204), it may be argued that by reducing the drug supply, drug prices will increase and ultimately lead to an increase in drug trafficking, since the profit margin would also increase making it an attractive criminal enterprise. Fichtelberg (2008: 204) further contends that, on the contrary, however, by reducing the drug demand and focusing on educating the public on the dangers of drug use, a reduction in the harm associated with drug use can be noted. The next section of the research will give an overview of how South Africa specifically views drug trafficking crimes.

4.6 DRUG-RELATED CRIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Venter (1998: 185) maintains that the increase in drug trafficking to South Africa can be attributed to stricter laws aimed at curbing smuggling and greatly improved control at airports and harbours in Europe and America. Furthermore, South Africa's favourable geographical position on major trafficking routes between the Far and Middle East, the Americas (North and South) and Europe and South Africa's accessibility via land, sea and air routes contribute to the international exploitation of South Africa by drug trafficking syndicates (Venter, 1998: 185).

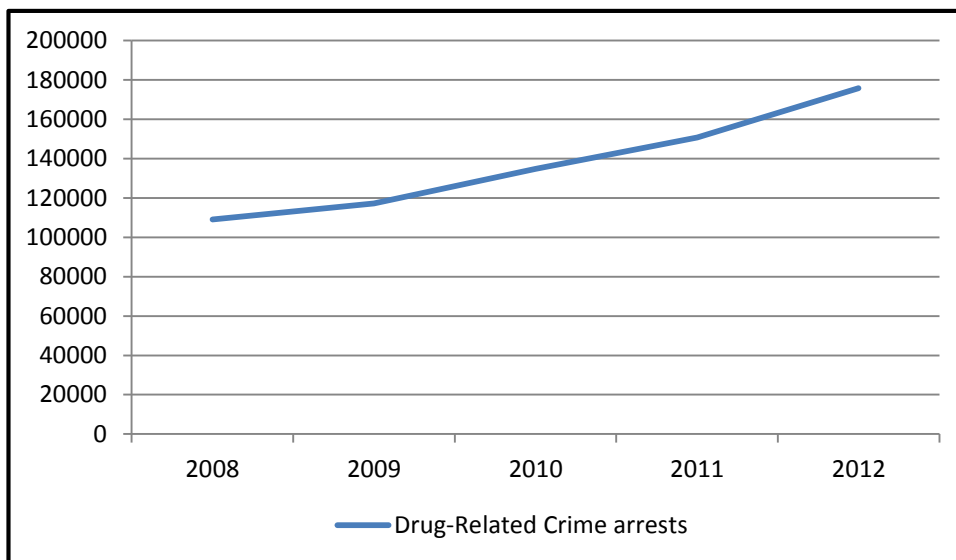
In 1997, the SAPS conducted a survey that demonstrated the existence of 192 organised crime groups operating in South Africa. Ninety-two of which were primarily focused on the international smuggling of drugs. This survey formed the basis of the SAPS Organised Crime Threat Analysis (OCTA) system (UNODC, 2000: 11). Early in 2002 the SAPS OCTA system reflected 238 listed organised crime threats. Criminal violence associated with drug trafficking is particularly visible in Cape Town and its environs, especially in such areas as the Cape flats and Mitchell's Plan. In

the latter areas drug trafficking groups have fought ongoing and long-lasting, often violent, battles, over control and shares of the local drug market (UNODC, 2000: 11).

On 2 June 2011, a previous Minister of State Security, Siyabonga Cwele, indicated in his budget vote speech presented to Parliament that: “approximately 10% of South Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP), estimated at R178 million a year, is attributed to the illicit economy and/organised crime”. This was a clear indication that organised crime was and is still growing rapidly in South Africa (State Security Agency, 2011:5).

In terms of specific drug-related crimes, there is no clear indication on what constitutes drug-related crimes in the South African context. The crime statistics for the period 2008-2012, as illustrated in Figure 4.5 below, indicate an increase in drug-related crime (CrimestatsSA,⁸ 2012).

Figure 4.5: Drug-related crime arrests: 2008-2012

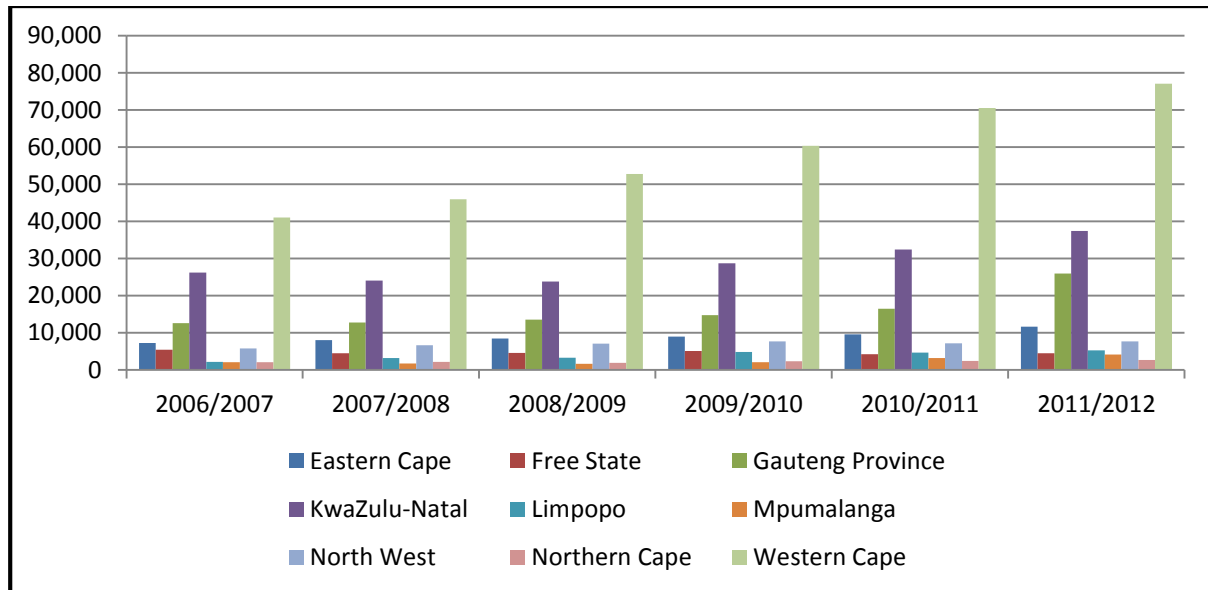


(CrimestatsSA, 2012).

⁸ CrimestatsSA is an online entity that enables users to use their analytical tools as a guideline for reported crimes in South Africa. The statistics are drawn from data as released by the SAPS (CrimestatsSA, 2012).

Figure 4.6 shows that the Western Cape, Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng remain the most prominent provinces reporting drug-related crime for the period 2006-2012 (SAPS, 2012).

Figure 4.6: SAPS crime statistics: 2006-2012



(SAPS, 2012).

Ethnographic and theory analysis associate drug use and crime with sub-cultural roles, including the way general society defines deviance (Kelley, 2006: 17). Drug-related crime is defined by Kilmer and Hoorens (2008: 55) as “any illicit activity that is (at least partially) caused by the production, delivery, acquisition or consumption of drugs”.

Crime associated with drugs can, according to Walker (2011: 308), be divided into three categories:

1. *Drug-defined crimes*

Such crimes are defined by the possession and sale of illegal substances (Walker,

2011: 308). Drug trafficking, since it is related to the illicit economy, has a consequential relationship with crime (Tullis, 1995: 7). The systematic dimensions related to drug syndicates, associations, gangs and smugglers protecting their product from law enforcement as well as competitors (Tullis, 1995: 8). Tullis (1995: 8) adds a dimension that refers to law enforcement officials, border patrol officials, judges and politicians who seek personal gain and therefore engage the traffickers through corruption.

2. Drug-related crime

These crimes are associated with violent behaviour caused by the pharmacological effects of a drug or robberies committed to obtain money to buy drugs (Walker, 2011: 308). According to Tullis (1995: 7), psycho-pharmaceutical effects caused by drugs induce most drug-related criminal behaviour.

3. Crimes associated with drug use

This refers to an offender whom was using drugs around the time of the offence (Walker, 2011: 308). The economic-compulsive dimension of drug abuse and crime is related to a criminal act conducted to obtain money for drug consumption (Tullis, 1995: 8).

4.7 SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG REDUCTION INITIATIVES

The *National Plan to Prevent and Combat Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism* was one of the first initiatives launched in South Africa to deal with the problems of drugs. This initiative was tabled in 1980. This initiative, however, was critiqued for its narrow focus and did not include drugs nor a feasible implementation plan (Leggett, Louw & Parry, 2002: np).

In 1988 the *National Plan to Prevent and Combat Alcohol Abuse and Drug Abuse in South Africa*, was formulated by the National Advisory Board on Rehabilitation Matters (NABOR), in collaboration with experts in the private and public sectors. This was considered an improved version of the 1980 Plan and in November 1992 the

Minister of National Health and Population Development launched the new plan at a Drug Colloquium (Leggett et al, 2002: np). While this colloquium included role players from the departments of health, welfare and justice and the business community, it did not involve community-based groupings or major political parties, such as the African National Congress (ANC) and few resources were allocated to support the implementation of this strategy (Leggett et al, 2002: np).

In 1992 the Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Act was tabled by the Drug Advisory Board (DAB), which was established in November 1993 to replace NABOR. It was also intended to advise the Minister of Welfare on: “matters pertaining to alcohol and drug abuse and specifically to plan, co-ordinate and promote measures relating to the prevention and combating of drug abuse and the treatment of drug dependent persons” (DAB, 1999: 8).

The Drug Advisory Board developed and launched the 'SA Guide to Drugs and Drug Abuse' and initiated the formulation of the National Drug Master Plan (DAB, 1999: 8). Even though the DAB achieved a fair amount, given its meagre resources and advisory status, the failure to successfully implement a coherent strategy at National and other levels, resulted in fragmentation of effort and a failure to secure sufficient resources to combat substance abuse (Leggett et al, 2002: np).

In 1997 a study by the Department of Home Affairs emphasised the need for a specialised drug crime fighting unit, which resulted in the establishment of the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB) (Kempen, 1996). After the establishment of the SANAB, it became clear that the unit was:

“not only tasked to curb the drug trade, but also [had to] handle offences relating to liquor, prostitution, gambling, pornography, the control of medicine, publication and copyright, homeopaths, medical practitioners and dentists, customs and films” (Nel, 2004: 120).

In late 1999, a new investigation unit making use of teams of multi-disciplinary investigators, prosecutors and intelligence analysts, reporting directly to the National Public Prosecutor and initially known as the Directorate of Special Operations (or more commonly as the 'Scorpions') was established. In 2008 this unit was transferred to the SAPS and is now known as the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations (DPCI) (or more commonly as the 'Hawks'). The primary intent of the Directorate, was to combine elements of criminal justice and prosecution and to tackle high profile crimes and corruption, including drug crimes (Nel, 2004: 120; Minnaar, 2008: 23). With the establishment of this unit, more SANAB investigation units were closed down by SAPS management and staff integrated into the SAPS organised crime component. SANAB was officially closed down in 2003 (Nel, 2004: 120).

On 29 September 2009, Dianne Kohler-Barnard, the Democratic Alliance's Shadow Minister of Police, released a press statement stating that: "drug[-]related crime [has] increased by 87% since the specialised [SANAB drug] unit was shut down" (Kohler-Barnard, 2009).

Currently, the control of licit drugs in South Africa is organised and managed through a number of pieces of legislation; two of which are of special note, namely:

1. *The Medicines and Related Substance Control Act (101/1965)*

Processes set out in the major United Nations Conventions are stipulated within this Act and conceptualises a basis for drug control policies in South Africa. Respondent 8 indicated that although this Act is useful, chemical prosecution remains a major concern in South Africa.

2. *The South African Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act (140/1992)*

This Act makes it an offence to: "supply substances to anyone while knowing or suspecting they will be used for the manufacture of illegal drugs". The Act further "prohibits any person from converting property that he or she knows or suspects to

be gained from the proceeds of drug trafficking”, and it makes “dealing in dangerous and undesirable drugs an offence punishable by up to 25 years imprisonment”. The maximum sentence for the possession of drugs is 15 years. There are no prescribed minimum sentences for drug offences in this Act.

Other relevant laws governing drug trafficking include:

- The Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Act, 1992 (Act 20 of 1992).
- The Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977).
- The Extradition Act, 1962 (Act 67 of 1962).
- The Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977) with special reference to the Witness Protection Programme established in terms of section 185A of 1992.
- The Extradition Amendment Act, 1996 (Act 77 of 1996).
- The International Co-operation in Criminal Matters Act, 1996 (Act 75 of 1996).
- The Proceeds of Crime Act, 1996 (Act 76 of 1996).
- Institute for Drug-Free Sport Act, 1997 (Act 14 of 1997).
- Road Transportation Act, 1977 (Act 74 of 1977).
- Prevention of Organised Crime (Act 121 of 1998).

Over and above the South African legislation the social group *Lockedup* (2012) have been advocating for a prison transfer treaty to be implemented in South Africa. The prison transfer treaty will allow South African drug mules arrested, convicted and imprisoned outside of South Africa to serve their prison sentences for which they were convicted in South Africa (Lockedup, 2012).

Ultimately the South African National Drug Master Plan and the proposed Bill on The Prevention of and Treatment for Substance Abuse (Act 70 of 2008) (yet to be promulgated and signed into law) constitute the country's total set of responses to the substance abuse problem. The successful implementation thereof is, however, limited by a number of challenges. These include the lack of resources, accurate and

current statistics on the supply and demand of alcohol and illicit drugs in South Africa and outdated legislative frameworks (CDA, 2002: 1).

4.8 CONCLUSION

South Africa's ports of entry include 4 862 kilometres of borderline – which is shared with six countries – ten international airports and eight sea-ports. It is because of the accessibility to South Africa that syndicates are using South Africa as a transshipment point of drugs to international drug markets in Europe and America (INCB, 2012).

Chapter 4 of the research attempted to give an overview of how organised criminal syndicates are smuggling drugs across borders by looking at the role of the syndicates, the methodology of the syndicates and the possible routes used that are currently affecting South Africa. Studies into the American 'war on drugs' claim that the only way to fight drug abuse, demand and supply, would be to look into a strategy that examines the organisational structure of the drug industry (Sample, 1998: 10). Although initiatives, policies and legislation exist within South Africa, the international drug trafficking syndicates seem to be unaffected by the governments' efforts. It is therefore important to focus on the vulnerabilities of not only the syndicates but also the inadequacies and shortcomings of the policies that have been implemented. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, Chapter 5 will build on the information by specifically focusing on the role of drug mules in the crossborder smuggling of illicit drugs.

CHAPTER 5

DRUG MULES: A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Drug trafficking poses a threat to any country and assuming that such a threat exists, and insecurity is a problem because of a country's vulnerability to those threats, action should be taken to reduce the vulnerability by understanding and addressing the causes of the threats (Koetjie, 1999: np). Chapters three and four established the nature and extent of drug trafficking with specific reference to the relationship between drug demand and drug supply to and from South Africa. Chapter 5 will specifically focus on the conceptual overview, methodology and reasons as to why drug mules are so open to being recruited for committing crossborder crimes. It will also attempt to identify the role that drug mules specifically play in drug trafficking syndicates.

Koetjie (1999: np) explains the way that a threat can be addressed by using the following example: if the threat is military orientated, it can be met by strengthening a state's own military forces; economic threats on the other hand can be countered by increasing self-reliance, diversifying sources of supply or conditioning the population to accept a lower standard of living. When one considers the use of South African citizens as drug mules in crossborder drug smuggling a threat, it is important to consider what the elements are that conceptualise the threat.

5.2 DRUG MULES: A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

According to Van de Bunt, Kunst and Siegal (2003: 1) there are mainly two identifiable types of drug mules. The first type refers to the self-employed drug mule or 'petty smuggler'. The self-employed mule smuggles drugs as a form of self-enrichment and no syndicate is involved in the above. 'Petty smugglers' use much less sophisticated ways of smuggling. For example smuggling drugs in the boot of a car or in a backpack (Van de Bunt et al, 2003: 1).

The second type, according to Van de Bunt et al (2003: 1), refers to mules that are specifically recruited by syndicates and paid a wage or salary to transport drugs. From interviews held, it became clear that the second type of mule as defined by Van de Bunt et al (2003: 1) can be further divided into a professional drug mule and a decoy drug mule.

According to Respondent 1, professional drug mules smuggle drugs for a living, doing it multiple times and are rarely caught. Decoy drug mules are the mules that are recruited by the syndicate for the specific purpose of getting caught and distracting the authorities from the professional mules. The drug decoys usually carry small quantities of the drugs and usually only make one trip, i.e. get caught after being deliberately sent on a trip (Respondent 1).

In a documentary done by Special Assignment, 'dead cows for piranhas', it was highlighted how drug decoys are used by drug trafficking syndicates to avoid law enforcement detection (SABC, 2013a). According to Pillay and Medley (2012: np), these drug decoys are used in an effort to divert attention away from larger consignments of drugs being smuggled. Drug trafficking syndicates would, for example, alert the police through a tip off, of the arrival of the 'decoy mule'. This ensures that larger quantities of quality drugs can be imported without detection by a professional drug mule, as most of the attention will be on the 'decoy mule' (Pillay & Medley, 2012: np).

Charles Goredema, a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies, indicated that decoy mules are used in South Africa, although no accurate statistical evidence of the exact extent and use of them is known at this stage (Pillay & Medley, 2012: np). However, Respondent 1 indicated that in her opinion 98 percent of South African drug mules, who are caught abroad, are decoys. In the documentary by Special Assignment (SABC, 2013a), many of the South Africans arrested abroad who were interviewed for the documentary, claimed that they had been forced to carry

the drugs and did not know that they were being used as decoys.

However, Respondent 3 is of the opinion that at the rate (numbers) at which drug couriers gain access to this country, it is no longer necessary for the syndicates to use decoys. In other words the risk to success ratio has considerably been reduced making the use of decoys expensive and therefore not so necessary anymore. Respondent 3 is of the same opinion that decoys are not profitable enough, in terms of risk versus reward for the syndicates, as they smuggle a smaller quantity of drugs and still cost the syndicate money in terms of transportation costs. Respondent 11 indicated that due to corruption increasing at ports of entry across South Africa, it is more profitable for syndicates to smuggle drugs in large quantities through corrupt networks than using drug mules.

The next section of the dissertation provides an overview of the methodology of drug mules, including their behavioural characteristics and reasoning. The reasoning as to why drug mules are recruitable or willing to engage in criminal behaviour will be explained with the help of Classical Criminology Theory.

5.3 METHODOLOGY OF A DRUG MULE

In an effort by law enforcement agencies to identify and prevent drug mules from smuggling drugs, the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), compiled a drug mule profile. The DEA agents observed all air travelling passengers for a period, which allowed them to compile a basic generic behavioural profile of a drug mule (Lopez, 1998: np). These behaviour characteristics include the use of small currency values; extensive travelling between primary drug importation countries; no or limited luggage when travelling and travelling under false aliases or identities (Lopez, 1998: np). The profile in itself was, however, faulty, as most of the attention was drawn to behaviour as depicted in the specific profile, limiting the scope of the research (Lopez, 1998: np).

Respondent 3 and 4 indicated that some of the methods used to identify potential drug mules coming into South Africa, include spotting potential high risk flights.

These flight lists are then further filtered by identifying all individuals who paid cash for their tickets and then filtering from those individuals by identifying all people with vulnerable financial lifestyle audits. This, however, according to Respondent 3, takes a long time, and with numerous flights between South Africa and high risk countries, it is impossible to identify all potential mules by means only of flight lists.

Respondent 3 further indicated that there is a basic profile of drug mules that was included in study material for narcotics' investigators in South Africa. This profile has nine common denominators to be examined. These include the age, sex, race, common day, time, method of payment for flight ticket, country of arrival, financial status and number of possessions carried by the individual. As the modus operandi is discovered by law enforcement, the denominators also change and evolve (Respondent 3). For instance in November 2009, West African groups in Johannesburg started recruiting homeless older white males, cleaned them up, dressed them in nice suits sent them posing as businessmen to Japan with small quantities of Methamphetamine (Respondent 3). Respondent 4 indicated that a new trend noted in especially Brazil, was that drug mules are now operating as couples. Therefore, the constant evolution of a drug mule profile should be considered.

The above clearly indicates that the demographical differentiation between drug mules is limited. Despite behavioural characteristics associated with drug mules as stated above, limited research has been done on the reasons as to why people are so vulnerable as to become drug mules. The researcher will endeavour to identify what possible factors could influence a person's reasoning in becoming a drug mule through the use of specific criminology theories. These theories are the classical, rational, differential association and anomie theories.

5.3.1 Classical criminological theories

According to Vold, Bernard and Snipes, (2002: 8-9) classical criminology theories state that crime will only occur if the benefits gained from the crime outweigh the costs. Crime is generally committed out of free will, with the main purpose being the

fulfilling of perpetrator's self-interest or enrichment. Another factor contributing to an individual committing a crime is the absence of effective deterrence/punishment (Vold et al, 2002: 8-9).

Lockedup (2012) indicates on their website that drug mules can earn up to an estimated R70 000 per successfully smuggled parcel. Accordingly, such monetary incentives make unemployed people generally the most vulnerable in terms of being recruited by the criminal drug smuggling syndicates. Hübschle (2008: np), found that, although drug mules gain financially by smuggling drugs, this purported amount paid to drug mules is 'small' in comparison to the huge profits the drug trafficking syndicates make. Caulkins et al (2009: 66) conducted in-depth research on the rate and factors that influence the payment of drug mules. Their study indicated that mules are mainly paid in relation to the type and weight of drugs being trafficked irrespective of the method used for smuggling (Caulkins et al, 2009: 67).

Respondent 4 emphasised that it should be kept in mind that when systems are vulnerable it will be profitable for syndicates to abuse those systems. One such example, according to Respondent 4, relates to the deployment of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to the borderline in April 2010. The deployment of the SANDF initially resulted in the syndicates adapting their smuggling routes since the smuggling of large containers or larger quantities of drugs became too risky. The syndicates were therefore forced to resort to the smuggling of smaller quantity drugs on mules for example. The syndicates therefore had to re-examine their strategy, identifying possible weak points in the system. For instance, corrupting SANDF members, before they could again continue with the smuggling of larger quantity drugs.

Professional drug mules embark on their trafficking activities out of either greed or desperation (Respondent 1). Some of the still active professional mules, according to Respondent 1, boast on social media such as facebook about the money and goods they have acquired through their drug-related activities.

5.3.2 Rational Choice Theory

Building on classical criminological theory, the Rational Choice theorists argue that crime is seen as a choice that is influenced by its costs and benefits through rational reasoning. In order to effectively deal with crime, the costs (which include possible risks or threat of sanctions if unsuccessful in the perpetration of crime) related to committing the crime must be raised (Vold et al, 2002: 196-197). The possibility (deterrence factor) of punishment will only be effective if learnt via direct experiences of perpetrators with punishment. Accordingly perpetrators also apply punishment avoidance tactics as part of their experiences as well as indirectly by observing whether others who offend are punished or manage to avoid punishment (Vold et al, 2002: 196-197).

Despite media attention on South African drug mules imprisoned abroad and case studies of death sentences passed on South Africans in some countries, the number of drug mules does not seem to be effected by the experiences of others in receiving severe sanctions and punishment for smuggling drugs across borders into other countries (SAPA-AFP, 2013). For example, the punishment of being caught smuggling drugs into Indonesia, includes “being taken to a remote, undisclosed location at night and executed by firing squad” (SAPA-AFP, 2013).

Respondent 2 indicated that the costs (sanctions) to individuals for the crime of specifically drug smuggling is not perceived in the same way by the different categories of drug mules. The professional mules know the costs (risks) very well, but also know how these costs can be mitigated by working with corrupt law enforcement officials who are supposed to impose these costs (punishment if caught). The amateur mules, according to Respondent 2, just take a chance, “they might know the costs, but will take the risk and hope for the best”.

Respondent 12 was of the opinion that due to South Africa’s ‘lenient’ or less severe laws on drug smuggling, South African citizens especially think that they will be

treated with the same leniency when caught abroad. This perceived lack in severe punishment and harsh sanctions also contributes indirectly to South Africa becoming a destination country for foreign drug mules (Respondent 12).

The South African Department of Correctional Services states on their website, that as of August 2010, 854 foreign nationals are currently imprisoned in South Africa for drug-related crimes (DCS, 2010). According to the DCS website, from August 2010, 294 of the imprisoned are still awaiting trial and 560 have been sentenced (DCS, 2010). The DCS does not differentiate between different drug crime categories and therefore it is difficult to determine what numbers of the incarcerated have been imprisoned for specifically drug smuggling crimes (i.e. as drug mules).

5.3.3 Sutherland's Differential Association Theory

Sutherland argues that criminal behaviour is learnt. This learning can include techniques on how to commit crime (Vold et al, 2002: 160). Another important element of the theory is that it was Sutherland's opinion that people will commit crime through an individual's definition of criminal behaviour that is favourable to law violation (Vold et al, 2002: 160). Interviews with drug mules through a special assignment documentary clearly indicated that drug mules did not view the "trips as drug smuggling but rather as an opportunity to travel, something they would have never been given, given the circumstances [in which] they grew up in". These mules also referred to drugs as 'bananas', 'bolitas' and 'pellets' and therefore justified their criminal activity through not relating to drugs as dangerous substances but rather as a common commodity (SABC, 2013b). According to Respondent 1, drug smuggling is to some 'a way of life'. These individuals support a need in their life that in one way or another went wrong, for example: growing up with drug addicts and people from dysfunctional families (Respondent 1).

5.3.4 Merton's Anomie Theory

According to Merton's Anomie Theory, the gap between economic success and the opportunity to obtain this goal, creates structural strain (Vold et al, 2002: 134). This

strain causes an individual's norms and values to weaken and thus 'anomie' occurs (Vold et al, 2002: 134). The term 'anomie' is further explained as "[a] condition in which society provides little moral guidance to individuals". This results in an overall moral deterioration and subsequently a lack of appropriate aspirations (Gerber & Macionis, 2010: 97). According to the Special Assignment documentary most drug mules get involved in drug smuggling because of the extensive financial rewards (or the perceived prospective or potential thereof) (SABC, 2013b). The documentary, however, also referred to some of the drug mules as victims. These victims, according to the documentary, are recruited by drug trafficking syndicates under false pretences such as an overseas job opportunity or fully paid vacations –these offers deliberately exploiting most mules' dire financial circumstances (SABC, 2013b).

Respondent 4 indicated that there have been numerous cases where recruited South African drug mules 'escape' from the syndicate who have transported them to Brazil to smuggle drugs onwards. When this happens the potential mule is usually without any Identity documentation (their passports are usually confiscated by the recruiters (or their accomplices) once they land in Brazil) or money and then seek assistance from the consulate in Brazil in order to return to South Africa. But if they do not make contact with the embassy staff, with no money or family to contact to get money to return to South Africa this person usually has to stay in Brazil until they can raise the money to return to South Africa. These people usually end up in situation whereby they are then again vulnerable and recruited by other syndicates to commit crimes such as prostitution and theft. Ultimately, this could again lead them to being imprisoned in Brazilian prisons (Respondent 4).

5.4 CROSS-BORDER DRUG SMUGGLING: THE ROLE OF THE DRUG MULE

According to the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2012: 10), the use of human couriers or drug mules has become an effective means for drug trafficking syndicates to smuggle drugs. Respondent 4 reported that currently (2014) there were 52 confirmed organised crime groups in Brazil focusing on drug

mule smuggling with another and 139 splinter groups formed.

Hübschle (2008: np) attributes the growth in organised crime syndicates specialising in drug mule smuggling, due to the increased technological surveillance and detection capabilities at borders. This has increasingly forced the syndicates to make greater use drug mules, since this appears to be the best and a less risky way to smuggle drugs across borders. Respondent 10 stated that, although not the most profitable way to smuggle drugs, drug smuggling through the use of drug mules remains globally a big problem.

Building on some of the drug supply methodology discussed in Chapter 4 of this research, the EMCDDA (2012: 10) differentiates between specific methods used by syndicates when smuggling drugs using drug mules. Some of the methods according to the EMCDDA (2012: 10) include the concealment of drugs inside the human body by means of the swallowing of drugs, and also on the body with the drugs strapped to a person, or the concealment of drugs in the drug mule's luggage. In order to minimise the risk of suspicion and disruption, the syndicates change routes regularly and continuously adapt to new policies, prevention and detection strategies and procedures that are put in place to counter their efforts (Hübschle, 2008: np).

According to Hübschle (2008: np), the specific method of smuggling used by drug mules will depend on the specific drug to be smuggled. For example, heroin and cocaine are mostly smuggled through swallowing. Respondent 5 indicated that tinned food, shampoo bottles and stationery packs aside, the human body remains one of the most common ways of smuggling drugs into a country. Although, it is noted that using the human body as a smuggling tool does place limitations on the amount of drugs that can be smuggled and therefore results in small quantities of seizure per drug mule utilising this method of smuggling (Respondent 5). The recruited drug mules are also used by the syndicates to assist in the making clothes with secret pockets and for constructing of false (hidden) compartments in their luggage (Respondent 4).

Respondent 3 indicated that drug mules are also used to transport cash (dollars, pounds and euros) back to the producer and transit countries. The cash is hidden in the same way as the drugs that they carry. Some of the drug mules initially recruited to smuggle drugs for a syndicate are sometimes used for other criminal activities by the syndicate other than only smuggling drugs (Respondent 4). According to Respondent 4, It has become clear that the syndicates that recruit people to smuggle drugs, also engage in other criminal activities including prostitution. Respondent 9 was in agreement with this statement but included environmental crimes such as the smuggling of rhino horns and lion and tiger bones – contraband products that have also been found on persons who were allegedly recruited for drug smuggling.

Respondent 5 further indicated that other commodities commonly smuggled by drug mules include weapons, alcohol and cigarettes, over-the-counter medicine and to a lesser extent are also involved in human trafficking (i.e. by acting as a group leader taking the persons being smuggled. Into a country through the same routes used to smuggle drugs into ma country. Respondent 1 is of the opinion that victims of human trafficking are not only women, girls and boys trafficked for a variety of purposes (prostitution, pornography and forced labour), but that victims of human trafficking can also be people who are recruited to conduct a specific criminal activity. She reintegrates that drug decoys have absolutely no idea that they are specifically recruited to be caught and therefore should be included within the human trafficking.

In such cases, where somebody has been purposely misled and forced to commit a crime, it was argued in the Special Assignment documentary (SABC, 2013b) that there is a close link to human trafficking. Despite this, the documentary is of the opinion, that drug mules are still sentenced as drug smugglers because law enforcement agencies do not recognise the link between human trafficking and drug trafficking (SABC, 2013b). As a specialist working in the field of human trafficking, Respondent 11 indicated that although elements of human trafficking (taking of passports) is present in drug mule smuggling cases, proving that the mule was not

aware of the drugs that were being smuggled, would be nearly impossible.

Some mules are recruited by individual or small groups of opportunistic criminals, who all contribute equally financially to get a mule to smuggle drugs for a small profit in comparison to the larger criminal networks. These small opportunistic criminal groupings are usually not as successful, since they do not have access to corrupt officials or the financial muscle to ensure more profitable smuggling (Respondent 4). The smuggling of drugs specifically through drug mules is complex and requires a great deal of professional organisation. The EMCDDA (2012: 8) specifically differentiates between types or roles of drug traffickers:

- The organiser/manager: The organiser manages the importation of drugs from an international or drug producing country.
- Importation auxiliary: Assists or facilitates with the importation and organising of the courier.
- Courier: The courier physically smuggles the drugs (using various methods).

According to *Lockedup* (2012), drug mules smuggle drugs both knowingly or unknowingly but often under duress (knowingly after the fact but reluctantly having been tricked into doing so). In the first instance the drug mule is spotted, recruited, briefed and then used as a courier to knowingly smuggle drugs. In the second instance, a person is offered an opportunity such as a job, they are then given a plane ticket to a promised destination and *en route* to the destination the person is rerouted and instructed to fetch a parcel. Respondent 5 further pointed out that the syndicate will provide all the operational assistance in terms of flight bookings, hotel accommodation, instructions for collection or transportation, as well as providing passports, cash and visa requirements for the drug mule.

Upon arrival at the promised destination, the person is met by a third party and given a suitcase with instructions. By this time, the innocent person is now fully aware of the smuggling and participating in the operation largely out of fear or under various threats of violence or retaliation against family (Lockedup, 2012). Respondent 5

stated that West African gangs, predominantly Nigerian networks "have been targeting air crew, often offering three times the person's salary for one delivery." Another modus operandi by the syndicates according to Respondent 5, was girls being lured by men via Facebook. "These men chat with them, become friends, gain the girls' trust and then use them as drug mules to smuggle narcotics".

Respondent 3 was of the opinion that most of the South African drug mules are used to smuggle drugs to the cocaine market in Europe and South Africa, the cannabis (herb) market in Europe, the cannabis (resin) hashish market in Canada and USA, the methamphetamine market in the Far East (for instance Japan and Korea) and the heroin market in South Africa. Most common smuggle route is the direct flight between Brazil and South Africa from Sao Paulo to Johannesburg. The courier would either pick up the cocaine in a low class hotel or in the *favelas* (shantytown slums) in Sao Paulo and smuggle it through the airport, or they would receive the contraband in Peru or Bolivia, cross by land border by bus into Brazil and make their way to the airport. An alternate South American smuggle route being a trip down to Argentina then fly into Cape Town or Johannesburg via Buenos Aires (Respondent 3).

According to Respondent 3, other high risk flights include the Brazil/Lisbon/Maputo/Johannesburg or transit Johannesburg to Maputo route. The product would then be brought by taxi or bus through Swaziland into South Africa or directly through Komatipoort into South Africa (Respondent 3). This route avoids the more stringent security measures at ORTIA than those at the land border posts. After September 2012 the Maputo route was targeted with a number of arrests which compelled the syndicates to change their routing from Sao Paulo (now also Rio de Janeiro) directly to Johannesburg to the Togo, West Africa/Addis Ababa, Ethiopia route. From Addis Ababa they fly the drug mules down to different Southern African countries such as Zambia, Malawi or Botswana and then by road into South Africa (Respondent 3). According to Respondent 3 some of the countermeasures taken by syndicates include giving the product to another courier to carry on the last leg.

Other high risk flights identified include the direct Brazil/Luanda, Angola flight, then by land through Namibia and onto Cape Town. Alternately the Brazil/Johannesburg/DRC/Angola flight, then by land into Namibia and South Africa (Respondent 3). The flights from Lima, Peru/Sao Paulo, Brazil/Johannesburg/Lusaka then by land back through Botswana to South Africa, or the Brazil/Abu Dhabi/Nairobi flight are also considered as high risk by Respondent 3. For Heroin and Mandrax the Emirates Air flights through Dubai into Johannesburg or Durban are used (Respondent 3).

Respondent 4 provided the researcher with an overview of the processes used, particularly by Nigerian syndicates in recruiting and using drug mules in crossborder drug smuggling from South Africa to Brazil and onwards. According to Respondent 4, a person situated in Brazil, will contact a recruiter situated in South Africa. The recruiter will then recruit a person through either a direct approach, indicating that they will be smuggling drugs for monetary payment, or an indirect approach, indicating to the potential mule that they have a job or vacation opportunity for them (Respondent 4).

The potential mule, will then be given a passport and a small deposit of the money promised, the recruiter will then buy a plane ticket, usually with cash and ensure that the potential mule is taken through customs at the airport with the help of a corrupt government official (Respondent 4). It is important to note that most mules recruited in South Africa do not smuggle drugs from South Africa to Brazil. In most cases the mules are only given the drugs once in Brazil (Respondent 4). Once the potential mule arrives at the airport in Brazil, he or she will be collected by another member of the syndicate. The member of the syndicate will ensure that the potential mule is taken to a location where he or she will be briefed on how they will smuggle the drugs. This briefing is usually done by a professional mule (Respondent 4). Respondent 4 pointed out that their passports will usually be taken away at this point, ensuring that they are vulnerable and at the mercy of the syndicate. The

potential mule will then be taken to the airport again and flown to the destination country where the drugs will be collected by another member of the syndicate (Respondent 4).

Respondent 2 noted that most of the mules with whom he had been in contact, were not involved in smuggling drugs directly into South Africa. They were all recruited in South Africa and trained or coerced to smuggle drugs from South America to Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand, and from Thailand to China and from Africa (Nigeria) to Cambodia.

Respondent 2 further indicated that he had noticed that the methods used in drug smuggling are changing. Decoys, according to Respondent 2, are specifically recruited to serve as 'sacrificial lambs'. What has changed, according to him, is that these days the so-called professional mules never travel alone. There is always a decoy travelling either a day earlier or later than the professional mule. This is done in order to avoid any suspicion of the professional mule.

Drug trafficking syndicates exploit countries where large rates of corruption exist (Respondent 2). Thailand's police services for example, according to Respondent 2, are rewarded for every 'drug catch' they make. It affords them promotion and status. Respondent 2 pointed out that by combining these two aspects – 'bribe-ability and catch quota' – syndicates would lower their risk and increase their reward by using decoys. In other words by bribing the law enforcement officials to let the professional mule with large quantities of drugs through but then simultaneously tipping off the police of the decoy drug mule coming through enhances their overall profitability and ensures that the police are seen to be still 'catching' drug smugglers.

Respondent 2 further elaborates that the syndicates will first create good relations with enforcement agencies and pretend and act as an informant. They will inform them of mules (the decoy) coming on a certain date with a certain amount (the amount of drugs carried by decoy mules is usually only in grams and not kilograms

as carried by the professional mules). They will then bribe them to let the mule with the larger amount of drugs (this time kilos) go through. So everyone gets something and everyone is happy. For exposure, the decoy is then brought in front of the press for a photo opportunity to show off how effective the drug enforcement agencies are (Respondent 2).

According to the documentary by Special Assignment (SABC, 2013a), it is clear that most of the arrested mules know their recruiters, who are based in South Africa. The documentary investigated the names of the recruiters, as identified by the drug mules and found that most of the recruiters were still operating in South Africa without any consequences from law enforcement agencies (SABC, 2013a). In response to the above mentioned investigation, the South African Police Service (SAPS), indicated that the alleged decoys are not interviewed by SAPS since they have been arrested in a foreign country, and therefore they do not have access to the information on the recruiters (SABC, 2013a).

Respondent 1 further stated that various actions could be taken to ensure that South Africans are not recruited as drug mules, or used in the smuggling of drugs. These include stricter passport control and border control. Respondent 4 agreed with this statement by adding that passport and border control will only be sufficient if corruption at ports of entry is eradicated or dealt with more effectively. Other important factors to consider include a good intelligence collecting network, and assisting in identifying possible corrupt officials at ports of entry. Regular security vetting⁹ of officials and the analysis of high risk flights were also mentioned by Respondent 4 as important factors to consider in securing ports of entry and catching more drug mules.

⁹ Security vetting is the examination of a person's background and private life in order to make sure the individual can be safely trusted to hold certain jobs. Security clearances are usually issued by the Department of State Security (SSA, 2014).

5.5 CONCLUSION

Respondent 1 emphatically stated that the impact on South Africans arrested as decoys is devastating. The financial costs to the families to support the victims who are caught in foreign countries are huge. It is Respondent 1's opinion that the South African embassies offer little or no support as far as supplying basic necessities such as toiletries (including toilet paper) to the incarcerated. This financial burden by the families is further explained by Mhlana (2012) who stated that 20 South Africans that have completed their jail terms in countries such as Brazil, are stuck in the country of imprisonment since they do not have any money to return to South Africa.

Respondent 2, who is currently residing abroad, indicated that the arrest of South African drug mules is detrimental to and tarnishes the image of South Africa abroad. The decoys, caught overseas, are treated by the South African government (and embassies) as criminals and left to languish in jails with no support from South African officials. According to Respondent 2, this lack of compassion has a negative impact on South Africa's image of being a successful democracy.

With a perceived lack of constitutional rights and a blatant infringement of human rights, it is safe to conclude that drug trafficking through drug mules is definitely threatening the social security of South Africa.

In order to build on the above conceptual overview of drug mules, case studies, as depicted in media articles collected, relating specifically to South African drug mules, were analysed. This analysis done so as to obtain a general demographic profile, determine recruitment methods, as well as the smuggling methods from high risk countries. The data analysed will be discussed in Chapter 6 of this research study.

CHAPTER 6
SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULES: CASE STUDIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Statistically, South Africa is ranked eighth out of 159 countries on the list for having the highest number of citizens imprisoned in foreign countries for drug trafficking crimes (Tsotetsi, 2012: 1). In 2012, the Department of International Relations and Co-operation 's (DIRCO) spokesperson Nelson Kgwete, indicated in an interview that an estimated 956 South Africans were then in foreign prisons for drug trafficking crimes. According to Kgwete most of the South African drug mules were at the time imprisoned in Brazil (162), Peru (70), Venezuela (36), the United Kingdom (20), China (16), Thailand (15) and Indonesia (2) (Mhlana, 2012). Respondent 4 confirmed that there are over 150 South African drug mules in prison in Brazil, making South African drug mules in particular, the third largest group of foreign nationals in prison in Brazil for drug smuggling.

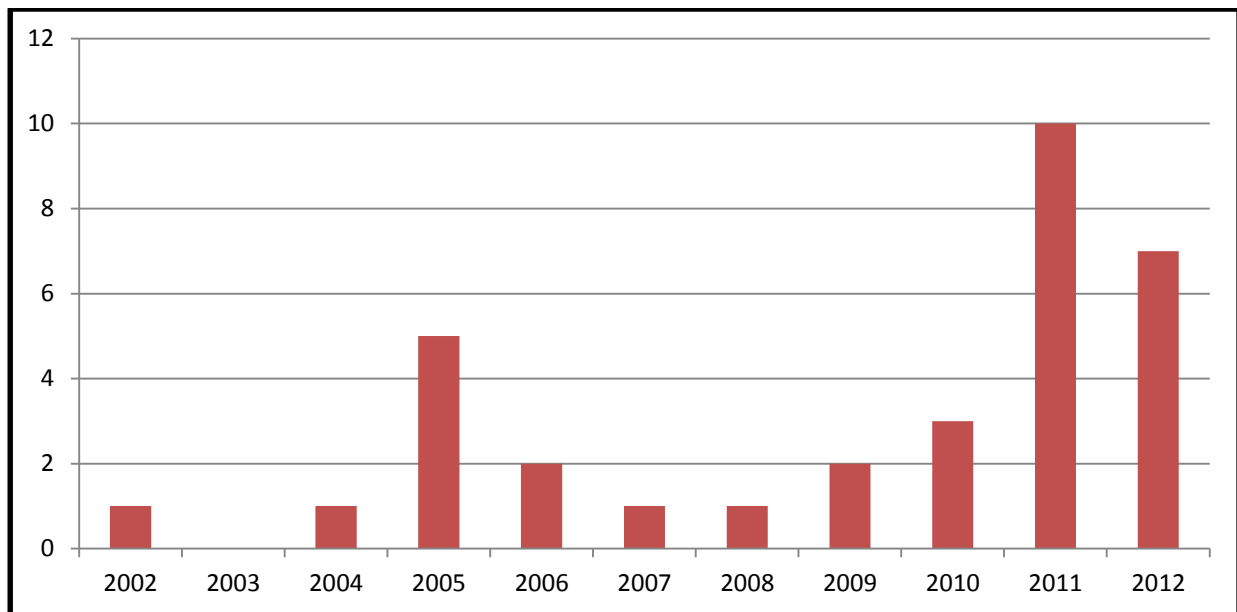
Keeping in mind that not all cases are reported in the media, South African drug mules have nevertheless received a large amount of media attention. Published media articles on specifically South African drug mules were analysed for the period 2002-2012 with a total of 33 articles being collected and collated for analysis.

Table 6.1: Number of media articles published on South African drug mules: 2002-2012

Year of publication	No of articles	Year of publication	No of articles
2002	1	2007	1
2003	0	2008	1
2004	1	2009	2
2005	5	2010	3
2006	2	2011	10
2007	1	2012	7

As seen in Figure 6.1 below, there was an increase in articles published in the years 2005, 2011 and 2012.

Figure 6.1: Number of articles published relating to South African drug mules: 2002-2012



Respondent 1 indicated that high profile cases, such as the State Security Agencies Minister's ex-wife, Sheryl Cwele's involvement in drug mule recruitment, increased the media attention around South African drug mules arrested abroad. As will be seen from the case studies, it is clear that most of the mules upon their arrest were awaited by media houses. In other words the media appear to have been alerted to an imminent arrest of a drug mule before it actually occurred. Inferred here being that such drug mules were arrested by the authorities in a country based on a tip-off or prior information concerning their arrival.

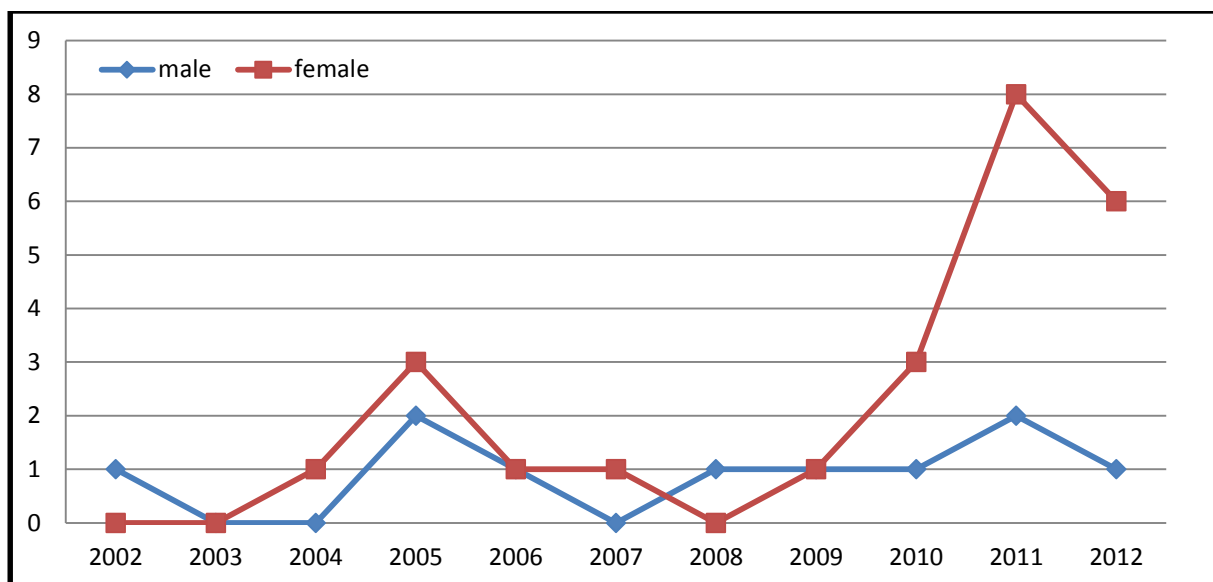
All media articles that were identified by the researcher published on South African drug mules over a ten-year period were analysed and are analysed in this chapter of the research study. Building on the literature review, this chapter will try to determine the demographic profile of the South African drug mule and the methods used in

recruiting South African drug mules. The modus operandi used by syndicates in recruiting and using South African drug mules for crossborder drug smuggling, as well as possible high risk countries will also be described.

6.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULE

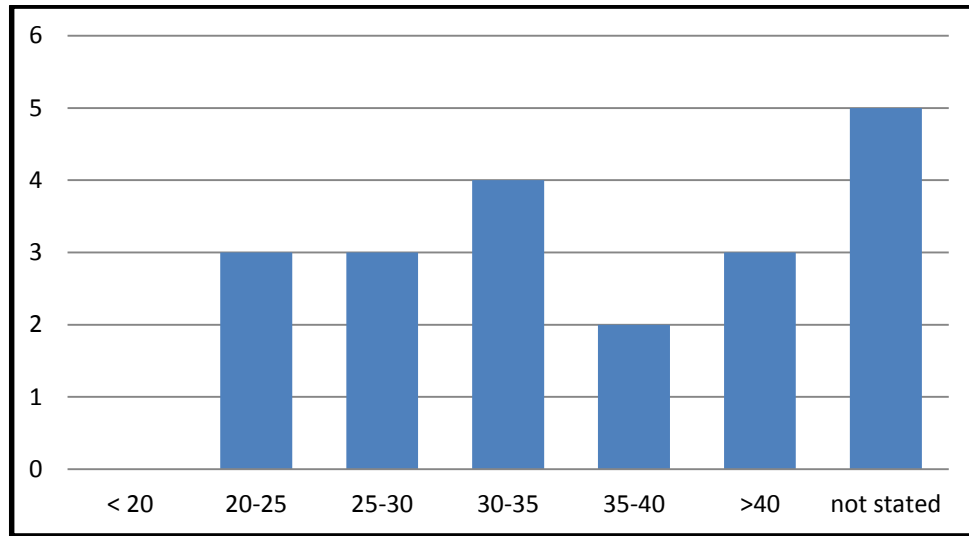
From media articles analysed, as illustrated in Figure 6.2, the majority of arrested South African drug mules, were female.

Figure 6.2: Gender of arrested South African drug mules according to published media articles



In five of the articles no mention was made of the ages of the arrested drug mules. The majority of the articles, however, indicated the age range of the South African drug mules, as well as the high prevalence of mules arrested between the ages of 30-35. Drug mules between the ages of 20-30 and above 40 were indicated as the second and third highest age groups arrested.

Figure 6.3: Age of arrested South African drug mules according to published media articles



6.3 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, TRANSIT AND DESTINATION

From media reports analysed, although largely unreported, it was established that thirteen South Africans were arrested aboard direct flights from South Africa. Seven South Africans were arrested from Brazil to the country of arrest (see Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Country of origin of arrested South African drug mules according to published media articles

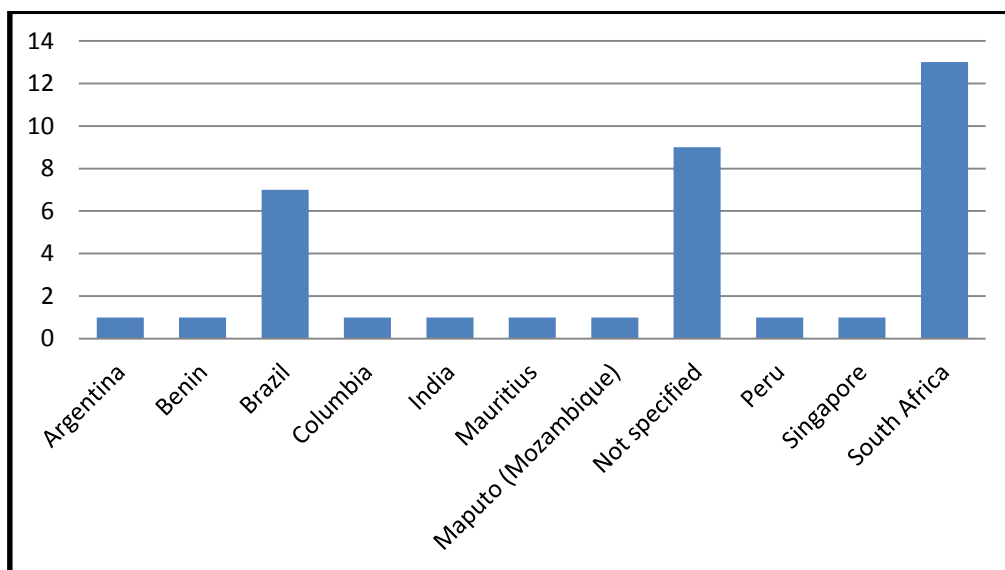
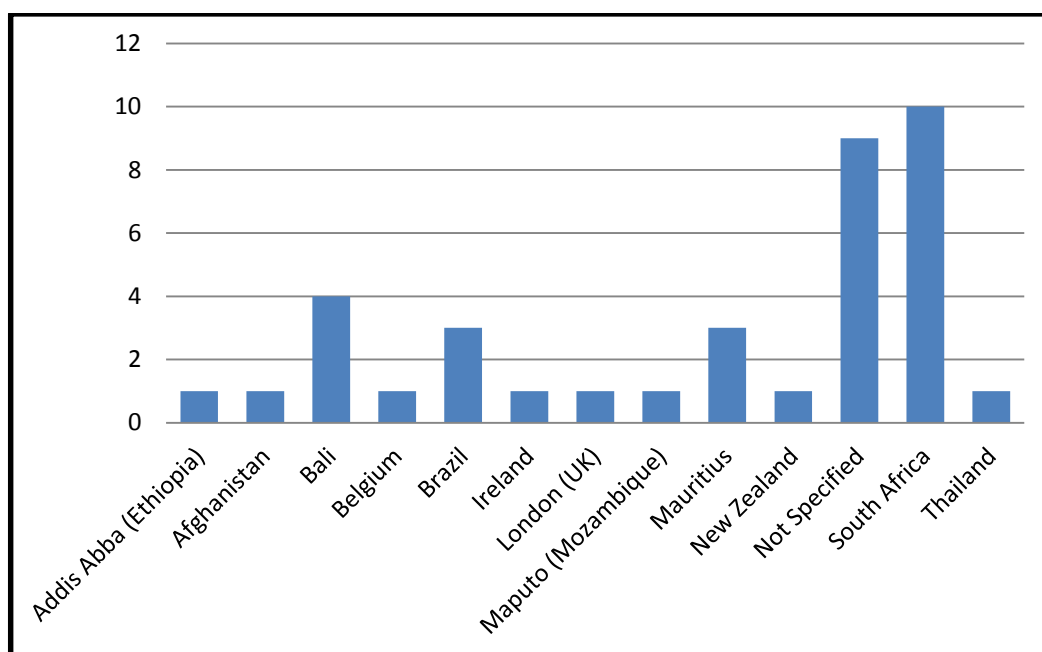


Figure 6.5 illustrates the final destination of the South African drug mules or where they were supposed to deliver the drugs. Again largely unreported, most South African drug mules indicated that the drugs were destined for South Africa and the local drug market. Bali, Mauritius and Brazil were also mentioned as destination locations.

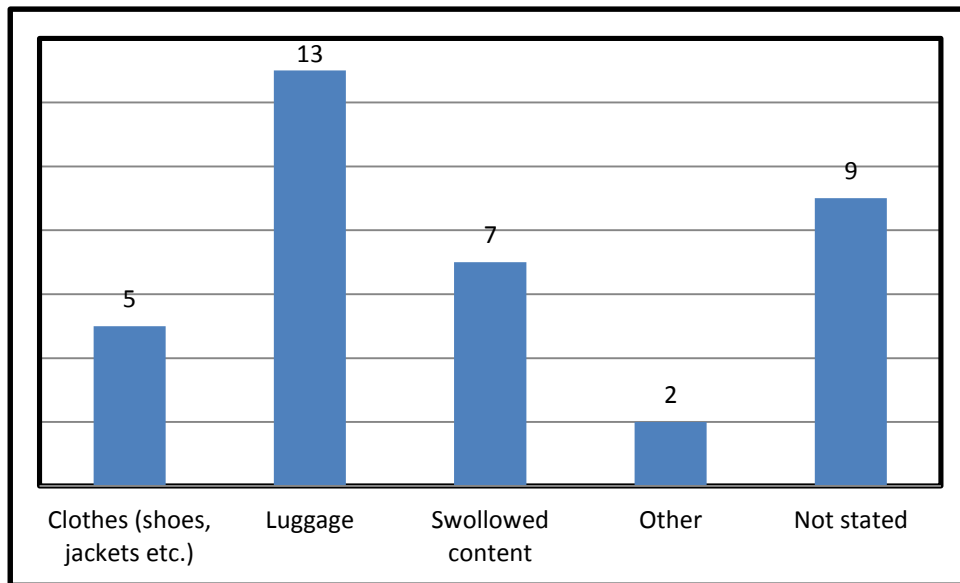
Figure 6.5: Country/city of destination of arrested mules according to published media articles



6.4 MODUS OPERANDI

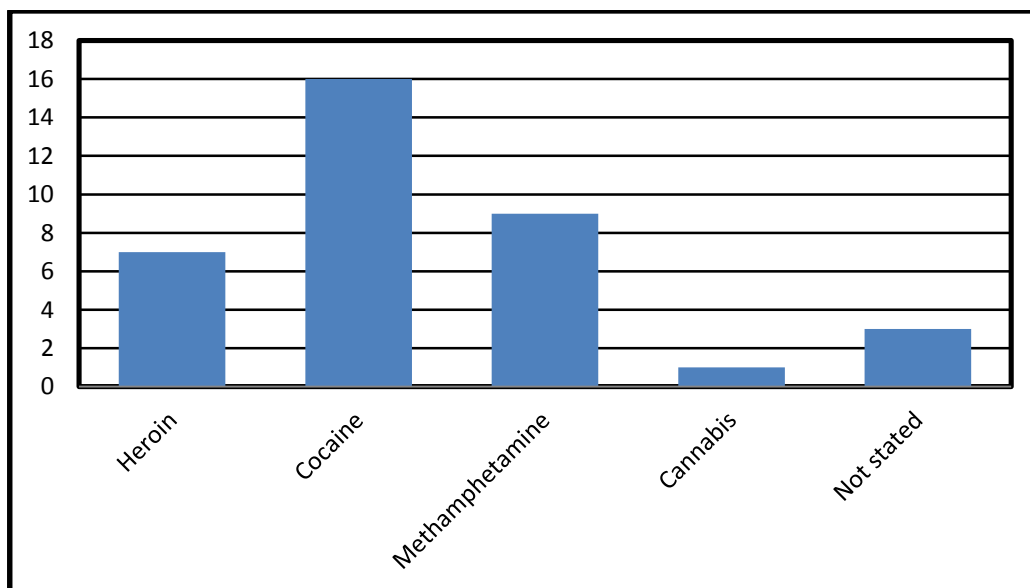
Most of the confiscated drugs seized on South African drug mules, according to the media analysis, were found in luggage or suitcases belonging to the suspects (see Figure 6.6). A number of suspects also swallowed the drugs, while some hid it in their clothes such as shoes and jackets. Again emphasis must be put on the large number of unreported or not stated reports.

Figure 6.6: Method of smuggling used by South African arrested mules according to published media articles



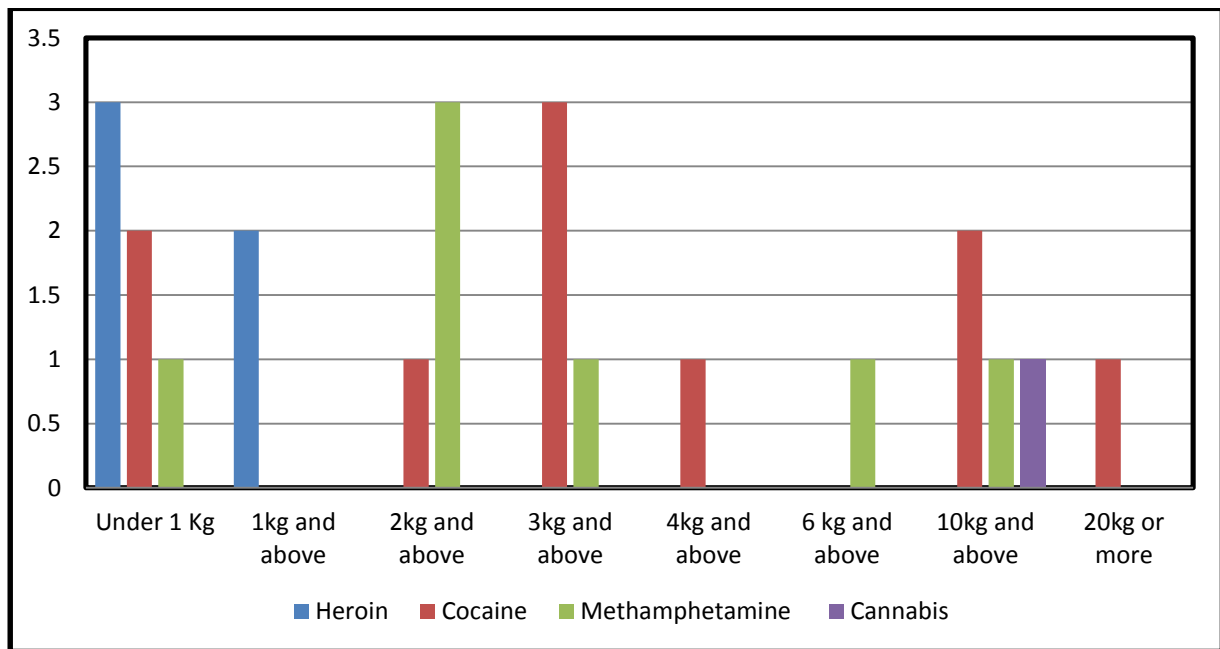
Of the thirty-three media reports analysed, only three reports did not indicate the kind of drugs being smuggled. As indicated in Figure 6.7, cocaine, methamphetamine and heroin were the drugs most smuggled.

Figure 6.7: Drugs smuggled by arrested mules according to published media articles



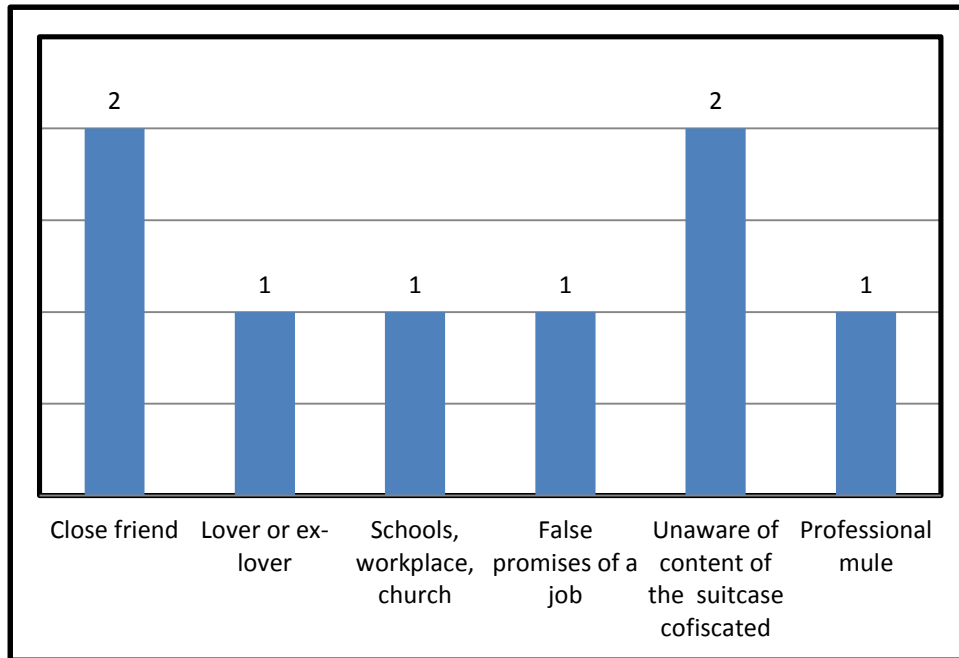
From Figure 6.8 below, it is clear that methamphetamine and cocaine were smuggled in the largest quantities. The majority of cocaine smuggled, was above three kilograms and the largest seizure of cocaine was reported as being above twenty kilograms. Methamphetamine was also smuggled in large quantities, as most seizures fall in the two kilograms and above category, with the largest seizure being above ten kilograms. Heroin was mainly smuggled in smaller quantities of under one kilogram, while there was only one reported dagga seizure of more than twenty kilograms.

Figure 6.8: Quantity of drugs smuggled by arrested mules according to published media articles



Although not widely reported in the media, from those articles which did mention this aspect, it appears that most of the drug mules, claimed to have been recruited by a close friend. There were also reported cases where the suspects claimed that they were not aware of the contents of the luggage that was confiscated (see in Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Recruitment method used on South African arrested mules according to published media articles



6.5 CASE STUDIES

The following section is based on case studies of arrested South African drug mules currently serving sentences abroad for drug smuggling. The researcher was only able to gain access to case studies via interviews with respondents who had actually interviewed the respective drug mules. The respondents were able to give the researcher detailed information on four case studies. The case studies are therefore based on the interviews that the respondents conducted directly in prison abroad with South African drug mules. For a detailed description on the sampling method please refer to Chapter 2 of the research section 2.4. The identity of the mules involved were left anonymous in order to ensure that no respondent/interviewees identity would be revealed or recognised – all in line with professional research ethics required of a researcher.

6.5.1 Case Study 1: Drug Mule 1

Case study one contains information from an interview with Respondent 2 who interviewed the respective drug mule while in prison abroad. The drug mule within this case study will here on be referred to as Drug Mule 1. Respondent 2 was of the opinion that Drug Mule 1 was definitely deceived by a close friend and did not smuggle drugs knowing fully what she was doing.

i) Demographic details

Drug Mule 1 (at the time of arrest) was a female in her twenties. She was studying and working part time in a court of law as a translator while also helping her aunt in a catering business prior to her incarceration. She grew up in Grahamstown, South Africa and moved to Johannesburg while she was studying and working in the court of law.

ii) Recruitment, training and grooming

Drug Mule 1 was recruited by a close friend. The said friend told her that she has a friend, here after referred to as the business owner, residing in Port Elisabeth (PE), South Africa and owned a small amenities/beauty shop. The business owner's brother, here after referred to as a Brazilian business man, was living in Brazil and was running a business in hair chemicals. Drug Mule 1's friend indicated that she had been working for the Brazilian business man, selling hair chemicals. She had to travel to Brazil to collect hair products and invited Drug Mule 1 to come along. Drug Mule 1 did not think anything suspicious was going on as they had been childhood friends; therefore there was no reason to distrust her. Drug Mule 1 consequently saw this as an opportunity to travel abroad and also as a possible future business opportunity.

The two friends travelled to Port Elizabeth together to meet with the business man who indicated that he would organise their air tickets, accommodation and pocket money. He indicated that they were to fly from Cape Town to Argentina and from there to Sao Paulo, Brazil.

iii) Smuggling of drugs

A day before they were to travel, Drug Mule 1 discovered that the Port Elizabeth business man had booked them on different flights. Drug Mule 1 was to leave a day later than her friend. He indicated that the flights were full and that the booking could not be changed as the flights were already paid for.

When Drug Mule 1 arrived in Sao Paulo, her friend and an unknown man came to pick her up and they all went to a hotel in Sao Paulo. Drug Mule 1 and her friend were told to go to a bus stop the next day where a lady would be waiting for them.

The lady was an elderly South African who told the girls that she was working for the business man and that her job was to take care of the girls who came to work for him. Drug Mule 1 indicated that the South African lady was a bit surprised to see how young these girls were as she mentioned the job would be hard and dangerous. It was at this stage when Drug Mule 1 found out that it was all about selling and delivering drugs for a Nigerian syndicate and not about hair products as she initially thought.

The South African lady also indicated that she had been sentenced once for four years for drug smuggling in Brazil. Drug Mule 1 also found out that her friend was fully aware of the fact that she would be smuggling drugs and had been assisting the Port Elizabeth business man in recruiting South Africans to smuggle drugs. Drug Mule 1 was made to understand that she would have to do whatever they told her to do and that there would be dire consequences if she refused. She was then prepared for the trip to deliver drugs. The drugs were woven into her hair.

She was then instructed to go to the airport where she received information about her new location, Bangkok. At the airport she also discovered that her friend had already left Brazil two days earlier to fly to Bangkok. The Nigerians also told her that her friend was bold and strong and that she had taken 15 kg of drugs to Thailand.

iv) Arrest and imprisonment

Upon her arrival in Bangkok, at the Suvarnabhumi Airport, she was directly ordered by the immigration police to head to the interrogation room where cameras were already installed and the press was waiting. The immigration police mentioned that “they saw some white powder in her hair that was a bit suspicious”. During her police interview, Drug Mule 1 co-operated with the police and even suggested that they let her call the man, who together with her friend she was supposed to meet up at the airport (on landing). The police refused, saying their phones were off. Drug Mule 1 then suggested a sting operation in which she would lead the police to her friend and the man she was supposed to meet, again they refused. After almost six months in prison, she was sentenced to serve a term of 30 years commuted to 15 years since she had co-operated with the court and police in prison.

v) Additional information and comments

Her friend, who had smuggled 15 kg of drugs into Thailand, posted later on her facebook page that she could not help it that her friend was caught but that she was not. According to Drug Mule 1’s family, the friend is still operating and recruiting people in South Africa.

6.5.2 Case Study 2: Drug Mule 2

Case study two contains information from the interview conducted by Respondent 2 who interviewed the respective drug mule while in prison. The mule in Case Study 2 will here on after be referred to as Drug Mule 2. Respondent 2 indicated that Drug Mule 2 was allegedly set up by the husband of a long-time friend. Drug Mule 2 still strongly protests her innocence. Her recollection of details regarding her case does have gaps that, according to Respondent 2, could be due to memory lapses or because Drug Mule 2 is too afraid or ashamed of telling the truth.

i) Demographic details

Drug Mule 2 is a woman in her forties, a single mother with nine children. Before her imprisonment she was living in Boksburg, South Africa. Her oldest daughter, 18

years old, was shot and killed for unknown reasons. This killing believed by her to have been orchestrated by Nigerians. Her husband left her and via a court order her four youngest children were taken away from her. Three of the children were placed in a children's home, whilst her youngest child was placed in a foster family. Drug Mule 2 had no fixed income; she was living out of her car and was rejected by her family. She also started to work in a 'Ladies Bar' out of desperation for money.

ii) Recruitment, training and grooming

Drug Mule 2's childhood and best friend is married to a Nigerian and has two children. Seeing her in so much trouble and distress, her friend's husband offered her a fully paid trip to Brazil and then back to South Africa via Thailand, to "get her mind off her problems". He also indicated that he would organise a tour guide for her to visit Thailand on her way home.

iii) Smuggling of drugs

Drug Mule 2 boarded the plane *en route* to Brazil, Sao Paulo. She stayed four days in Sao Paulo and indicated that she did a lot of shopping. She did not indicate that she received pocket money from her friend's husband, but it is assumed that she did. She indicated that she ran out of money in Sao Paulo and called her friend's husband in South Africa for more money. He stated that it was not a problem and that he would organise with his brother who lives in Brazil, who would give her more spending money for her onward trip.

The night before her departure to Vietnam, *en route* to Thailand, Drug Mule 2 met with her friends' husband's brother and his (brother's) wife. Her friend's husband's brother gave her 500 USD\$ for the trip. Drug Mule 2's original flight ticket was to South Africa, Brazil, Vietnam and then over land to Bangkok, Thailand via Cambodia. From Bangkok she was supposed to fly back to South Africa.

Upon her arrival in Vietnam, she checked into the hotel and met with her supposed tour guide. Drug mule 2 and the tour guide stayed overnight in a hotel, in Vietnam

and took a bus to Cambodia the next morning. The 'tour guide', according to Drug Mule 2, had previously been imprisoned in Thailand for drug-related offences.

The next morning they crossed into Thailand and took a bus to Bangkok. Upon their arrival and after they had checked in at their hotel in Bangkok, they were met by two men seemingly waiting for them. They started talking to the 'tour guide' who apparently had taken Drug Mule 2's phone and passport. The men then allegedly forced Drug Mule 2 and the 'tour guide' into a car and were put into the back seat [it was later confirmed that both men were police agents]. The men drove off and took them to a house in Pattaya (about 147 km south-east of Bangkok).

According to Drug Mule 2, in her statement, one of her bags was opened and some 'stuff' was taken out and taken away (it is not clear if they then took that bag). The second bag remained in the car. The next morning, both Drug Mule 2 and the 'tour guide' were told, by the same men (police officers), that cocaine had been found in one bag. Drug Mule 2 and the 'tour guide' were driven back to Bangkok and at the police station the bag was opened and seven kilograms of cocaine was revealed.

iv) Arrest and imprisonment

According to a police statement in court, the police were tipped off by Vietnamese immigration authorities via the police. The Thai police had then followed them from the Cambodian border all the way to Bangkok, where they were apprehended (not yet arrested). Drug Mule 2 initially pleaded not guilty and attempted to fight all the charges. Because of this, the court procedures took much longer than usual. The court did, however, find Drug Mule 2 and her 'tour guide' guilty of trafficking seven kilograms of cocaine and sentenced both of them to 33 years in jail. Initially Drug Mule 2 decided to appeal the sentence, but later retracted, since she felt that the potential amnesties might be a better guarantee of getting home sooner than an appeal.

6.5.3 Case Study 3: Drug Mule 3

Case Study three contains information from an interview conducted by Respondent 2. The drug mule in Case Study 3 will here on be referred to as Drug Mule 3. Respondent 2 concluded from his interview with Drug Mule 3 that she was a professional drug mule, who knew what she was doing and had frequented 'drug mule gatherings' while living in South Africa. He also indicated that although she was a professional drug mule, who had made several previous successful drug-running trips, he was further of the opinion that she had eventually been used as a decoy and accordingly arrested [decoys are often arrested based on information (tip-offs) to the police in the destination (or transit) country].

i) Demographic details

Drug Mule 3 was living in Johannesburg. She was married, but had separated from her abusive husband. She has two small children and was struggling financially.

ii) Recruitment, training and grooming

Drug Mule 3 did not elaborate during her interview with Respondent 2 on her recruitment or training. Respondent 2 was of the opinion that this could be because she did not want to divulge any other information that could criminally implicate her in any of her previously successful drug smuggling trips. In her statement, Drug Mule 3 had indicated that a friend of hers had suggested a trip abroad. Furthermore, that all the details of the trip had been discussed with a man who had flown into South Africa from Nigeria. Drug Mule 3 and the Nigerian exchanged phone numbers and stayed in regular contact with each other until she departed for her trip.

iii) Smuggling of drugs

Unlike the other case studies, Drug Mule 3 received instructions from the syndicate while she was travelling and not beforehand. She travelled to Cotonou (Benin Republic) and upon her arrival, she phoned the person who had made all the arrangements and was told to get a taxi and go to the Nigerian border. After entering Nigeria she met the Nigerian at a hotel close to the airport. She departed to

Cambodia with a stopover in Bangkok. During her stay in Nigeria, Drug Mule 3 met several other South African women but was not allowed to have contact with them. In her sworn statement to the police, Drug Mule 3 was very specific regarding the roles of the different syndicate members indicating specific 'cooks' or drug manufacturers, corrupt police and other professional mules not only from South Africa.

In her police statement Drug Mule 3 indicated that she was supposed to travel with another mule, but this did not materialise (no reasons were given). Drug Mule 3 flew via Kenya to Bangkok and was supposed to connect a flight to Cambodia when she was arrested by the narcotics police at the Bangkok International airport.

iv) Arrest and imprisonment

Drug Mule 3 was waiting for her connecting flight to Cambodia at the airport, when she was approached by the Thai narcotics police. The police conducted a personal search three times and nothing was found. The police then retracted her luggage (which was already booked in) from the airplane and discovered that her bag was filled with drugs.

v) Additional information or comments

Drug Mule 3 indicated that she used to go to a pub in Johannesburg where they "all keep 'the stuff' [drugs for smuggling] and where the 'professional' mules were trained, groomed and briefed". Respondent 2 is of the opinion that Drug Mule 3 was operating as a professional drug mule.

6.5.4 Case study 4: Drug Mule 4

Case Study four is presented from an interview with the specific drug mule's best friend, here on referred to as Respondent 13, as well as information from the drug mule herself who was able to communicate with the researcher via social networking. The drug mule in Case Study 4 will from here on be referred to as Drug Mule 4. Currently imprisoned, but Drug Mule 4 has access to the internet. Drug Mule

4 was fully aware that she was smuggling drugs and currently is remorseful for her actions stating that: "It was a stupid, stupid thing to do." She further stated that: "I'm not a bad person, I just did a really stupid thing" (Email Interview Drug Mule 4, 14 March 2014).

i) Demographic details

Drug Mule 4 is a woman in her late twenties from Pretoria, South Africa. She has a seven-year-old daughter who is currently in the safe custody of her father. Growing up, she had a difficult childhood and by the age of 15 was a heroin addict. Her mother died when she was in her teens and by her early twenties, she was unemployed and living on the streets of Hillbrow, (Johannesburg), South Africa.

ii) Recruitment, training and grooming

Drug Mule 4 befriended two men, whom she had seen a number of times standing on the corner of a street in Hillbrow. The men started giving Drug Mule 4 money for drugs and paid her drug dealer on her behalf. One day, the men asked Drug Mule 4 if she would be interested in doing a job for them. They offered her R18 000 to smuggle drugs into Indonesia. The men said that they had sent loads of drug smugglers into the country before and never once had anyone been caught. Drug Mule 4 admitted that at the time "I was desperate for the money and so I agreed" (Email Interview Drug Mule 4, 14 March 2014). The men arranged a passport for Drug Mule 4, bought her a ticket and gave her R9 000 spending money. They said they would only pay her the R18 000 after Drug Mule 4 had delivered the drugs and when she had returned safely back home.

iii) Smuggling and arrest and imprisonment

Drug Mule 4 indicated that: "They did a good job of hiding it [the drugs] in my suitcase. They unstitched the lining and built the drugs into the side of my suitcase, so well that you could not see it had been tampered with".

Drug Mule 4 was in transit in Singapore for seven hours before landing in Lombok, Indonesia. When she got to the conveyer belt to collect her suitcase Drug Mule 4 became aware that the suitcase was marked with two red 'X's. She then realised that she had been caught and took the suitcase. The custom officials then stopped Drug Mule 4 and searched the suitcase finding the hidden drugs.

The police interrogated Drug Mule 4 until the next morning when she eventually admitted that the drugs were hers. The same morning there was a media conference. Drug Mule 4 indicated that her goal was to carry 2,6 kilograms of methamphetamine, with a street value of R4,5 million rand into the Indonesian resort island of Lombok. Drug Mule 4 had passed through customs at OR Tambo International in Gauteng, South Africa and arrived in Singapore without any problems. She was sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment in an Indonesian prison.

iv) Additional information or comments

Drug Mule 4 indicated that in prison she suffered severe withdrawal symptoms from her previous drug addiction since she had been a heroin addict for most of her adult life. She also indicated that she gave the authorities the name of her recruiters, but that the recruiters have not (at the time of the interview) as yet been apprehended.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Generally all the respondents indicated that the high unemployment rates, low employment opportunities, poverty, weak social infrastructure in vulnerable areas, and in some instances being a drug user themselves, all contributed towards making South Africans specifically vulnerable to being recruited as drug mules.

With regard to specific drug mule police investigation, Respondent 2 is of the opinion that written statements from family members affected should also be investigated. Respondent 2 regularly interviews drug mules abroad and states that most of the family members of incarcerated drug mules have information on drug mule

recruiters, drug lords and other syndicate members. In addition, Respondent 2 held a strong opinion (in support of) the implementation of a prison transfer treaty in South Africa. Implementation of which would mean that mules could return to their country of origin and serve out the remainder of their sentences in their home country. All data presented in chapters three, four, five and six will be interpreted in Chapter 7, where the research findings will be presented, interpreted and discussed, followed by the formulation of specific recommendations emanating from the findings.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

As indicated in section 2.1 of Chapter 2, drug trafficking experts and families of incarcerated South African drug mules were targeted and sampled for the study in order to achieve the objectives of the study. Other data collected consisted of a literature study, treatment centre data, crime statistics and an analysis of media information, the latter information combined with the interviews with selected respondents inter alia experts in the field of drug interdictions and investigations to compile the case studies. This research study aimed to determine how crossborder drug smuggling takes place through the use of South African drug mules. In order to achieve the aims of the study, the following objectives were identified:

- i. The relationship between the drugs supplied through South African drug mules and the drug demand in South Africa by specifically focusing on:
 - the nature and extent of the current drug demand in South Africa; and
 - the extent of drug supply to South Africa.
- ii. The initiatives and policies applicable to drug trafficking and specifically drug mules in South Africa.
- iii. The methods used by South African drug mules to smuggle drugs across borders.
- iv. The role South African drug mules play in drug trafficking syndicates.
- v. The reasons why South Africans are recruited as drug mules.

This chapter of the research study will conclude with the findings and recommendations, utilising the literature study, the media analysis and the interviews conducted.

7.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUGS SUPPLIED BY SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULES AND THE DRUG DEMAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

Kilmer and Hoorens (2003: 20) state that illicit drugs are ultimately consumer goods that will only be provided if there is a demand in the market. The market, according to Kilmer and Hoorens (2003: 20), therefore determines the drug availability and the quantity of the drug demand. As stated in Chapter 2, section 2.11 of the research, information about the quality and/or precise quantity of drugs in South Africa is not readily available, partly due to the criminal nature of drug trafficking but also to the dearth of available information whether official or informal. In order, therefore, to determine the nature and extent of the drug demand in South Africa, treatment centre data, as well as interview responses and media articles/case studies were analysed.

7.2.1 The nature and extent of the current drug demand in South Africa

Scholars such as Gelbrand (1998: 172) and Legget et al (2002: 6) clearly state that , after 1994, there was an increase in drug availability in South Africa. Respondent 10 stated that the international drug trade, after 1994, together with general globalisation and influence through the media and movies of the European/American lifestyles, contributed to the increase in drug demand in South Africa. The social and emotional profile of the youth in South Africa also changed dramatically after 1994, especially when compared to the emotional needs of youth prior to 1994 (Respondent 10). Increased social pressure on youth, together with the inability to obtain the 'American dream', all appear to have contributed towards more people abusing substances in an effort to cope with the lifestyle demand (Respondent 10).

According to all the respondents interviewed, the drug demand in South Africa has definitely grown exponentially over the last five years. Respondent 3 elaborated on this, stating that this view of the increased drug demand in South Africa in his opinion "is based on the exponential growth in drug-related arrests as well as the growth in the number of recorded patients reporting for rehabilitation. A third factor, is the increase in quantities of drugs confiscated by law enforcement, thus indicating an

increase in drug availability” (Respondent 3). In order, therefore, to determine whether there was a growth in drug demand in South Africa, the number of drug-related crime arrests, drug treatment statistics and prices of drugs were compared.

Treatment admission data was used as a basis to determine how much drugs are available or number of drug users are in South Africa. This was problematic, as only a relatively small percentage of the drug abuser population are arrested (as indicated the treatment centre data) and therefore it is not a clear representation of the overall drug usage or drug demand in South Africa. Deductions from the data reports of SANCA and SACENDU indicate that South Africa does have drug users and that there will therefore be resulting active drug market. Considering the limitations of the data, as described in Chapter 2, section 2.11, it can also be stated that there was a dramatic decrease in patient admissions during the period 2009-2010 (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013 & SANCA, 2012a). According to Respondent 3, the following conclusions can be made as to why there could have been a decrease in patient admissions in the other years during the specific recording period 2002-2012:

- Fewer patients were admitted due to limited economic resources as most of the treatment centres are privately owned (also aggravated by the 2008 economic downturn);
- Staff shortages at the centres or closure of centres could have resulted in a reduction in admissions; or
- It could have been the result of South Africa’s law enforcement agencies’ increased border control measures in the period leading up to the Soccer World Cup held in South Africa in 2010. This could have resulted in smaller amounts of drugs entering South Africa and thus fewer drugs being consumed (or available for use) in South Africa.

From the reports of SANCA and SACENDU (Plüddemann et al, 2008-2013 & SANCA, 2012a) it is evident that alcohol and cannabis remain the most abused drugs in South Africa. Other drugs as identified, according to the treatment admission data in South Africa, as being in demand were heroin, methamphetamine, cocaine and mandrax.

This data correlates with the data from the media analysis on drugs smuggled by South African drug mules. The media reports indicated that most of the South African drug mules were arrested in possession of cocaine, methamphetamine, heroin and cannabis. None of the media reports indicated that the drug mules were arrested with Mandrax. This, however, does not indicate that Mandrax was not smuggled. South Africa is the world's largest consumer of Mandrax, according to Respondent 5. Mandrax is produced or manufactured in South Africa and Respondent 5 is of the opinion that syndicates are increasingly smuggling the chemicals used in the manufacturing of drugs such as Mandrax, into South Africa. This chemical smuggling is on the increase due to border officials who are not properly trained in chemical identification making it possible for chemical smuggling to go undetected (Respondent 5).

Respondent 3, in particular agrees with the trends noted above and stated that cannabis, methaqualone (Mandrax), methamphetamine, cathinone, cocaine, heroin, amphetamine and other less known drugs such as ketamine, psilocybins, are problematic drugs in South Africa (listed in terms of prominence). Respondent 5 indicated that synthetic drugs have shown a dramatic increase in South Africa, with drugs readily available on the internet and marketed through 'legal high' websites. Examples of these, according to Respondent 5, include 'Magic Dragon' and 'Dust' that are made from chemical compounds such as JWH-073, and originally sold as 'Spice'. These synthetic cannabinoids are now sold as 'herbs' or 'herbal products'.

Drug abuse in South Africa, according to Respondent 3, is location, class, as well as ethnic, specific. Cocaine is destined for the upper class market and most prominent in areas considered upper class such as Sandton. Methamphetamine is established in the Western Cape but has spread to most of the provinces in South Africa as West Africans established the market (Respondent 3). Illicit clandestine laboratories that have been discovered in especially Gauteng are also contributing to the demand for methamphetamine in Gauteng (Respondent 3). Mandrax is mostly abused by the Indian and Coloured communities with a noted steady increase in use by black youths (Respondent 3). The abuse of heroin and cannabis mixes known as home-grown drugs is growing in black townships all over South Africa, with Nigerian drug syndicates having created the market for them and subsequently aggressively expanding it (Respondent 3).

Another factor to consider in determining drug demand is the price of drugs. Kelley (2006: 17) and Fichtelberg (2008: 202) both refer to drugs as a commodity of profit, therefore a steady increase in drug demand can be reflected in the increase in drug prices resulting in lucrative criminal drug trafficking businesses. Tullis (1995: 4), Alvares (2011: 36), Grove (1994: 5) and Minnaar (1999: 13) all imply that the profits acquired from the drug industry can contribute to not only an increase in drug demand and drug supply, but also have an effect on the effectiveness of a country's law enforcement and banking systems are all affected through the profits made by drug trafficking (inter alia via increased corruption occurring in these two spheres). Respondent 11 states that the effects of profits made from drug distribution can especially be seen in the gang wars on the Cape Flats. According to Respondent 11 gangs now have the monopoly in most communities due to the profits that they are making from drug sales. Some of these communities have even been labelled as 'no-go areas' for law enforcement officials (Respondent 11).

Not only are drugs a profitable commodity, but drugs are also used as a currency in their own right. Naim (2006: 76), Van Wyk (2011) and Respondent 12, indicated that drugs have been used as currency (barter mode of payment, i.e. drugs in return for a

different commodity or criminal activity) in a variety of crimes including diamond smuggling, rhino horn smuggling and even human trafficking.

The illicit drug prices as indicated by Havocscope (2012) and (Peltzer et al, 2007: 17) in Chapter 3, Table 3.1, point to an overall increase in drugs, supposedly smuggled from drug producing countries and a decrease in drugs such as cannabis that can be smuggled from neighbouring countries and/or produced in South Africa.

The following factors, i.e. the drug price, drug-related crime arrests and the percentage of drug users treated in South Africa were considered over the period 2007-2012 (Table 8.1).

Table 7.1: Drug availability: Drug price vs treatment demand

Drug	Drug Price Percentage from 2007 to 2012 (As seen in Table 3.1)	Percentage of patients admitted from 2008 to 2012 (As seen in Figure 3.1)
Cannabis	Decrease 38%	Increase 11.61%
Cocaine	Increase 170%	Decrease 46.46%
Methamphetamine /ATS stimulant	Increase 54%	Increase 43.58%
Heroin	Increase 364%	Decrease 5.37%

(Havocscope, 2012; Peltzer et al, 2007: 17; Plüddemann, Dada, Parry, Bhana, Vawda & Fourie, 2008-2013)

The 170 percent increase in cocaine prices and 364 percent increase in heroin prices can, according to Respondent 12, possibly be attributed to the increase of law enforcement efforts in especially the Middle East and Brazil. The deployment of the United States army in Afghanistan, according to Respondent 11, did have an effect on the heroin crops and heroin prices. The extraction from these areas is expected to cause a significant decrease in drug prices, according to Respondent 11. The

increase in the Methamphetamine/ATS stimulant prices can be attributed to the increase in demand for chemically made drugs (Respondent 5). Furthermore, according to Wilson and Stevens (2008: np), the increase in price of specifically heroin and cocaine can also be attributed to the proximity of the production country versus the end consumer.

No available data could be obtained from the SAPS indicating specific drug type arrests and therefore an overall percentage of thirty-seven percent increase for drug-related crime arrests was noted (from the SAPS crime statistics) between 2008 and 2012 (SAPS, 2013). According to Caulkins et al, (2006: 1), when an increase in incarceration is noted, the supply curve shifts up and to the left, increasing the market price and reducing the quantity of drugs sold in the market. When considering the data above and the overall increase in drug-related arrests, it can therefore be concluded that there was a possible increase in drug-related arrests for cocaine and heroin. The steady increase in drug demand can also be seen as stated by Kelley (2006: 17) as a result of the increase in the lucrative criminal drug trafficking businesses.

Even though South Africa has experienced some evolution in the illicit drug market, it is still evident from the information obtained from the treatment centre data, media analysis and interviews conducted that South Africans are still favouring the more easily accessible drugs such as cannabis. It is, however, difficult to quantify and confirm whether there has been an increase in drug abuse without data to support this. It can, however, be concluded that after 1994 there has occurred an increase in demand for illicit drugs in South Africa. Accurate data on this is, however, needed to conclude whether globalisation did have a negative impact specifically on drug availability in South Africa. Respondent 8 emphasised that it remains more profitable for South African syndicates to smuggle drugs in large commodities via ports of entry rather than using parcels or drug couriers to smuggle drugs. The next section of the findings will specifically focus on the extent of the drug supply to South Africa.

7.2.2 Extent of drug supply to South Africa

Zilney (2011: 180), Ryan (1997: 1) and Clutterbuck (1995: 4) indicated that the drugs that are in demand will be supplied to a country. Drug smuggling, according to all the respondents interviewed, is an organised crime activity made up of different groups and networks working together in the drug producing country, the transit country and the user or distribution country. Criminal syndicates will use all routes available to smuggle drugs, legitimately or illegitimately (Respondent 3). From the media reports analysed, nine of the arrested South African drug mules indicated that the drugs that they were smuggling, were destined for South Africa and the local drug market. The limitations within the reports analysed must be acknowledged, since the end destination country for most drugs were not stated. Based on the literature study and information from both the respondents interviewed and the media analysis, the following summary can be made of drug smuggling routes and the use of South African drug mules as per drug type:

Table 7.2: Summary of drug smuggling routes and South African drug mules: Drug producing country, transit country and destination country

Type of drug	Drug Producing Country	Transit Country	Destination Country	Smuggled by South African drug mules	Comments
Cannabis	South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland	Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana & Zimbabwe	South Africa, Europe	Most South African drug mules were arrested in possession of drugs that are cultivated/grown and processed abroad.	Cannabis can be locally cultivated and therefore limited crossborder smuggling of the drug is to be expected.
Cocaine	Brazil, Peru, Chile, Columbia	Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Dubai, Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe,	South Africa, Europe, North America	From the media reports four South African drug mules intended to smuggle drugs from Brazil to South Africa. It is clear that South Africans were used to smuggle drugs from cultivation countries (Columbia and Peru) or transit countries (Brazil) for mostly local consumption.	The dominant mode of smuggling cocaine into South Africa is by means of drug mules. In terms of airports, ORTIA is a nodal point in the smuggling of cocaine. Durban Harbour is an important point in terms of seaports. Media reports that indicated the quantity of cocaine intercepted either in South Africa, or enroute to South Africa carried by South African drug mules is as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 540 grams from Bali to

		Indonesia Thailand & India			South Africa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six kg from Argentina (Buenos Aires) to South Africa • 30 kg from Brazil to South Africa (intercepted in Brazil) • Four kg destined for Belgium intercepted in South Africa • Ten kg from South Africa to Brazil
Heroin	Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan	India, Dubai, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria Tanzania Zimbabwe Niger, Chad Malawi Mali, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Botswana	South Africa, Europe, North America	Only one South African drug mule arrested in Mauritius indicated that he was supposed to smuggle heroin from Mauritius to South Africa. Three of the media reports indicated that South African drug mules were arrested in Mauritius in possession of heroin. Only one report indicated that a South African drug mule was arrested in Bangkok for heroin smuggling. From the entire media reports	ORTIA is an important hub for illicit consignments destined for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland especially with the smuggling of Heroin.

				analysed most South African drug mules arrested abroad in possession of heroin were caught with parcels of one kilogram or less.	
Syn- thetics ¹⁰	Far East, Peoples Republic of China (PRC), West Africa, especially Nigeria, Togo and Ghana	India, Dubai, Ethiopia, Kenya, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe	South Africa, Europe, North America	Methamphetamine was the second highest smuggled drug by South African drug mules as concluded from media reports. Most of the methamphetamine smuggled was more than two kgs, with the largest seizure being above ten kgs. All of the South African drug mules arrested abroad, with the exception of one, caught in New Zealand, were arrested in Malaysia, specifically Lombok and Bali (Indonesia) in possession of Methamphetamines.	Mainly amphetamine, methaqualone and methamphetamine is imported. In South Africa, significant quantities of synthetic drugs, notably methaqualone (Mandrax), methcathinone and methamphetamine, continue to be illicitly manufactured locally.

¹⁰ This correlates with the information from The Central Drug Authority (CDA) (CDA, 2004: i), indicating that the synthetic drug market has grown in demand in South Africa.

The Department of International Relations and Co-operation (DIRCO) reported that South African drug mules are imprisoned in Brazil (162), Peru (70), Venezuela (36), the United Kingdom (20), China (16), Thailand (15) and Indonesia (2) (Mhlana, 2012). According to the above table, 248 South African drug mules were (in 2012) imprisoned in drug producing countries (Brazil, Peru, China), 53 South African drug mules having arrested in transit countries (Venezuela, Thailand and Indonesia) and 20 were arrested in destination countries. This is an indication that most of the South African drug mules never made it to the destination country and were mostly arrested in transit travelling from the drug producing countries. From media reports analysed, it was established that thirteen South Africans were arrested abroad on direct flights from South Africa. Seven South Africans were arrested coming from Brazil. Most of the South African drug mules indicated that the drugs were ultimately destined for South Africa and the local drug market. Bali, Mauritius and Brazil were also mentioned as destination locations.

Syndicates use routes that are already functional in South Africa; therefore it is necessary that high risk¹¹ routes be clearly indicated. The most commonly used route, as deduced from the analysed information, is the direct flight between Brazil and South Africa from Sao Paulo to Johannesburg. On this route the courier would either pick up the cocaine in Sao Paulo and smuggle it through the airport, or they would receive the contraband in Peru or Bolivia, cross by land border by bus into Brazil and make their way to the Sao Paulo airport. Alternately, they would go to Argentina and fly from Buenos Aires to Cape Town or Johannesburg.

Other high risk flights include the Brazil/Lisbon/Maputo/Johannesburg or transit Johannesburg to Maputo route (Respondent 3). The product would then be brought by taxi or bus through Swaziland and into South Africa or directly through the Komatipoort Border Post on the border with Mozambique and into South Africa (Respondent 3). After targeting the Maputo route with a number of arrests since September 2012, the syndicates changed their routing from Brazil (now also Rio de Janeiro and not only out of Sao Paulo) to Togo, West Africa and on to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia). From Addis Ababa they fly down to different Southern African countries

¹¹ In terms of their more frequent use by drug smuggling syndicates and their recruited drug mules.

such as Zambia, Malawi or Botswana and into South Africa by road (Respondent 3). According to Respondent 3, some of the countermeasures taken by the syndicates include giving the products to another courier to carry for the last leg. Other high risk flights identified include the direct Brazil/Luanda flight then by land through Namibia into Cape Town. Or the Brazil/Johannesburg/DRC/Angola flight, then by land into Namibia and South Africa (Respondent 3). The flight from Lima, Peru/Sao Paulo, Brazil/Johannesburg/Lusaka – then by land back through Botswana to South Africa, or the Brazil/Abu Dhabi/Nairobi flight is also considered a high risk route (Respondent 3). For heroin and mandrax the Emirates Air flights through Dubai into Johannesburg or Durban are used (Respondent 3).

The next section will give an overview of how drug syndicates smuggle drugs, indicating specifically the role of South African drug mules and the methods used when smuggling drugs.

7.3 THE ROLE DRUG MULES PLAY IN DRUG TRAFFICKING SYNDICATES

Syndicates using drug mules to smuggle drugs use different methods when recruiting, transporting and ultimately the crossborder smuggling of drugs. From the interviews conducted, as well as information collected from the case studies, it can be deduced that most drug mule smuggling is done in a cell compartmental style. This implies that, for example, A would know B, but C would not know A, C would be asked by B to do the transportation of the courier, and so on down the smuggling chain. Arrangements are made by the syndicate normally through corruption of airport security or immigration, police or customs, ensuring that the courier would enjoy a speedy transit at the port of entry.

Professional couriers would travel alone, especially if he/she had already done a few trips. A new recruit may be escorted by an 'old hand'. When the mule arrives at the destination, if he/she is a 'swallower', she will be given a food item or laxative at safe premises in order to start the excretion of the 'bullets'. A person carrying drugs on his/her person or in their luggage, would just hand them over at a place arranged by

the syndicate, get their payment and leave, or if a seasoned traveller, wait for the next instructions. Although not the most profitable way to smuggle drugs (often losing some of the profits because of the use of decoys with their attendant 'losses' – costs of flights, accommodation, spending money and the (smaller) quantities of drugs seized), according to all respondents interviewed, drug smuggling making use of drug mules remains a big problem globally. Furthermore, it still remains a relatively lucrative method for smuggling drugs with high returns if the professional drug mule gets through successfully.

Hübschle (2008: np), the EMCDDA (2012: 8), *Lockedup* (2012), Respondents 2, 3, 4, 5 and 10, elaborated on how drug mules are used in drug smuggling. Increased technological capabilities at borders have been forcing syndicates to make increased use of drug mules, since it appears to be the best and a less risky way of smuggling drugs across borders. The following summary of the hierarchical structure and roles relating specifically to drug trafficking syndicates and the role of drug mules was gleaned and collated from researchers such as Cressey (1967a), Rogovin and Martens (1997), Fukumi (2003), Nicaso and Lamothe (2005), Mendoza-Nakamura (1999), Fichtelberg, (2008: 207), Albinni (1988), Firestone (1997), Desroches (2005) Adler (1985), Garcia (2007: 39), Tullis (1995: 4), Zilney (2011: 182), Vannostrand and Tewksbury, 2006: 316), Pearson and Hobbs (2001: vi) and from Respondent 12, The following summarised overview information is provided of the above framework of issues relating to drug mules:

- i) Drug farmers/growers are mainly responsible for the plant-based drug crop in the drug-producing country. When the crops are harvested they are processed and packaged.
- ii) Brokers/buyers are people who buy and sell the processed crops from the farmers. They make all the arrangements for the sale of the drugs to the syndicate. Syndicate buyers have various options when arriving at the buying locations, namely: they can either purchase the product or transport it

themselves; purchase it and arrange for a mule to transport it; or arrange for an agent to return at a future date and purchase and transport the drugs.

iii) The drugs then go to the testers who test the quality of the drugs and ultimately determine the price of the drugs. It is at this point where the syndicate will decide if the price is worth the risk. Keeping in mind that the price includes recruitment, transportation, corruption, smuggling and money laundering fees.

iv) The syndicate will then decide how to smuggle the drugs from the drug producing country to the transit and ultimately consumer/destination country and take the following factors into consideration:

- *Quantity of drugs:*

If there is a large consignment bought, it would be more profitable for the syndicate to smuggle the drugs in containers via maritime means or over land. If the amount to be smuggled is small, the syndicate will consider using drug mules or postal services in order to get the drugs to the consumer market.

- *Costs of transportation and corruption of border officials:*

The syndicate needs to consider the costs of corrupting law enforcement officials at ports of entry for getting the goods through customs, or for getting drug mules through customs. If the cost relating to activities such as corruption is too high, i.e. impact too much on expected profits, the syndicate will then consider using a decoy with a small amount of drugs and then use a professional mule with a bigger consignment.

- *Border controls in place at transit and/or destination countries:*

In terms of risk versus reward, the syndicate will examine which routes are the least risky and that will not cost them too much when considering smuggling drugs from a drug producing country to consumer countries.

- *Other available organised crime syndicates:*

As described by the respondents interviewed, syndicates have evolved to specialise in certain commodities and they network and co-operate with each other when such a need arises. The syndicate at this stage will then engage with other syndicates depending on the routes necessary to smuggle the drugs. For example, if the syndicate wants to smuggle drugs using Thailand as a transit country, the syndicate will possibly contact a rhino horn smuggling syndicate that has an established network between South Africa and Thailand, including corrupt officials.

- v) In order to illustrate how drug mules are used by the syndicates, it would be presumed that the syndicate decides to use a drug mule to smuggle the drugs from a drug producing to the destination country. The syndicate will then consider whether a professional mule or professional and decoy mules should be used. Even though some respondents were of the opinion that in terms of risk versus reward, it is not profitable for syndicates to use decoys, a large number of arrested South African drug mules claimed to have been decoys (set up to be the 'fall guy'). When comparing data obtained from both the respondents interviewed and the media analysis, the differences between a decoy and a professional mule can be stated as follows:

Table 7.3: Professional drug mule versus decoy drug mule

Professional drug mule	Drug decoy
Smuggled drugs multiple times without being caught.	Usually recruited for the sole purpose of getting caught (set up) and are usually caught on their first smuggle attempt.
Larger quantities of quality drugs are smuggled.	Carry small quantities of drugs.
Usually recruited through a direct approach: drug mule is spotted, recruited, briefed and then used as a courier to knowingly smuggle drugs.	Usually recruited through an indirect approach: a person is offered an opportunity such as a job or foreign travel/vacation in foreign places; they are then given an air ticket to a promised destination and <i>en route</i> to the destination the person is rerouted and instructed to fetch a parcel.
Usually aware of a decoy drug mule travelling with (accompanying or travelling ahead not always on the same flight or same day).	Not aware that they are travelling with (or being closely followed by) a professional drug mule.
Assisted through customs by corrupt law enforcement.	Usually by law enforcement officials and media awaited them upon their arrival (an indication of pre-alerting/tip-off).

- vi) Assuming the syndicate decided to use both a professional and decoy mules, the syndicate will now have to identify (spot) potential mules for recruiting. The syndicate will notify recruiters within South Africa who will start looking for potential and likely persons to undertake the smuggling of the drugs. Generally all respondents agreed that most drug mules are not specifically selected based on their appearance, although the syndicates do prefer individuals who will not attract too much attention to themselves from law

enforcement personnel. In other words, 'potentials' that do not generally fit the 'drug mule profile'.

vii) All of the respondents did, however, indicate that most drug mules are identified and recruited because of their vulnerabilities, which could be either financial, emotional or social. According to Respondent 7, it is crucial that the economically vulnerable climate due to poverty, unemployment and social disintegration be addressed in South Africa. According to the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Lopez, (1998: np) and Respondents 3 and 4, the recruiters will consider the following factors:

- *Demographic details:*

Most of the South African drug mules arrested (as per the media reports), were between the ages of 30-35. Drug mules between the ages of 20-30 and above 40 were indicated as the second and third highest age groups arrested. From media articles analysed, the majority of arrested South African drug mules were female. This drug mule profile could change according to new trends identified by law enforcement.

- *Vulnerabilities:*

Vulnerabilities, such as the potential mules' financial status, drug addiction and emotional vulnerability, are also considered. The recruiters, according to Respondents 1 and 2, have contacts in the financial sector and use social networks such as *facebook* and dating sites to identify likely persons for recruitment.

viii) Once the person has been identified or spotted, the syndicate will use one of two approaches when recruiting the possible mule:

- *Direct approach:*
the drug mule is spotted, recruited, briefed and then used as a courier to knowingly smuggle drugs; or
 - *Indirectly*
In this method a person is offered an opportunity such as a job or foreign travel/vacation in a foreign place as an inducement to undertake the trip. They are then given an air ticket to a promised destination and *en route* to the destination the person is re-routed and instructed to fetch a parcel.
- ix) Once a mule has been recruited, the recruiter will notify the syndicate. The syndicate will then arrange all the operational assistance in terms of flight bookings, hotel accommodations, instructions for collection or transportation, as well as providing passports, cash and visa requirements for the drug mule. The details of instructions will be given, usually via the recruiter, to the drug mule. The mule will then be escorted by a member of the syndicate, not necessarily the recruiter, to the airport. Novices would be told how to act at airports, who to see or call on arrival and from whom they can expect further instructions. They would normally be handed the name and telephone number of their contact and sometimes a simcard of the local country. Small amounts of money to sustain them for a short period of time would also be handed to them just before departure.
- x) Once the mule arrives in the drug producing country a member of the syndicate will meet with the mule, transport the mule to a location such as a hotel where the mule will be briefed. This briefing is usually conducted by an ex-professional mule of the syndicate (Respondent 3).
- xi) Once the mule is briefed the mule will be prepped depending on the method that will be used to smuggle the drugs. From the media reports analysed and the respondents' interviews it was concluded that the most commonly used

methods of concealment by South African drug mules as per drug type is as follows:

Table 7.4: Methods used in drug concealment

TYPE OF DRUG				
	Cannabis	Cocaine	Heroin	Synthetics
Concealed in baggage		X	X	X
Swallowed/concealed internally		X	X	
Hidden on body/in clothes		X	X	
Concealed in a vehicle	X			
Other (as specified in additional comments)		Mostly hidden in tinned food, shampoo bottles and stationery packs.		

Drug mules are also used to transport cash (dollars, pounds and euros) back to producer and transit countries. This cash is also hidden away in the same way as the drugs that they carry (Respondent 3).

- xii) Additional further operational arrangements in terms of pocket money, flight tickets and accommodation are again given through to the mule in the drug producing country before their departure to the destination country. The mules can be, and often are, threatened at this point if they decide not to co-operate with the syndicate. The syndicate will then send the mule to the transit country

with the drugs. It is also at this point where the decoys will usually be arrested since the syndicate would have tipped off the police.

- xiii) If the mule has been recruited as a professional mule, the syndicate will ensure that the mule will go through customs and immigration in order to successfully get the drugs into the destination country. Police use basic behavioural patterns to identify possible drug mules. This drug mule profile is based on the use of small currency values, extensive travelling between drug importation countries, no or limited luggage when travelling and travelling under false aliases or identities, vulnerable financial status and number of possessions carried by the individual. Other methods used by law enforcement to detect possible drug mules, include spotting potential high risk flights. These flight lists are then further filtered by identifying all individuals who bought tickets cash and then further filtered from those individuals by identifying all people with vulnerable financial lifestyles. Audits are also made on the method of payment for the flight ticket and the country of arrival.

- xiv) Once the drugs reach the destination country they will be distributed depending on the quantity smuggled.

7.4 SOUTH AFRICANS RECRUITED AS DRUG MULES

The criminology theories as described by Vold et al, (2002: 8-9, 196-197, 160, 136) in Chapter 5, section 5.3, were used as a basis to determine or identify specific vulnerable people or vulnerabilities within people as based on key factors of the theories.

Table 7.5: Vulnerable people recruited

Theory	Key factors of the theory	Possible vulnerable people
Classical Criminology theories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial gain • Limited to no risk when compared to the benefits • Crime is committed out of free will • Absence of effective deterrence/punishment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployed people • Financially vulnerable • Drug Abusers • Countries with vulnerable borders • Mostly include professional drug mules
Rational Choice Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs (punishment) and benefits (financial) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs are minimised by insufficient legislation • Corruption • Perceived leniency in legislation • Unemployed people, usually drug decoy
Sutherland's Differential Association Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminal behaviour is learnt • Criminals definition of criminal behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug addicts • People from dysfunctional families. • Financially vulnerable • Professional drug mules
Merton's Anomie Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gap between economic success and the opportunity to obtain this goal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persons desperately wanting to travel but have no means to. • Persons wanting to live a certain lifestyle beyond their means. • Emotional vulnerable persons and therefore most likely to be recruited by a person close to the mule, such as a close friend, lover or partner. Recruited in a place of trust such as a school, church or workplace. • Recruited by gaining trust through social networks such as facebook or dating sites.

With an estimated seventy percent of South African youths are unemployed, thus the high rate of unemployment and social economic circumstances and a general perceived lack in effective law enforcement in South Africa, leads to more people being likely to be recruited by organised crime syndicates.

7.5 INITIATIVES AND POLICIES APPLICABLE TO DRUG TRAFFICKING

According to the respondents interviewed, considerable efforts have been made by the South African government in terms of crime prevention campaigns and visible policing in South Africa in order to combat and prevent drug smuggling. Drug sniffer dogs and scanners are used at international port of entry airports to catch drug mules from smuggling drugs into South Africa. Respondent 8, however, indicated that this equipment still largely depends on human operation and is therefore still vulnerable to elements such as corruption and untrained personal. It should also be noted, according to Respondent 8, that South Africa is an international hub, therefore the quantities versus the ability to scan all people and goods is impossible. Some drug mules have also been re-routed by being made to fly into Johannesburg as an in-transit passenger and on to other Southern African destinations and then coming back through border posts that do not have the same level of security and surveillance measures as in place at ORTIA. International syndicates also resort to using different methods of drug smuggling such as mailing a package by freight rail and using drug couriers/mules when routes are exposed by law enforcement agencies (Respondent 9).

In terms of awareness campaigns, Respondent 12 highlighted that there are large sign boards displayed in the arrival and departure halls of airports warning of the dangers of drug trafficking and flight ticket coupons have warnings printed on them against the carrying of prohibited goods. Police Units investigating transnational crime, supported by Covert Crime Intelligence Units are placed at airports to identify and arrest arriving and departing drug couriers.

Currently The Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act, 1992 (Act No 140 of 1992), Section 5 pertaining to dealing in drugs, is used to arrest all people caught with or attempting to smuggle drugs across South African borders. The Medicines Control Act, 101 of

1965, as amended, with specific reference to Section 22A, is used to prosecute all persons in relation to type and amount/quantity of drugs carried by drug couriers. In terms of prosecution, The Criminal Procedures Act, 1977, as amended, is also used.

Drug mules are not prosecuted separately from organised syndicated drug traffickers. There are contraventions available under the Prevention of Organised Crime Act, 1998 (Act No 121 of 1998) where a whole syndicate can be arrested and prosecuted as a crime enterprise, but the couriers remain part and parcel of the enterprise. According to most respondents, no exceptions have been made thus far in terms of claims made by the drug mules that were arrested in South Africa who claimed to have not known that they are smuggling drugs. Only one case that Respondent 3 could recall in his 30 years of experience where this defence was successful, relates to a girl with a very low intelligence level that could be proven to have been intentionally and purposefully misled by Nigerians from Hillbrow to take cocaine to the United Kingdom. Her excuse was accepted by the court when considering all the factors shown before the court.

In terms of South African drug mules arrested abroad, the South African government responds in terms of The Geneva Convention that rules how Diplomatic Services should be conducted. In terms of this convention, governments are not allowed to intervene in a local countries' sovereignty. The issue of drug trafficking is also agreed upon by the majority of countries in the world and most of them have signed and/or ratified the three United Nations Conventions on Drug Control (1960, 1971 and 1988), as well as the Palermo Convention on Organised crime, wherein all signatories agreed that drug trafficking, including drug couriers, should be addressed. There will, however, be consular assistance afforded to a South African national when arrested abroad by the South African Mission responsible for that country (Respondent 4). Furthermore, the cost of implementing a prison's transfer treaty for South African arrested mules with repatriation back to South Africa and the daily expense to the taxpayer would not be cost effective (Respondent 3).

7.6 PROJECTIONS

When considering the history of Apartheid and the international influx of drugs into South Africa since 1994, it can be presumed that South Africa has become an equal player in the world drug market. South Africa is therefore expected to have a fully globalised drug market, as well as a resulting increased drug demand. If the criminogenic market for drugs, as defined by Minnaar (1999: 2) as a market structure, where there is an unsaturated demand for and ready availability of illegal goods, is not stopped, there will be an increase in drug availability since the profitability of the industry will be difficult to curb. All of the respondents interviewed, indicated that drug demand in South Africa will continue to increase because of the continual availability of drugs in South Africa.

Scholars such as Ryan (1997) and Gelbrand (1998), hypothesised on the future of South Africa and drug trafficking and the evolution of the drug market in South Africa. Ryan (1997: 11), hypothesised that South African gangsters will take over the local dealing of cocaine and heroin from the international syndicates such as those controlled by Nigerians. Such local syndicates will subsequently move up through the trafficking hierarchy. Eventually, South African trafficking syndicates, according to Ryan (1997: 11), will be operating internationally. This takeover of the drug supply and distribution within South Africa will be categorised by ongoing violence between various syndicates and police since the syndicates will need to compete with other international syndicates and criminal organisations (Ryan, 1997: 11). Respondent 11 and 12 indicated that the gang violence noticed in recent years is a huge concern to the authorities. The gang violence, according to the respondents, can mainly be attributed to drug dealing profits and therefore, predictions of increases and other developing trends as made by the above respondents, can be seen as probable and very likely.

On the other hand, predictions made by Gelbrand (1998: 175), concur with that of Ryan, by stating that the growing drug trafficking problem in South Africa will leave

South Africa vulnerable for exploitation by international drug syndicates. The involvement of such syndicates will create money laundering opportunities, chemical production and distribution opportunities in South Africa. Respondent 5 indicated that more syndicates are producing chemical drugs such as mandrax, since it is cheaper to smuggle chemicals than finished product internationally. Most of the chemicals are regulated by the Medical Research Council as Schedule 6 medicines and most border officials have no idea what the recommended and allowed quantities are per person, making chemical smuggling a perfect avenue for criminal syndicates. The increase in abuse of pharmaceutical drugs is, according to Respondent 8, creating a market for criminality in the pharmaceutical industry.

7.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

More research is necessary in order to determine if drugs smuggled into South Africa are smuggled for the South African drug market and if South African drug mules are used to smuggle drugs for this market. In South Africa there is no accurate information on which drugs are available in the country. The responsibility of obtaining information on drug availability statistics are therefore largely placed on treatment centres. The data emanating from these centres (often privately-owned or run with grants from the state) does not necessarily provide a clear indication of the drug market size or extent of supply and demand. It is recommended that the exchange of information on successful/unsuccessful initiatives with international role players (academic organisations; NGOs; international agencies, e.g. WHO, NIDA) through exchange of personnel, stimulating conference attendance, running regional workshops and increasing access to resources (programme material, publications) should be implemented by the government.

A study in 2013 by Henrick Viviers, a student of the University of Pretoria, could perhaps initially assist as a way in which to determine what drugs are available and being used in South Africa (Fitzpatrick, 2013). Viviers indicated in a media report that he is currently busy conducting research for his Masters' degree in chemistry. The research is based on the chemical analysis of sewerage in order to determine any

traces of illicit drugs are present and thereby determining how many drug users specifically reside in the neighbourhoods where analysis occurs in the Gauteng region (Fitzpatrick, 2013). The findings of this study, once completed, are postulated to hopefully pave the way for future research and policy development on specifically the drug demand of South Africa. Extending beyond only the geographical analysis of the presence of drug users in South Africa the study and subsequent studies like this, can also, in addition, assist law enforcement agencies specifically with the following:

- i. Police deployment and resource management. By considering areas where drug usage is the highest police could deploy their resources more efficiently by targeting such identified areas (through sewerage analysis).
- ii. Specific drug awareness campaigns as per drug usage problem can be launched in such areas.
- iii. This could also assist law enforcement in evaluating the effectiveness of their drug policies.
- iv. Once the drug demand is identified specific drug routes surveillance and monitoring can start to be plotted based on information that is already available on existing drug routes.

Further research with specific focus on drug trafficking should be concentrated on the following:

- What kind of impact (negatively or otherwise) has globalisation had on drug availability in South Africa specifically?
- A further focus should be put on the socio-demographic trends, such as gender, age balance, ethnicity of the population and the rate of urbanisation

and whether all of this influenced the further evolution of the South African drug market.

- The nature and extent of chemical smuggling for the sole purpose of drug manufacturing.
- Identify links between drug markets and drug supply.
- Links between drug abuse and ethnic differences.
- Links between specific drug types and specific organised crime syndicates. For example, the link specifically between heroin smuggling and Nigerian syndicates.

From the respondents interviewed and academics such as Clutterbuck (1995: 4), it is clear that organised crime syndicates will keep on smuggling drugs as long as drug addicts are prepared to pay for the drugs and the risks related to smuggling remain at the low end of the risk scale, coupled with the concomitant high profits associated with drug trafficking. Therefore, it is recommended that policies and initiatives be focused at raising the risks related to drug smuggling (including increasing the deterrence factor).

Legislation in South Africa makes no distinction between drug mules, recruiters and other role players within a drug trafficking syndicate. Therefore, despite the global recognition of all of these differentiated terms, such as drug mules and drug recruiters, there are still a number of fundamental issues to resolve. Foremost of which is that the roles and terms be incorporated into legislation and policies for future implementation. More research should be undertaken to further clarify understanding, specifically comparatively across countries and across professional fields. Future research should additionally focus specifically on the way that drug mules can be formalised in legislation such as the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act,

recognising and acknowledging both professional and decoy drug mule categories. With reference to distinguishing between different types of mules, possible indicators should be through research done specifically on this issue. Other research to be considered is the socio-demographic and economic features and profile characteristics of drug mules.

On a practical level and in terms of specific law enforcement approaches, it would be necessary to employ more drug mule profilers at large international ports of entry to ensure that all high risk flights are monitored on a 24-hourly seven-days-a-week basis. It would ultimately be best to use a combination of profiling methods, with well-trained experts who have accumulated a great deal of tactical knowledge being utilised at the outset, as well as them being used to pass on accumulated knowledge to young newly recruited officers in a field training situation (i.e. mentoring programme). More emphasis should also be made in terms of identifying recruiters in South Africa and drafting legislation that deals specifically with recruiting as a crime.

A comprehensive counter drug and counter crime strategy should also be considered. This must, however, be done once government has sufficient data to apply analysis to identify the threat and assess the consequences so that the authorities can both map strategies to convince the public to extend full support to them.

7.8 CONCLUSION

It can be inferred that the presence of illicit drugs in a country is a direct result of drug trafficking whether through drug mules, large quantity drug smuggling or precursor chemical smuggling. The drugs present can either be as a result of the “spill over” effect or manufactured as a result of chemicals imported/smuggled into a country. As a result of drugs being available in a country, the demand for drugs will continue to be present. It should, however, be noted that factors like drug cost also play an important role in determining drug availability. Even though most drug policies focus on drug supply reduction, it can only be effective if it is directed at both

the drug demand and drug supply, since these are interrelated and symbiotically linked. In terms of specifically drug smuggling through the use of drug mules structural factors, such as poverty and unemployment, substance abuse-related problems particularly in marginalised and disadvantaged communities need to be recognised. Specific vulnerabilities associated with drug mule recruiting should also be considered. The focus should be put on defining specific roles within legislation, such as the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act, allowing for specific prosecution of drug abusers, drug mules, drug distributors and drug mule recruiters.

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- South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA):<http://sancanational.org/>
- South African Government Information: <http://www.gov.za>
- The South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU): <http://www.sahealthinfo.co.za/admodule/sacendu.htm>
- Lockedup <http://www.lockedup.co.za/>

Interviews:

- Respondent 1, 2013. Drug mule family support. Email interview. 9 September.
- Respondent 2. 2013. Drug mule family support. Email interview. 15 October.
- Respondent 3. 2014. Drug trafficking expert, 30 years combined experience through Interpol, SAPS and DPCI. Pretoria. 13 March.
- Respondent 4. 2014. Drug trafficking expert, 25 experience in the SAPS and Interpol. Pretoria: 13 March.
- Respondent 4. 2014. Researcher in the Financial Intelligence Environment, 8 years' experience. Pretoria: 20 March.
- Respondent 5. 2014. Financial crime expert, 12 years' experience through Reserve bank and Financial Intelligence Centre. Pretoria: 20 March.
- Respondent 7. 2014. Financial crime analyst, 8 years' experience within the Financial Intelligence Centre. Pretoria: 20 March.
- Respondent 8. 2014. Organised crime expert, 26 years' experience within the South African Police Services. Pretoria: 18 March.
- Respondent 9. 2014. Narcotics drug investigation head, 12 years' experience in the South African Police Services. Pretoria: 18 March.
- Respondent 10. 2014. Criminal law expert, 13 years' experience within the South African Police civilian survives. Pretoria: 2 April.
- Respondent 11. 2014. Crime analyst, 8 years' experience within the intelligence environment. Pretoria: 27 February.
- Respondent 12. 2014. Crime analyst, 23 years' experience within the intelligence environment. Pretoria: 27 February.
- Respondent 13. 2014. Close friend of incarcerated drug mule. Email interview: 14 March.

ANNEXURE A: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: SAMPLE B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: DRUG EXPERTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The study aims to determine the nature and extent of drug trafficking taking place in South Africa, through the use of drug mules in crossborder drug smuggling. In order to achieve the aim of the study the following objectives were identified:

- 1.1 Examine the relationship between drugs supplied by drug mules into South Africa and the drug demand in South Africa by specifically focusing on:
 - the nature and extent of the current drug demand in South Africa; and
 - the extent of drug smuggling to South Africa.
- 1.2 Examine what initiatives and policies are applicable to drug trafficking and specifically drug mules in South Africa.
- 1.3 Determine what methods are used by drug mules to smuggle drugs across South African borders.
- 1.4 Determine what role drug mules play in drug trafficking syndicates.
- 1.5 Determine why South Africans are recruited as drug mules.

The research should be seen as a point of departure towards a more ambitious threat assessment and will provide the platform of current understanding from which various analytical techniques can be applied to assist in the production of a threat assessment and policies.

2. INSTRUCTIONS

The interview will be guided by a set of semi-structured research questions. Please feel free to provide additional information where you feel applicable. Answer all questions as thoroughly as possible and where unclear please ask for clarification. The duration of the interview will be 45 minutes. The interview will be voice recorded through a digital tape recorder.

The results of this study may be published. All results will be summative in the findings and anonymous. However, if you wish to be acknowledged in the list of contributors to the study please enter your name and surname below:

Name and surname:

3. EXPERIENCE

Please provide the following details regarding your experience:

- 3.1 Position within the organisation:
- 3.2 Indicate the number of years you have experience within the field of drug trafficking investigations:
- 3.3 Please specify your role with regard to drug trafficking investigations.

4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUGS SMUGGLED AND DRUG DEMAND

The following questions will relate to the relationship between drugs smuggled by drug mules and the current drug demand in South Africa.

- 4.1 In your opinion is there a drug demand/or drug market currently in South Africa? If yes, what drugs are in demand currently in South Africa?
- 4.2 Is the South African drug market been increasing or decreasing over the last 5 years?
- 4.3 Is drug trafficking syndicates using drug mules to supply drugs to the South African drug demand?
- 4.4 Is drug trafficking syndicates using South African drug mules as suppliers to the international drug markets? If yes, what international drug markets?

5. DRUGS SUPPLIED TO SOUTH AFRICA

The following questions will relate to specifically drug supply to South Africa and the use of drug mules by drug trafficking syndicates:

- 5.1 Is all drugs supplied to South African through organised crime syndicates?
- 5.2 Are the syndicates who supply drugs to South Africa located nationally or internationally?
- 5.3 From where specifically, within South Africa, do they operate?
- 5.4 From which countries internationally are they operating?
- 5.5 Which are the most commonly used transport routes, used by drug mules, when entering South Africa?

Type of drug	Airports	Seaports	Over land	Comments
Cannabis				
Cocaine				
Heroin				
Synthetics (*)				

(*) Please indicate specific synthetic drugs commonly imported (e.g. ecstasy, amphetamine,) in the comments section.

- 5.6 What is the most common country of origin/transit countries for drug mules smuggling each of the following drug types:
 - a) Cannabis:
 - b) Cocaine:
 - c) Heroin:
 - d) Synthetics (please indicate specific drug):
- 5.7 What other commodities have mules been used for by syndicates?

6. INITIATIVES AND POLICIES RELEVANT TO DRUG TRAFFICKING AND SPECIFICALLY DRUG MULES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following section will relate specifically to initiatives, legislation, policies and procedures in place to combat drug trafficking with specific reference to the prosecution of drug mules:

- 6.1 What legislation is currently used in South Africa to prosecute drug mules?
- 6.2 Are drug mules prosecuted separately from organised syndicated drug traffickers?
- 6.3 Are there specific exemptions when drug mules are prosecuted? For example, the drug mule claims to have not known about the drugs?
- 6.5 Does South Africa have a risk profile of drug mules or people who might be smuggling drugs?
- 6.6 What physical security measures have been put in place in areas such as the airports to prevent/deter drug mules from smuggling drugs?
- 6.7 If a South African drug mule is captured abroad will and can the South African authorities intervene in the prosecution?
- 6.8 What is your personal opinion on the implementation of a prison transfer treaty?

7. DRUG SMUGGLING METHODS

The following section will relate to specific methods used by drug mules to smuggle drugs across South African borders.

- 7.1 Who arranges the transportation of the drug mules to the POE?
- 7.2 What is the procedure when the mule arrives at the POE?
- 7.3 Does the mule travel alone? Or are they escorted?
- 7.4 When the mule arrives at the destination, what procedure is followed?
- 7.5 What is the difference between a drug mule and a decoy?
- 7.6 What is the most common used method in smuggling drugs across South African borders?
- 7.7 Please indicate the most commonly used method of concealment by drug mules crossing South Africa borders per drug;

Type of drug	Concealed in baggage	Swallowed/ concealed internally	Hidden on the body/in clothes	Concealed in a vehicle	Other (please specify in comments)	Comments
Cannabis						
Cocaine						
Heroin						
Synthetics*						

(*). Please indicate specific synthetic drugs commonly imported (e.g. ecstasy, amphetamine) in the comments section.

8. ROLE OF DRUG MULES IN DRUG TRAFFICKING SYNDICATES

- 8.1 What is the specific role of drug mules in drug trafficking syndicates?
- 8.2 Are there different types of drug mules?

9. RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DRUG MULE

- 9.1 How do drug trafficking syndicates recruit drug mules?
- 9.2 How is the drug mules trained?
- 9.3 Are the drug mules specifically groomed?
- 9.4 What is the average age of drug mules?
- 9.5 What is the most common gender of drug mules?
- 9.6 What is the general economic status of captured drug mules?
- 9.7 What is the average amount of years that a mule traffics drugs for a specific syndicate?
- 9.8 In your experience what was the general reason for engaging in drug trafficking by drug mules?
- 9.9 What factors contribute to South Africans becoming drug mules

10. DO YOU KNOW OF ANY PERSON, EXPERT OR DATA AVAILABLE ON DRUG MULES THAT COULD BE USEFUL WITHIN THIS STUDY?

.....
.....

11. DO YOU HAVE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OR INFORMATION FOR THIS STUDY?

.....
.....

[THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY]

ANNEXURE B: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: SAMPLE A

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: INCARCERATED AND RELEASED DRUG MULES AND/OR FAMILY MEMBERS-CLOSE FRIENDS

1. INTRODUCTION

The study aims to determine the nature and extent of drug trafficking taking place in South Africa, through the use of drug mules in crossborder drug smuggling. In order to achieve the aim of the study the following objectives were identified:

- 1.1 Examine the relationship between drugs supplied by drug mules into South Africa and the drug demand in South Africa by specifically focusing on:
 - the nature and extent of the current drug demand in South Africa; and
 - the extent of drugs smuggling to South Africa.
- 1.2 Examine what initiatives and policies are applicable to drug trafficking and specifically drug mules in South Africa.
- 1.3 Determine what methods are used by drug mules to smuggle drugs across South African borders.
- 1.4 Determine what role drug mules play in drug trafficking syndicates.
- 1.5 Determine why South Africans are recruited as drug mules.

The research should be seen as a point of departure towards a more ambitious threat assessment and will provide the platform of current understanding from which various analytical techniques can be applied to assist in the production of a threat assessment and policies.

2. INSTRUCTIONS

The interview will be guided by a set of semi-structured research questions. Please feel free to provide additional information where you feel applicable. Answer all questions as thoroughly as possible and where unclear please ask for clarification. All answers will be treated with confidentiality and cannot be used in any persecution or court proceedings.

The duration of the interview will be 30 minutes. The interview will be voice recorded through a digital tape recorder.

The results of this study may be published. All results will be summative in the findings and anonymous. However, if you wish to be acknowledged in the list of contributors to the study please enter your name and surname below:

Name and surname:

3. BIOGRAPHY

- 3.1 What age were you when you were arrested?
- 3.2 How long have you been imprisoned?
- 3.3 What is your current sentence?
- 3.4 Have you had previous convictions or incidences with the law? If yes please specify what?
- 3.5 Where did you reside before imprisonment?
- 3.6 Did you have a job? If yes, what were you employed as?
- 3.7 What was your economic status before you got involved or sentenced for drug trafficking?

- 3.8 Were you married before imprisonment? If yes, are you still married?
- 3.9 Do you have children? If yes, how many? How old are they? Where are they now?
- 3.10 Is your family aware of your imprisonment? If yes, how has your imprisonment affected them? Do they communicate with you? If yes, how?

4. RECRUITMENT, TRAINING AND GROOMING

- 4.1 Were you recruited by a syndicate? If yes how? If no, how were you involved or caught with the drugs?
- 4.2 Were you aware that you were smuggling drugs? If you were aware did you think that you would be caught?
- 4.3 Did you ever feel that you “wanted out”? If yes, did you inform the syndicate? What was their reaction?
- 4.4 In your opinion are people recruited as specifically drug mules, or as decoys?
- 4.5 How much were you paid? How where you paid? When were you paid (before or after the “job”)?
- 4.6 Was drugs the only commodity that you smuggled?
- 4.7 Were you trained in “smuggling drugs”? If yes what training did you receive? By whom were you trained, a previous drug mule or a syndicate member?
- 4.8 Were you groomed to look a certain way? If yes, please describe how a typical drug mule would look?
- 4.9 Were you given a fake passport to smuggle the drugs?
- 4.10 For how long have you been smuggling drugs before you were caught?

5. SMUGGLING OF DRUGS ACROSS THE BORDER

- 5.1 What drugs did you smuggle?
- 5.2 Did you have a choice in the method of smuggling?
- 5.3 What method of smuggling did you use?
- 5.4 Despite the method that you used what other methods are there?
- 5.5 From where did you smuggle drugs?
- 5.6 Were you given specific instructions before you crossed the border? If yes, what instruction were you given?
- 5.7 Was there other people like border officials assisting the syndicate?
- 5.8 Do you know other drug mules?

6. ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT

- 6.1 Why in your opinion do you think you were captured and arrested?
- 6.2 Do you think that the syndicate used you as a decoy?
- 6.3 Were you given instruction on what to do, or what to say when you were captured or arrested?
- 6.4 Were there signs that you are going to be captured?
- 6.5 Do you believe that you were given a fair sentence?
- 6.6 Were any of the syndicate members that you worked for arrested?
- 6.7 Did the syndicate contact you during your imprisonment?
- 6.8 In your opinion are/were you given the right rehabilitation therapy and advice to cope with what happened?
- 6.9 Do you think you will be able to live your life as you did previously?
- 6.10 Do you think that a prison transfer treaty will be beneficial?

7. REASONS FOR DRUG TRAFFICKING

- 7.1 Why do you think people get involved in drug trafficking?
- 7.2 Did any of your friends or family members suspect that you were smuggling drugs?
- 7.3 Do you think that drug trafficking is sensationalised by the media?
- 7.4 Do you think that technology is making it easier for syndicates to recruit drug mules? If yes, how?

[THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY]

ANNEXURE C: MEDIA PRO FORMA ANALYSIS FORM

PRO FORMA ANALYSIS FORM

This pro forma analysis form was used to analyse all available media articles dealing with or mentioning South African drug mule activities for the period 2002-2012 in order to obtain some overview of trends and modus operandi for this research study.

Date of Arrest	Nationality	M/F*	Age	Drug Type	Country Of Origin	Transit country	Destination Country	POE**	Method used	Reason for smuggling drugs	Sentence if prosecuted	Name of Prison were the mule is imprisoned	Name of mule if stated	Ref/CAS no***

Abbreviations:

*M/F: Male or Female

**POE: Port Of Entry used to smuggled the drugs

***Ref/CAS number: Reference of media article of case number

**ANNEXURE D: COLLEGE OF LAW, UNISA ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE
LETTER OF APPROVAL**



COLLEGE OF LAW RESEARCH ETHICS SUB-COMMITTEE

7 June 2013

Dear Ms A van Heerden,

**REQUEST FOR ETHICAL CLEARANCE: DRUG TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH AFRICA:
THE USE OF 'DRUG MULES' IN CROSSBORDER SMUGGLING**

The UNISA College of Law Research Ethics Sub-Committee is pleased to inform you that ethical clearance for the above research project has been approved.

We hope and trust that as you proceed with your empirical study you will continue to adhere to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Research Ethics Policy, which can be found at the following website:

http://www.unisa.ac.za/cmsys/staff/contents/departments/res_policies/docs/Policy_Research%20Ethics_rev%20app%20Council_22.06.2012.pdf

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M Schoeman", with a checkmark at the end.

Dr Marelize Schoeman
Delegated Chairperson
College of Law Ethics Review Committee
Tel: +27 12 429 6680
E-Mail: schoemi@unisa.ac.za



University of South Africa
Freller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392, Unisa, 0003, South Africa
www.unisa.ac.za/law

ANNEXURE E: CONSENT FORM PRO FORMA

Consent form

AGREEMENT:

I hereby consent to:

- being interviewed on the topic: “Drug trafficking in South Africa: The use of ‘drug mules’ in crossborder smuggling”
- follow-up interviews if necessary;
- the interviews being recorded in writing or by using tape recorder;
- the use of data derived from these interviews by the interviewer in a research report as She deems appropriate.

I also understand that:

- I am free to end my involvement or to cancel my consent to participate in the research at any time should I want to;
- information rendered up to the point of my termination of participation could, however, still be used by the researcher;
- anonymity is guaranteed by the researcher and data will under no circumstances be reported in such a way as to reveal my identity;
- I am free to determine that specific information that I reveal should not be recorded in writing;
- no reimbursement will be made by the researcher for information rendered or for my participation in this project;
- I will in no way derive any personal benefit from taking part in this research project;
- by signing this agreement I undertake to give honest answers to reasonable questions and not to mislead the researcher;
- I will receive the original copy of this agreement on signing it.

I hereby acknowledge that the researcher/interviewer:

- discussed the aims and objectives of this research project with me;
- informed me about the contents of this agreement;
- explained the implications of my signing this agreement;

In co-signing this agreement the researcher undertakes to:

- maintain confidentiality, anonymity and privacy regarding the identity of the subject and information rendered by the interviewee.

(Interviewee signature)

(Interviewer signature)


(Date)

(Date)

I, (interviewer signature) _____ certify that I explained the contents of the above document.

ANNEXURE F: SAPS PERMISSION LETTER

SAP 21



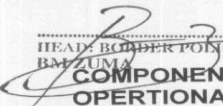
SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

<p>Verwysing Reference 23/1/7/2/126 Navrae Enquiries Maj Gen Zuma Telefoon 012 400 6462 Faks 012 400 7031 Fax 012 400 7031 <small>QRS HQ: Border Policing Secretary</small></p>	<p>THE COMPONENT HEAD BORDER POLICING OPERATIONAL RESPONSE SERVICE PRIVATE BAG X30 SUNNYSIDE 0132</p> <p>2014-04-04</p>
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**THE STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT COMPONENT
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA**

**RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: DRUG TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE USE OF
DRUG MULES IN CROSS BORDER SMUGGLING: MASTER'S DEGREE: UNISA:
RESEARCHER: MS A VAN HEERDEN**

1. This office hereby acknowledges receipt of research request of MS A Van Heerden, pertaining to the above-mentioned topic.
2. Authority is hereby given for the member to conduct the research **on conditions that he will upon the completion of his research work, donate a copy to the service.**
3. Your co-operation in this matter will be highly appreciated.


HEAD OF BORDER POLICING SAPS **MAJOR GENERAL**
**COMPONENT HEAD: BORDER POLICING
OPERATIONAL RESPONSE SERVICES**
BM ZUMA 2014 -04- 09
DATE: