

**AN ANALYSIS OF SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS' REPRESENTATION OF
HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

by

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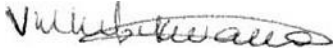
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JUNE 2021

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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I declare that **An analysis of South African newspapers' representation of human trafficking** is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE: 

DATE: 26 JUN 2021

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to God Almighty,
who gave me strength and courage to finish against all odds.

It is also dedicated to my parents Cornelius and Doris,
whose love for education has motivated me to work hard.

Also to my daughters Mihle, Izibele and Kungawo and my sons, Siyamthanda,
Linamandla and Oyama,
for their unwavering support, love and understanding,
even when I had to work long hours.

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ABSTRACT

News media play a significant role in creating awareness about human trafficking. This study analysed the manner in which South African newspapers represent the issue of human trafficking. It explored and discussed the themes surrounding human trafficking covered, as well as the forms or types of human trafficking addressed in South African newspapers. It has examined the representation of human trafficking in six South African newspapers, namely, *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star* published between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. The study was guided by the following research questions: Do South African newspapers portray or represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, as a problem of immigration, as a human rights issue or as a public health concern? Which themes surrounding human trafficking do South African newspapers cover? Which forms or types of trafficking do South African newspapers address? The study used qualitative content analysis to examine the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers, selected articles were coded in terms of representation of human trafficking, themes covered and forms or types of human trafficking addressed. The findings revealed that South African newspapers represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, immigration problem, human rights issue, as well as a public health concern. South African newspapers focused more on representing human trafficking as a form of organised crime than as an immigration problem, human rights issue, or public health concern. The results also indicated that South African newspapers focused on causes, solutions or remedies, nature or type, victims as well as perpetrators of human trafficking. They also reflected that the most common type of trafficking addressed in South African newspapers is sex trafficking, followed by trafficking for forced labour, trafficking for crime or other exploitative purposes, child trafficking, or kidnapping, illegal adoptions, forced marriages

and removal of body parts. The study concluded that South African newspapers represent human trafficking as form of organised crime, an immigration problem, human rights issue as well as a public health concern. It also concluded that South African newspapers' reporting does not focus much on the causes of human trafficking and proposed a few solutions or remedies. The reporting also concentrates on victims and perpetrators of human trafficking. Also, that the most common type of human trafficking addressed is sex trafficking. The study recommends that South African newspapers should not only focus more on reporting human trafficking as a form of organised crime but also on human trafficking as an immigration problem, human rights issue and a public health concern. It also recommended that their reporting should focus more on causes as well as solutions to the problem. The reporting should be more focused on victims human trafficking and continue to report on perpetrators. They also ought to report more on other form of human trafficking other than sex trafficking.

KEY WORDS:

South African newspapers, content analysis, qualitative content analysis, representation, human trafficking, themes surrounding human trafficking, forms or types of human trafficking.

TABLE OF CONTENTS	PAGE
DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
KEY WORDS	v
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.2.1 A brief history of human trafficking	1
1.2.2 The context and background of the research problem	3
1.3 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	8
1.3.1 Sub-questions of the research	9
1.3.2 The objectives of the study	9
1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	9
1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	11
1.6 CONCEPTS USED IN THE STUDY	11
1.6.1 Trafficking	11
1.6.2 Exploitation	11
1.6.3 Framing	12

1.6.4 Agenda setting	12
1.7 SUMMARY	12
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 INTRODUCTION	14
2.2 WHAT IS HUMAN TRAFFICKING?	14
2.3 FORMS OR TYPES OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING	17
2.3.1 Sexual exploitation	17
2.3.2 Forced labour/labour trafficking	17
2.3.3. Slavery, practices similar to slavery and servitude	18
2.3.4 Forced Marriages	18
2.3.5 Debt bondage	19
2.3.6 Removal of body parts	19
2.3.7 Illegal adoptions	20
2.3.8 Forced military service	20
2.3.9 Begging	20
2.3.10 Crime or other exploitative purposes	20
2.3.11 Other types of trafficking	21
2.4 AN OVERVIEW OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING	21
2.4.1 The nature of human trafficking	21
2.4.2 Victims	23
2.4.3 Forms of exploitation	23

2.4.4 Traffickers	24
2.4.5 The criminal income of human trafficking	25
2.4.6 Trafficking flows	25
2.5 HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN AFRICA	25
2.5.1 The nature of human trafficking in Africa	25
2.5.2 Victims of human trafficking in Africa	26
2.5.3 Forms of exploitation in Africa	27
2.5.4 Traffickers in Africa	27
2.5.5 Trafficking flows in Africa	28
2.5.6 Criminalising human trafficking in Africa	30
2.6 HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH AFRICA	30
2.6.1 The nature of human trafficking in South Africa	30
2.6.2 Victims of human trafficking in South Africa	33
2.6.3 Forms of exploitation in South Africa	34
2.6.3.1 <i>Sexual exploitation in South Africa</i>	34
2.6.3.2 <i>Forced Prostitution in South Africa</i>	36
2.6.3.3 <i>Pornography in South Africa</i>	37
2.6.3.4 <i>Exploitation of females in brothels and massage parlours in South Africa</i>	37
2.6.3.5 <i>Domestic servitude in South Africa</i>	38
2.6.3.6 <i>Forced labour in South Africa</i>	38

2.6.3.7 <i>Trafficking for the removal of body parts (or muti) and for sacrifice in rituals in South Africa</i>	39
2.6.4 Traffickers in South Africa	39
2.6.5 Trafficking flows in South Africa	40
2.7 HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND THE MEDIA	41
2.7.1 Representation of human trafficking in the media	42
2.7.2 Themes surrounding human trafficking covered in the media	49
2.7.3 Forms or types of human trafficking addressed in the media	55
2.8 AGENDA SETTING THEORY	56
2.9 FRAMING THEORY	58
2.9.1 Media Framing	61
2.10 SUMMARY	61
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	66
3.1 INTRODUCTION	66
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	66
3.2.1 Qualitative research design	68
3.2.2 Methodology	69
3.2.2.1 <i>Content analysis</i>	70
3.2.2.2 <i>Qualitative content analysis</i>	71
3.3 DATA COLLECTION	73
3.4 POPULATION	74
3.4.1 Target population	75
3.4.2 Accessible population	75
3.4.3 Unit of analysis	76

3.4.4 Time frame	76
3.5 SAMPLING	77
3.5.1 Nonprobability sampling	77
3.5.2 Purposive sampling	78
3.5.3 Rationale for choosing sampling procedures	80
3.6 MEASURING INSTRUMENT	81
3.6.1 Coding frame or schedule	82
3.6.1.1 <i>Building a coding frame or schedule</i>	82
3.6.2 Validity of measuring instrument	84
3.6.3 Reliability of measuring instrument	85
3.7 PILOT STUDY	87
3.8 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	88
3.8.1 Qualitative content analysis	89
3.8.1.1 <i>Qualitative content analysis categories</i>	93
3.8.1.2 <i>Coding of data</i>	95
3.8.1.2.1 <i>Coding procedures</i>	96
3.8.1.3 <i>Using qualitative content analysis</i>	98
3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	99
3.10 SUMMARY	99
CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS	100
4.1 INTRODUCTION	100
4.2 REPRESENTATION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING	100
4.2.1 Differences in representation of human trafficking	101
4.2.1.1 <i>Human trafficking as a form of organised crime</i>	102
4.2.1.2 <i>Human trafficking as an immigration problem</i>	103
4.2.1.3 <i>Human trafficking as a human rights issue</i>	103
4.2.1.4 <i>Human trafficking as a public health concern</i>	104
4.2.1.5 <i>Articles with several representations of human trafficking</i>	104
4.2.2 Representation of human trafficking in different publications	105
4.3 THEMES SURROUNDING HUMAN TRAFFICKING COVERED IN THE ARTICLES	107

4.3.1 Focus on causes of human trafficking	108
4.3.1.1 <i>Whether a cause is mentioned</i>	108
4.3.1.2 <i>Specific causes mentioned</i>	110
4.3.1.2.1 <i>Socioeconomic causes</i>	111
4.3.1.2.2 <i>Family pressure</i>	112
4.3.2 Focus on solutions or remedies for human trafficking	112
4.3.2.1 <i>Whether a solution or remedy is suggested</i>	112
4.3.2.2 <i>Specific solutions or remedies suggested</i>	114
4.3.2.2.1 <i>Support for victims</i>	115
4.3.2.2.2 <i>Punish perpetrators</i>	115
4.3.2.2.3 <i>Policy change</i>	116
4.3.2.2.4 <i>Promote NGOs</i>	116
4.3.2.2.5 <i>Create awareness</i>	117
4.3.3 Focus on nature or type of trafficking	117
4.3.3.1 <i>Whether the focus is on nature or type of human trafficking</i>	117
4.3.4 Focus on victims of human trafficking	119
4.3.4.1 <i>Whether the focus is on victims of human trafficking</i>	119
4.3.4.2 <i>Specific victims identified</i>	120
4.3.4.2.1 <i>Women</i>	121
4.3.4.2.2 <i>Young girls</i>	121
4.3.4.2.3 <i>Men</i>	122
4.3.4.2.4 <i>Children</i>	122
4.3.4.2.5 <i>Illegal immigrants</i>	122
4.3.4.2.6 <i>Adults</i>	123
4.3.4.2.7 <i>Several victims</i>	123
4.3.5 Focus on perpetrators of human trafficking	124
4.3.5.1 <i>Whether the focus is on perpetrators of human trafficking</i>	124
4.3.5.2 <i>Specific perpetrators identified</i>	125
4.3.5.2.1 <i>Women</i>	126
4.3.5.2.2 <i>Men</i>	126
4.3.5.2.3 <i>Organised crime groups or syndicates</i>	127

4.3.5.2.4 <i>Immigrants</i>	127
4.4 FORMS OR TYPES OF HUMAN TRAFFIKCING ADDRESSED IN THE ARTICLES	128
4.4.1 Sex trafficking	130
4.4.2 Labour trafficking or forced labour	131
4.4.3 Forced marriages	131
4.4.4 Removal of body parts	131
4.4.5 Child trafficking	132
4.4.6 Illegal adoptions	132
4.4.7 Crime or other exploitative purposes	132
4.4.8 Several forms of human trafficking addressed	133
4.4.9 Non-specific	133
5 SUMMARY	134
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	135
5.1 INTRODUCTION	135
5.2 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS	135
5.2.1 Representation of human trafficking	135
5.2.2 Themes surrounding human trafficking covered in the articles	137
5.2.2.1 <i>Focus on causes of human trafficking</i>	137
5.2.2.2 <i>Focus on solutions or remedies of human trafficking</i>	138
5.2.2.3 <i>Focus on nature or type of trafficking</i>	138
5.2.2.4 <i>Focus on victims of human trafficking</i>	139
5.2.2.5 <i>Focus on perpetrators of human trafficking</i>	140
5.2.3 Forms or types of human trafficking addressed in the articles	140

5.3 CONCLUSIONS	142
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS	143
5.5 SUMMARY	144
SOURCES CONSULTED	146
APPENDICES	164

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Newspaper profiles	76
Table 3.2: Number of newspaper articles	79
Table 3.3: Number of human trafficking articles in sample (n=165) by month and newspaper	80
Table 3.4: <i>City Press</i> articles 1 June 2019 -31 December 2019	90
Table 3.5: <i>Daily Dispatch</i> articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019	91
Table 3.6: <i>Sowetan</i> articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019	91
Table 3.7: <i>Sunday Times</i> articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019	92
Table 3.8: <i>The Citizen</i> articles 1 June - 31 December 2019	92
Table 3.9: <i>The Star</i> articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019	93
Table 4.1: <i>Differences in representation of human trafficking</i>	101
Table 4.2: <i>Representation of human trafficking in different publications</i>	105
Table 4.3: <i>Whether a cause is mentioned per publication</i>	108
Table 4.4: <i>Specific causes mentioned per publication</i>	110
Table 4.5: <i>Whether a solution or remedy is suggested per publication</i>	112
Table 4.6: <i>Specific solutions or remedies suggested per publication</i>	114
Table 4.7: <i>Whether the focus is on nature or type of human trafficking</i>	117
Table 4.8: <i>Whether the focus is on victims of human trafficking</i>	119
Table 4.9: <i>Specific victims identified per publication</i>	120
Table 4.10: <i>Whether the focus is on perpetrators of human trafficking</i>	124
Table 4.11: <i>Specific perpetrators identified per publication</i>	125
Table 4.12: <i>Forms or types of human trafficking addressed per publication</i>	129

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Differences in representation of human trafficking	102
Figure 4.2: Representation of human trafficking in different publications	106
Figure 4.3: Whether a cause is mentioned per publication	109
Figure 4.4: Specific causes mentioned per publication	111
Figure 4.5: Whether a solution or remedy is suggested per publication	113
Figure 4.6: Specific solutions or remedies suggested per publication	115
Figure 4.7: Whether the focus is on nature or type of human trafficking	118
Figure 4.8: Whether the focus is on victims of human trafficking	119
Figure 4.9: Specific victims identified per publication	121
Figure 4.10: Whether the focus is on perpetrators of human trafficking	124
Figure 4.11: Specific perpetrators identified per publication	126
Figure 4.12: Forms or types of human trafficking addressed per publication	130

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This is an analysis of South African newspapers' representation of human trafficking, exploring themes surrounding human trafficking as well as the forms of human trafficking addressed. This involves analysing articles from six South African newspapers, namely the *Daily Dispatch*, *City Press*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star*. The focus is on articles published between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019.

This chapter provides a brief history of human trafficking, as well as the context and background of the research problem. This is followed by a brief look at the significance of the study, the research questions, and the objectives of the study. Lastly, the limitations of the study as well as a brief explanation of the concepts used in the study are provided.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 A brief history of human trafficking

Bosma, U, Van Nederveen, Meekerk, E, Sarkar, A (2012:2) claims that human trafficking is absolutely not a new phenomenon, though its elements have transformed over time. Throughout the past five centuries or longer, worldwide workers have been enticed, lured, deceived, forced, and even raided into certain labour regimes, which themselves usually featured forcible conditions. Facilitators, ranging from free job agencies, contractors, subcontractors, and jobbers to human traffickers, have played a central role.

According to Irwin, M. (1996:1) accounts of different practices of servitude can be traced backward to the dawn of written history, and concern about involuntary transfer and abuse of individuals can be tracked backward to the abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century. The early stages of the current trafficking dialogue date backward to the late nineteenth century when the *British Pall Mall Gazette* issued a string of articles on the

Chapter 1: Introduction

'white slave trade'. Laite, J. (2017:42) maintains that the term "white slavery" was first applied in Britain to refer to the chattel slavery and indentured bondage of white people in North Africa in the 17th century to early 19th century. During the interwar years, the "white slavery" was spurned by the international campaign and substituted with "the traffic in women and children", so as to indicate that sex trafficking can also befall non-white women. Trafficking surfaced as a term and as a concept in an era in which both immigrants and workers were being redefined. Godziak, E. M & Collet, E.A. (2005:100) claim that, the International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade of 1904, which is the first global accord to oppose 'white slavery', did not associate servitude to prostitution, but wanted to tackle the illegal or forceful conscription of females for prostitution in a different country. Sanghera, J. (2016:10) asserts that in the 20th century, the term 'trafficking' was primarily realised as a problem of public morality associated with prostitution. According to Doezema, J. (2002:5-6), from 1933 onwards, prostitution became synonymous with trafficking. The UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others of 1949, provided a model for domestic legislation in many countries.

Pharoah, R. (2006:3) states that human trafficking re-surfaced as a subject in the mid-1980s as a result of concern about transforming migration flows, HIV/AIDS, child prostitution and child sex tourism, as well as the restoration of the feminist movement. On the other hand, Anderson, B and O'Connell Davidson, J. (2004:14) maintain that the revived attention to trafficking during the 1980s resulted from concern about the magnitude as well as effect of organised crime and cumulative quantities of unlawful migration, especially in Europe and the US. Outshoorn, J. (2005:141) argues that the rise of HIV/AIDS epidemic in the late 1980s intensified public concern around the effects of prostitution and more demands for prostitution and trafficking to be set on both national and international political agendas. Godziak & Collet (2005:100) declare that by the 1990s, trafficking resurfaced on the agenda of the UN General Assembly and the Commission for Human Rights. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights and the World Conference on Women convened in Beijing in 1995, also debated this issue.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 1998, the General Assembly incorporated the establishment of what would turn into the Palermo Protocol, in the directive of the intergovernmental ad hoc committee responsible for preparing the Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime. This was after it was approved by the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice and the UN Economic and Social Council (Raymond, J.1999:3). According to Pharoah (2006:3), human trafficking became prevalent in the 1990s, with initial advocacy attempts resulting in the release of the Palermo Protocol for signing in December 2000. Yamamoto, Y. (2017) affirms that during the year 2000, a more inclusive international definition of trafficking came into force as an outcome of the ratification of the US Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and the endorsement of the UN Trafficking Protocol, both in 2000.

Skinner, E. & Benjamin, E. (2010) argue that in spite of a huge number of worldwide agreements barring slavery in the previous hundred and fifty years, currently a large number of slaves exists compared to any stage in human history. Slaves are compelled to execute services for no pay beyond subsistence and for the benefit of others who detain them by means of deception and violence. Whereas the majority are detained in debt bondage in the poorest region of South Asia, some are trafficked in the heart of booming development and this is the case in South Africa.

1.2.2 The context and background of the research problem

The study seeks to analyse the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers by looking at the themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered as well as the types or forms of human trafficking addressed in these newspapers.

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon in Africa, and in Southern Africa, specifically. It has previously been viewed differently from how it is currently perceived. Hamman, M. (2011:1) contends that human trafficking has existed for a lengthy period in South Africa and Africa as a standard custom, through which individuals were coerced to slavery. Human trafficking has been freshly defined and currently transformed its format from

Chapter 1: Introduction

being legal to becoming illegal. Slavery, which was seen as a legal practice is currently viewed differently. It is now referred to as human trafficking and is considered to be unlawful. It is currently on the international agenda as people are increasingly becoming aware of the problem, and are thus speaking about it. It is a problem that is experienced worldwide, and that is now widely acknowledged. Human trafficking is considered a criminal action and an encroachment of human rights. Countries have now established anti-trafficking laws to fight this crime. People are now becoming aware of this issue as an infringement of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 also considers trade in human beings or servitude as unlawful.

Just like other countries worldwide, South Africa has dedicated itself to fight the misdemeanour of human trafficking. South Africa is amongst the 117 countries that have signed the Palermo Protocol, which came into power on 25 December 2003. By endorsing the Protocol in February 2004, this country devoted itself to outlawing trafficking and establishing law to fight it (Pharoah 2006:1). South Africa's legal standpoint on human trafficking is outlined in the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013 (PACOTIP). The then President Jacob Zuma signed the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill into law, providing the country, for the first time, with a single ruling that deals with human trafficking wholly as well as extensively (Africa Research Bulletin 2013). The Act espouses a broader definition of human trafficking than the Trafficking Protocol (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2014:52). PACOTIP declares that an individual is culpable of human trafficking if that person transports, conscripts, moves, transfers, harbours, trades, exchanges, hires, or accepts another individual inside or through the borders of SA, by several ways, comprising the usage of power, fraud, extortion (Kruger, B. 2016) targeted at the individual or a close relative, for exploitation (Section 4(2) of PACOTIP). Besides establishing the prime crime of human trafficking, the new law also establishes felonies including debt bondage, confiscating, damaging, or messing with travel documents, and exploiting the services of trafficked persons, that all cause innocent persons to be victims of human trafficking.

Chapter 1: Introduction

There is an implication that there is a rise in the quantity of human trafficking cases reported in South Africa. Though human trafficking is not new to South Africa, there has been a swift rise throughout the last two decades in the predominance and documentation of instances (Integrated Regional Information Network (IRN) 2008). With the evolution of globalisation, human trafficking globally has turned out to be a complicated, intricate phenomenon, implicating several participants at the institutional and commercial level (United Nations Education, Scientific & Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2007). Van der Watt, M. (2015:1) maintains that the number of instances reported shows an upsurge in the human trafficking issue in South Africa and a low level of awareness about human trafficking throughout all sections of society.

Although it is still necessary to have more reliable data to approximate the magnitude of human trafficking in South Africa, anti-trafficking movements and NGOs declare that yearly, 30,000 children are trafficked into South Africa for the sex trade. The Salvation Army maintains that half of these children are younger than 14 years. This indicates that children are coerced into prostitution from an early age, (Salvation Army, n.d.) disclosing that there are at least 10,000 child prostitutes currently in Johannesburg, while around 1000 girls are trafficked from Mozambique to South Africa annually. The Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo are recognised as the main “recruitment” areas for human trafficking (Salvation Army, n.d.). Molo Songololo (2000) revealed that between 28,000 and 38,000 children are prostituted in South Africa, and that children constitute 25 percent of the prostituted people in Cape Town. International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2003) established that South Africa is the main destination for the Southern African region. It also revealed that the victims are conscripted by intimidation and deception and that women and child trafficking for sexual exploitation constitute the main issue in the region. Pharoah (2006:1) maintains that rising media attention has kindled the conception that South Africa is a trafficking centre, but there is insufficient knowledge about the magnitude and nature of this issue in the country. Allais, C. (2013:275) asserts that there is a general accord between experts that having reliable information is a necessity in order to approximate the extent of trafficking, particularly at national levels.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Kreston, S.S. (2007:37) identifies South Africa as a source, transit, and destination country for human trafficking. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). (2010: iv-v) maintains that South Africa is a country of destination for trafficked persons, and to a smaller degree, a country of transit and origin. UNICEF (2003) has revealed that South Africa is a country of origin, transit, and destination for victims, and has trafficking inside its borders. UNESCO (2007) recognises South Africa as a marketplace for dealing in trafficked persons from regional to extra regional places. South Africa is a country of origin, transit, and destination for trafficked persons sold for forced labour, sexual exploitation, and organ harvesting. This country is recognised as a trafficking 'hub' since it attracts migration from across Africa. It is also a notable destination country for SADC countries like Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Malawi, from extra-regional countries and from beyond Africa. It is a source country for local trafficking, and there is plenty of this variety of trafficking in South Africa. South Africa is also a transit country with Western Cape, being the main trafficking spot for trafficked persons transferred from Asia and the Middle East headed for North America. Torres, L. and Du Toit, D. (2010) claim that it is also a transit spot for trafficking undertakings between developing and developed countries. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2015), South Africa is susceptible to human trafficking due to its status as a country of origin, transit, and destination.

Four major streams of trafficking flow into South Africa have been identified. These include trafficking to South Africa from outside of Africa, from inside Africa, inside the national borders of South Africa, trafficking that utilises South Africa as a transit spot for people trafficked across Lesotho and Swaziland to other distant destinations and trafficking people from South Africa to foreign countries (Allais 2013:275). Traffickers use various modes of transportation for trafficking in South Africa. Using clearly delineated routes (Buthelezi, S. 2015:155) the movement of women trafficked to South Africa is done by various means, including cars, long-distance trucks, taxis, boats, and on foot (Molo Songololo 2000a:16, Groes-Green, C. 2015:118-122). The fact that South Africa has a history of southward migration flows, porous borders and weak institutions and structures

Chapter 1: Introduction

makes it susceptible to a host of migrant human trafficking activities (International Organisation for Migration (IOM) 2009).

According to UNESCO (2007), a number of issues have been identified as contributing factors to the rise of human trafficking in South Africa. Issues like unsustainable livelihoods, joblessness, the growing statistics of AIDS orphans, family collapse, violence, and gender discrimination breed a fitting setting for human trafficking. The supply is generated by problems like destitution and inadequate opportunities, while the growing sex industry and necessity for low-cost labour increase the demand. It is certainly not a surprise that the black-market trade of human trafficking has flourished in South Africa, as the need for cheap labour and commercial sex is great. A blend of great destitution, poor education, and unemployment forces susceptible individuals into the hands of traffickers (UNESCO 2007). This modern-day slavery has turned out to be progressively complicated for South Africans because factors including armed conflict and associated dislocation, political and economic upheaval, food insecurity, lack of education and employment opportunities and the plight of the AIDS epidemic, turn South Africa into a magnet that attracts migration from around the continent (UNESCO 2007:7). Kamaldien, Y. (2005) states that as refugees are susceptible and effortlessly disposed to traffickers, the rise in immigration through South Africa's borders links with the growth in trafficking. Moreover, criminal syndicates have been incriminated as an alternate driving force behind the rise in human trafficking in South Africa. Since the industry of human trafficking feeds on destitution and misery, it is generally detected in countries like South Africa with scarcity of resources to combat it (Washington University Global Studies Law Review 2010:178). Groes-Green (2015:121) recommends that it is perhaps time for politicians, governments, and citizens to stop focusing solely on highly visible symptoms of trafficking and focus on addressing the more imperceptible root causes of this issue, and the social conditions under which it is permitted to thrive. He further claims that it is time to tackle the universal structures that nurture human trafficking.

In the Third Annual Report on Trafficking in Persons, the US State Department states that the South African government fails to completely conform with even the minimum

Chapter 1: Introduction

standards for eradicating trafficking. The report ranks South Africa at the lowest level of compliance. The report reprimands the South African government for failing to set in place comprehensive anti-trafficking legislation that prescribes a punishment consistent with the gravity of the crime and that would deter the crime (Singh, D. 2004:351). From 2005-2009 South Africa stayed in Tier 2 Watch List. The 2009 TIP Report resolved that, though the government fails to completely conform with the minimum standards of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, it is making substantial attempts to do so. South Africa tackles problems of outlawing and proscription of trafficking, safeguarding and support for trafficked persons and preclusion of trafficking by means of awareness programmes. The report acknowledged that South Africa has attained considerable progress towards the observance of international standards for the eradication of human trafficking. South Africa's devotion to effecting productive law demonstrated to the United States that it was considering human trafficking seriously. Recognising this, the United States removed South Africa from the Tier 2 Watch list and returned it to the Tier 2 list, where it had previously remained before 2005 (TIP Report 2009).

1.3 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study analyses the way in which South African newspapers portray or represent the issue of human trafficking, the themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered, as well as the forms of human trafficking addressed. This is a cross-sectional study that is conducted over a period of six months. This study uses qualitative content analysis. Articles from six South African newspapers namely, *Daily Dispatch*, *City Press*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star* published between 01 June and 31 December 2019 are analysed.

This study seeks to determine whether South African newspapers portray human trafficking as a form of organised crime, as a problem of immigration, as a human rights issue, or as a public health concern. It also seeks to discover whether South African newspapers cover certain themes surrounding human trafficking and ignore others as well as what those themes are. Further to this aims to establish whether South African

Chapter 1: Introduction

newspapers address certain forms or types of human trafficking, as well as what those forms or types are.

1.3.1 Sub-questions of the research

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- Do South African newspapers portray human trafficking as a form of organised crime, as a problem of immigration, as a human rights issue, or as public health concern?
- Which themes surrounding human trafficking do South African newspapers cover?
- Which forms or types of human trafficking do South African newspapers address?

1.3.2 The objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are exploratory and descriptive.

- This study explores how human trafficking is portrayed or represented in South African newspapers.
- It also explores and describes the themes surrounding human trafficking covered in South African newspapers.
- It also explores and describes the various forms of human trafficking addressed in South African newspapers.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Human trafficking is one of the biggest international crime businesses globally. The number of convictions for human trafficking is growing. Human trafficking is a serious problem that has devastating consequences for victims. In order to fight human trafficking there is a need for advanced understanding of the character of the problem, its triggering circumstances and the profile of traffickers and trafficked persons. Public awareness-raising campaigns can assist in combating this problem.

Media occupies an honourable place in society and are as such anticipated to play a vital role in fighting human trafficking. Media are among the major role players in teaching

Chapter 1: Introduction

society and creating awareness around the issue of human trafficking. They can also shape public dialogue around the subject and inspire action from the public and policymakers. As the reporting of human trafficking grows it is crucial to know how it is framed both for media specialists and users, and the general public. Understanding the way media tackle human trafficking has inferences for the news industry. In order to fulfil their watchdog role in relation to human trafficking, media need to involve a broader constituency to represent a broader series of news frames and sources. Accordingly, news organisations should think analytically about their options in reporting and how they might impact the public and policy-makers around human trafficking.

Although academic fields such as psychology, political science, and women and gender studies have generated a rich amount of research concerning human trafficking, the field of communication studies has not paid enough attention to this important subject (Alexandre, K, Sha, C, Pollock, J.C, Baier, K and Johnson, J. (2013:7). The current study seeks to rectify this imbalance by analysing how South African newspapers portray or represent the issue of human trafficking, the themes surrounding human trafficking covered, as well as the forms or types of human trafficking addressed. Human trafficking is an important societal concern. Media can play an active and significant role in sharing information about this issue. There is a need for research on this topic, because human trafficking is a phenomenon that society needs to be educated about, as it affects everybody and it exists everywhere. Research on media representation of human trafficking will contribute to knowledge and create awareness about the key role of the media in providing knowledge and solutions to the problem. If media practitioners can become aware of the shortfalls in reporting human trafficking, they may be better equipped to address the problem. The examination and recognition of how human trafficking is depicted by the media offers an important platform of information that can contribute towards developing consistent human trafficking policies.

This study offers an evidence-based argument regarding the media representation of human trafficking upon which stakeholders, comprising policy-makers and academics, can draw. The study would be mainly beneficial to policy-makers, scholars, as well as

the media industry. Human trafficking is one of the extreme covert misdemeanours, and the more visibility it obtains, the greater the probability of salvaging victims and averting the ills of human trafficking. It is thus in the policy-makers' favour that the crime receives fitting visibility in the media.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Although the research has distinctive findings, it has some limitations. Firstly, only English newspapers are analysed, which may distort the manner in which the issue of human trafficking is understood to be represented. Similarly, the findings cannot be generalised to all English-language news sources. Only newspapers are analysed in this study. It would be beneficial to analyse print, broadcast, and social media coverage in various languages. Analysing articles from a longer time frame and from more countries would also be helpful.

1.6 CONCEPTS USED IN THE STUDY

1.6.1 Trafficking

“Trafficking includes the recruitment, sale, supply, procurement, transportation, transfer, harbouring, disposal or receipt of persons for the adoption of a child facilitated or secured through legal or illegal means, within or across the borders of the Republic –

- a) by means of the use of threat, force, intimidation or other forms of coercion, abduction, kidnapping, fraud, deception, debt bondage, abuse of power or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control of authority over another person;

or

- b) by abusing vulnerability” (Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill 2009:7).

1.6.2 Exploitation

Exploitation, as represented in the United Nations definition of human trafficking “shall include at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of other forms of sexual

Chapter 1: Introduction

exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2000).

1.6.3 Framing

Framing involves selecting certain facets of an observed truth and make them more prominent in a communicating text, in order to advance a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the element described (Entman, RM. 1993:52).

1.6.4 Agenda setting

Agenda setting refers to the selective reporting of issues that guides society to recognise certain topics as more significant than others irrespective of their integral newsworthiness (Wanta, W, Golan, G and Lee, C. 2004 & Coleman, R. 2009).

1.7 SUMMARY

This chapter comprises an introduction to the current study. It also provides a background to the study, which entails a brief discussion of the history of human trafficking. Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon, and can be traced back to the beginning of written history. The context and background of the research problem is also discussed. It is argued that even in South Africa, just like in other countries in the world, human trafficking has existed for a long time. Even though a rise in the number of cases reported is noted, South Africa has committed itself to curb this crime. South Africa is identified as a source, transit point, and destination of human trafficking. The major streams as well as the contributing factors to human trafficking have been identified. South Africa is ranked at a lowest level of compliance with regards to the standards for the eradication of human trafficking.

The current study focuses on the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers, by exploring the themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered, as

Chapter 1: Introduction

well as the forms of human trafficking addressed in the six newspapers selected. The objectives of the study are exploratory and descriptive. This study is significant because human trafficking is a serious problem that exists throughout the world, and therefore requires attention in terms of creating public awareness of the issue and its extent. The role of the media is pivotal in this respect. The limitations of the study as well as a brief definition of key concepts are provided.

The literature relevant to the current study is reviewed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is on the representation of human trafficking in six South African newspapers namely, *Daily Dispatch*, *City Press*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star*, by exploring the themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered as well as the forms or types of trafficking that are addressed. This review presents an overview of the crime of human trafficking. This section provides a definition of human trafficking and the various forms or types of human trafficking. A global overview of human trafficking is included, followed by a detailed description of the problem of human trafficking in Africa, as well as in South Africa. A more detailed review of the way the problem of human trafficking is framed in media is also provided. Finally, agenda setting and framing theories that guide this content analysis are also briefly discussed.

2.2 WHAT IS HUMAN TRAFFICKING?

An internationally recognised definition of human trafficking is presented in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol) endorsed by the United Nations in November 2000. This marked the beginning stage of the contemporary age of tackling human trafficking. The Protocol is the current standard-bearer that holds the first globally approved definition of human trafficking. It became the basic international legal instrument focusing on human trafficking as an offense (Allais 2013:272). This Protocol defines “trafficking in persons” as: “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.” It also delineates child trafficking as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for exploitation”. The Protocol

Chapter 2: Literature Review

states that 'exploitation', shall comprise, at least, "the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2006: ix).

Iroanya, RO. (2014) views this definition of human trafficking presented in the Palermo Protocol as all-inclusive, because it embraces an extensive range of matters encompassed in human trafficking. However, Lee, M (2007:3) asserts that human trafficking is a vague as well as extremely contested phrase that has diversely been conceptualised as servitude, prostitution, organised crime, migration and human rights. Lee. M. (2011:20), on the other hand, maintains that conceptually human trafficking is a socio-economic, political, and security phenomenon involving transferring individuals inside and through national borders, both lawfully and unlawfully.

Hamman (2011:11) identifies human trafficking as the coercive and deceitful transfer of individuals inside a country or to a different country in which they are exploited, subjugated and compelled to hard labour. For his study, Sobel, M.R. (2014:317) defines human trafficking as the physical and/or psychological power upon an individual by another for the purpose of exploitation by numerous ways for financial benefit. On the other hand, Human Rights Watch defines human trafficking as the unlawful and extremely lucrative transfer and trade of individuals with the intention of exploiting their labour (Ralph, R.E 2000). The Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW 1999a) delineates 'trafficking' as all actions as well as attempted actions associated with the conscription, moving inside or across borders, buying, trade, moving, acceptance, or harbouring of an individual comprising the use of fraud, force or debt bondage, with the intention of engaging or keeping that individual, either for pay or without pay, in involuntary servitude, in forced labour, or in slavery-like circumstances, in an area different from that wherein such individual was during the initial fraud, force or debt bondage.

According to Deane, T. (2017:44) human trafficking is consequently perceived as the removal of people by any method for exploitative purposes and trafficked people may be

Chapter 2: Literature Review

subjected to more than one of the various practices. On the other hand, Lackzo, F & Gramegna, M. (2003:180) suggest that human trafficking is an umbrella term that embraces various activities and consequences which include conscription, moving, and domination in the place of destination by several groups, agents or people using various systems.

The human trafficking definition ratified and endorsed by the South African Law Reform Commission and adapted by the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Bill 2009:7) asserts that trafficking involves the conscription, trade, provision, purchasing, moving, transport, harbouring, abandoning or acceptance of people or the adoption of a child facilitated or secured by lawful or unlawful ways, inside or through the borders of the country. Swart, D.N. (2012:63) maintains that in a wider sense, children or females are trafficked if they are transferred from inside a country, across borders, either forcefully or not, with the intent to ensure their exploitation. Media Monitoring Africa defines human trafficking as a kind of modern slavery, which involves transferring people inside a country or to a different country by means of force, deception, or exploitation, and is abused or coerced to work under intimidation of violence for no compensation, beyond subsistence (Hamman 2011).

From the above definitions, it is apparent that the concept of human trafficking centres around the transfer of individuals, whether inside the country or across the country's borders. The intention is to exploit such individuals using force and fraud. It involves involuntary servitude and slavery-like conditions. The process involves recruitment, moving, and domination of such individuals. For this to succeed, there are several people that are involved. For its purposes, the current study espouses the definition of human trafficking presented in the Palermo Protocol (UNODC 2000), which Iroanya (2014:105) considers as comprehensive for it encompasses a variety of issues implicated in human trafficking.

2.3 FORMS OR TYPES OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Trafficked persons can be exploited through various means. The kinds of exploitation listed in the Palermo Protocol and other types that are common in human trafficking cases are sexual exploitation, labour trafficking, slavery, forced marriages, debt bondage, removal of body parts, illegal adoptions, forced military service, begging, crime or other exploitative purposes (Swart 2012:69).

2.3.1 Sexual exploitation

The UNODC Model Law proposes that “exploitation of prostitution of others” may be described as the illegal acquiring of economic or other material gain from the prostitution of another individual (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2009b:14). UNODC (2009b:20) defines “sexual exploitation” as the receiving of economic or other profits by engaging another individual in prostitution or other sexual services. According to Snyman, R. (2005:284), various forms of sexual exploitation include prostitution, sexual slavery, mail-order brides, forced marriages, the production of pornography, and sex tourism.

2.3.2 Forced labour/labour trafficking

As stated by the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (1999) (No 182), child labour refers to circumstances in which youths are forced to work under the threat of punishment. Also, children’s labour is deemed compelled when their labour forms part of the forced labour of their relatives. According to Article 2(1) of the Forced Labour Convention of 1930 (No. 29), forced labour denotes all labour or service, demanded from an individual under a threat of punishment, and for which the particular individual has not tendered himself willingly (International Labour Organisation (ILO). 2005:6). Devenish, GE. (1998:54) maintains that forced labour primarily entails labour performed without agreement and regularly without reasonable and proper compensation. On the other hand, International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2007:24) states that in a human trafficking context, labour trafficking incorporates practices where victims are forced to execute services through physical assault, severe extortion, or other kinds of intimidation. According to

Chapter 2: Literature Review

GAATW (1999a:14,16), labour trafficking commonly involves the transfer of trafficked individuals to a different location by force or deceptive guarantees of lucrative jobs. They are regularly abused by debt bondage, long working hours, hazardous and harmful circumstances, lowest incomes, or the holding back of payments, seizure of travel and identification documents, incarceration, as well as physical, sexual, and psychological exploitation.

International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2008:5, 23) has identified various markets to which traffickers supply trafficked people as the domestic, agriculture, mining, fishery, industrial, construction, textile, garment, manufacturing, tourism, catering, and entertainment sectors of the economy. Despite the fact that the majority of countries have domestic legislation prohibiting child labour, children are still trafficked for forced labour (Banda, F. 2008:15, US Department of State 2007:31, 2009:19, 2011:8-9).

2.3.3. Slavery, practices similar to slavery and servitude

The Slavery Convention of 1926 is considered the first tool to delineate slavery as the status or condition of an individual over whom any of the controls attributing to the right of possession are exercised (Kruger, B. & Oosthuizen, H. 2011:51). According to Hayson, N. (2002:178), servitude refers to slavery-like practices that fall short of the state of slavery, but put the victim in a condition of servitude. What differentiates servitude from slavery is that it is a wider concept that does not necessitate possession (Weissbrodt, D. and Anti-Slavery International 2002:7). Kruger, H.B. (2010:177) maintains that human trafficking is currently frequently denoted as modern-day slavery, due to the links it has with slavery and slavery-like practices, such as restriction of movement, coercive control of victims, and the fact that victims are treated as disposable commodities.

2.3.4 Forced Marriages

According to GAATW (1999a:15), this refers to the trafficking of people for the purpose of forced marriage. Traffickers employ sophisticated methods to traffic individuals into the commercial marriage market. Traffickers market women for marriage, exhibit potential brides at trade expositions, or arrange trips to the source country for consumers to select

Chapter 2: Literature Review

from the displayed women. On the other hand, internet-based marriage brokers grant consumers access to this bride-selection facility in the luxury and obscurity of their homes or offices (US Department of State 2007:17). In South Africa, the tradition of 'ukuthwala' is being exploited, where 12-year-old girls are forced to marry grownup males, which is not compatible with the Constitution, and may indeed constitute child trafficking for forced marriage (McQuiod-Mason, D. 2009:718, Mwambene, L & Sloth-Nielsen, J. 2011:7-8).

2.3.5 Debt bondage

Fowler, J, Che, N, & Fowler, L. (2010:134) describe debt bondage as the habit of loaning money or services to individuals in exchange for work or services should they fail to pay the debt. It can be used by traffickers as an instrument to control women and children. According to Swart (2012), debt bondage is the most extensively utilised system of enslaving individuals. It generally transpires when traffickers help females in travelling, crossing borders illegally, and getting jobs, usually in the form of commercial sex work, domestic servitude, or farm labour. Victims are subsequently compelled to "work off" the debt they have for the services supplied. Debts are kept over trafficking victims for as long as possible. In conditions of debt bondage, women tend to be virtual prisoners, due to their inability to secure the money allegedly payable to the traffickers (Swart 2012:69).

2.3.6 Removal of body parts

This refers to the trafficking of people for the intention of organ removal, wherein individuals are trafficked for the purposes of selling their body parts at an inflated value to patients who are in dire need of an organ transplant (US Department of State 2009:17, Slabbert, M. 2009:515-516). The US Department of State (2010:4) claims that this kind of trafficking is stimulated by the dearth of healthy organs that can be used in transplants. In addition to organs, perpetrators also sell other body tissue and parts, including skin, bone, cartilage, blood, corneas, hair, and nails (United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UNGIFT) 2008a:14). The US Department of State (2009:17) claims that the growing quantity of practitioners of witchcraft, ritual sacrifices, and dodgy witchdoctors concocting traditional potions creates a need for these body parts.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2008:60), Southern Africa, individuals have been trafficked for their organs, such as skulls, hearts, eyes, tongues, hands, feet and genitals, to be applied in *muti*, a traditional African concoction.

2.3.7 Illegal adoptions

According to Kruger & Oosthuizen (2011:53), this involves the abuse of children by trafficking them for unlawful adoptions.

2.3.8 Forced military service

People are also trafficked for military service in armed-conflict areas (US Department of State 2009:20-29). According to Happold, M. (2005:9), forced recruitment is caused by a lack of experienced soldiers in government and other armed forces. Cohn, I & Goodwin-Gill, G. (1994:23) state that the need for combatants in war zones entices perpetrators to supply trafficked individuals. In several conflict- and war-stricken zones, soldiers are conscripted through force, coercion, and deceit. The mercenaries traffic children to be used as fighters, for laying mines, and as spies, porters, guards, messengers, cooks, servants as well as sex slaves (US Department of State 2010:9).

2.3.9 Begging

In some parts of the world, traffickers deceive people into forced begging on the street. They target young children, as well as aged and disabled individuals, so as to garner sympathy. Daily earnings targets are usually set for the victims, which if not met sees them punished (US Department of State 2008:33). Moreover, trafficked persons are regularly intentionally hunched or malnourished, kept without shoes and suitable clothes, as a means of obtaining more money from compassionate community members (Hodgkin, R & Newell, P. 2002:524).

2.3.10 Crime or other exploitative purposes

This involves trafficking of persons for the purpose of using them as criminal agents. In this form of exploitation, children are used as tools to commit numerous crimes, including,

theft, house breaking and, predominantly, drug trafficking, where trafficked persons are used as drug shippers (IOM 2008:56, UNODC 2009b:35).

2.3.11 Other types of trafficking

New kinds of trafficking that has surfaced comprises the trafficking of children to be used as camel jockeys as well as for purposes of street vending. There are also unlicensed football agents who recruit African youngsters with the deceptive guarantee of presenting them to a best European football club and charge them an extortionate fee (Africa Research Bulletin 2008:17). Once in Europe, traffickers desert them and vanish with the fee paid to them beforehand.

2.4 AN OVERVIEW OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

2.4.1 The nature of human trafficking

According to the Global Trafficking Report on Trafficking in Persons (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2018), worldwide, countries are identifying and reporting more trafficked persons, and are sentencing more perpetrators. This suggests an improvement in the capability to recognise trafficked persons, as well as a rise in the quantity of trafficked persons. There are still large areas which report few cases, or no cases at all. This does not mean these regions have no human trafficking activities, because people trafficked from them are spotted in enormous quantities in other sub regions. This instead shows that trafficking syndicates work with a great level of freedom in such countries, and this in turn might motivate traffickers to perpetrate trafficking more readily. A high rate of trafficking of domestic victims is reported worldwide, with the wealthiest countries being destinations for long distance flows. Traffickers predominantly target women and girls globally. Throughout the world, sex trafficking remains the greatest detected form of trafficking. Diverse patterns of trafficking transpire in various parts of the world, alongside other kinds of exploitation. Armed conflicts are perceived to be capable of increasing the susceptibility to trafficking in various respects.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This report displays that considerable areas of Africa and Asia are still ineffective in identifying trafficked people and convicting perpetrators (UNODC 2018:7-11).

Swart (2012:64) agrees that international trafficking is growing, and that its rise and spread is associated with the evolution of transnational organised crime syndicates, caused by advanced new infrastructure, and technologies linked to globalisation.

Pennington, JR, Ball, AD, Hampton, RD & Soulakova, JN (2009:199), on the other hand, introduce a perception of cross-border human trafficking as a marketing scheme, elucidate the social impact of that scheme, and display the manner in which the magnitude of cross-border trafficking might be approximated, utilising as an illustration various countries where it is deemed to be a significant issue. Their study also showed that cross-border human trafficking could be a much more acute issue than is observable to governments. They view trafficking as a system by which skilled traffickers are expert dealers, who understand how to locate, trap, and mislead victims, the worth of each trafficked person in the marketplace; how to move trafficked persons through borders in the watch of government officials; how to retain them in captivity to earn the worth of their labour; and when and where to trade or abandon them. Layton, R & Grossbart, S. (2006) maintain that all the main elements of marketing are evident in human trafficking.

Zimmer, D & Gournelos, T. (2014:11-14) argue that, because human trafficking happens almost exclusively in grey and black markets, only the known and accessible elements of the crime can be organised and accessed. Massive discrepancies are evident from even the most “official” sources on human trafficking. One significant element to this inconsistency is that it may be inflected by gender. Profoundly linked to that is the absence of attention to labour trafficking in some approximations and almost in all media attention. Despite the highest percentages of trafficked persons being victims of labour trafficking and male, females and young children become the focal point of human trafficking media representations, scholarly literature, and crime investigations. Although the term ‘human trafficking’ usually incorporates sex trafficking, labour trafficking and domestic servitude, even the scholarly literature emphasises sex trafficking, and is almost exclusively focused on the sex trafficking of women. Deane (2017) states that human trafficking’s covert

nature raises concerns about data reliability and its limitations, as well as the understanding of its nature and severity.

2.4.2 Victims

Araujo, E. (2011:4) claims that trafficked persons are not a homogenous population, but they can be “young or old, female or male, rich or poor, informed or uninformed, from any culture or country.” According to UNODC (2018:7-28), older females constituted almost fifty percent of the identified victims in 2016. Males and young women were identified in equal proportions, where every single profile accounted for one fifth of the identified trafficked persons worldwide. Data reveals substantial geographical variations in the profiles of the detected victims. The victim’s profiles also vary according to the type of trafficking examined.

Despite concerns about data reliability and its limitations (Deane 2017), several reports have approximated that about 12.3 million individuals are trafficked globally each year (US Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report, 2006, Introduction-Focusing on Slave Labour and Sexual Slavery). Statistics from the United States reveal that between 600 000 and 800 000 people are trafficked globally per annum, where up to half of these victims are reported to be children (2006 TIP report, Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorisation Act of 2005).

2.4.3 Forms of exploitation

Various forms of exploitation are identified worldwide, however, the Global Trafficking Report on Trafficking in Persons (UNODC 2018) views trafficking for sexual exploitation to be the most identified form of trafficking worldwide. People trafficked for sexual exploitation constituted 59 percent of the identified trafficked persons in 2016. One third of trafficked persons identified was trafficked for forced labour, with only seven percent of identified trafficked persons trafficked for other purposes. These identified types of exploitation differ extensively throughout the various sub regions. Trafficking for the removal of organs continues to be extremely restrained with regards to numbers identified. Data for 2016 indicated that two percent of the trafficked persons identified worldwide were trafficked for ‘mixed forms of exploitation’. Trafficking of pregnant mothers

Chapter 2: Literature Review

with the intention of selling their new born babies constituted about 0,5 percent of the trafficked persons identified in 2016. Equal figures were registered for trafficking for forced criminal action and trafficking for forced marriages, while trafficking for exploitative begging constituted around one percent of the identified trafficked persons. Other identified types of exploitation include trafficking for the manufacturing of pornographic material, and trafficking of children for usage as child soldiers. Whereas the figures of identifications are small, several of the 'other' types of exploitation are geographically extensive (UNODC 2018:29-31).

Eighty percent of victims are trafficked for sexual exploitation, and 1.2 million children are trafficked, both locally and internationally, worldwide every year (Europol, Legislation on Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigrant Smuggling 2005). Statistics show that between 200 000 to 300 000 children are trafficked annually for forced labour and sexual exploitation in West and Central Africa alone (Deane 2017:45). Kreston (2007:37) on the other hand, claims that a great number of all global victims are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation.

2.4.4 Traffickers

UNODC (2018) reports that an examination of the sex of people who have been interrogated or detained, accused, and/or convicted of human trafficking indicates that a great number of traffickers continue to be men. The variations in the gender profile of persons sentenced may display diverse methods of the criminal justice structures in various regions. The evident prevalence of traffickers sentenced in 2016 were residents of the country in which they were sentenced. Foreign traffickers constituted around one third of those sentenced. The majority of foreign perpetrators were residents of countries inside the same region as the country of conviction. Usual countries of origin frequently sentence few foreigners of human trafficking, while countries of destination are likely to register a greater number of sentences for foreigners. The internet connects traffickers and victims. The online sphere has unlocked fresh tracks for traffickers to find, communicate, and deceive victims in manipulative schemes (UNODC 2018:35-38)

2.4.5 The criminal income of human trafficking

With regards to income human trafficking is rated among the crimes that generate high income worldwide. The first annual report conducted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime revealed that human trafficking is the world's fastest increasing international organised crime implicating billions of dollars (Alexandre et al. 2013:1). A huge number of traffickers are implicated in other international offences, and the incomes from human trafficking cause it to be the fastest rising supply of incomes for organised criminal ventures globally (US Trafficking Victims Protection Act 2000 sec 102(b) (8)).

Trafficking is third most lucrative, following only drug- and gun-running, for organised crime. Approximately 95 billion US dollars is generated yearly through trafficking. Traffickers get involved in this offence for it is high income, rather low risk, does not demand a huge capital investment, and for the reason that human beings can be used and resold repeatedly (2006 TIP Report). The case with considerably the highest disclosed criminal revenue dealt with trafficking for organ removal. The largest income is reported from highly developed countries. The profit potential differs significantly, apparently according to the level of development of the country where the exploitation occurs (UNODC 2018:39)

2.4.6 Trafficking flows

There are various trafficking flows identified across the world. The summative universal number shows that the majority of detected trafficked persons worldwide are residents of the countries where they are identified. This pattern nonetheless varies in the different regions evaluated (UNODC 2018:41).

2.5 HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN AFRICA

2.5.1 The nature of human trafficking in Africa

Singh (2004:354) argues that given the traditional cultural norms and values in many parts of Africa and the service role of the women and girl child, it is not surprising that the African continent is the main source country for trafficked persons. Deane (2017) claims

Chapter 2: Literature Review

that on the African continent, Southern African countries, particularly South Africa and countries in West Africa, are prone to human trafficking, owing to their standing as countries of origin, transit, and destination. The issue of human trafficking in Africa is immense due to the openly created routes. Issues that have been recognised as underlying human trafficking in Africa include poverty, high unemployment rate, inadequate social welfare systems, and religions and cultural practices, all of which may create a climate in which human trafficking can thrive. Other factors like political change, economic collapse, civil unrest, internal conflict and natural disasters also contribute to the increase in human trafficking (Deane 2017:43-47).

Njoh, AJ & Ayuk-Etang, E (2012:31) maintain that human trafficking, child and forced labour and the global capitalist business are intricately linked phenomena in Africa. Trafficked persons generally turn out as forced labourers on the continent or in a foreign country. Women, particularly young girls, usually get themselves forcibly working as domestic servants or sex slaves. Boys regularly end up in forced labour camps on agricultural plantations and mining regions.

2.5.2 Victims of human trafficking in Africa

The Global Trafficking Report on Trafficking in Persons (UNODC 2018) reports that most of the identified trafficked persons in Sub-Saharan Africa remain children. Over 50 percent of the trafficked persons identified in 2016 were children, in almost equivalent quantities of males and females. Child trafficking is most commonly identified in West Africa. East African countries identify a greater share of adults, equally divided between males and females. By way of contrast, countries in Southern Africa are likely to identify more females, alongside men and boys in equal figures. Girls are seldom identified in East and Southern Africa, while in West Africa, they are the most commonly identified trafficked person profile. West African countries are likely to identify most trafficked persons compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNODC 2018:80).

In North Africa and the Middle East, adults constituted the great preponderance of the identified trafficked persons in 2016, and the majority were females. Quite a small number

Chapter 2: Literature Review

of trafficked children were identified, and contrary to the reports of various other regions, in this region, boys exceed girls by some margin. A huge number of trafficked children were identified in North Africa, while in the Middle East, incorporating the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, virtually all the identified trafficked persons were adults (UNODC 2018:85). Many of the victims are drawn from rural and still traditional backgrounds (Singh 2004:354)

2.5.3 Forms of exploitation in Africa

The majority of the trafficked persons identified in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2016 were trafficked for forced labour. Trafficking for sexual exploitation accounted for less than one third of the identified trafficked persons. The proportions of the various types of exploitation continue to be largely equal in West Africa and Southern Africa, with a large number of trafficked persons for forced labour. The second major group of trafficked persons was trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation mainly females (UNODC 2018:80). In North Africa and the Middle East, from 2014 to 2016, trafficking for forced labour was more frequently identified than trafficking for sexual exploitation. The identified forms of exploitation vary considerably in the various regions. Females constitute a majority of the trafficked persons for sexual exploitation, and about one third of the trafficked persons for forced labour. Equated to other regions, North Africa and the Middle East registered the greatest figure of trafficked persons for organ removal. The majority of these trafficked persons were males, and fewer females (UNODC 2018:86).

2.5.4 Traffickers in Africa

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the majority of traffickers are men, but equated to other areas, greater quantities of women perpetrators continue to be registered in Sub-Saharan Africa. A majority of countries registered more men who are perpetrators than women. Information on the nationalities of the people sentenced for trafficking show that the majority are residents of the country where they were sentenced. The foreign traffickers were mostly residents of other countries in the sub-region (UNODC 2018:81). In North Africa and the Middle East, most traffickers are also men. A great number of those sentenced for trafficking in this sub region are foreigners. The majority of the traffickers

Chapter 2: Literature Review

are residents of other countries in North Africa and the Middle East, or from Asian countries (UNODC 2018:86). In many instances, the recruiter and trafficker are male family members (Singh 2004:354)

2.5.5 Trafficking flows in Africa

According to UNODC (2018:82), from 2014 to 2016, trafficked persons from Sub-Saharan Africa were identified in, or deported from more than 60 countries inside and beyond Africa. This causes Sub-Saharan Africa to be a pertinent origin for identified instances of human trafficking worldwide. Trafficked persons from West Africa are often identified in Western and Southern Europe, constituting about fifteen percent of the trafficked persons identified there. North African countries also report identifying trafficked persons from West Africa. In the Middle East, the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council identify trafficked persons from both West and East Africa. A moderate flow is directed from Sub-Saharan Africa to North America, and deportation information displays trafficking flows from various regions of Africa to East Asia and Eastern Europe. The majority of trafficked persons identified in Sub-Saharan Africa are residents of Sub-Saharan African countries (UNODC 2018:82).

The International Organisation for Migration (2003:123) found the following distinct female and child trafficking patterns in Africa: trafficking of females from refugee-generating countries to South Africa; trafficking of children from Lesotho to cities in the Eastern Free State of South Africa; trafficking of women and girls from Mozambique to Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal; trafficking of females from Malawi to Northern Europe; trafficking of female and male children from Malawi to Northern Europe; trafficking of women and girls from Malawi to South Africa overland; trafficking of females from Thailand to South Africa; trafficking of females from China to South Africa; and trafficking of Eastern Europe females to South Africa.

Insofar as Malawian females are concerned, the identified destination countries are the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. Local businesswomen operating in Malawi recruit and sell victims directly to the Nigerian-based buyers, who pass them to the local

Chapter 2: Literature Review

sex industries. WOCON, an advocacy group in Nigeria, states that annually, hundreds of Nigerian women and girls are trafficked into forcible prostitution and coerced to bear slave-like circumstances in European countries, particularly Italy and the Middle East (Singh 2004:355). In West Africa, the main trafficked persons are children, women, and refugees with the greatest number of females being used in street prostitution. Human trafficking in West Africa takes various forms, depending on each country's supply and demand factors.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2001) has professed that countries in West Africa are split into two groups, in accordance with the trafficking flows that connect them. The first human trafficking flow is from Mali and Burkina Faso to Cote d'Ivoire. The next is from Togo and Benin, across transit countries such as Cameroon and Nigeria, and on to Gabon. Reportedly human trafficking predominantly affects Nigerian women and girls. This is because a huge share of the West Africa's trafficking into Europe begins from, or passes across, the Nigerian state of Edo and its capital, Benin City. Victims predominantly travel to Europe by plane from Lagos or other international airports from West Africa. Trafficked persons can also be transferred by land and sea through the Mediterranean (Deane 2017:50).

North Africa and the Middle East also differ with regards to trafficking flows. Countries in North Africa generally identify domestic trafficking. In 2016, above 80 percent of the identified trafficked persons in North Africa were trafficked internally. Trafficked persons from North Africa are, to a certain degree, also trafficked to the wealthier regions of the Middle East and to Western and Southern Europe. Moreover, West African countries are declaring own residents trafficked and deported from North African countries, particularly, but not solely, from Libya. Countries in the Gulf Cooperation Council of the Middle East seldom declare trafficked persons for purposes of domestic trafficking. This region is almost entirely a destination for trafficked persons from other regions: largely from South Asia, but also from Eastern Europe, and North Africa. In the rest of Middle East, the most often identified trafficked persons are Syrians, and residents of other countries in the sub-region. Trafficked persons from Eastern Europe and Africa are nonetheless also identified

in these countries. As an origin of trafficking flows, countries in Western and Southern Europe have declared trafficked persons from the Middle East- again mostly Syrians- during the reporting period (UNODC 2018:87). Illicit trafficking from Ethiopia has turned out to be a profitable enterprise, with traffickers earning over US \$800 for each individual they transfer out of the country. The UN's International Organisation for Migration indicates that particularly the girls are transferred to the Middle East, Lebanon, Dubai, and Saudi Arabia (Singh 2004:354).

2.5.6 Criminalising human trafficking in Africa

UNODC (2018) reports that amongst the countries evaluated, five countries in Sub-Saharan Africa continue to have law that criminalises human trafficking only concerning trafficked children, whereas two countries have no explicit law tackling this offence. The majority of the countries initiated an explicit law in keeping with the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol definition after 2009. The countries in Sub-Saharan Africa registered absolutely the lowest sentencing rates equated to other regions worldwide. Simultaneously, countries in Sub-Saharan Africa also register an extremely small number of trafficked persons per 100,000 people. The small quantity of convictions versus the range of destinations and the quantity of trafficked persons coming from these countries indicate their inadequate capability to identify trafficking instances. The majority of countries in North Africa and the Middle East instituted a law criminalising human trafficking after the year 2009. The quantity of sentences registered in this sub region are predominantly low. The quantity of trafficked persons identified per 100,000 people is, however, the smallest registered (UNODC 2018:84-88).

2.6 HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.6.1 The nature of human trafficking in South Africa

South Africa's legal standing on Trafficking in Persons is outlined in the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 7 of 2013 (PACOTIP). The Act espouses a comprehensive definition of human trafficking than the Trafficking Protocol. PACOTIP declares that an individual shall be culpable of human trafficking if such person transports,

Chapter 2: Literature Review

lures, transfers, moves, harbours, markets, trades, hires out, or accepts another individual inside or beyond the borders of South Africa, via different methods, comprising the usage of power, fraud, and extortion, directed at an individual, or a close family member for the purpose of exploitation (Deane 2017:44).

Hamman (2011) maintains that in South Africa, human trafficking is not a foreign, imported or new phenomenon, but merely a different approach of defining a subject that certainly not actually stopped when the slave trade was eliminated, but simply transformed its format. It changed from something that was legal, to then becoming something illegal. Van der Watt, M. (2018:5) also affirms that human trafficking is not a recent phenomenon in South Africa. This country has been classified as a source, transit, and destination country for males, females, and children trafficked for forced labour and sex trafficking.

Bermudez, L. (2008:12) maintains that every year, the United States Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, rates countries on their achievement in addressing human trafficking in their own country in keeping with the United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA) minimum standards (United States Department of State 2013). Tier 2 Watch list denotes countries whose governments are making attempts to conform, but have not been able to present proof that they are intensifying attempts in counter-trafficking activities compared to the previous year's report (United States Department of State 2013). South Africa has been allotted a Tier 2 ranking in 2004 in the annual US TIP Report, regressed to a Tier 2 watch list ranking between 2005 and 2009, and again improved to a Tier 2 ranking from 2009 to 2017. Currently, the South African government does not completely uphold the minimum standards for the eradication of trafficking and falls short in numerous crucial areas, but is making considerable attempts to improve in this regard (US Department of State, 2017:362).

According to Kreston (2007), South Africa is characterised as a country of origin, country of transit and country of destination for human trafficking. The UNICEF (2003) study focused on trafficking all over Africa and classified South Africa as a country of

Chapter 2: Literature Review

destination, transit, and origin of trafficked persons, and also experiencing trafficking inside its borders. It discovered that trafficking is an identified problem in almost fifty percent of the countries in Africa, with children trafficked at double the proportion of females (Kreston 2007:38). Swart (2012:64) states that the leading countries of origin for trafficking across Africa are the ones bordering South Africa. Longer distance trafficking is also recognised by the IOM (International Organisation for Migration).

Research by Molo Songololo (2000) clearly identifies South Africa as a destination country instead of a source country for trafficked women, with Namibia and Botswana being the traditional transit routes in the transport of women from other parts of Africa. The IOM (2003) investigation also found that in South Africa, most traffickers sought to legalise the trafficked person's stay in the country as a means of serving their investment. Studies in Southern Africa have shown that South Africa is primarily a receiving country for women who are victims of trafficking. One of the main source countries for trafficking into South Africa is Mozambique, where the unstable and poor social and economic climate in Mozambique results in the population seeking work opportunities outside the country. South Africa is also known to be a host country for females from Thailand (Singh 2004:352-353).

Deane (2017:47) maintains that in general, human trafficking is deemed to be lower in the Southern African region than elsewhere on the continent. However, in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa, it is presumed that human trafficking remains widespread. These SADC countries are regarded as source, transit and destination countries, with South Africa being characterised as the country of origin, transit, and destination for trafficking victims in the African region. This is because South Africa is perceived to be the economic hub of Africa, and therefore a profitable market for traffickers.

Aransiola, J & Zarowsky, C. (2014:509) explore the perspective of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in South Africa on the changing aspects of human trafficking in the country, and on attempts to safeguard the human rights of freed trafficked persons before the declaration of human trafficking law in the country. The investigation revealed

Chapter 2: Literature Review

insufficient advocacy or campaigns to tackle the issue. A few stakeholders understood that human trafficking was a critical issue in South Africa, whereas others persisted questioning its extent, owing to the dearth of extant research on the issue.

Hamman (2011:12) claims that the offence of human trafficking in South Africa does not have only one face, where there is no one standard kind of victim, no one standard kind of perpetrator, and occurs for no one standard reason. Human trafficking establishes itself to differing extents of both delicate and noticeable variances, reliant on the circumstances in which it happens.

He also maintains that human trafficking is a problem that breaches a string of human rights, is covert, and is rarely talked about. If the upholding of myth persists, this offense will remain unnoticed and unreported, and will be difficult to confront while trafficked persons keep on falling prey to it in its various subtle ways. The scarcity of accurate statistics on human trafficking poses a huge challenge in fighting this scourge in South Africa. Few causes of the unavailability of accurate statistics stem from this crime not being reported via approved reporting channels of different departments such as the police and Department of Social Development. Usually it goes unreported due to failure to recognise it as human trafficking. Hamman suggests that it is vital for the media to attempt to divulge and reveal the intricacies of this issue. (Hamman 2011:24).

2.6.2 Victims of human trafficking in South Africa

According to the Human Science Research Council (2010:15) in South Africa, women are trafficked for both sexual and labour exploitation. On the other hand, males are trafficked from adjacent countries as well as remote Sub-Saharan countries. Swart (2012:65) maintains that there is a great variety of trafficking in females and children in Southern Africa. Trafficked persons include Africans, Asians and Europeans, from urban and rural settings, some with high levels of education and others with little. The majority are women, though where youths are pursued particularly, boys are also conscripted. South African females and children are trafficked into sex industries in European countries. According

to Bermudez (2008:8), the most vulnerable South Africans to be trafficked have been black and coloured people, under the age of 30, from lower socio-economic groups.

2.6.3 Forms of exploitation in South Africa

In South Africa, females and children are trafficked for different types of exploitation such as sexual exploitation, involving prostitution and pornography, domestic servitude, forced labour and begging, criminal activity (involving drug traffickers), for trafficking for the removal of body parts (or *muti*), and for sacrifice in rituals (Human Sciences Research Council Project Tsireledzani 2010:19; Hamman 2011:22; Swart 2012:65).

2.6.3.1 Sexual exploitation in South Africa

According to UNODC (2009:6), women and child trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation is certainly the most usually detected type of human trafficking in South Africa. Swart (2012:65) claims that it is eased by porous borders, deprivation, and advanced communication technologies. Molo Songololo (2005:12) discovered that children are susceptible to sexual exploitation as a result of economic disparities, immigration and urbanisation, family fragmentation, poverty, ineffective safety, and protection services, sexual abuse, high rate of domestic violence, and heightened demand for sex with children. Singh (2004:352) maintains that research for Southern Africa by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) reveals that the sexual exploitation of females, as a way of receiving profit, has become an appealing alternative for certain migrant males, especially those residing and working in Johannesburg and Cape Town, which are towns with an established and lucrative sex business.

Molo Songololo (2000) investigated trafficking in children for sexual exploitation in South Africa, and found that between 28 000 and 38 000 children were prostituted in the country. The investigation disclosed that 25% of the prostituted people in Cape Town constituted children. It discovered that parents, specifically mothers, were amongst the major child traffickers. The study also observed that there is a close association between intra-familial sexual abuse and exploitation (Kreston 2007:37).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The International Organisation on Migration (IOM) (2003) analysis concentrated on trafficking in females and children for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa. It discovered that South Africa is a major destination for Southern Africa. Trafficked persons, both children and adults, are recruited by extortion, intimidation, or fraud. Notably, it realised that trafficked persons are scared of law enforcement, and do not believe the police will provide them with assistance. The study also identified trafficking in females and children for sexual exploitation as a major issue in Southern Africa. The organisation concentrated partly on child trafficking from Lesotho to the eastern Free State of South Africa. It discovered that trafficked children were both male and female, with fifty percent of the children kidnapped, and another fifty percent tricked into becoming trafficked. Physical and /or sexual abuse at home, along with passing away of parents from Aids were reportedly the main causes of susceptibility. The study revealed that the exploitation of these trafficked persons was not fundamentally about sex or money, but influence and domination, and the need to degrade, chasten, and abuse (Kreston 2007:37).

The IOM (2003) report distinguishes two distinct kinds of operations. The first is 'cottage industry' trafficking, in which a number of females are trafficked by small groups of Thai males, South Africans who guarantee them marriage, formerly trafficked females, and brothel proprietors. Another involves a greater scope of actions administered by Thai and Chinese structured syndicates (Martens, J, Pieczkowski, M & Van Vuuren-Smyth, B 2003:59-60). The Molo Songololo (2000) findings reveal comparable trafficking patterns comprising the conscription of Eastern European females into the commercial sex industry; the conscription of refugee girls while traveling to their destination for both the commercial sex trade and the sexual satisfaction of the trafficker themselves; as well as the kidnapping of children, once more for both the trafficker's personal sexual satisfaction and prostitution (Martens et al. 2003:23,25 & 31).

Hamman (2011:22) identified various recruitment tactics. These include different recruiters searching for interested men and women in disadvantaged societies; recruitment through informal networks of relatives and friends; adverts tendering employment or education opportunities, agencies promising employment, education,

Chapter 2: Literature Review

marriage or travel; fabricated marriages; as well as buying children from their custodians, or somehow tricking custodians to give away the children.

Martens et al. (2003:31) detected certain internal trafficking problems. These include the trading of children to brothels, syndicates and gang bosses for both commercial sexual exploitation, as well as the purchaser's personal satisfaction and also marketing of girls as child wives to adult males, and conscription of youths by teachers into debt-bondage conditions in which they are required to supply sex in return for the settlement of school costs. Swart (2012:66), on the other hand, claims that sex trafficking victims could be imposed into various exploitative conditions. These include involuntary prostitution, pornography, stripping/exotic dancing, mail order brides and massage parlours. According to the International Organisation for Migration (2003:124), in Southern Africa, trafficking in females and children for sexual exploitation constitutes a cross-border business that flourishes due to susceptible females and children being widely available, and as a result of the effective collaboration of recruitment, shippers, and exploiters.

2.6.3.2 Forced Prostitution in South Africa

The most prevalent type of sexual exploitation in South Africa is forced prostitution. Human Sciences Research Council Project Tsireledzani in 2010 and IOM's Seduction Sale and Slavery: Trafficking in Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation in South Africa (2003) exposed that trafficked persons who were pulled or coerced into prostitution originated from various nationalities. Females and children from South Africa's neighbouring states are trafficked into South Africa for forced prostitution, where they are dominated by criminal syndicates operating in the country.

Swart (2012:67) identified various strategies employed to manipulate trafficked persons. These include creating a dependency on narcotics; threatening and raping victims to create fear of escape; debt bondage; seizure of travel documents and removal of identification; guarding of trafficked persons by means of watchmen and dogs to create alarm; creating the impression that criminal syndicates have strong connections with police; and threatening victims, their families and family members. Hamman (2011:22)

identified linguistic and social isolation, psychological imprisonment, and torture as other strategies used by traffickers to manipulate trafficked persons.

2.6.3.3 Pornography in South Africa

According to Anderson, B. (2010:1), pornography is described as material that is mainly sexually explicit, and meant predominantly for sexual stimulation. It utilises a range of media varying from books, magazines, postcards, photos, sculptures, drawings, paintings animation, sound recording, films, videos, or video games and television. According to Anderson, pornography can be classified into five types, namely: adult magazines, video cassettes, motion pictures, television, and audio porn. Rice, G. (2011:1) suggests that pornography has turned out to be the root to the human trafficking trade. South Africa is a transit zone for international child pornography (South African Coalition Against Trafficking of Crime 2011:1).

2.6.3.4 Exploitation of females in brothels and massage parlours in South Africa

The exploitation of females in brothels and massage parlours might be perceived as an extension of the forced prostitution practice. Brothels are regulated by syndicates and brothel proprietors. According to Project Tsireledzani (2010:215), a number of brothels exploiting Mozambican females have been discovered in South Africa. Zimbabwean women and children are also trafficked for sexual exploitation and exploited in brothels near the country's borders with Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zambia (Human Science Research Council Project Tsireledzani 2010:169).

Research by Project Tsireledzani (2010:34) revealed the trafficking of Thai women to South Africa by Thai females, who were once trafficked to South Africa, and are currently the owners of brothels. People who own brothels are capable of placing 'orders' for females, who are in turn trafficked into South Africa. Thai females are trafficked to South Africa with the promise of employment, while South African youths are traded to European countries (HSRC 2010:18).

2.6.3.5 Domestic servitude in South Africa

Swart (2012:68), maintains that females and children in domestic enslavement might easily be the highly susceptible and abused individuals, and the very problematic to safeguard. There has been trafficking of females and children from Africa to South Africa for domestic slavery. A great amount of female and child trafficking for domestic slavery in South Africa is internally, from rural to urban areas. In the country, child trafficking has also been within provinces (Molo Songololo 2005:43).

The US Department of State (2008:2) maintains that the domestic trafficking and cross - border trafficking of females and children in some of South Africa's adjacent countries, are also predominant. Children working as housekeepers in towns or shepherds at distant cattle posts were also detected. It is predominantly the case that females and children are trafficked domestically, intra-regionally, as well as inter-continently for domestic servitude (Swart 2012:68).

2.6.3.6 Forced labour in South Africa

Forced labour refers to any form of labour or service demanded from any individual threatened by punishment, and that particular individual has not tendered willingly agreed to render that service (International Labour Organisation Concerning Forced Labour (No.29) 2.1.). UNODC (2009:51) claims that the identification of persons trafficked for forced labour is less likely than the detection of persons trafficked for forced prostitution. Bakirci (2009:163) identifies various types of labour trafficking such as farm labour, factory work, housekeeping, construction, food services, and entertainment. The US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Annual Report (2008:1) declares that Mozambique is a source and, to a much lesser degree, a destination country for males, females, and children trafficked for forced labour. Young males from Mozambique are trafficked to South Africa for farm labour and mining.

2.6.3.7 Trafficking for the removal of body parts (or muti) and for sacrifice in rituals in South Africa

The Human Sciences Research Council (2010:16) reveals a view that the existence of satanic cults in all parts of South Africa. They are extremely well linked and are exceedingly dangerous. They appear to have substantial financial resources and their membership comprises both men and women. These cult affiliates are prosperous members of the public comprising doctors, lawyers, and businesspeople. When satanic rites necessitate human sacrifice, children are generally killed. Trafficked persons are either conscripted by cult affiliates or bought from criminal syndicates that are experts in human trafficking (HSRC 2010:16). If not, satanic cults abduct people mostly from rural areas. Children who live on the streets and sex workers are also targets, since no one will miss or report them to the police. If they have to kill a male for their ritual, they will target gay males in taverns and tranquillise them using drugs, since it is very challenging to abduct straight males from the street because of their degree of resistance (Human Science Research Council Project Tsireledzani 2010:20).

2.6.4 Traffickers in South Africa

Aransiola & Zarowsky's (2014) study assists to develop a more complete image of the various role players engaged in human trafficking in South Africa. These role players comprise recruiters who usually camouflage as labour agents, transporters who might intentionally or unintentionally be participating, and brothel proprietors, night club proprietors, massage studios and other business proprietors. It could as well comprise medical doctors, who assist the traffickers to offer basic healthcare services for trafficked persons, certain distinct families, and other beneficiaries of trafficked persons' services. The criminal groups declared to be operative inside South Africa comprise Russian Mafia, the Chinese Mafia, South African syndicates, Zimbabwean syndicate, Nigerian syndicates and Czech Republic syndicates. Pimps, possess their girls and have dominion in their areas of trade. On the border joining Zimbabwe and South Africa, trafficking syndicates named *Ngumaguma* or Malaisha, act as if they are helping people to pass through into South Africa unlawfully, but eventually abuse them (Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014: 517).

According to the 2013 TIP Report (United States Department of State 2013), a broad range of international and South African perpetrators were implicated in human trafficking in South Africa. These range from global and domestic organised crime syndicates, less well-structured, loose local networks, as well as relatives or acquaintances of the trafficked victim. The main structured crime networks implicated in human trafficking have been the Nigerian, Russian, Bulgarian, and Chinese crime syndicates, while street gangs and local criminal rings also operated in various South African cities.

Diaspora communities have also been identified as 'channels' for trafficking of people, usually relatives into South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council 2010: xiv). Molo Songololo (2005) reports that men as well as women have been recognised as traffickers and that trafficking can be facilitated by parents or other relatives, adult sex workers, gangs, brothel owners, or organised crime syndicates. Bermudez (2008:31) also asserts that recruiters are often known by the victims and can be a relative, friend, neighbour, or an associate from the same neighbourhood as the trafficked person.

2.6.5 Trafficking flows in South Africa

An outline of trafficking patterns in South Africa indicates that it is the primary destination country for females and children from Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, etc. and from as distant as Taiwan. The country is also a transit spot for trafficking proceedings between emerging states and advanced states (Deane 2017:47). It has been revealed that more than ten diverse 'trafficking routes' were already discovered by 2003. Research disclosed that females and children are trafficked to South Africa from various African states. Organised traffickers bring victims from these countries to South Africa for abuse domestically, or to redirect to other countries.

Using clearly delineated routes, the transfer of females and children transpires via a range of means, comprising cars, long distance trucks, taxis, boats, and on foot. Females and children are also trafficked to South Africa from Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia,

Chapter 2: Literature Review

particularly from Thailand and Taiwan. They are trafficked mainly to escort agencies in provinces like Gauteng, Cape Town, and Durban.

In South Africa, the majority of human trafficking happens internally, from one town to another, from rural to urban areas, and throughout its provinces. Not only female but also child sex tourism is rife in South African towns. The majority of youths employed in these towns have been illicitly trafficked in and into South Africa.

South Africa's history of southward migration flows, porous borders and structures makes it vulnerable to a host of refugee human trafficking undertakings. In South Africa, internal criminal groups and street rings establish child prostitution in many towns in the country and become part of the international syndicate. It was observed that children were often coerced into prostitution by parents, relatives, taxi drivers, gangs, syndicates, and brothel owners (Deane 2017:48).

The greatest transfer of trafficked females and children in South Africa has been from rural to urban areas. Provincial 'hotspots' for trafficking undertakings in different provinces have been recognised as Pretoria, Johannesburg, Rustenburg, Bloemfontein, the South Africa Lesotho Maseru border, Durban and harbour, as well as Cape Town and harbour. South Africa is a destination country for long distance flows for trafficked persons (largely females) from Thailand, Philippines, India, China, Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine (Human Sciences Research Council Media Briefs 2010:1). The major point of access of these trafficking streams is OR Tambo Airport in Johannesburg (Swart 2012:65).

2.7 HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND THE MEDIA

This section presents a critical review of existing literature relating to media representation of human trafficking. The section is made up of three subsections guided by the research questions; representation of human trafficking in the media, themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered in the media and forms or types of human trafficking covered in the media.

2.7.1 Representation of human trafficking in the media

Gulati, GJ. (2010) investigated the representation of human trafficking in the US, Great Britain, and Canadian media from 2000-2005 and the study indicated that newspaper reporting constantly concentrated on human trafficking as a criminal activity, and on anti-trafficking legislation transformations, as opposed to portraying the opinions of trafficked persons. It also revealed that the predominant account when reviewing the causes of trafficking has been the “crime frame”.

Cheng, S. (2008) concurs with Gulati in his study of Fox I-team report, which revealed that the USA military in Korea was associated with a global network, smuggling females into slavery. The study revealed that the media over-simplifies the issue of sex-trafficking. This report also stresses the significance of scrutinising the issue of representation of human trafficking in the media.

Koos-Goryszewska, M. (2010) evaluated the portrayal of human trafficking by the media in Poland. The study revealed that the media reported about human trafficking in the context of criminality and migration. This is attributed to the fact that human trafficking is an international offense, which implicates people of various countries.

Wallerger, CS. (2010) investigated the role of the media in outlining and influencing legislation and services tendered to trafficked people. The study disclosed that the media has represented human trafficking as a type of organised crime, transpiring in darkness and piloted by mysterious international syndicates. It concludes that portrayals of trafficking as a problem of migration, prostitution, and organised crime describe only certain facets of the offense while neglecting greater issues including poverty, lack of opportunity, and globalisation, emanating from underlying injustices comprising racism, sexism, and economic domination (Wallerger 2010:19).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Jahic, G. & Finckenayer, J.O. (2005) concur with Wallinger (2010) in disclosing that trafficking is represented as an issue of migration, prostitution, and organised crime. This also disregards issues like poverty, limited opportunities, and globalisation which emanate from racism, sexism and economic dominance. Their study resolved that the discussion of trafficking needs to transform. It also concluded that the media need to stop reporting trafficking in an incomplete and inadequate way, and that anti-trafficking organisations ought to compete for expressive and insightful coverage.

Muraszkiewicz's et al. (2014) examined the manner in which human trafficking is framed in one news media, and whether cumulative emphasis on human trafficking in the political arena has influenced this framing. It encompassed case studies from the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland. The study scrutinised media articles reported from 2010 to 2014. The study discovered that the press represented human trafficking as an immigration problem. It used qualitative media analysis to examine how the image of human trafficking is represented to the society by the news media. Most of the articles scrutinised framed human trafficking as a problem of sexual exploitation. In the three case studies, human trafficking was also represented within the criminal frame. In the case of Poland and the UK, this analysis displayed that human trafficking was commonly paired with migration, creating the perception that migration and human trafficking are linked (Muraszkiewicz, J, Georgiou, M and Constantinou, A. 2014: 37-38). This study focused on investigating how human trafficking is framed in the media and how underlying social problems tend to be disregarded.

Hamman (2011) investigated the way in which South African media covered human trafficking and Child Protection during and outside the World Cup period. The results exposed that the extent of human trafficking both during and a month after the World Cup was the same. The study also recognised missed opportunities where the media did not report on human trafficking. The results displayed a distinct gap in awareness of human trafficking in the media. The reports also revealed an absence of comprehension and inadequate information about the problem and its practicalities in South Africa. In many

Chapter 2: Literature Review

instances, the media accounts did not indicate what human trafficking is, its features, or the ways in which trafficked persons can be deceived and exploited.

Sobel's (2014) study is a quantitative content analysis of English language news reporting of human trafficking in the USA, India, and Thailand. It examined human trafficking reporting before and after the introduction of an extensive international anti-trafficking agreement to establish the influence of the agreement on the extent and framing of media reporting on the problem. It aimed to establish whether the establishment of the UN Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN. GIFT United Nations 2012) had a bearing on media reporting of human trafficking as a result of the agenda-building process. It analysed whether there was a difference in the extent of reporting before and after the March 2007 UNGIFT. Furthermore, Entman's classification of frames was applied to establish whether there was a difference in the manner the coverage was framed (Sobel 2014:319). This study discovered that after the agreement, coverage of the issue improved, but remained localised. It focused predominantly on crime and policy sides of human trafficking, as opposed to human rights or public health (Sobel 2014:315).

Johnston, A, Friedman, B & Shafer, A. (2012a) explored sex trafficking reporting in leading US newspapers, establishing that reports were predominantly framed as a crime problem. In a different analysis of sex trafficking reporting in prominent US newspapers, Johnston, A, Friedman, B & Shafer, A. (2012b) discovered that news reports mostly concentrated on effects of human trafficking on global public health.

Alexandre, K, Sha, C, Pollock, J.C, Baier, K and Johnson, J. (2014) explored media coverage of human trafficking and identified many connections between national features and media reporting of the issue. This study focused particularly on cross-national newspaper reporting of human trafficking. It applied the community structure approach in its exploration of media reporting, investigating how the public influences coverage of human trafficking. It examined the extent of variation in cross-national reporting of human

Chapter 2: Literature Review

trafficking and explored the variation in degree of correlation between cross-national reporting of human trafficking and certain national characteristics. This study attempted to deal with this disparity by examining relations between variation in national features and variations in cross-national newspaper reporting of human trafficking (Alexandre et al. 2014:161-162). Applying the community structure approach to scrutinise newspaper reporting of human trafficking produced meaningful outcomes. The connection discovered between country-level features and framing of articles on human trafficking indicates that national demographics are linked to disparities in reporting of human trafficking (Alexandre et al. 2014:172)

Downman, S. (2013), on the other hand, asserts that media reports on human trafficking regularly make generalisations about this complex and divergent issue and that thought-provoking reporting on human trafficking is limited, with media organisations seeking to sensationalise stories (Downman 2013:63, University of Queensland Human Trafficking Working Group (UQHTWG) 2012). The study looked specifically at the manner in which trafficked persons are portrayed in the media, by examining high profile global television reports. It revealed that poor human trafficking reporting normally stems from six factors, namely: stereotyping; stigmatising; sensationalising; simplifying; speculating; and showcasing. It also found that reporting human trafficking is complicated, and potentially dangerous. It indicated that reporting human trafficking is also ethically challenging and that sound reporting is rare. He claims that it is sometimes easier for reporters to ignore ethical guidelines in difficult reporting contexts (Downman 2013:63-70).

Johnston, A, Friedman, B & Shafer, A. (2014) present a quantitative content analysis that analyses news reporting of sex trafficking in prominent US newspapers in order to grasp the manner in which the issue was framed in a year of reporting. The study used Entman's typology to categorise the functions of frames, to focus on the way news reporting described the issue of sex trafficking, and to diagnose a solution. This analysis discovered that news reporting of trafficking was framed as an episodic crime problem

Chapter 2: Literature Review

De Shalit, A, Heynen, R & Van der Meulen, E (2014) maintain that significant discussion about the disposition of trafficking and the impact of state policies has been inhibited by the manner in which trafficking has been framed in the media and elsewhere. England, J. (2004) asserts that media portrayals of trafficking, trafficked persons, and the traffickers create forms of discernibility and indiscernibility that employ comprehensive forms of depiction of immigrants and native people (England 2004). Anti-trafficking dialogues are likely to integrate a number of regular themes in this regard. Firstly, it is frequently claimed that human trafficking is a modern type of slavery (People's Law School 2010:1). Secondly, human trafficking is usually coupled with sex work and prostitution, and linked to child abuse and sexual exploitation. Finally, media stories and descriptions develop a representation of the trafficker that permits a reductive sense of good and evil, exploited and exploiter, and sequentially drives the need to intercede to fight this menace and save trafficked persons (De Shalit 2014:386).

In 2016, Sobel, MR conducted a quantitative content analysis that studied fifteen years of human trafficking reporting in five English-language Thai newspapers, and observed a concentration on crime frames. The analysis discovered a remarkable quantity of reports that featured episodic framing. According to Iyengar, S. (1991) episodic frames concentrate on the current event, and provide little background about underpinning issues; while thematic frames concentrate on the bigger picture in order to assist audiences placing the matter in a wider context, which in turn may lend them more towards concepts of shared responsibility. This analysis realised that extant reporting focused on crime-focused reports. Sobel claims that the heavy emphasis on crime frames indicates that sex trafficking is covered in the context of criminal justice. Results indicate the dominance of crime-focused frames (Sobel 2016:6126).

Rosas-Moreno, TC (2018) explored the effect of participation in an international organisation on one of its co-founding members. The study considered community reactions to South Africa's policies and practices by means of a framing theory based analysis of 19 years' worth of South African national dailies' human trafficking reports around the time of IBSA's 2003 establishment. The study found that South Africa's

Chapter 2: Literature Review

participation in co-founding and membership of IBSA has had minimal to no impact on the country's human trafficking policies and practices (Rosas-Moreno's 2018:44). The majority of articles analysed were positive in their reporting of human trafficking. This analysis discovered that human trafficking reporting relied on official sources. Trafficked person's stories are limited and scarce. It exposed polar tensions in news articles before 2003 regarding females. It also revealed a national tussle in understanding the nature of human trafficking, let alone how it ought to be regulated (Rosas-Moreno 2018:57).

Bouche, V, Farrell, A & Wittmer-Wolfe, DE (2018) examined the kinds of sex trafficking victim frames that generate the best reaction among the American society, and how improved reporting and precise information around the subject control the influence of the victim frames.

This study made it obvious that victim framing in public dialogue on sex trafficking indeed makes a difference, and that the reasons these frames generate different reactions are complicated, and regulated by respondents' levels of exposure to information and knowledge about the subject. The results prove the intense impact of the dominant anti-trafficking narrative, and evoke success of media and advocacy campaigns that depend on erroneous representations of human trafficking victimisation to secure public support. This study validates that framing sex trafficking as an issue that intimidates children, triggers emotional and behavioural reactions on the part of society (Bouche 2018:1283-1299).

Pajnik, M. (2010) explored meaning-making processes concerning human trafficking, by means of the practical example of the Slovene press. This exploration identifies the way these issues surface in the media; the prominence of this content in coverage; the features that are addressed, and those that are missing, and the consequences of such framing. The study identified four frames used in Slovene media, namely, criminalisation, nationalisation, victimisation and regularisation frames (Pajnik 2010:45). Trafficking is framed in media texts as an extremely lucrative and globalised criminal act. The criminalisation frame presents justification for remedies aimed at completely eliminating the existence of trafficking. By using this frame, media texts incorporate a problem-

Chapter 2: Literature Review

solution dichotomy according to which trafficking ought to be ceased, attacked with more effective techniques, or eliminated so as to avoid alleviating it later (Jokic', B. 2003). The criminalisation frame also advocates for more constraints in migration policies that lower opportunity for migration. It upholds the notion that implementing harsher laws will prevent trafficking, incarcerate the perpetrators, and rescue trafficked persons (Pajnik 2010:52).

The nationalisation frame depicts trafficking as a matter of great significance for the State, which by its very function of effectively safeguarding the state, is displayed as regulating trafficking. The nationalisation frame applies the conception that trafficking barely occurs in Slovenia, since the State is always on guard and therefore appears to be combatting the issue (Cmrec'njak, D. 2003). This frame assumes that permeable borders are a major cause of trans-border trafficking, which consequently ought to be placed under more scrutiny. The nationalisation frame, as an expression of state concern to manage and guard its population, eventually moves the liability of the 'problem' of trafficking to refugees, trafficking victims, and other delineated 'strangers'.

The 'victimisation frame' produces an organisation of texts that positions females as innocent victims of sexual abuse. As per the victimisation frame, females are a group with regards to their innocence, purity, and inability to act on their own behalf, or lack of agency (Pajnik 2010:55-56). In the regularisation frame, lawful changes are framed in the Slovenian media as an unbiased and uncomplicated method for combatting trafficking. Recently approved laws and endorsed treaties are anticipated as essential legislations, irrespective of their content. It is argued that what is required is sensitisation and coaching of law enforcement officials so as to deal with trafficking successfully. The regularisation frame works to legitimise harsher border regulations and tougher lawful sentences for those who contravene borders and those who traffic people through them. The regularisation frame therefore depends on the tenet that promoting stricter regulations that heighten punishments will ultimately eradicate trafficking (Pajnik 2010:58-59).

Roth, M. (2004:4) established that there was minimal reporting of human trafficking in news in USA. Overall, the report revealed that media are likely to report the human

Chapter 2: Literature Review

trafficking problem with frames that do not completely convey its extent, severity, and significance to the American population.

Hamman (2011) claims that Media Monitoring Africa has discovered many articles in the press that plainly report instances of human trafficking but absolutely failed to recognise it as such. The language in these reports was generally elusive, and most often alluded to prostitution. Not acknowledging trafficking when it happens, further restricts knowledge and awareness of the predominance of the problem. If trafficking is not identified as trafficking, but instead as something else, an opportunity to understand it so as to find appropriate remedies will be missed, and the media continue misreporting it. Furthermore, he maintains that the role of the media is of crucial significance in distributing explicit facts about the existence of human trafficking, so as to advance a better comprehension of the issue. This can be accomplished by initially developing a precise grasp of human trafficking in all its nuanced sophistication, and then reporting on it in a manner that in turn affords the public precise comprehension of the issues concerned, while at once advising them of their rights, and furnishing them with pertinent information (Hamman 2011:23).

Marchionni, DM (2012:147) claims that human trafficking is represented as an overwhelming phenomenon globally.

2.7.2 Themes surrounding human trafficking covered in the media

Borer, M. (2015) explores themes within the media around the coverage of human trafficking. In the analysis of three newspapers, *The News Journal*, *The Portland Herald*, and *Argus Leader* from three states, Delaware, Maine and South Dakota, themes surfaced in the classifications of what human trafficking is, where it is transpiring, who is implicated and why it is transpiring. These themes advanced across all three states studied, Delaware, Maine, and South Dakota. In terms of what trafficking is, two elements of trafficking that were consistent are exploitation and manipulation. An absolute theme

Chapter 2: Literature Review

throughout all three states was the restriction of trafficking to sex trafficking, as sex trafficking was the most predominant type of trafficking covered (Borer 2015:9). In terms of where trafficking happens, the news reported different geographical locations both physical and virtual. One key sub-theme in location was the tendency for a general connection between trafficking and big events owing to the expediency, large population trafficking, and anonymous nature of a crowd.

The study further maintains that the participants are the prey, the perpetrators, and the rescuers. The prey was typically depicted as females or children who are susceptible due to their individual encounters as children of poor parenting, their personal or parents' drug addictions, immigrant standings and ingenuousness among others. They are targeted for sex trafficking. The offenders are either defined as residents of the "hood", who are considered as men, from underprivileged conditions themselves or "villains", who are likely to in fact be an organised crime network, or persons portrayed as males in the poorer groups, who the society would anticipate to perpetrate crimes. The rescuers who happen to be service providers, legislative officials, law enforcement, or advocates are the champions of these reports (Borer 2015:12-13).

The analysis discovered a rich but incomplete portrayal of prey, perpetrators, and rescuers. The reporting uncovered numerous gaps across the media debate of human trafficking, including the conversation of what human trafficking is, its causes, and its remedies. Morality is raised when individual culpability for trafficking is assigned, however, what was absent from the stories reported by the media was mention of the significant social and underlying causes of trafficking including poverty, oppression, the stigma around prostitution, unemployment and patriarchy among others (Borer 2015:16). Generally, Borer highlights the themes surrounding human trafficking covered in the media and identifies gaps in the coverage of the issue.

Gulati (2010) investigated the representation of human trafficking in the US, Great Britain, and Canadian media from 2000-2005, the study discovered that in the news of every

Chapter 2: Literature Review

country studied, over fifty percent of the articles did not cite one pre-emptive remedy to the problem of trafficking. The study also discovered that almost fifty percent of the reporting did not examine any causes whatsoever, and was not in a standing to thoroughly inform either society or legislators about the motives for human trafficking. The issues of poverty, political violence, and government corruption constituted three of the top four causes cited. In terms of solutions, the study revealed that the most regularly mentioned remedy in the reporting was harsher law enforcement. The second most frequently mentioned remedy was political transformation and restructuring, followed by encouraging better global collaboration. Other most common solutions were raising awareness, stricter law enforcement of immigration legislations, legal procedures, or more regulations. Thirty-nine percent of the articles mentioned a source encouraging a remedy that would develop existing legislation, whereas 22% mentioned a remedy that tackled the underlying cause of trafficking. Only two percent of the articles incorporated demands for liberalising immigration regulations or legalising prostitution (Gulati 2010:363-374).

Roth (2004:4) established that there was minimal reporting of human trafficking in news in USA. The study also discovered that reporting was scattered and incomplete, with no emphasis on remedies.

On the other hand, Doezema (2000) concentrated on media efforts regarding the trafficking of Thai females to a Toronto brothel. The study revealed that the themes in the coverage of human trafficking reiterate those of the white slavery reporting, in the sense that traffickers are portrayed as foreign mafias.

Wallinger (2010) investigated the role of the media in outlining and influencing legislation and services tendered to trafficked people. He discovered that the misrepresentations and misestimations in the media subvert the efficacy of laws, services, and models for development. The report divulged that restricted depiction of human trafficking severely affects trafficked persons.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Muraszkiewicz's et al. (2014) examined the manner in which human trafficking is framed in one news media, and whether cumulative emphasis on human trafficking in the political arena has influenced this framing. It revealed that there were few articles examining the social media and intricate underlying problems of human trafficking. The primary point of emphasis in the countries considered was the human facet of human trafficking. Reports concentrated on trafficked females and explained the place, person, and the manner in which she was sexually exploited, and the imprisonment or prosecution of the offenders. Much of what the press reported on did little to acknowledge that the issue of human trafficking does not begin with the traffickers, but with the circumstances that force trafficked persons to migrate under conditions that make them susceptible to it.

Hamman (2011) investigated the way in which South African media covered human trafficking and Child Protection during and outside the World Cup period. Very few accounts presented particulars of the problem and the measures to avert human trafficking in South Africa.

Papadouka, ME, Evangelopoulos, N & Ignatow, G (2016) explored similarities and differences in the way human trafficking is examined by journalists and readers. The study focused on journalists' and readers' topic options in coverage, and the discussion of human trafficking. They applied latent semantic analysis to discern the most prominent topics. The results indicated that similarities and differences depend on the issue being discussed. Subsequently the theoretical frameworks of 'agenda-setting' and the 'active audience' function relatively complementary, reliant on the particular topic and subtopic being analysed (Papadouka et al. 2016:656). Their study examined and identified the way in which human trafficking is represented in the media, and the manner in which the society observes and responds to such representations, thereby providing an important platform of material that can help in making consistent human trafficking regulations (Papadouka et al. 2016:667).

Sobel's (2014) study is a quantitative content analysis of English language news reporting of human trafficking in the USA, India, and Thailand. It presented causes and solutions

Chapter 2: Literature Review

more often and put less culpability for the problems arising. The voices of trafficked persons were absent from coverage. It also discovered a predominant emphasis on crime and policy transformations, instead of trafficked persons and their narratives.

Johnston et al. (2012a) explored sex trafficking reporting in leading US newspapers, represented as episodic instead of thematic, proposed no solutions, concentrated on the views of official sources, and omitted the voice or viewpoint of trafficked persons.

Sobel (2016) examined the application of gendered descriptive terminology and power designations in sex trafficking news reporting from post-Soviet states. The investigation examined the way in which press reporting generated in post-Soviet nations frames sex trafficking, by scrutinising portrayal of trafficked persons, perpetrators, and consumers of sex services. The study's quantitative analysis exposed that there was little reporting of sex trafficking in the area; that coverage of sex trafficking victims was mostly focused on women; and that no article identified a particular buyer. Generally, this revealed that the majority of articles did not detail the sex of the reporter that compiled the report, however, those that did, were predominantly compiled by males. Furthermore, this study discovered that most reports concentrated on trafficked women and that discussions of traffickers are generally missing from reporting.

Feingold, D. (2010) argues that the news narrative in human trafficking reporting is consistently focused on victims, parents 'selling their children', rescue and rehabilitation, with an emphasis on the survivors of trafficking learning vocational skills.

Johnston et al. (2014) present a quantitative content analysis that analyses news reporting of sex trafficking in prominent US newspapers in order to grasp the manner in which the issue was framed in a year of reporting. The study revealed that news reporting suggested no solutions. Trafficked persons and their supporters were the least heard-from sources. The analysis certainly presents constant patterns of coverage, and provides confirmation that in the coverage assessed, individual facets of sex trafficking are presented and highlighted over others (Johnston et al. 2014:432).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

De Shalit's et.al (2014) study begins with an exploration of the conception of the human trafficking issue in Canada, by observing a few of the comprehensive stories and myths spreading in the media. It discovered that the framing of human trafficking using stories of trafficked persons and rescuers dominates media representations.

In 2016, Sobel conducted a quantitative content analysis that studied fifteen years of human trafficking reporting in five English-language Thai newspapers, and observed a concentration on trafficked women, official sources; with an absence of analysis of risk factors, remedies, and high-profile criminals. This analysis concentrated on Thai news reporting of sex trafficking. It develops the understanding of media framing in the perspective of human rights coverage, and the Thai media structure. This study explores the way in which the frames in sex trafficking reports delineate the issue, and debate remedies, discovering that the amount of coverage of sex trafficking improved over time, with the greatest improvement in 2013. This analysis realised that extant reporting proposed few solutions. The results also exposed that the reporting assessed mostly reported on trafficked women, with a remarkable absence of reports around sex-trafficked boys. (Sobel 2016:6126)

McIntyre, K & Sobel, MR's (2017) study aims to address the gap in scholarship by considering how types of news story affect readers' compassion on the issue of sex trafficking. It also examined the way in which news report type influences reader perceptions of the problem of sex trafficking. They also explored whether one kind of news story was more successful than another at encouraging readers to aspire to connect with the story subject (McIntyre & Sobel 2017:44). This analysis proposes that solution-focused news reports can cause readers to feel more positive than can shocking news reports. It also revealed that neither shock nor solution-focused reports lead towards improved compassion for trafficked persons, better knowledge of the problem, greater longing to spread the story or enhanced desire to act (McIntyre & Sobel 2017:50).

2.7.3 Forms or types of human trafficking addressed in the media

Borer's (2015) study explores themes within the media around the coverage of human trafficking. In the analysis of three newspapers, *The News Journal*, *The Portland Herald*, and *Argus Leader* from three states, Delaware, Maine and South Dakota, there was slight to no reference in all three newspapers studied from all the three states about the trafficked persons for the purpose of labour and organ trafficking.

Gulati (2010) investigated the representation of human trafficking in the US, Great Britain, and Canadian media from 2000-2005, where the analysis exposed that the articles hardly tackled labour trafficking, except when it was combined with an examination of unlawful migration. The study established that the media conceptualised the trafficking problem in terms of sex trafficking and generally do not depict the varied perceptions on human trafficking. The analysis disclosed that the media emphasise specific types of human trafficking, while disregarding others.

On the other hand, Dugan, E. (2013) examined the reporting of human trafficking and forced labour in UK media in 2012, and discovered that coverage of sexual trafficking was inconsistent with little emphasis on domestic servitude. Similar to Gulati's study, this article exposed the propensity of the media to concentrate on specific forms of human trafficking and disregard others.

Marchionni (2012) reiterates what Gulati and Dugan have discovered in their studies about the media emphasis on specific types of human trafficking instead of others. His study explored, specifically which type of human trafficking was addressed, and established that sex-trafficking was the most commonly appearing subcategory. This study explored the way the world's elite press framed trafficking and with whose or what agenda. The results present convincing proof of the US government's role in framing the problem in the media mainly as a sexual phenomenon. This study revealed that sex trafficking vastly dominated coverage through the analysed newspapers.

Koos-Goryszewska (2010) evaluated the portrayal of human trafficking by the media in Poland and discovered an extensive reporting of sexual exploitation in news media, since it is a subject of interest to readers.

Muraszkiewicz's et al. (2014) examined the manner in which human trafficking is framed in one news media, and whether cumulative emphasis on human trafficking in the political arena has influenced this framing. It encompassed case studies from the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland. The study scrutinised media articles reported from 2010 to 2014. It discovered that the emphasis on sexual exploitation, predominantly prostitution, was the central discussion surrounding human trafficking in the media.

Sobel's (2014) study is a quantitative content analysis of English language news reporting of human trafficking in the USA, India, and Thailand. It indicated that coverage mostly reported on sex and child trafficking victims. Generally, this analysis disclosed varied results concerning the effect of the UN. GIFT on the media reporting of human trafficking.

Sobel (2016) examined the application of gendered descriptive terminology and power designations in sex trafficking news reporting from post-Soviet states. The study indicated that trafficking for sexual exploitation is largely covered relative to the coverage in other countries. The study's qualitative analysis discovered overt gendered descriptive language and power designations from reporters and cited sources, along with implied messages of control and domination entrenched in the text (Sobel 2016:154-159).

2.8 AGENDA SETTING THEORY

One of the theories relevant to the current study on representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers is agenda setting theory. Marchionni (2012:150) states that one of the major contentions of agenda setting theory is that what the media realises to be significant or noticeable is what the society realises to be significant. Alternatively, McCombs, M & Shaw, D. (1993) claim that the media may not tell people what to think,

Chapter 2: Literature Review

so much as what to think about. According to Wanta et al. (2004) and Coleman (2009), agenda setting refers to the selection reporting of issues that steers society to view certain topics as more significant than others, irrespective of their intrinsic newsworthiness. The second facet of agenda-setting theory, which is referred to as “second level agenda setting”, is the view that the media tells people what to think about specific issues, as well as how to think about them (McCombs & Shaw 1993).

Wallinger (2010:6) states that for the majority of the United States citizens, information on national matters is conveyed via the media. Political elections, wars, sporting events, as well as natural disasters happen in areas where ordinary residents do not have direct or frequent access. They thus depend on the media to pay attention to and construe these incidents. The media performs this role in influential ways, manipulating which subjects the society learns about, as well as when, why, and in what respects (McCombs, M and Shaw, D 1972, Ghanem, S. 1977, Hartley, J. 1982, Wanta 1997). Media not only present information, but also manipulate what information becomes significant to consumers (McCombs & Shaw 1972). The more a matter is reported, the more society will perceive as important (Wanta 1997:2). This manipulation of topic salience has a considerable impact on a society’s perception of several matters (Wallinger 2010:7).

In agenda setting theory, the means of explaining the limited choice of incidents that get reported in the media is known as the ‘second level’ of agenda setting, involving certain features of an issue, and how this agenda of features additionally impacts public opinion (McCombs, M & Evatt, D. 1995, Ghanem1977:3). According to Ghanem (1977:4), this theory splits topics into groups of items, and asserts that the manner in which a subject is reported in the media influences the manner in which the society thinks about that item, and also influences the salience of that item to the public agenda. Wanta (1997) argues that media manipulates which incidents have significance over others. Wallinger notes that media influence society’s understanding of these incidents through a succession of decisions on how long and frequently to report them and how (2010:8).

Lang, GE & Lang, K. (1983:468) observe that the mass media compel broader social interest on individual subjects and construct public depictions of political individuals. They regularly present entities proposing what people in the public ought to think about, know about, have feelings about. On the other hand, Cohen (1963:13) noted that the media might be ineffective most of the time in informing the public what to think, but it is strikingly effective in informing the readers what to think about.

2.9 FRAMING THEORY

Another theory relevant to the current study is framing theory. According to Entman (1993), framing basically concerns selection and salience. It involves choosing certain facets of an observed reality, and rendering them more noticeable in a communicating text, in a manner that will support a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation as well as treatment recommendation for the element defined. Generally, frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe. Frames, then, define problems, identify causes, make moral judgements and propose solutions. Framing includes selection and emphasising, as well as usage of emphasised aspects to build a discussion around problems and their causality, evaluation, and/or remedy. Frames emphasise certain pieces of information about an element that is the focus of a given instance of communication, thereby foregrounding their salience. Salience entails causing a portion of information more visible, significant, or indeed unforgettable to audiences (Entman 1993:52).

According to McCombs & Shaw (1993), framing theory asserts that the media choose specific subjects, and set them in a field of meaning. Framing research suggests that by emphasising certain elements of topics, frames make particular features more reachable, and consequently, more possible to be applied in a person's judgement-making procedure (Entman 1993, Scheufele, DA. 2000). According to Entman (1993), frames equip audiences with a straightforward method of processing information by utilising mental filters, called schema, to comprehend incoming messages. This provides more power to the frames to apply this schema to shape the way the audience understands the

Chapter 2: Literature Review

content. Entman further identifies four key functions of frames as: defining the problem; identifying causes; conveying a moral judgement; and proposing remedies. Entman, RM. (2005) suggests that of these four functions, the most significant are defining the problem, and identifying the remedy. Frames emphasise pieces of information (Entman 1993), and by doing this they organise the world for audiences (Gitlin, T. 1980).

Alexandre et al. (2013) claim that the media usually emphasise action against human trafficking to government or non-governmental society groups. Communication researchers identify these different standpoints as frames. Apparently, information distributed by media outlets is not entirely subjective, since journalists are capable of selecting which frame they want to apply for each story (Alexandre et.al 2013:2). Framing is the manner in which a story is structured. According to D'Angelo, P. (2009:3), exposure to each frame encourages individuals to generate opinions around news performance that are consistent with proposals that constitute the frame. Alexandre (2014:161) maintains that the manner in which media frame a social problem can have an impact on the way in which society perceives that problem, as well as how it presumes the issue ought to be tackled (Alexandre 2014:161).

According to Reese, SD (2001:7), framing has been described as the manner in which occurrences and issues are organised and understood, particularly by the media, media specialists, and their audiences. Gitlin (2003:7) delineates frames as the constant patterns of perception, understanding, and presentation of selection, significance, and elimination by which symbol-handlers customarily organise discourse, whether verbal or visual. He claims that frames permit journalists to process large quantities of material rapidly and consistently, and to set it for effective diffusion to their audiences.

Frames may actually have an impact on the way in which audiences understand and assess the topics covered in the news. Framing has the capacity to meaningfully and crucially affect citizens' assessment of problems (Han, G, Chock, TM & Shoemaker, PJ 2009, Han, G & Wang, X. 2012) influencing the way they think about and act upon the problems that challenge them (Kuypers, JA. 2002). According to Van Gorp, B. (2010) and Kuypers (2002), frames are effective, negotiated components that, due to their

Chapter 2: Literature Review

cultural and ideological entrenchment, develop common and comprehended codes that impart meaning, consistency, and clarification thereby assisting audiences to comprehend more intricate political and social matters.

Framing theory suggests that issues can be observed from many viewpoints, and frames assist the society to conceptualise and categorise an issue by sifting out information so as to emphasise certain facets of an issue (Iyengar 1991, Nelson, T & Kinder, D. 1996). Bouche et al. (2018:1288) assert that since many issues are complex and multi-layered, the manner in which an issue is framed frequently outlines how those issues are deliberated and discussed in the public domain. According to Druckman, J. (2001:1042), a framing effect occurs when, in the process of discussing a matter or incident, a speaker's emphasis on a subset of possibly pertinent deliberations prompts people to concentrate on these deliberations when formulating their sentiments. On the other hand, Zhang W. (2000:7) describes framing as a method by which politicians and legislators communicate their messages to draw media interest to the best possible interpretation of events, the way journalists compose messages under organisational standards and professional values, and the way in which audience members decode, reflect, and re-evaluate those media messages.

Borer (2015:2) claims that framing theory has been specifically helpful in analysing the interaction between media and consumer. On the other hand, Templeton, J. (2011) views framing as an intentional or unintentional procedure of a communicator crafting a viewpoint that influences the understanding of the message receiver about a specific subject, incident, or problem. This method is employed to emphasise particular facets of an issue, while de-emphasising or disregarding others. Gulati (2010) maintains that the way in which an incident is framed, in turn, influences the manner in which an issue is described, its perceived causes and effects, and what remedies are viewed as useful for rectifying or settling the problem. Borer (2015:3) asserts that framing theory can be very helpful in recognising prevalent values as well as their actualisation in policy, and has been applied by various scholars in order to investigate the way in which attitudinal and policy reactions to human trafficking have been approached.

2.9.1 Media Framing

According to Gulati (2011:367), news media can play an important role in building accord in the policy process by the way it frames its reporting of a subject. Choices are made around the extent of background to incorporate in a report, which details explanations to incorporate and omit, and which sources to utilise and cite. Decisions around what is chosen and granted greater salience can have a great impact on the way in which a social issue is debated, and action is taken by legislators. The literature on media framing of public policy indicates that the media reporting of human trafficking has been framed in a manner that has marginalised different opinions on trafficking and censures of current policy and, consequently, legitimised the central viewpoint on trafficking and method to fight it. The news media chooses how to characterise trafficking, how to delineate the problem, identify causes, make moral judgements, and suggested solutions. These elements together comprise the function/s of frames (Entman 1993).

2.10 SUMMARY

Various definitions of human trafficking have been presented in this chapter. The current study adopts the definition of human trafficking presented in the Palermo Protocol (UNODC 2000). A discussion of the various forms or types of human trafficking listed in the Palermo Protocol is also provided.

An overview of human trafficking has been provided, which revealed a rise in the number of cases detected and traffickers convicted although there are still areas where human trafficking cases are not detected. The majority of known victims are women, followed by girls and men in equal proportion, but this varies according to the geographical area and form of trafficking considered. Sexual exploitation continues to be the most identified type of trafficking worldwide, while trafficking for removal of organs remains very limited. The

Chapter 2: Literature Review

majority of traffickers continue to be males, who happen to be residents of the country in which they are sentenced. Trafficking is a high income, rather low-risk business, that does not necessitate a huge capital investment. The majority of identified trafficked persons worldwide are residents of those countries where they are identified.

The issue of human trafficking in Africa has been explored and it is discovered that the African continent is a major source for human trafficking victims. Factors that promote human trafficking in Africa include poverty, high unemployment rate, and inadequate social welfare system, among others. The greatest number of identified trafficked persons in Sub-Saharan Africa remains children. In North Africa and the Middle East, the most identified trafficked persons are adults, with more females than males. The majority of the trafficked persons identified in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2016 were trafficked for forced labour. In North Africa and the Middle East, trafficking for forced labour was more frequently identified than trafficking for sexual exploitation. In Sub-Saharan Africa, most traffickers are male, but a larger quantity of female perpetrators continue to be reported. In North Africa and the Middle East, most traffickers are males. Sub-Saharan Africa is a pertinent source for identified instances of human trafficking worldwide. North Africa and the Middle East differ with regards to trafficking flows. North African countries predominantly identify internal trafficking. The Middle East is nearly exclusively a destination for trafficked persons from other areas. Most of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa initiated an explicit law in keeping with the UN TIP Protocol definition after 2009. The countries in Sub-Saharan Africa registered the lowest absolute sentence rates when compared to other regions globally. The majority of countries in North Africa and the Middle East presented an offence criminalising human trafficking after the year 2009. The number of convictions recorded in this sub-region are generally low.

A discussion of human trafficking in South Africa has been provided, and displayed that human trafficking is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. South Africa has been assigned a Tier 2 status in the annual United States Trafficking in Persons Report. South Africa is characterised as a country of origin, country of transit, and country of destination. Human trafficking is observed to be lower in the Southern African region than elsewhere

Chapter 2: Literature Review

on the continent. Human trafficking in South Africa displays itself to differing extents depending on the context in which it happens. Victims are women who are trafficked for both sexual and labour exploitation. Males are also trafficked from adjacent countries. Trafficking in South Africa is very diverse. Women and children are trafficked for different forms of exploitation. Women and child trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation is certainly the most regularly recognised type of human trafficking. There are numerous role players implicated in trafficking. Men as well as women have been identified as traffickers. South Africa is the main destination country for females and children from Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and as far afield as Taiwan. Transportation of women takes place through various modes, however, the majority of human trafficking happens domestically in South Africa.

The way human trafficking is portrayed in the media is also explored in the extant literature. Findings from the studies reviewed revealed a limited representation of human trafficking. Portrayal of prey, perpetrators, and rescuers was also inadequate. A need for discussion of cause and remedies to the problem and steps to prevent it is therefore strongly suggested. Trafficking as an issue was conceptualised in terms of sex trafficking. Diverse perspectives on human trafficking were not represented. There was, furthermore, a dependence on government officials and law enforcement employees as sources. The studies discovered a focus on certain types of trafficking, while others were ignored. Labour trafficking was rarely addressed, with little focus on domestic servitude. Coverage was focused on human trafficking as a criminal act and migration problem, rather than a matter of human rights or public health. The opinions of trafficked persons were not represented and the studies exposed that media oversimplifies the problem of sex trafficking. For the most part there was minimum coverage of human trafficking in news, and it was scattered and scant. Traffickers were depicted as foreign mafia, and reporting omitted underlying issues as well as other contributing conditions, with findings identifying a lack in awareness of human trafficking within the media, and the following aspects were observed:

- less blame was placed on the problems that surfaced;

Chapter 2: Literature Review

- the focus was more on child trafficking victims than on adult victims;
- there was also a focus on female victims;
- obvious gendered descriptive language and power designations were identified;
- there was lack of victims' voices represented;
- articles failed to identify the buyer;
- media reports made generalisations about human trafficking; and
- reports tended to sensationalise human trafficking and stigmatise survivors.

Human trafficking is framed as a highly profitable and globalised criminal activity. Articles report cases of human trafficking but completely failed to recognise them as such. Generally, human trafficking reporting was predominantly episodic, had no recommended solutions; concentrated on official sources and policy transformations; and importantly, as noted, victim's opinions were mostly missing.

A brief discussion of the agenda setting and framing theories which are identified as relevant to the current study are provided. According to the 'agenda setting' theory, what the media finds significant or noticeable is what society finds significant. This involves selection reporting of issues that steer society towards viewing certain topics as more significant than others, irrespective of their intrinsic newsworthiness. Framing also incorporates choice and salience. Framing involves choosing certain features of an observed reality, and making them more noticeable in a communicating text, to support a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation as well as treatment recommendation for the element defined.

The literature reviewed builds a foundation on which the current study, which analyses the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers, is grounded. It also serves as a background against which the manner in which human trafficking is portrayed in South African newspapers is explored. This analysis applies some of the methods employed in the above studies to explore the portrayal of human trafficking in South

Chapter 2: Literature Review

African newspapers, the themes surrounding human trafficking covered as well as the forms of human trafficking addressed. The next chapter presents the methodology used in the current study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study is an exploratory and descriptive content analysis of *City Press, Daily Dispatch, Sunday Times, Sowetan, The Citizen and The Star* representation of human trafficking. It seeks to determine the manner in which human trafficking is portrayed in these South African newspapers. Furthermore, it explores the themes surrounding human trafficking covered in these newspapers, as well as the forms or types of human trafficking that are addressed. The study is based on a content analysis of newspaper articles published between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019, covering a period of seven months. This section outlines the research design employed in the study, the methodology, as well as the methods used for collecting data. The population, sampling procedures as well as the measuring instrument used in the study are also described. The process of data analysis and interpretation followed in this study is also outlined.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Davies, P. (2011:2) views a research design as a plan that clarifies the reason, arrangement and the principles of the research methodology and procedures, and their correlation with the research questions, hypothesis, or proposition. Miller, R. (2011:2), on the other hand, claims that research design is the model employed by the researcher to execute what he refers to as the 'burden of proof'. He refers to it as the coherent pattern that enables the researcher to attain valid conclusions. Kothari, CR. (2004:31) defines a research design as the conceptual organisation, according to which a study is carried out that comprises the plan for data collection, measurement, and analysis. Kerlinger, FN. (1986:279) also refers to this as a plan and structure of enquiry considered to solve the research problems. Thyer, B.A. (1993:94) claims that a traditional research design is a scheme or comprehensive pattern, which outlines the manner in which a research investigation is to be undertaken. Kumar, R. (2011:96) views this as a methodological

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

strategy that the investigator adopts to solve a research problem in an effective, unprejudiced, precise, and reasonable way.

The research design is a crucial stage in the research procedure as it outlines the manner in which the investigation is to be carried out. Davies (2011:2) states that an effectual research design proves that the study will yield authentic and reliable inferences that stream lucidly from the evidence produced. It establishes the research plan for the advantage of the audience, readership, funders, gatekeepers, and research participants. The procedure of developing it guarantees that the study will be of significance in terms of intellectual integrity, external accountability, rationality and rigour, and that it develops into a beneficial scheme for the researcher. Kumar (2011:96), on the other hand, maintains that through a research design, the researcher decides and communicates his or her decisions regarding the proposed study design, data collection method, method for selecting respondents, data analysis method, and the manner in which research findings will be communicated. According to him, the first purpose of a research design is to identify and develop processes as well as logistical provisions necessary to conduct an investigation. The second purpose emphasises the significance of quality in these processes to guarantee their lucidity, impartiality, and precision.

The nature of this study is qualitative, and it is both exploratory and descriptive. The researcher analyses newspaper articles so as to explore the way in which human trafficking is portrayed in South African newspapers. It also explores and describes the themes surrounding human trafficking covered in South African newspapers. The various forms of human trafficking addressed in South African newspapers are also explored and described.

3.2.1 Qualitative research design

Flick, U. (2007:x) maintains that qualitative research aims to approach the world and understand, portray, and explicate social phenomena in several ways. These comprise an analysis of individual or group experiences, relations, and communication by scrutinising documents or other evidence of social experiences or relationships. Such strategies undertake to decipher the manner in which people structure the world, their activities, or their experiences in both significant and perceptive ways. Interactions and documents are considered instruments by which to determine social practices and objects in a concerted manner. They represent ways of meaning, which may be elaborated on and evaluated with varied qualitative practices that assist the investigator to invent models, typologies, and theories as measures of clarifying and construing social concerns.

Du Plooy, G.M. (2009:88) perceives qualitative design as useful in investigating the elements, principles, needs, or features that distinguish people, groups, societies, organisations, proceedings, contexts, or communications. The method of reasoning involved in qualitative research is largely inductive, and intends to examine spheres with little or no prior information. Additionally, it outlines behaviours, principles, values, methods, necessities or associations that are pertinent to the units of analysis. Data collection is done by means of participant observation, qualitative content analysis, and open-ended questions. Data analysis mostly centres on the content analysis of written or verbal answers, and/or audio-visual materials. A qualitative design may widen and assume a comparative analysis of the results and the material from a prior analysis comprising various groups or cultures. This can present feasible descriptions of similarities and differences detected in two diverse investigations that can generate a new research inquiry. Qualitative designs are more flexible. Investigators can start with a certain goal so as to explore a phenomenon, but can convert the goal to merge a description and an interpretation or explanation. Niewenhuis, J. & Smit, B. (2012) maintain that qualitative research is concerned with understanding the procedure and the

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

social and cultural perspectives that affect varied behavioural patterns. This is accomplished by means of several data collection procedures and searching for perceptions by means of systematised, comprehensive, informative, independent, inexplicit, and indicative data analysis.

According to Summer, M. (2011:2), qualitative research explores aspects of social life which cannot be investigated through quantitative methods. It is linked to diverse theoretical perspectives, and employs a variety of approaches to concentrate on the meanings and interpretations of social occurrences and social procedures in the individual settings wherein they transpire. Qualitative research focuses on investigating the subjective meanings by which society understands the world, as well as the various means in which reality is conceived in certain contexts. Social experiences and occurrences are grasped from the standpoint of the participants themselves, shunning the enforcement of the researcher's own predeterminations and meanings. Brewer, J. (2011:2) simply refers to qualitative research as a research approach that emphasises "quality" not "quantity". Its focus is on social meanings, rather than numerate statistical data.

A qualitative research approach is appropriate for the current study, as it is suitable to study a complex and multifaceted phenomenon such as human trafficking (Araujo 2011:3, Obakata, T 2006:38). It enables the researcher to explore the representation of the issue of human trafficking in South African newspapers, as well as the themes surrounding human trafficking and the forms of human trafficking that are addressed.

3.2.2 Methodology

According to Sapsford, R. (2011:2), methodology indicates the theoretical position or worldview that underpins and informs a design of investigation. It is the philosophy of methods. Daly, M. (2011:2), on the other hand, views methodology as a collection of rules and procedures to steer an investigation and against which its assertions can be measured. It is a series of procedures that are generally recognised and largely observed.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

According to him, these strategies are beneficial, both in defining a subject discipline, as well as in differentiating it from others.

Goundar, S. (2012:9-10) also maintains that research methodology describes the methods by which a researcher may carry out an inquiry. This entails learning several procedures that can be applied in conducting an investigation. Research methodology is a logical means to answer research questions. It is a science of learning the manner in which an investigation is to be conducted. It involves the techniques by which investigators describe, explain and predict phenomena. It is the study of techniques by which knowledge is acquired and intends to present the work scheme of an investigation.

Research methodology entails the procedures concerning how to undertake an investigation, the instruments of investigation and innovative methods that can be employed in the execution of an investigation. It is a collective term for the logical procedure of undertaking an inquiry (Daly 2011:12). Igwenagu, C. (2016:5&8) maintains that research methodology is a collection of logical procedures applied in conducting an investigation. In simple terms, it is a guide to an inquiry and how it is carried out. It refers to the general research strategy that delineates the manner in which a research project is to be conducted, and identifies the procedures to be employed.

This study uses content analysis as a technique to analyse the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers.

3.2.2.1 Content analysis

Berelson, B. (1952:15) views content analysis as a systematic, replicate technique for condensing the many words of text into fewer content categories, respecting distinct guidelines of coding. On the other hand, Holsti, OR. (1969:14) views content analysis as a technique for producing interpretations by equitably and precisely ascertaining detailed elements of messages. According to Stemler, S. (2001:2), content analysis is beneficial for investigating drifts and precedents in documents. Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992:314)

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

maintains that content analysis seeks to present a grasp of the occurrence under investigation.

The United States Government Accountability Office (2013:2) views content analysis as a systematic research technique for analysing and making inferences from a given text and other kinds of qualitative data. It employs a series of diagnostic methods to categorise, compare, and contrast a corpus of information. Major trends and themes are detected by means of systematic coding of the information.

Krippendorff, K. (1980:108) notes that content analysis is a research procedure for generating replicable and logical conclusions from information to their setting, with the intention of supplying knowledge, different perceptions, a description of data, and a functional guide to action. The goal is to make a compressed and comprehensive interpretation of the occurrence, and the product of the exploration is conceptions or categories illustrating the occurrence.

Thomas, R.M. (2011:2) claims that the procedure of content analysis entails exploring communication texts to solve problems for the investigator. The analysis is steered by a question or series of questions that the investigator wants to answer. The United States Government Accountability Office (2013:4) maintains the steps in content analysis to involve the following: identifying data sources; developing categories; coding data; assessing reliability; and analysing results.

The current study uses qualitative content analysis.

3.2.2.2 Qualitative content analysis

Hsieh, H.F. & Shannon, S. (2005: 1278) view qualitative content analysis (QCA) as a research procedure employed to decipher the content of text data in a subjective way, through coding and recognising themes or patterns. Mayring, P (2000:2) refers to qualitative content analysis as a technique of feasible, logical, structured analysis of texts

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

in their communication setting following content analytical rules and steps by models, exclusive of impulsive quantification. Patton, M.Q. (2002:453) views qualitative content analysis as a procedure for reducing data that seizes a mass of qualitative data and attempts to discover basic consistencies and implications. Smith, H.W. (1975:218) claims that qualitative analysis deals with the forms and antecedent resultant patterns of form, instead of the duration and frequency of form.

Assarroudi, A, Nabavi, F.H, Armat, M.R, Ebadi, A and Vaismoradi, M. (2018:43) refer to qualitative content analysis as a research procedure for the description and understanding of textual information by means of the logical procedure of coding. According to Mayring, P (2014:10), qualitative content analysis entails beginning from the methodological foundation to conceptualise the procedure of allocating categories to text passages as a qualitative-interpretive action, adhering to content-analytical guidelines. In this regard, this type of analysis is a mixed methods technique, which incorporates the allocation of categories to text as qualitative stage and working through numerous text passages and analysis of frequencies of categories as quantitative stage. QCA can be recognised as a data analysis procedure in a rule driven research procedure, and this research procedure is bound to common research standards.

Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B.M. (2009:11) maintain that the objective of qualitative content analysis is to recognise significant themes or categories in a body of content as well as to supply a detailed explanation of the social reality produced by those themes or categories as they are experienced in a specific context. As a result of accurate data preparation, coding and interpretation, the outcomes of qualitative content analysis can promote the establishment of new theories and models and authenticate current theories, as well as supply rich descriptions of certain contexts or occurrences.

Zhang and Wildemuth (2009:11) claim that qualitative content analysis assists with condensing the quantity of information. This demands the investigator to concentrate on certain facets of meaning, specifically the facets that concern the general research problem. It is also extremely logical. It necessitates the analysis of each part of data that

is in some manner pertinent to the research problem. It also involves a specific series of steps, irrespective of the specific research question and material. It requires coding to be done two times, as a minimum for portions of the material. Another central aspect of qualitative content analysis is its flexibility. It mandates that the coding frame must constantly be fitted to the data. Qualitative content analysis is used on dormant and more contextual meaning. Its emphasis is more often on presenting a comprehensive description of the material under examination (Schreier, M. 2014:5).

The current study is a qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles on human trafficking appearing in six South African newspapers, namely, *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star*. Qualitative content analysis is used in this study to analyse how human trafficking is represented or portrayed in South African newspapers. The focus of this analysis is on the portrayal or representation of human trafficking, the themes covered relevant to human trafficking, and the forms of human trafficking addressed in South African newspapers.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

This section outlines the data collection process for the study. According to Flick, U. (2018:14), qualitative data collection involves selecting and producing linguistic (or visual) data for analysing and interpreting occurrences, social domains, individual and shared experiences, and the associated meaning-making procedures. Meaning-making may relate to individual or shared meanings. Qualitative data collection is also used to detect and define problems in the sphere or structures and processes in techniques and procedures. Collection may denote naturally occurring data, or produced data. It can be centred on talking, listening, observing, and analysing data as sounds, images or digital phenomena. It may involve single or multiple approaches. The purpose is usually to obtain data that enable generating generalisable reports by analysing and linking different patterns, occurrences, or circumstances.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Data is collected from six South African newspapers in the form of articles, namely *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star*. Content from all six newspapers is retrieved from *Newsbank*. Search terms 'human trafficking', 'trafficking in persons' and 'sex trafficking' were used. All articles about human trafficking are identified from the selected newspapers. Articles identified are those that cover human trafficking or stories relating to human trafficking. 'Human trafficking' is the key concept in this study, and can be used as a key word in the process of identifying the articles. But the articles do not necessarily have to contain the words 'human trafficking', as different words can be used to refer to the concept. Other articles may cover the issue without mentioning the words 'human trafficking'. Only relevant articles are considered in the study. The units of analysis are those newspaper articles covering human trafficking that are used for analysis. The researcher collected and analysed all the issues of the selected newspapers published between 1 June and 31 December 2019. In total, 165 newspaper articles were analysed.

This technique is fitting to the research problem under investigation, as the aim of the study is to analyse how human trafficking is represented or portrayed in South African newspapers. This technique of data collection provides pertinent material to answer the research question. This study uses primary data, in the form of newspaper articles.

3.4 POPULATION

According to Etikan, I. (2016:1), population refers to the total number of the objects or instances that constitute the focus of the investigation. Davidson, J. (2011:2), on the other hand, maintains that in sampling the term 'population' denotes a collection of individuals or other unit of analysis as the subject of the investigation. The population as described depends on the research objectives and theoretical background. Kothari (2004:153) states that 'population' indicates the total number of articles about which information is required. According to Mouton, J. (1996:134), population denotes a set of items, incidents or people possessing certain shared attributes, which the investigator is interested in examining.

The population of this study is all South African newspapers. Given that the population contains numerous subjects, it is demanding to consider all of them, due to time limitations and inadequate resources. The population therefore targets only accessible populations, from which study samples are drawn.

3.4.1 Target population

Fricker, R. claims that the target population is the collection of aspects regarding which the investigator seeks to make deduction. It denotes items or entities that the investigator intends to examine. The target population of this study is all issues of *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star* newspapers.

3.4.2 Accessible population

Accessible population refers to a subgroup of the target population, as not all members of the target population can be examined, a sample is drawn from it, and explored. The accessible population or population of content in the current study is composed of issues of the *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sunday Times*, *Sowetan*, *The Citizen* and *The Star* published between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. The *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan*, *The Citizen* and *The Star* are daily newspapers while *City Press* and *Sunday Times* are weekly newspapers published only on Sundays.

Table 3.1: Newspaper Profiles

Name of publication	Ownership	Geographic location	Circulation (as at November 2019)	Readership
<i>City Press</i>	Media 24	South Africa	39172	1 698 000
<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	Arena Holdings	South Africa	14768	172 000
<i>Sowetan</i>	Arena Holdings	South Africa	60166	907 000
<i>Sunday Times</i>	Arena Holdings	South Africa	220857	2 742 000
<i>The Citizen</i>	CTP/Caxton	South Africa	38270	276000
<i>The Star</i>	Independent News and Media SA	South Africa	66280	679000

Sources: PAMS 2019, ABC Q3 2019

3.4.3 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is newspaper articles that cover human trafficking in the selected newspapers. Content from all six newspapers was retrieved from *Newsbank*. Search terms ‘human trafficking’, ‘trafficking in persons’ and ‘sex trafficking’ were used.

3.4.4. Time frame

This study is cross-sectional, as the data is gathered at a single point in time (Walliman, N. 2006: 42), content is analysed from 1 June to 31 December 2019. This timeframe covers seven months of content, to determine how South African newspapers portray the issue of human trafficking.

3.5 SAMPLING

Sampling refers to the methods applied to pick groups from a wider population. This is necessary for it is not typically feasible to incorporate the entire population in an investigation. Sampling is the procedure of selecting from a larger collection as the basis for measuring or estimating the predominance of an unidentified section of data, condition or consequence concerning the larger collection (Davidson 2011:2, Kumar 2011:177). A sample is therefore a smaller group of the population than that in which the investigator is interested. It is a segment or portion of the population or universe that is selected for the investigation (Kumar 2011:177, Etikan 2016:1).

A researcher can use a probability or non-probability sampling method. In this study, the researcher used a non-probability sampling method.

3.5.1 Non-probability sampling

Non-probability sampling is an umbrella term that encompasses all kinds of sampling that do not follow probability techniques. Probability methods select samples by means of random selection, and all members of the population have the same opportunity of selection. Non-probability sampling involves subjective techniques, employed to determine the components to be incorporated in the sample. When using non-probability sampling methods, the samples are composed in a procedure according to which not all the elements in the population are afforded the same opportunities of being incorporated (Davidson 2011:2, Etikan 2016:1).

The sampling technique applied in the current study is non-probability sampling. Each newspaper in the population does not have an equal and probable opportunity of being incorporated in the sample. The choice of newspapers is predicted or controlled by the researcher. No sampling frame is compiled (Du Plooy 2009:122). This study employed a

purposive sampling method by selecting the most productive sample that answered the research problem.

3.5.2 Purposive sampling

Oliver, P. (2011:2) refers to purposive sampling as a kind of non-probability sampling, where choices about the people or items to be incorporated in the sample are decided by the researcher, using some criteria ranging from specialist knowledge of the research subject, or ability and readiness to partake in the investigation. Certain forms of research design require investigators to make a choice regarding the specific participants, who will presumably provide suitable data, with regards to relevance and depth.

Schreier, M. (2018:6), on the other hand, maintains that purposive sampling denotes a set of sampling approaches normally applied in qualitative research. The central concept underlying purposive sampling is to choose cases that are information rich with regards to solving the research problem. According to Daniel, J. (2012:7), purposive sampling also known as purposeful sampling, is a non-probability sampling technique where instances are chosen from the target population based on their fit with the purpose of the investigation and certain inclusion and exclusion criteria. Etikan (2016:20), on the other hand, maintains that for purposive sampling, the investigator has something in mind and participants that are fit for the purpose of the investigation are included.

Zhang and Wildemuth (2009:2) maintain that qualitative content analysis samples generally comprise of purposively chosen texts that can inform the research problem under examination. According to Wagner, C, Kawulich, B & Garner, M (2012:93) the investigator's own experience, prior research, or creativity is employed to select the newspapers that are deemed representative of the target population. The most relevant newspapers are chosen using certain selection criteria. A purposive sample is selected that ensures the inclusion of specific population parameters. Du Plooy (2009:123) maintains that such sample ensures that population parameters present in the target

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

population are represented in the sample. Articles are incorporated in the sample, because they fit the purpose of the research.

The newspapers used in the study are South African newspapers. Articles analysed are taken from weekly and daily newspapers. The researcher selects articles that cover human trafficking, or stories associated with human trafficking. Articles used in the study are from newspapers published between 1 June and 31 December 2019. In order to ensure that only the suitable articles are included, and taking into account the aim of the research, the newspaper articles were obliged to meet the above criteria. The sample that is analysed consists of nine articles from *City Press*, 32 articles from *Daily Dispatch*, 17 articles from *Sowetan*, nine articles from *Sunday Times*, 61 articles from *The Citizen* and 41 articles from *The Star*.

The sample size collected was a total of six newspapers and 165 articles from these newspapers.

Table 3.2: Number of newspapers articles

No	Newspapers	Total articles
1	<i>City Press</i>	7
2	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	32
3	<i>Sowetan</i>	17
4	<i>Sunday Times</i>	9
5	<i>The Citizen</i>	59
6	<i>The Star</i>	41
TOTAL		165

Table 3.3: Number of human trafficking articles in sample (n=165) by month and newspaper.

	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	TOTAL
City Press	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	7
Daily Dispatch	6	2	9	7	6	2	1	32
Sowetan	0	1	6	6	2	1	1	17
Sunday Times	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	9
The Citizen	4	7	22	11	9	6	3	59
The Star	2	8	9	10	7	5	5	41
Total	14	19	51	39	25	15	11	165

3.5.3 Rationale for choosing sampling procedures

According to Hussey, D.L. (2020:2) non-probability sampling is effected with the researcher not knowing whether or not those selected in the sample are representative of the whole population. In certain cases, the investigator has inadequate information concerning the population to carry out probability sampling. The investigator may not even know the individuals or events that constitute the population, as well as the number of those individuals or events. Regardless of this, non-probability sampling is determined by a particular research purpose, the availability of subjects, or a range of other non-statistical criteria. It is difficult to find random samples in real-world inquiry, or they are not easily accessible. The investigator may not be able to obtain a comprehensive sampling frame due to the distinctiveness of the research phenomenon, even when the sample can be easily contacted. Etikan (2016:1) claims that in certain instances, the population may not be distinct, while in others, the researcher may not be interested in drawing

conclusions from the sample to the population. Purposive sampling is beneficial in the sense that the investigator can recognise participants who are likely to supply data that are comprehensive and appropriate to the research problem (Oliver 2011:2).

Daniel (2012:11) claims that compared to availability sampling, purposive sampling affords more control over who is chosen to be incorporated in a sample. Purposive sampling is more suitable for a study focused on specific fragments of the target population, since specific components of the population are purposely selected. As a non-probability sampling technique, purposive sampling restricts the investigator in terms of making logical generalisations beyond the components incorporated in the sample. However, due to its targeting of particular elements, it may be more appropriate for a particular study than availability sampling. Selection bias may be less in purposive sampling than availability sampling as the selection of elements are not solely made based on availability. Furthermore, through using homogeneous sampling, the internal validity of purposive sampling is likely to be higher than that of availability sampling.

Purposive sampling is used to select articles for ease of access.

3.6 MEASURING INSTRUMENT

The researcher used three instruments in collecting data namely; coding instructions (APPENDIX 1); the coding frame or schedule (APPENDIX 2) and coding sheet (APPENDIX 3). The instruments were developed by the researcher.

The coding schedule is the reference the coder used in recording details of a newspaper article on a coding sheet. The details on the coding sheet are the article ID, headline, coding unit, main categories, and subcategories. Coding instructions contain a thorough description of what the coder is expected to do.

3.6.1 Coding frame or schedule

The complete collection of codes in a particular piece of research constitutes the coding frame (or coding manual or 'coding book' or coding schedule). The idea of the coding frame is that it establishes the means for a logical comparison between the sets of texts being analysed (Bauer, MW. 2000). The investigator coded so as to solve the research problem, and the coding frame was created in a way that permits for this (Mark and Yard Mark, DF and Yardley, L. 2011:5).

3.6.1.1 Building a coding frame or schedule

Schreier (2014:7) claims that the coding frame is central to qualitative content analysis. It comprises as a minimum one main category and two subcategories. Main categories refer to the facets of the data on which the investigator would like more information, while subcategories describe what is stated in the data with regard to these main categories. Coding frames differ in complexity, comprising of any quantity of main categories and hierarchical levels, with subcategories having additional sub-categories (Schreier, M. 2012). Coding frames must satisfy a range of requirements. First, main categories must comprise one aspect of the material only. Second, subcategories within one main category must be made in such a manner they are mutually exclusive. This denotes that a unit can be coded only once under one main category. Lastly, all pertinent facets of the data must be covered by a category. This is the requirement of exhaustiveness, namely to ensure that all aspects of the material are equally accounted for by the coding frame (Schreier 2014:8).

The coding frame for the current study was built using Schreier's steps (2014). According to Schreier (2014:7) building a coding frame comprises: selecting material; structuring and generating categories; defining categories; and revising and expanding the frame.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The first step in building a coding frame involves selecting a suitable amount of data. The data was selected in such a way that it represents a full range of data sources, for example, all six newspapers are represented in the selection. The material was then broken down into smaller 'chunks' and a frame was built for one chunk after another according to source and topic (Schreier 2014:8).

The second step in building a coding frame involves structuring and generating categories. Structuring entails producing the main categories, while generating refers to producing the subcategories for each main category. The main categories were created in a concept-driven manner and sub-categories were added in a data-driven manner. Creating them in concept-driven manner entails basing the categories on previous knowledge. It can be a theory, prior research, everyday knowledge, logic, or an interview guide (Schreier 2012). For the current study, the categories were based on prior research.

According to Schreier (2014:9), the most important tactics when creating subcategories in a data-driven way are subsumption and progressive summarising. Subsumption is an effective tactic for generating sub-categories in a data-driven manner after main categories have been established. It entails scrutinising the passage after another, observing these steps:

1. Reading the material until a relevant concept is encountered.
2. Checking whether a subcategory that covers this concept has already been generated.
3. If so, mentally, 'subsuming' this under the respective subcategory.
4. If not, creating a new subcategory that covers this concept.
5. Continuing to read until the next relevant concept or passage is encountered.

This procedure was sustained until a point of saturation was reached, that is, until no further novel concepts could be discovered.

According to Schreier (2014:10), the third step after developing the structure of the coding frame is defining the categories. Category definitions contain four parts, namely: a

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

category name; a description of what that name means; positive examples; and decision rules. Category names were used to supply brief descriptions of what a category represents. Descriptions consist of two parts: a definition, and indicators. The definition reveals what a particular category implies as well as the qualities that are representative of the category. Indicators are signs that suggest the existence of a phenomenon, and an item by which it can be identified. Since category definitions are abstract, they were clarified by supplying examples from the data.

The last step in creating a coding frame involves revising and expanding the frame. After generating and defining all categories, the researcher took a step back, examined the structure of the coding frame once more, and tied up loose ends. When similar categories were identified, they were collapsed. Some much more comprehensive sub-categories were conceptualised as main categories. This stage involved the revision of the structure of the coding frame (Schreier 2014:11).

3.6.2 Validity of measuring instrument

Jupp, V. (2011:2) views validity as the degree to which conclusions drawn from a study present a precise explanation of what transpired or an accurate account of what occurs and why. The evaluation of the total validity of conclusions elicited from an investigation can be achieved by addressing three factors. Firstly, validity of measurement entails examining whether a research instrument measures that which it intends to. Secondly, validity of explanation entails examining whether the explanations and conclusions resulting from a study are the precise ones for the specific subjects or settings that have been investigated. Third, validity of generalisation entails asking whether the conclusions elicited from a specific investigation can be generalised to other population and other settings. Validity of a measuring instrument refers to the degree to which the instrument measures what it is meant or designed to measure (Leedy, P.D. & Ormrod, J.E. (2010:28; Kumar 2011:166).

Determining the validity of the measuring instrument centres on eliminating error in the measurement procedure. In the current study, validity is addressed by making certain that the instrument contains appropriate aspects that measure the variables of significance to the investigation. Excluding vague statements and only incorporating distinct elements guarantees content validity. The validity of the study was enhanced by keeping notes and an audit trail of all the materials used.

3.6.3 Reliability of measuring instrument

Leedy & Ormrod (2010:29) view reliability as the consistency with which a measuring instrument produces a particular outcome when the entity being measured has not changed. Kumar (2011:168) claims however that if a research instrument is steady and constant, thus predictable and accurate, it is deemed reliable. For this reason, reliability of an instrument denotes the capability of a research tool to yield consistent measurements. Once the researcher collects the same collection of data on more than one occasion applying the same research tool and obtains the same or similar results under the same or similar settings, a research tool is deemed reliable. Reliability is therefore the extent of accuracy or precision in the measurements produced by a research tool.

Krippendorff (1980:72) maintains that when measuring the reliability of a technique of analysis, one evaluates the extent to which differences in outcomes reveal true differences in data, as opposed to extraneous differences resulting from the circumstances of the analysis. Three forms of reliability may be differentiated, namely, stability, reproducibility, and accuracy.

Stability determines the extent to which a technique of analysis produces similar outcomes when applied to the same information at separate points in time. Krippendorff (1980:130) claims that coders form judgements about content, allow some time to pass, then form judgements for a second time about the same content. If their later judgements correspond with their previous judgements, then their coding is deemed to be stable.

Reproducibility, on the other hand, determines the degree of agreement between the outcomes of different approaches that use the similar principles of construction and are applied to the same data. Krippendorff (1980:131) claims that a strategy with reproducibility requires a test-retest technique in which the same content is analysed by separate coders, individually coding the collection of content on one occasion or coding the content on two occasions. If all the coders make the same judgements, then the data are considered as reliable.

Accuracy determines whether the performance of a technique corresponds with a certain or recognised standard. In this process, coders' judgements are matched to a standard.

According to Mark and Yardley (2011:8), after the codes have been established, refined, and lucidly explained in the coding schedule, the investigator may establish the reliability with which the codes can be used. A first impression of reliability can be obtained by applying the codes to the same chunk of text on two occasions, separated by a week or so. While the coding will be affected by similar subjective procedures on both occasions, consistent coding by the investigator at least suggests that the differences made between codes are clear in the researcher's mind, where, if the investigator cannot apply the codes consistently, it is unlikely that another person will be able to do so.

To ensure reliability in the current study, consistency over time with the same researcher was tested by coding a clean version of an article previously coded, before comparing the two (Elliot, V. 2018:2858). For inter-coder reliability, the researcher coded and recoded. The sample which was coded for inter-coder reliability comprises 17 articles, one from *City Press*, three from *Daily Dispatch*, two from *Sowetan*, one from *Sunday Times*, six from *The Citizen* and four from *The Star*. The figure represented 10% of the sample, which is also 10% for each publication. Sizes of not less than 10% of the sample are deemed sufficient for establishing inter-coder reliability (Lombard, M, Snyder-Duch, J and Bracken, C.C. 2005, Wimmer, R.D. & Dominick, J.R. 1997:128).

To ensure reliability and validity of the measuring instrument the researcher conducted a pilot study with 17 articles.

3.7 PILOT STUDY

Before the actual study was conducted, a pilot study was undertaken to try out the research instrument and to perfect the categories of the study. It was conducted to assess the appropriateness of the coding schedule and confidence level of the qualitative analysis. The pilot study gave guidance on the clarity of the categories. At this stage, the coding schedule was tested on the portion of the data to identify and amend any inadequacies in the schedule prior to undertaking the main analysis (Schreier (2014:12).

The pilot stage involves three steps, namely: selecting material, the trial coding, evaluating, and modifying the coding frame. The first step involves selecting and preparing material. Material was picked in such a way that all varieties of data and data sources in the material were covered. Additionally, the data was chosen in such a way that the bulk of categories in the coding schedule could be used in the trial coding. After concluding the allocation of all units of analysis for the 165 newspaper articles the researcher conducted a pilot study using 10% of the 165 articles in the six publications during the period under observation (1 June to 31 December 2019). A random sample of 10% of articles per publication is used, amounting to 17 articles (10% of the total population).

According to Schreier (2014:13), the next step comprises the trial coding. The categories from the coding frame or schedule (APPENDIX 2) were applied to the data in the course of two turns of coding, adhering to the same process to be followed in the main coding. The process was executed by a single coder coding and recoding the data in about 10 to 14 days. In this study, the coding of the pilot sample was conducted by the investigator. The researcher went through the coding schedule (APPENDIX 2) and coding instructions (APPENDIX 1) item by item. All coding was recorded into a coding sheet (APPENDIX 3),

in which the coding units are the rows and the main categories are columns. The subcategory to which each unit of coding is allocated was recorded into the cells.

The last step entails evaluating and modifying the coding schedule. The coding schedule was evaluated by analysing the outcomes of the trial coding with regards to consistency and validity. A few adjustments were effected to the schedule after the trial coding. This was an indication that it can be applied to the main analysis without performing a second trial coding.

Coding evaluations were undertaken to determine reliability (Wigston, DJ. 2010:17-19). Internal validity did not emerge due to the fact that the study was aimed at proving a cause-and-effect phenomenon associated with categories of newspaper articles. The apparent and inclusive coding by the investigator, research flexibility, and lengthy engagement with the material were essential in intensifying the reliability and the transferability of the research conclusions (Camilleri, J. & Neuhofer, B. 2017).

3.8 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION PROCEDURES

This section outlines the processes carried out in analysing the data collected from the articles. According to Creswell, JW. (2007:148) data analysis in qualitative research entails preparing and organising the material for analysis, then condensing the material into themes by means of a procedure of coding and compressing the codes, and lastly representing the material in figures, tables, or a discussion. The fundamental components of qualitative data analysis, comprise coding the material, merging the codes into wider categories or themes, and presenting and generating associations in the data graphs, tables, and charts.

Kothari (2004:122) claims that after collection, the material must be processed and analysed according to the framework set for the objective at the time of establishing the research design. Processing entails editing, coding, classification and tabulation of the material gathered in such a way that they are suitable for analysis. Data analysis

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

incorporates a quantity of closely linked procedures executed with the intention of summarising the gathered material and organising it so that it solves that research problem. Furthermore, Kothari (2004:344) claims that interpretation denotes the act of eliciting conclusions from the gathered data after an analytical and/or experimental inquiry. It is in fact viewed as a quest for the extensive implications of the research results.

When all the data has been categorised, the analysis can begin. Codes may be applied for merely qualitative analysis, in which the emphasis is likely to be on explanation of verbal patterns (Mark and Yardley 2011:9). Once the investigator has completed the procedure of editing and coding, the procedure of data analysis can begin. Analysis of data entails extricating valuable material from the raw data, and arranging it into categories thus extorting meaning and patterns (Braun, V & Clarke, V. 2006).

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the articles from the six newspapers. It was employed to recognise the categories and organise the newspaper articles. Analysis of data was continuous procedure as the investigator was actively immersed with the data from its collection until interpretation. The material was constantly analysed and interpreted during the research process.

The current study employed qualitative content analysis to analyse newspaper articles. Themes were detected and texts categorised in line with concepts or recurring themes. The crucial facts were summarised.

3.8.1 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis presents instruments for analysing the articles. It is an objective method for analysing representation of human trafficking since it stipulates the coding schedule and applies consistent, well-defined categories.

The process of analysing data started with the preparation of the material for analysis, thereafter continuing to obtain a deeper grasp of the material, and representing the data.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Denzin, NK's (1998) data interpretation procedures and Creswell, JW's (2002) data analysis methods were applied. The researcher read all the material numerous times prior to entering into coding. The process was sustained until the point of saturation, where there were no new themes or sub-themes that emerged. Lastly, the researcher clustered themes in each research question.

Creswell's (2002) six steps guided the specific procedures of data analysis and interpretation. The first step is preparing and organising the material for analysis. This involved categorising and arranging the material according to information sources. A qualitative content analysis was conducted using newspaper articles about human trafficking. After accessing *Newsbank*, the researcher searched the newspapers using the key words 'human trafficking', 'trafficking in persons', and 'sex trafficking,' to make certain that the most appropriate data was gathered. The researcher collected the articles from *Newsbank*. The articles were saved as PDFs, and were sorted according to publication. The breakdown of articles is as follows:

The *City Press* released seven articles between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. Most of these were issued in August with the least number of articles issued in July, October, November and December (zero which is 0% of the total).

Table 3.4: The *City Press* articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019

DATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-30 JUNE	1	0.6%
1-31 JULY	0	0%
1-31 AUGUST	4	2.4%
1-30 SEPTEMBER	2	1.2%
1-31 OCTOBER	0	0%
1-30 NOVEMBER	0	0%
1-31 DECEMBER	0	0%
TOTAL	7	4.2%

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The *Daily Dispatch* released 32 articles between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. Most of these were issued in August with the least number of articles issued in December (one which is 0.6% of the total).

Table 3.5: The *Daily Dispatch* articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019

DATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-30 JUNE	5	3%
1-31 JULY	2	1.2%
1-31 AUGUST	9	5.4%
1-30 SEPTEMBER	7	4.2%
1-31 OCTOBER	6	3.6%
1-30 NOVEMBER	2	1.2%
1-31 DECEMBER	1	0.6%
TOTAL	32	19.3%

The *Sowetan* released 17 articles between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. Most of these were issued in August and September with the least number of articles issued in June (zero which is 0% of the total).

Table 3.6: The *Sowetan* articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019

DATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-30 JUNE	0	0%
1-31 JULY	1	0.6%
1-31 AUGUST	6	3.6%
1-30 SEPTEMBER	6	3.6%
1-31 OCTOBER	2	1.2%
1-30 NOVEMBER	1	0.6%
1-31 DECEMBER	1	0.6%
TOTAL	17	10.3%

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Sunday Times released nine articles between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. Most of these were issued in September with the least number of articles issued in all the other six months (one which is 0.6% of the total).

Table 3.7: *Sunday Times* articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019

DATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-30 JUNE	1	0.6%
1-31 JULY	1	0.6%
1-31 AUGUST	1	0.6%
1-30 SEPTEMBER	3	1.8%
1-31 OCTOBER	1	0.6%
1-30 NOVEMBER	1	0.6%
1-31 DECEMBER	1	0.6%
TOTAL	9	5.4%

The Citizen released 59 articles between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. Most of these were issued in August with the least number articles issued in December (three which is 1.8% of the total).

Table 3.8: *The Citizen* articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019

DATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-30 JUNE	4	2.4%
1-31 JULY	7	4.2%
1-31 AUGUST	19	11.5%
1-30 SEPTEMBER	11	6.6%
1-31 OCTOBER	9	5.4%
1-30 NOVEMBER	6	3.6%
1-31 DECEMBER	3	1.8%
TOTAL	59	35.7%

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The *Star* released 41 articles between 1 June 2019 and 31 December 2019. Most of these were issued in July, August and September with the least number of articles issued in June (two which is 1.2% of the total).

Table 3.9: *The Star* articles 1 June 2019 - 31 December 2019

DATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-30 JUNE	2	1.2%
1-31 JULY	8	4.8%
1-31 AUGUST	8	4.8%
1-30 SEPTEMBER	8	4.8%
1-31 OCTOBER	7	4.2%
1-30 NOVEMBER	4	2.4%
1-31 DECEMBER	4	2.4%
TOTAL	41	24.8%

3.8.1.1 Qualitative content categories

The second step of data analysis involves reading and understanding all the data. At this stage, the researcher attempted to grasp the major themes, the tone of the ideas, and consider the complexity, reliability and application of the data.

Coding was applied to transform the content of the newspaper articles into analysable data. The researcher applied Du Plooy's (2009:225) three processes of coding. These are pre-coded categories, pre-coded categories that are adjusted during the content analysis and post-coded categories. Pre-coded categories were defined prior to gathering data based on the research question and the nature of content. Categories were also pre-coded and adjusted during the analysis guided by the actual data gathered. The categories were post-coded by compiling coding categories after the data had been gathered guided by the actual data gathered and the nature of content.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The following pre-coded categories were used; representation (as an organised crime problem, immigration problem, as a human rights issue, as a public health concern), themes covered (focus on solutions, focus on nature or type, focus on causes, focus on victims, focus on perpetrators), form or type of human trafficking addressed (sex, labour, domestic, slavery, forced marriages, debt bondage, removal of body parts, illegal adoptions, forced military service, begging, crime or other exploitative purposes or non-specified).

In order to answer Research Question 1 to determine whether the selected newspapers portray human trafficking as a problem of immigration, as a form of organised crime, as a human rights issue or as a public health concern, all articles were read and then coded for 'representation'. In order to answer Research Question 2 to determine which themes surrounding human trafficking are covered in selected newspapers, all articles, were read and coded for 'themes covered' (focus on solutions, focus on nature or type, focus on causes, focus on victims, focus on perpetrators). If a solution is mentioned, then it was identified which solution is mentioned. If causes are mentioned, then per publication it was identified which specific causes are mentioned. In order to answer Research Question 3 to determine the form of human trafficking addressed, all articles were coded for 'form or type of trafficking addressed' (sex, labour, domestic, slavery, forced marriages, debt bondage, removal of body parts, illegal adoptions, forced military service, begging, crime or other exploitative purposes or non-specified).

The researcher initially developed 3 main categories and 15 subcategories inductively deducted from the previous research. After perusing the articles, the number of subcategories increased to 21.

Throughout this procedure, open coding was employed. This involved the researcher making notes in the margin and supplying provisional descriptions for the material measured. Initial headings were transferred to coding sheets, categories were 'freely generated' and were arranged under 'higher-order headings' to limit the number of

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

categories. Prior to the actual generation of the final categories, they were defined by identifying what each category should include and exclude.

All categories meet the three requirements of being exhaustive (all units of analysis fit into categories), mutually exclusive (all units of analysis are assigned into one category only) and equivalent (all units of analysis are equal in weighting with no one category superior to the other) (Berger, AA. 1991:27, Know your audience 2011).

The final list of three main categories and 21 subcategories was designated with 'content-characteristic words' and organised according to topic guided by the research question to avoid any partiality that could have stemmed from the investigator's arrangement (Elo, S. & Kyngas, H. 2008:111).

Refer to the coding schedule (APPENDIX 2) for categories and subcategories developed. Solely the categories that are particularly suitable for the articles of the current study were used.

3.8.1.2 Coding of data

The third step of data analysis entails making a detailed analysis with the help of coding. Mark and Yardley (2011:4) claim that it is essential to generate conceptual tools to categorise and comprehend the phenomenon under investigation. According to Dey, I. (1993:94), this entails extracting from the enormous detail and intricacy of data those elements that are most significant for the study's purpose. This is effected by means of coding, which is the generally recognised phrase for categorising data: extracting portions of text and marking them as fitting into specific categories, in a manner that permits for future recovery and data analysis. Coding entails observing patterns in the material and splitting up the material to provide more clarity about their in-depth content. This is done by marking these patterns with codes. Differences are drawn between diverse facets of the content by organising the material into a set of categories (Mark and Yardley 2011:5).

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

According to Saldana (2008:3), coding is not a clear-cut science, it is predominantly an interpretative action. Coding is the transitional process between data gathering and more broad data analysis. Coding is therefore a technique that aids the investigator in arranging and classifying similarly coded material into categories for they share some characteristics (Saldana 2008:8).

3.8.1.2.1 Coding procedures

The analysis focused on exploring the representation of human trafficking in selected newspapers. Data from newspaper articles was coded by reading and re-reading the articles. In so doing, commonalities and differences were identified, which in turn enabled the formulation of categories of interest in this case (Charmaz, K. 1983, Dey 1993).

Newman, L.'s (2007) three stages of coding were applied in the current study so as to guide the process of data analysis and interpretation. Firstly, open coding was completed in the first reading of the gathered material. At this stage, the major task was discovering themes and allocating initial codes as well as seeking to condense the mass data into categories.

In the next stage, axing began when the researcher moved towards organising concepts or themes, and indicating the axis of key concepts for analysis. Axial coding enabled the data to be organised in new ways after the open coding by establishing associations between categories. Extraneous codes were excluded based on the research questions and objectives of the investigation.

The last phase, selective coding, involved the recognition of major themes of the investigation. The material and earlier codes were examined. Thereafter, the researcher, looked selectively for instances that revealed themes, and based on the themes, comparisons and differentiations were effected. Selective coding allowed for the selection of the main category and carefully linking it to other categories, authenticating those

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

associations and filling in categories that needed additional improvement and expansion (Charmaz 1983, Glasser, B.G and Strauss, A.L. 1967, Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. 1990).

This procedure of analysis helped in generating well developed concepts that can be utilised in forming generalisation on the matters addressed. This implies that the material was categorised thematically, largely based on the research questions and emphases of literature reviews. The key themes were discovered in the literature and explored in the data to solve the research problem. Moreover, new themes were also anticipated and emerged from the data.

The coder used the descriptions of categories detailed in APPENDIX 2 to ascertain the category to which to assign an article. In order to do so, the coder had to read the entire article as only reading a portion of the article would not be sufficient. The coder then entered the data on the coding sheet (APPENDIX 3), applying the codes stipulated on the coding schedule (APPENDIX 2). In cases where an article seemed to fit in two categories, the coder divided the article between the two categories.

At each stage, the coding was done by one person, viz. the researcher. This was done because the task of coding was not overwhelming, so it was not necessary to use more than one coder. The financial resources available were also taken into consideration. Furthermore, it was also observed that there can be more inter-coder consistency when coding is done by one coder (Audience Dialogue 2003).

The fourth step of analysis and interpretation involved determining the final themes. The researcher described the context, the categories and the themes. When the themes were determined, the material was re-read, and categorised into their most appropriate corresponding themes. The recognised articles were clustered into different categories. The category names originated from previous research per literature review stage of the research process.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The fifth step of analysis and interpretation, which entails displaying how the descriptions and themes represented the narratives of qualitative study, and sixth step, which involves interpreting or articulating the meaning of the data, are presented in chapters Four and Five, respectively.

3.8.1.3 Using qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is fitting to the current study, since the purpose is to analyse the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers, by examining the themes covered, as well as the forms of trafficking addressed. According to Thomas (2011:5), content analysis is the only technique suitable for gathering information about what communications contain. It is a systematic, transparent approach to using qualitative data that can make use of data that already exists (United States Government Accountability Office 2013:9). Mayring (2014:39) maintains that content analytical procedures have a strong basis in the communicative sciences. The data is constantly understood as linking to a specific communication context. The material is thus always interpreted within its context, that is, it is observed with respect to its origin and effect.

Zhang and Wildemuth (2009:1) also claim that QCA places emphasis on an integrated view of speech or texts and their specific settings. It extends further than simply counting words or extricating impartial content from texts to explore meanings, themes and patterns that may be evident or rather dormant in a particular text. It permits investigators to comprehend social reality in a subjective but scientific manner. Unlike its counterpart, quantitative content analysis, qualitative content analysis was established to analyse the meanings underlying physical messages.

Du Plooy (2009: 213) claims that content analysis can be utilised to numerous kinds of communication research comprising the analysis of mass-media content, transcripts of meetings, and policy documents. It can be qualitative or quantitative and a combination of both can be utilised.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher adhered to the principles of integrity and responsibility, and was ethically inclined when conducting the current study. Human dignity, respect, social justice, and fairness were constantly upheld throughout the study. Personal bias and subjectivity did not influence the development and application of the measuring instrument and the treatment of data. The study was not subject to political, institutional, or personal constraints. The researcher took caution to present data factually and accurately.

3.10 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the methodology employed in the current study in order to answer the research question. This is a qualitative study that is exploratory and descriptive in nature. It seeks to analyse the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers. Qualitative content analysis was used in the study as a technique to analyse the newspaper articles. The data in the form of newspaper articles was collected from *Newsbank*. Purposive sampling was used in drawing up a sample, which was used to analyse the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers. The rationale for sampling procedure, measuring instrument, as well as the validity and reliability of the measuring instrument were also outlined. A pilot study was conducted so as to ensure reliability and validity of the measuring instrument. The data analysis and interpretation processes applied in the study were also discussed. Ethical considerations applicable to the current study were also outlined.

The next chapter presents the findings of the study and links them to the research question.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Creswell (2002), the fifth phase in the analysis and interpretation of data entails showing how the descriptions and themes represented the narratives of qualitative study. Here, in-depth data analysis continues, with the researcher applying various procedures which include narration, illustrations, figures for detailed discussions of themes. Data is presented in tables and statistical summaries.

This chapter presents the findings of a qualitative content analysis of the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers. A sample of six newspapers was analysed, namely, *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, *The Citizen* and *The Star*. The content of issues published between 1 June and 31 December 2019 was analysed. The analysis involved 165 articles in total.

4.2. REPRESENTATION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

In order to answer Research Question 1, to determine whether the selected newspapers portray human trafficking as a form of organised crime, as an immigration problem, as a human rights issue, or as a public health concern, all 165 articles were read and coded for 'representation'. Findings on representation of human trafficking in the six publications during the period under investigation are presented in Table 4.1, Figure 4.1, Table 4.2. and Figure 4.2.

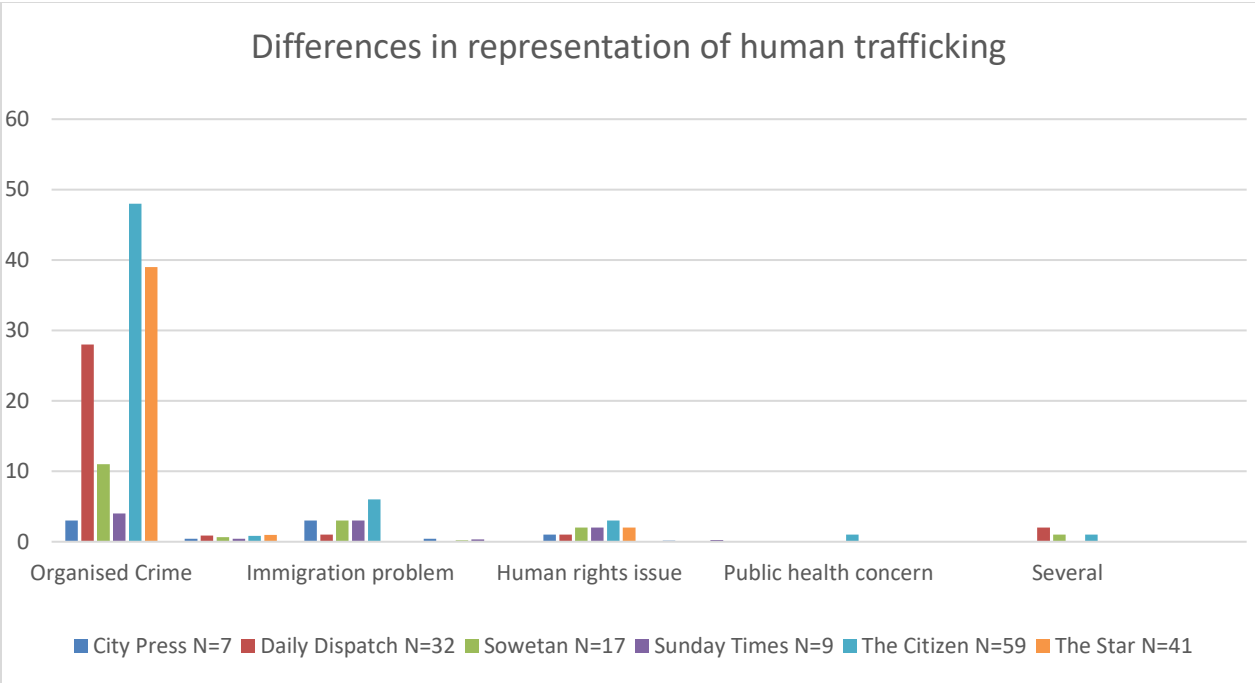
Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

4.2.1 Differences in representation of human trafficking

Table 4.1: Differences in representation of human of trafficking

	<i>City Press</i> N=7	<i>Daily Dispatch</i> N=32	<i>Sowetan</i> N=17	<i>Sunday Times</i> N=9	<i>The Citizen</i> N=59	<i>The Star</i> N=41	Overall N=165
Organised Crime	3	28	11	4	48	39	133
	42.8%	87.5%	64.7%	44.4%	81.3%	95.1%	80.6%
Immigration problem	3	1	3	3	6	0	16
	42.8%	3.1%	17.6%	33.3%	10.1%	0%	9.6%
Human rights issue	1	1	2	2	3	2	11
	14.2%	3.1%	11.7%	22.2%	5%	4.8%	6.6%
Public health concern	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.6%	0%	0.6%
Several	0	2	1	0	1	0	4
	0%	6.2%	5.8%	0%	1.6%	0%	2.4%
Total	7	32	17	9	59	41	165

Figure 4.1 Differences in representation of human trafficking



4.2.1.1 Human trafficking as a form of organised crime

Of the 165 articles analysed, 133 (80%) represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. The majority of these articles (48) is found in *The Citizen* and constitutes 81.3% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Thirty-nine articles are found in *The Star* and represent 95.1% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *Daily Dispatch*, with 28 articles, which comprise 87.5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Sowetan presents 11 articles, which represents 64.7% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Four articles are found in *Sunday Times* and constitute 44.4% of the articles analysed from this publication. *City Press* presents only three articles that represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, which constitutes 42.8% of the articles analysed from this newspaper.

Of the six newspapers selected, the findings indicate that three newspapers have more than 80% of articles that represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. Only one newspaper has more than 50% of articles that represent human trafficking as a form

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

of organised crime and two newspapers have less than 50% of articles that represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime.

4.2.1.2 Human trafficking as an immigration problem

Of the 165 articles analysed, only 16 articles (9.6%) represent human trafficking as a problem of immigration. The majority of these (6) is found in *The Citizen* and constitute 10.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *City Press*, *Sowetan* and *Sunday Times*, each with three articles. For the *City Press* this represents 42.8% of the articles analysed, 17.6% of the articles analysed from *Daily Dispatch* and 33.3% of articles analysed from *Sunday Times*. *Daily Dispatch* presents only one article that represents human trafficking as an immigration problem which constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed from this publication. *The Star* is the only publication that has no article that represents human trafficking as an immigration problem.

The findings show that of the six selected newspapers, only one newspaper has more than 40% of articles that represent human trafficking as an immigration problem. Only one newspaper has more than 30% of articles that represent human trafficking as an immigration problem, while three newspapers have less than 20% of articles that represent human trafficking as an immigration problem. One newspaper presented no article in this category.

4.2.1.3 Human trafficking as a human rights issue

Of the 165 articles analysed, only 11 (6.6%) articles represent human trafficking as a human rights issue. The majority (3) of these were found in *The Citizen*, and constitute 5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times* and *The Star*, each with two articles. For the *Sowetan*, this comprises 11.7% of the articles analysed, 22.2% of the articles analysed from *Sunday Times*, and 4.8% of the articles analysed from *The Star*. Both *City Press* and *Sunday Times* present only one article that represents human trafficking as a human rights issue. For *City Press*, this

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

constitutes 14.2% of the article analysed, and 3.1% of articles analysed from *Daily Dispatch*.

The results reflect that of the six newspapers selected, only one newspaper has more than 20% of the articles that represent human trafficking as a human rights issue. The other five newspapers have less than 20% of articles that represent human trafficking as a human rights issue.

4.2.1.4 Human trafficking as a public health concern

Of the 165 articles analysed, only one article (0.6%) represents human trafficking as a public health concern. This article is found in *The Citizen* and constitutes 1.6% of the articles analysed from this publication. The other five publications have no article that represents human trafficking as a public health concern.

Of the six newspapers selected, the findings indicate that only one newspaper represents human trafficking as a public health concern, while the other five newspapers have no article in this category.

4.2.1.5 Articles with several representations of human trafficking

Only four articles (2.4%) of the 165 articles analysed present more than one representation of human trafficking. The majority (2) of these articles is found in the *Daily Dispatch* and constitutes 6.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Sowetan* and *The Citizen*, each with one article. For *Sowetan* this comprises 5.8% of the articles analysed and 1.6% of the analysed articles from *The Citizen*.

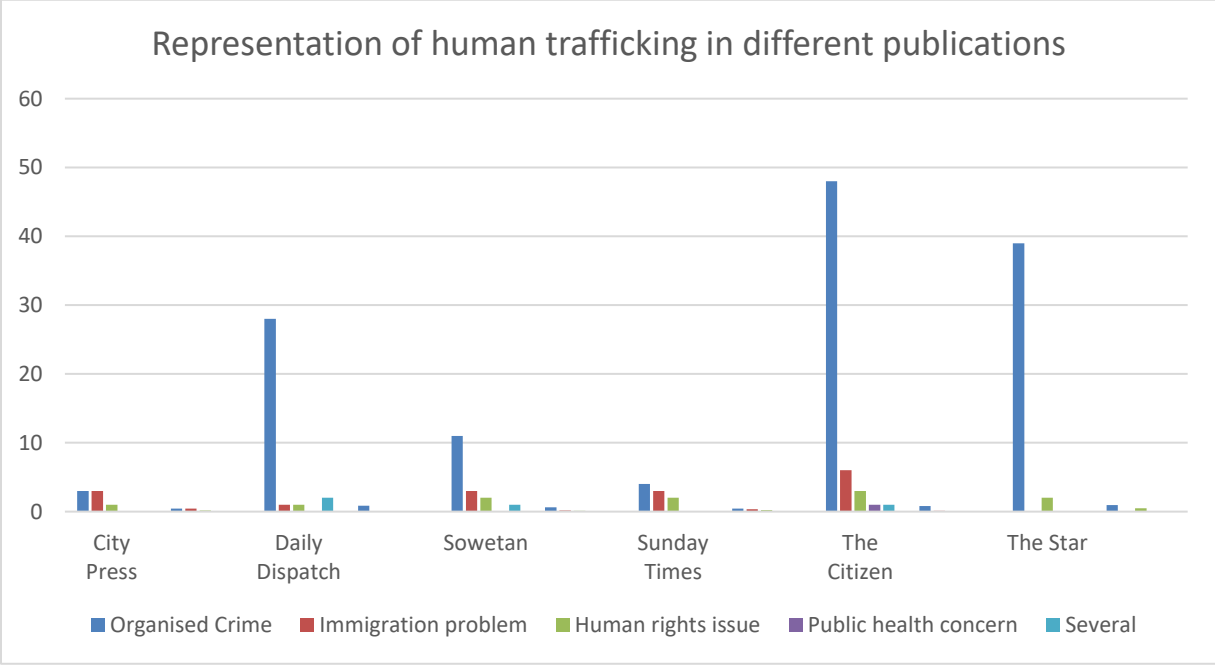
The findings indicate that of the six newspapers three newspapers have articles that present several representations of human trafficking.

4.2.2 Representation of human trafficking in different publications

Table 4.2 Representation of human trafficking in different publications

	Organised Crime	Immigration problem	Human rights issue	Public health concern	Several
City Press	3	3	1	0	0
	42.8%	42.8%	14.2%	0%	0%
Daily Dispatch	28	1	1	0	2
	87.5%	3.1%	3.1%	0%	6.2%
Sowetan	11	3	2	0	1
	64.7%	17.6%	11.7%	0%	5.8%
Sunday Times	4	3	2	0	0
	44.4%	33.3%	22.2%	0%	0%
The Citizen	48	6	3	1	1
	81.3%	10.1%	5%	1.6%	1.6%
The Star	39	0	2	0	0
	95.1%	0%	48%	0%	0%

Figure 4.2 Representation of human trafficking in different publications



City Press has the same number of articles that represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, and an immigration problem. This is 42.8% of the articles analysed for each category. Only 14.2% of the articles represents human trafficking as a human rights issue. There are no articles that represent human trafficking as a public health concern in this publication. Also, no articles present several representations of human trafficking.

A majority of the articles analysed from *Daily Dispatch* represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, and this is 87.5% of the articles analysed from this publication. This publication has the same number of articles that represent human trafficking as an immigration problem and human rights issue, which constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed. Only 6.2% of the articles analysed presents several representations of human trafficking. No article from this publication represents human trafficking as public health concern.

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

Most articles from *Sowetan* represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. A proportion of 17.6% of the articles represents human trafficking as an immigration problem, while 11.7% represents human trafficking as a human rights issue. Only 5.8% present several representations of human trafficking, and no article represented human trafficking as a public health concern from this publication.

A majority of articles from *Sunday Times* represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. As much as 33.3% of the articles represents human trafficking as an immigration problem, while only 22.2% represents human trafficking as a human rights issue. This publication has no article that represents human trafficking as a public health concern and that presents several representations of human trafficking.

Most articles from *The Citizen* represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. 10.1% represent human trafficking as an immigration problem, while only 5% represents human trafficking as a human rights issue. Only 1.6% of the articles from this publication represents human trafficking as a public health concern, and present several representations of human trafficking, respectively.

A majority of articles from *The Star* represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. Only 4.8% of the articles analysed from this publication represents human trafficking as human rights issue. This newspaper has no articles that represent human trafficking as an immigration problem, public health concern or that presents several representations of human trafficking.

4.3 THEMES SURROUNDING HUMAN TRAFFICKING COVERED IN THE ARTICLES

In order to answer Research Question 2 to determine which themes surrounding human trafficking are covered in the selected newspapers, all articles were read and coded for 'themes covered' (focus on causes, focus on solutions, focus on nature or type, focus on victims, focus on perpetrators). If a solution is mentioned, then it is identified which

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

solution is mentioned. If causes are mentioned, then per publication it is identified which specific causes are mentioned. Table 4.3, Figure 4.3, Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4 present the findings on causes of human trafficking mentioned in each publication. Findings on solutions or remedies suggested in each publication are recorded in Table 4.5, Figure 4.5, Table 4.6, and Figure 4.6. In Table 4.7 and Figure 4.7, findings on articles that focus on the nature of human trafficking are presented. Results on articles that focus on victims of human trafficking are documented in Table 4.8, Figure 4.8, Table 4.9 and Figure 4.9. Table 4.10, Figure 4.10, Table 4.11 and Figure 4.11 reflects the findings on articles which focus on perpetrators of human trafficking.

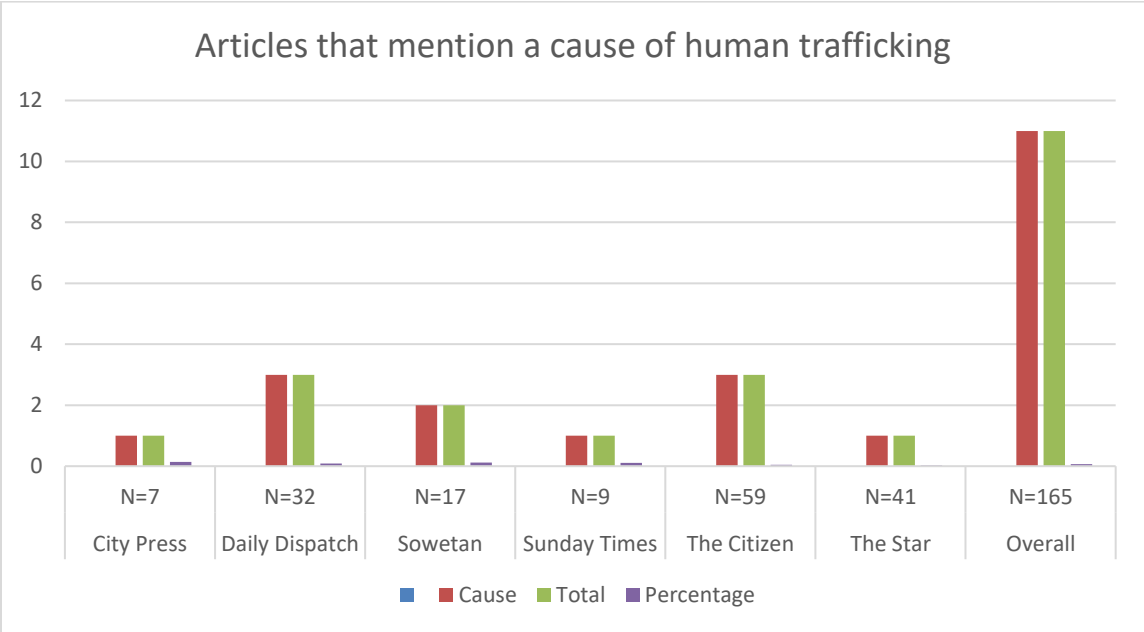
4.3.1 Focus on causes of human trafficking

4.3.1.1 Whether a cause is mentioned

Table 4.3 Whether a cause is mentioned per publication

	<i>City Press</i> N=7	<i>Daily Dispatch</i> N=32	<i>Sowetan</i> N=17	<i>Sunday Times</i> N=9	<i>The Citizen</i> N=59	<i>The Star</i> N=41	<i>Overall</i> N=165
Cause	1	3	2	1	3	1	11
Total	1	3	2	1	3	1	11
Percentage	14.2%	9.3%	11.7%	11.1%	5%	2.4%	6.6%

Figure 4.3: Whether a cause is mentioned per publication



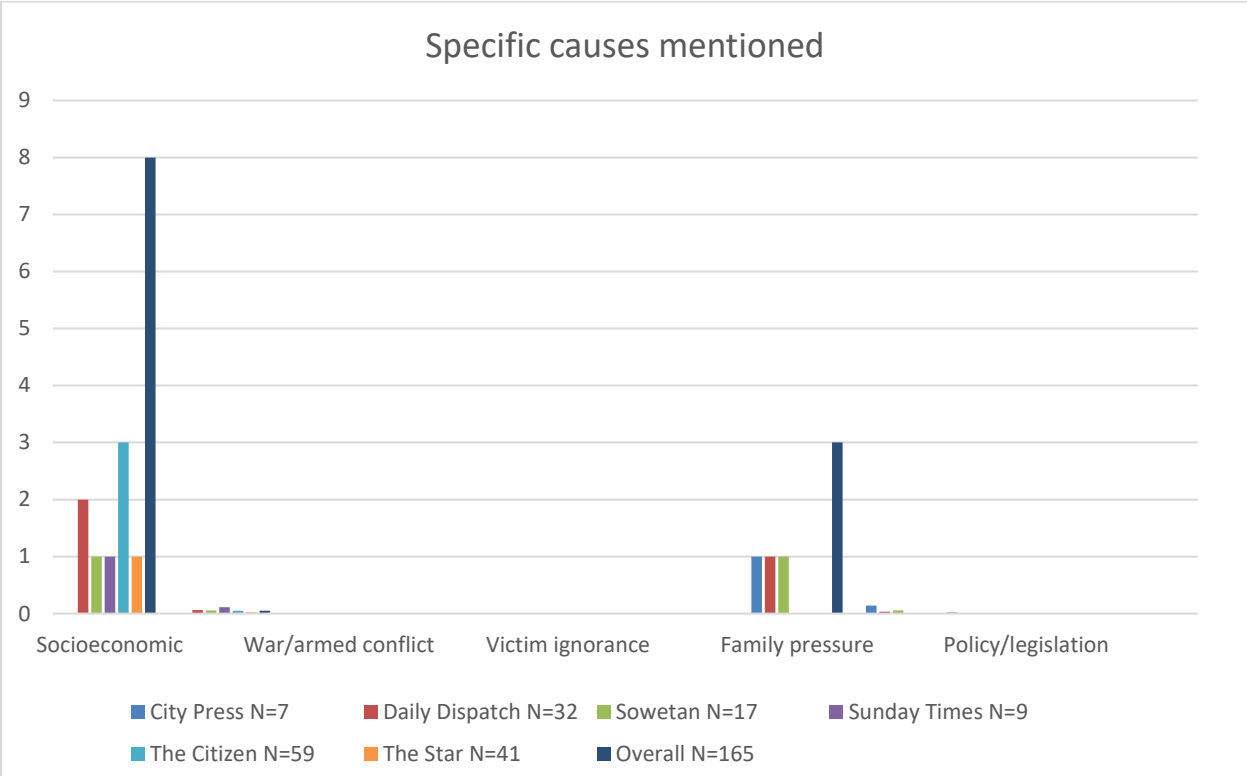
Of the 165 articles analysed, only 11 (6.6%) articles mentioned the cause of human trafficking. A majority of these articles is found in the *Daily Dispatch* and *The Citizen*, each with three articles. For *Daily Dispatch*, this constitutes 9.3% of the articles analysed from this newspaper and 5% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. This is followed by *Sowetan*, with two articles, which comprise 11.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *The Star* have only one article each that mentions a cause of human trafficking. For *City Press*, this comprises 14.2% of the articles analysed from this publication, 11.1% of articles analysed from *Sunday Times*, and 2.4% of articles analysed from *The Star*.

4.3.1.2 Specific causes mentioned

Table 4.4: Specific causes mentioned per publication

	City Press N=7	Daily Dispatch N=32	Sowetan N=17	Sunday Times N=9	The Citizen N=59	The Star N=41	Overall N=165
Socio-economic	0	2	1	1	3	1	8
	0%	6.2%	5.8%	11.1%	5%	2.4%	4.8%
War/armed conflict	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Victim ignorance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Family pressure	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
	14.2%	3.1%	5.8%	0%	0%	0%	1.8%
Policy/legislation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Figure 4.4: Specific causes mentioned per publication



Only two specific causes of human trafficking are mentioned in the 165 articles analysed. These are socioeconomic causes and family pressure. Other causes of human trafficking including war or armed conflict, victim ignorance, and policy or legislation are not mentioned in any of the analysed articles.

4.3.1.2.1 Socio-economic causes

Of the 165 articles analysed, only eight (4.8%) articles mention socioeconomic causes of human trafficking. The majority (3) of these are found in *The Citizen* and constitute 5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Daily Dispatch*, with two articles that comprise 6.2% of the articles analysed from this publication. *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, and *The Star*, each present only one article that mentions socioeconomic causes of human trafficking. For the *Sowetan*, this constitutes 5.8% of the articles

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

analysed from this publication, 11.1% of articles analysed from *Sunday Times*, and 2.4% of articles analysed from *The Star*. *City Press* is the only publication that has no article that mentions socioeconomic causes of human trafficking.

4.3.1.2.2 Family pressure

Of the 165 articles analysed, only three (1.8%) articles mention family pressure as a cause of human trafficking. These articles are found in the *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, and *Sowetan*, with one article each. For *City Press*, this constitutes 14.2% of the articles analysed from this publication, 3.1% of the articles analysed from *Daily Dispatch*, and 5.8% of articles analysed from *Sowetan*. The other three publications have no article that mentions family pressure as a cause of human trafficking.

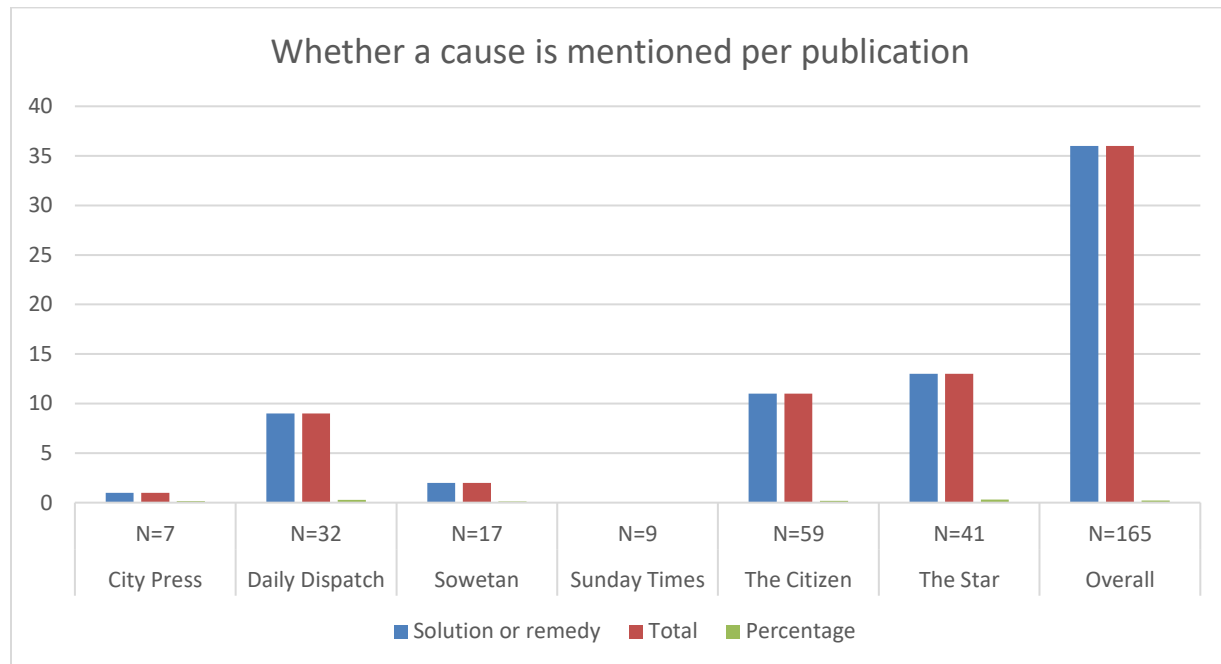
4.3.2 Focus on solutions or remedies for human trafficking

4.3.2.1 Whether a solution or remedy is suggested

Table 4.5: Whether a solution or remedy is suggested per publication

	City Press N=7	Daily Dispatch N=32	Sowetan N=17	Sunday Times N=9	The Citizen N=59	The Star N=41	Overall N=165
Solution or remedy	1	9	2	0	11	13	36
Total	1	9	2	0	11	13	36
	14.2%	28.1%	11.7%	0%	18.6%	31.7%	21.8%

Figure 4.5: Whether a solution or remedy is suggested per publication



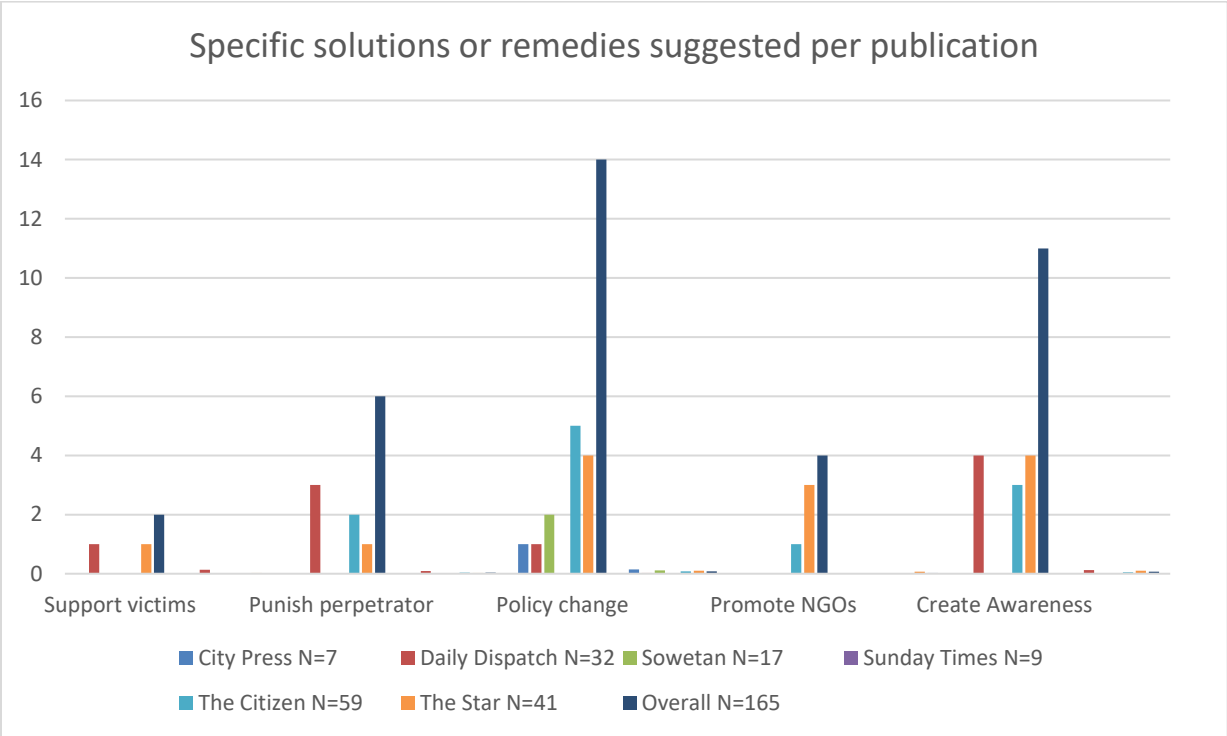
Of the 165 articles analysed, only 36 (21.8%) suggest a solution or remedy for human trafficking. The majority (13) of these is found in *The Star* and constitutes 31.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Citizen*, with 11 articles, which comprise 18.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Nine articles are found in *Daily Dispatch* and comprise 28.1% of the articles analysed from this publication. *Sowetan* presents two articles that suggest a solution or remedy for human trafficking which constitutes 11.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *City Press*, with only one article, which comprises 14.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *Sunday Times* is the only publication that has no article that suggests a solution or remedy for human trafficking.

4.3.2.2. Specific solutions or remedies suggested

Table 4.6: Specific solutions or remedies suggested per publication

	<i>City Press</i> N=7	<i>Daily Dispatch</i> N=32	<i>Sowetan</i> N=17	<i>Sunday Times</i> N=9	<i>The Citizen</i> N=59	<i>The Star</i> N=41	Overall N=165
Support victims	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
	0%	13.1%	0%	0%	0%	2.4%	1.2%
Punish perpetrator	0	3	0	0	2	1	6
	0%	9.3%	0%	0%	3.3%	2.4%	3.6%
Policy change	1	1	2	0	5	4	14
	14.2%	3.1%	11.7%	0%	8.4%	9.7%	8.4%
Promote NGOs	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.6%	7.3%	2.4%
Create awareness	0	4	0	0	3	4	11
	0%	12.5%	0%	0%	5%	9.7%	6.6%

Figure 4.6: Specific solutions or remedies suggested per publication



4.3.2.2.1 Support victims

Only two (1.2%) of the 165 articles analysed suggest support for victims of human trafficking as a solution or remedy to human trafficking. These are found in *Daily Dispatch* and *The Star*, each with one article. For *Daily Dispatch*, this represents 13.1% of the articles analysed from this publication and only 2.4% of articles analysed from *The Star*. The other four publications have no article that suggests support for victims of human trafficking as a solution or remedy to the problem.

4.3.2.2.2 Punish perpetrator

Of the 165 articles analysed, only six (3.6%) articles suggest punishing the perpetrator as a solution or remedy for human trafficking. The majority (3) of these are found in *Daily*

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

Dispatch, and constitute 9.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Citizen*, with two articles that comprise 3.3% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *The Star* presents only one article that suggests punishing the perpetrator as a solution or remedy for human trafficking and this constitutes 2.4% of the articles analysed from this publication. The other three publications have no article that suggests punishing the perpetrator as a solution or remedy for human trafficking.

4.3.2.2.3 Policy change

Only 14 (8.4%) of the 165 articles analysed suggest policy change as a solution or remedy for human trafficking. The majority (5) of these are found in *The Citizen* and comprise 8.4% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Star*, with four articles, which represent 9.7% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Two articles are found in the *Sowetan*, and constitute 11.75 of the articles analysed from this publication. Both *City Press* and *Daily Dispatch* have one article each. For *City Press* this comprises 14.2% of the articles analysed from this publication, and only 3.1% of the articles analysed from *Daily Dispatch*. The *Sunday Times* is the only newspaper that has no article that suggests policy change as a solution or remedy for human trafficking.

4.3.2.2.4 Promote NGOs

Of the 165 articles analysed, only four (2.4%) suggest promoting NGOs as a solution or remedy for human trafficking. The majority (3) of these is found in *The Star* and constitutes 7.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Citizen* with only one article that represents 1.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The other four publications have no articles, which suggest promoting NGOs as a solution or remedy for human trafficking.

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

4.3.2.2.5 Create Awareness

Only 11 (6.6%) of the 165 articles analysed suggest creating awareness about human trafficking as a solution or remedy for human trafficking. The majority of these is found in *Daily Dispatch* and *The Star*, each with four articles. For the *Daily Dispatch*, this constitutes 12.5% of the articles analysed from this publication and 9.7% of the articles analysed from *The Star*. This is followed by *The Citizen*, with three articles which represents 5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The other three publications have no articles that suggest creating awareness as a solution or remedy for human trafficking.

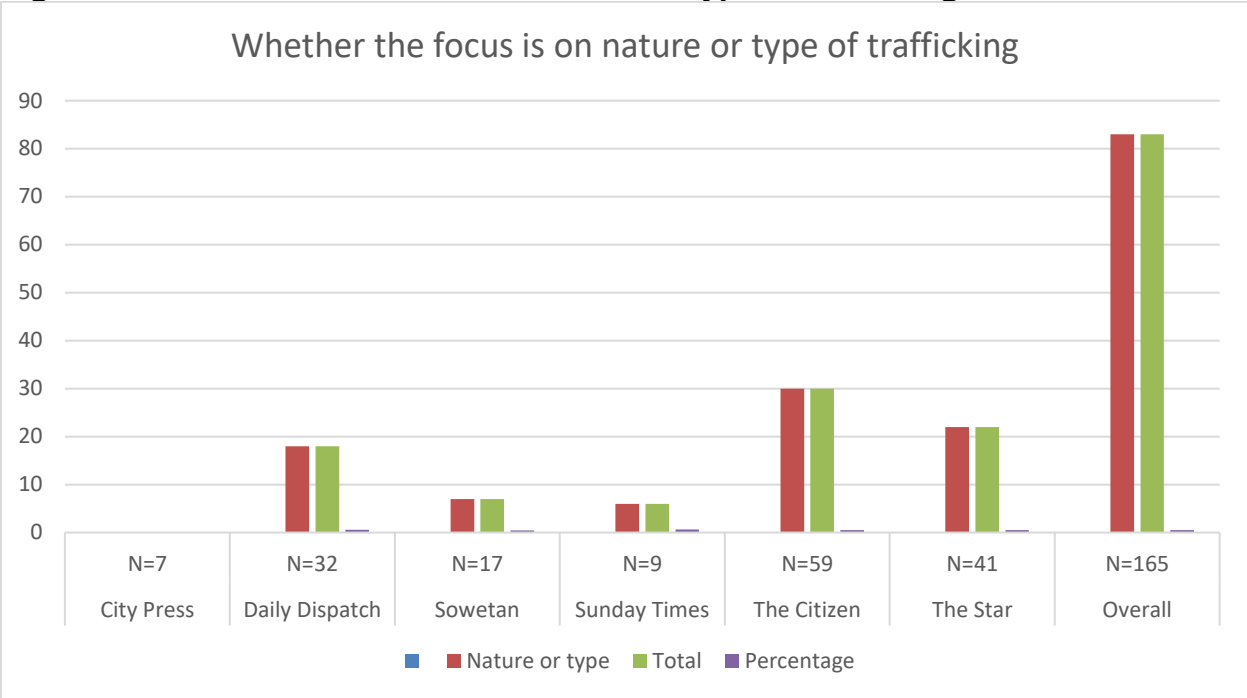
4.3.3 Focus on nature or type of human trafficking

4.3.3.1 Whether the focus is on the nature or type of human trafficking

Table 4.7: Whether the focus is on nature or type of trafficking

Whether the focus is on the nature or type of trafficking	City Press N=7	Daily Dispatch N=32	Sowetan N=17	Sunday Times N=9	The Citizen N=59	The Star N=41	Overall N=165
Nature or type	0	18	7	6	30	22	83
Total	0	18	7	6	30	22	83
Percentage	0%	56.2%	41.1%	66.6%	50.8%	53.6%	50.3%

Figure 4.7: Whether the focus is on nature or type of trafficking



Of the 165 articles analysed, 83 (50.3%) focus on the nature or type of human trafficking. A majority (30) of these were found in *The Citizen*, representing 50.8% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Star*, with 22 articles constituting 53.65 of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Eighteen articles are found in *Daily Dispatch*, and comprise 56.2% of the articles analysed from this publication. *Sowetan* presents seven articles, which constitute 41.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Sunday Times* with six articles which comprise 66.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *City Press* is the only publication that has no article that focuses on the nature or type of human trafficking.

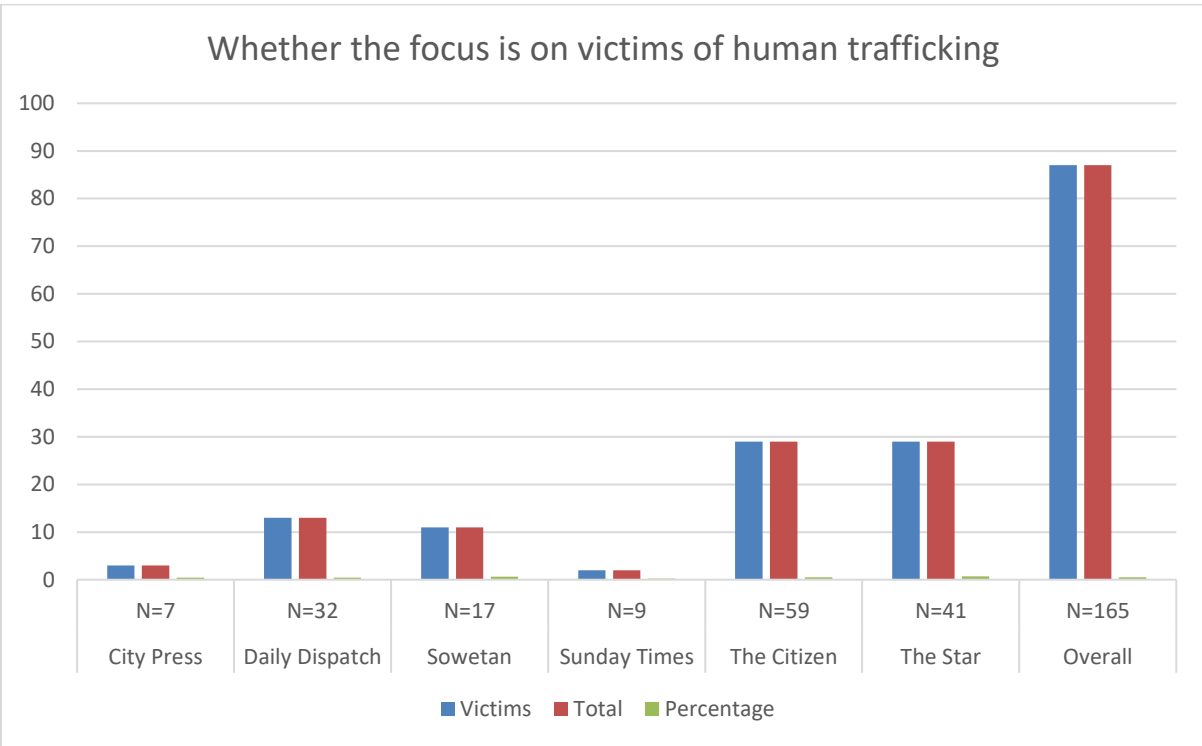
4.3.4 Focus on victims of human trafficking

4.3.4.1 Whether the focus is on victims of human trafficking

Table 4.8: Whether the focus is on victims of human trafficking

	City Press N=7	Daily Dispatch N=32	Sowetan N=17	Sunday Times N=9	The Citizen N=59	The Star N=41	Overall N=165
Victims	3	13	11	2	29	29	87
Total	3	13	11	2	29	29	87
Percentage	42.8%	40.6%	64.7%	22.2%	49.1%	70.7%	52.7%

Figure 4.8: Whether the focus is on victims of human trafficking



Of the 165 articles analysed, 87 (52.7%) articles focus on the victims of human trafficking. A majority of these is found in *The Citizen* and *The Star*, each with 29 articles. For *The Citizen*, this constitutes 49.1% of the articles analysed from this publication, and 70.7% of the articles analysed from *The Star*. This is followed by *Daily Dispatch*, with 13 articles, which represent 40.6% of the articles analysed from this publication. Eleven articles are found in *Sowetan* and comprise 64.7% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *City*

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

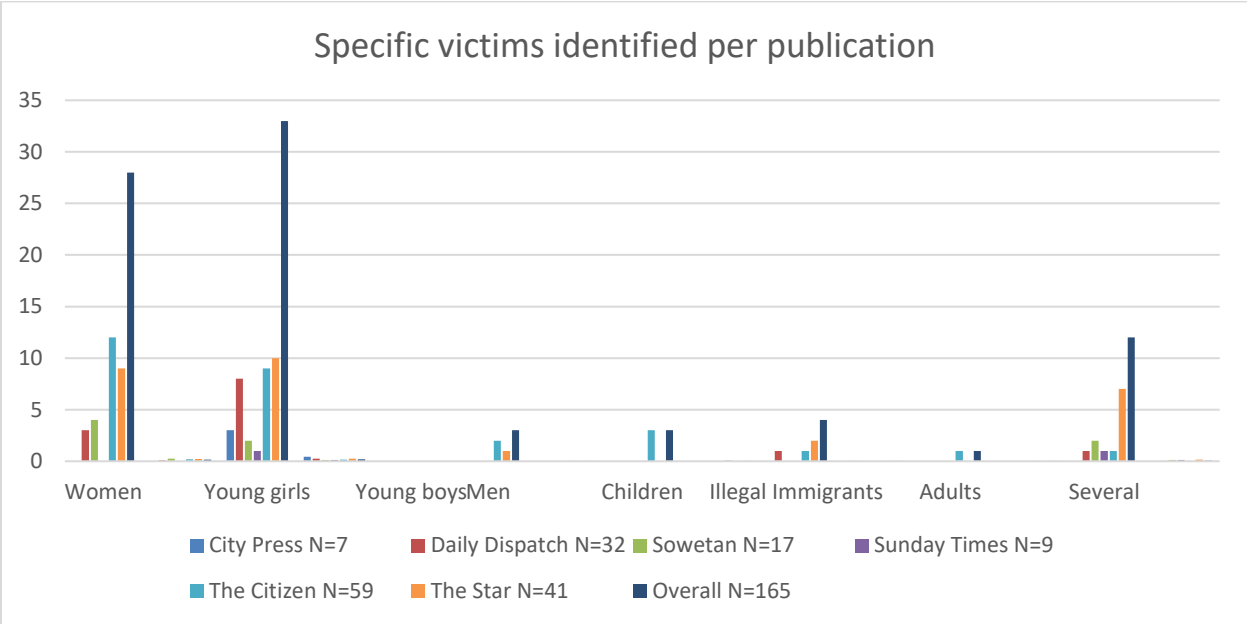
Press presents three articles which constitute 42.8% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *Sunday Times*, with two articles which represents 22.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper.

4.3.4.2 Specific victims identified

Table 4.9 Specific victims identified per publication

	<i>City Press</i> N=7	<i>Daily Dispatch</i> N=32	<i>Sowetan</i> N=17	<i>Sunday Times</i> N=9	<i>The Citizen</i> N=59	<i>The Star</i> N=41	Overall N=165
Women	0	3	4	0	12	9	28
	0%	9.3%	23.5%	0%	20.3%	21.9%	16.9%
Young girls	3	8	2	1	9	10	33
	42.8%	25%	11.7%	11.1%	15.2%	24.3%	20%
Young boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	3.3%	2.4%	1.8%
Children	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	1.8%
Illegal immigrants	0	1	0	0	1	2	4
	0%	3.1%	0%	0%	1.6%	4.8%	2.4%
Adults	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.6%	0%	0.6%
Several	0	1	2	1	1	7	12
	0%	3.1%	11.7%	11.1%	1.6%	17%	7.2%

Figure 4.9: Specific victims identified per publication



4.3.4.2.1 Women

Twenty-eight (16.9%) articles of the 165 articles analysed identify women as victims of human trafficking. The majority (12) of these are found in *The Citizen*, and constitute 20.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Star*, with nine articles, which comprise 21.9% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Four articles are found in *Sowetan*, and represent 23.5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *Daily Dispatch* presents only three articles, which constitute 9.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. *City Press* and *Sunday Times* have no articles that identify women as victims of human trafficking.

4.3.4.2.2. Young girls

Of the 165 articles analysed, 33 (20%) articles identify young girls as victims of human trafficking. The majority of these are found in *The Star*, and constitute 24.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Citizen*, with nine articles representing 15.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Eight articles are found

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

in *Daily Dispatch* and comprise 25% of the articles analysed from this publication. *City Press* presents three articles which constitute 42.8% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Sowetan*, with two articles which represent 11.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. The *Sunday Times* presents only one article which identifies young girls as victims of human trafficking and this comprises 11.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper.

4.3.4.2.3 Men

Only three articles (1.8%) of the 165 articles analysed identify men as victims of human trafficking. The majority of these is found in *The Citizen* and constitutes 3.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Star*, with only one article comprising 2.4% of the articles analysed from this publication. The other four publications have no articles that identify men as victims of human trafficking.

4.3.4.2.4 Children

Of the 165 articles analysed, only three articles (1.8%) identify children as victims of human trafficking. These are found in *The Citizen*, and comprise 5% of the articles analysed from this publication. The other five publications have no articles that identify children as victims of human trafficking.

4.3.4.2.5 Illegal immigrants

Only four articles (2.4%) of the 165 articles analysed identify illegal immigrants as victims of human trafficking. The majority (2) of these are found in *The Star* and represents 4.8% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *Daily Dispatch* and *The Citizen*, each with one article. For *Daily Dispatch*, this constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed from this publication, and 1.6% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. The other three publications have no article that identifies illegal immigrants as victims of trafficking.

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

4.3.4.2.6 Adults

This category includes victims that have been identified, but their gender is not specified, and they are not children. Of the 165 articles analysed, only one article (0.6%) identifies adults as victims of human trafficking. This article is found in *The Citizen* and constitutes 1.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The other five publications have no article that identifies adults as victims of human trafficking.

4.3.4.2.7 Several victims

Twelve (7.2%) articles of the 165 articles analysed identify several victims of human trafficking. The majority (7) of these is found in *The Star* and constitute 17% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Sowetan*, with two articles that comprise 11.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. *Daily Dispatch*, *Sunday Times* and *The Citizen* each present one article, which identifies several victims of human trafficking. For the *Daily Dispatch*, this constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed from this publication, 11.1% of the articles analysed from *Sunday Times*, and 1.6% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. *City Press* is the only publication that has no article that identifies several victims of human trafficking.

Of the 165 articles analysed from the six publications during the period under investigation, no article identifies young boys as victims of human trafficking.

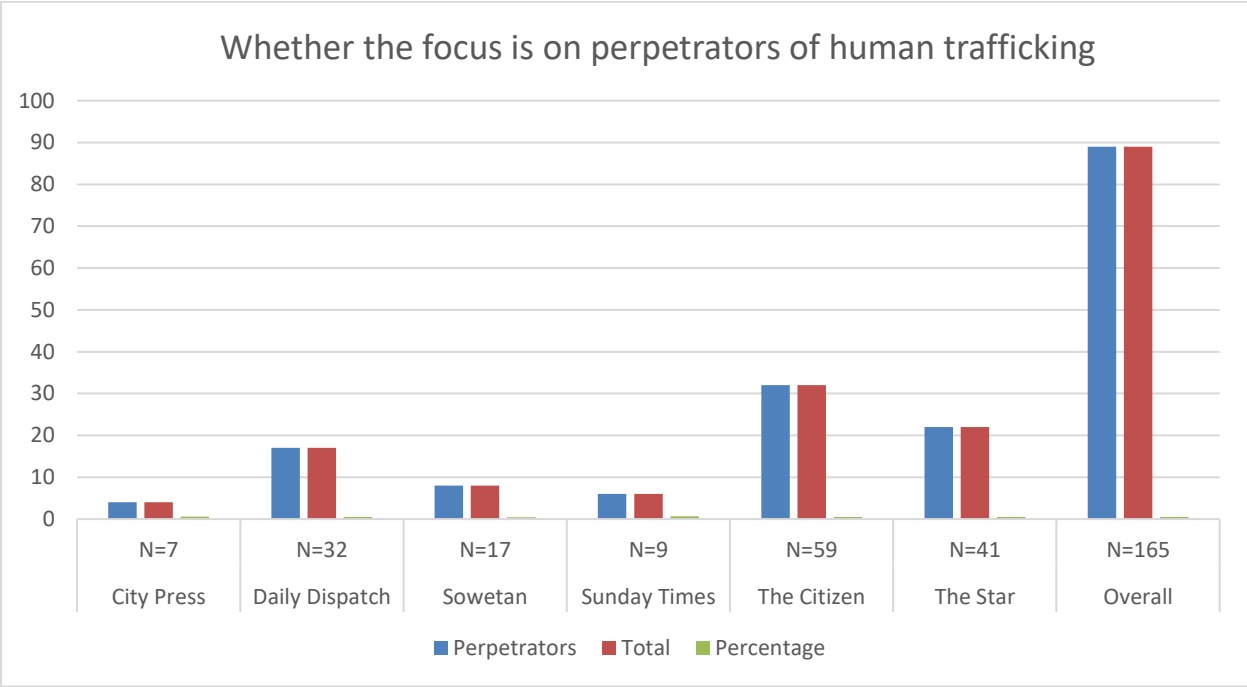
4.3.5 Focus on perpetrators of human trafficking

4.3.5.1 Whether the focus is on perpetrators of human trafficking

Table 4.10: Whether the focus is on perpetrators of human trafficking

	City Press N=7	Daily Dispatch N=32	Sowetan N=17	Sunday Times N=9	The Citizen N=59	The Star N=41	Overall N=165
Perpetrators	4	17	8	6	32	22	89
Total	4	17	8	6	32	22	89
Percentage	57.1%	53.1%	47%	66.6%	54.2%	53.6%	53.9%

Figure 4.10: Whether the focus is on perpetrators of human trafficking



Of the 165 articles analysed, 89 (53.9%) articles focus on the perpetrators of human trafficking. The majority (32) of these were found in *The Citizen*, and represent 54.2% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *The Star*, with 22 articles, which comprise 53.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. Seventeen articles are found in *Daily Dispatch*, and constitute 53.1% of the articles analysed from this publication. The *Sowetan* presents eight articles, which comprise 47% of the articles

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

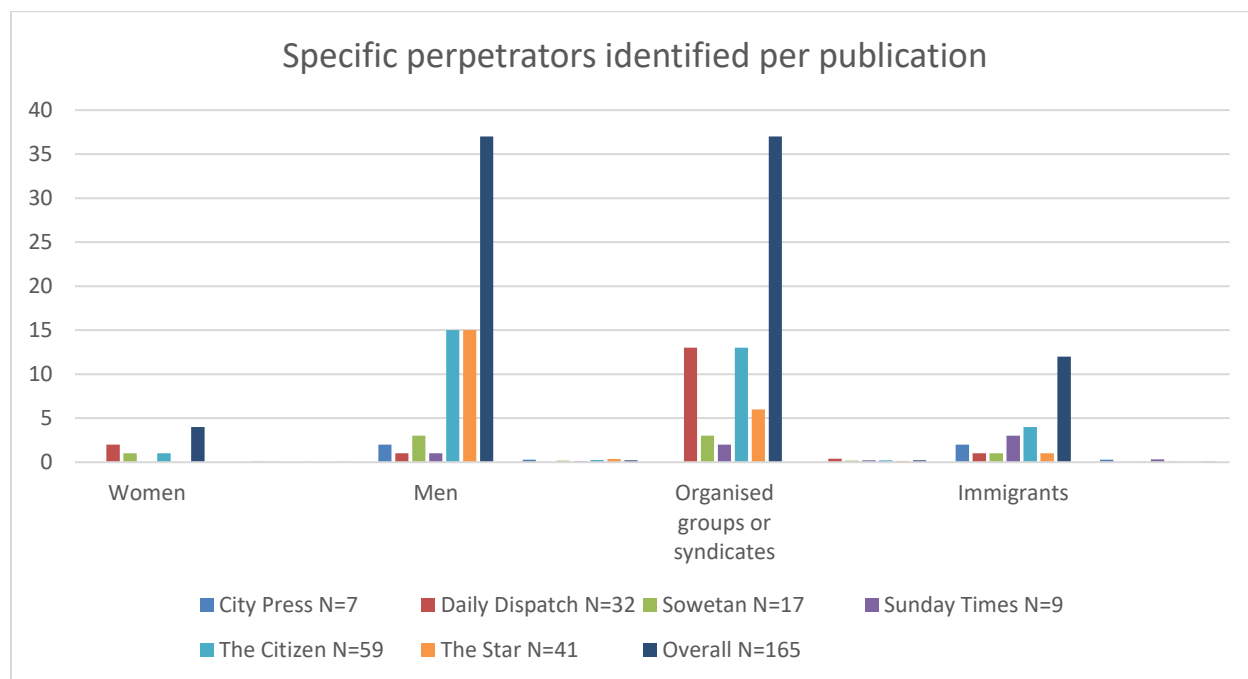
analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by the *Sunday Times*, with six articles, which represent 66.6% of the articles analysed from this publication. *City Press* presents four articles that focus on perpetrators of human trafficking, and this constitutes 57.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper.

4.3.5.2 Specific perpetrators identified

Table 4.11: Specific perpetrators identified per publication

	<i>City Press</i> N=7	<i>Daily Dispatch</i> N=32	<i>Sowetan</i> N=17	<i>Sunday Times</i> N=9	<i>The Citizen</i> N=59	<i>The Star</i> N=41	Overall N=165
Women	0	2	1	0	1	0	4
	0%	6.2%	5.8%	0%	1.6%	0%	2.4%
Men	2	1	3	1	15	15	37
	28.5%	3.1%	17.6%	11.1%	25.4%	36.5%	22.4%
Organised groups or syndicates	0	13	3	2	13	6	37
	0%	40.6%	17.6%	22.2%	22%	14.6%	22.4%
Immigrants	2	1	1	3	4	1	12
	28.5%	3.1%	5.8%	33.3%	6.7%	2.4%	7.2%

Figure 4.11: Specific perpetrators identified per publication



4.3.5.2.1 Women

Only four articles (2.4%) of the 165 articles analysed identify women as perpetrators of human trafficking. The majority (2) of these is found in *Daily Dispatch* and constitutes 6.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *Sowetan* and *The Citizen*, each with one article. For the *Sowetan*, this represents 5.8% of the articles analysed from this publication and 1.6% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. The other three publications had no articles identifying women as perpetrators of human trafficking.

4.3.5.2.2 Men

Of the 165 articles analysed, 37 (22.4%) articles identify men as perpetrators of human trafficking. The majority of these is found in *The Citizen* and *The Star*, each with 15 articles. For *The Citizen*, this represents 25.4% of the articles analysed from this newspaper, and 36.5% of the articles analysed from *The Star*. This is followed by *Sowetan*, with three articles comprising 17.6% of the articles analysed from this publication. Two articles are found in *City Press*, and constitute 28.5% of the articles

Chapter 4: Presentation of the findings

analysed from this newspaper. Both *Daily Dispatch* and *Sunday Times* present one article each. For *Daily Dispatch*, this constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed from this publication, and 11.1% of articles analysed from *Sunday Times*.

4.3.5.2.3 Organised groups or syndicates

Thirty-seven articles (22.4%) of the 165 articles analysed identify organised groups or syndicates as perpetrators of human trafficking. The majority of these are found in *Daily Dispatch* and *The Citizen*, each with 13 articles. For *Daily Dispatch*, this constitutes 40.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper, and 22% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. This is followed by *The Star*, with six articles comprising 14.6% of the articles analysed from this publication. Three articles are found in the *Sowetan*, and represent 17.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The *Sunday Times* presents two articles that identify organised groups or syndicates as perpetrators of human trafficking, which comprise 22.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *City Press* is the only publication that has no article identifying organised groups or syndicates as perpetrators of human trafficking.

4.3.5.2.4 Immigrants

Of the 165 articles analysed, 12 articles (7.2%) identify immigrants as perpetrators of human trafficking. The majority (4) of these is found in *The Citizen* and constitutes 6.7% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by the *Sunday Times*, with three articles which comprise 33.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. Two articles are found in *City Press*, and represent 28.5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *Daily Dispatch*, *Sowetan* and *The Star* present one article each that identifies immigrants as perpetrators of human trafficking. For *Daily Dispatch* this constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper, 5.8% of articles analysed from *Sowetan*, and 2.4% of the articles analysed from *The Star*.

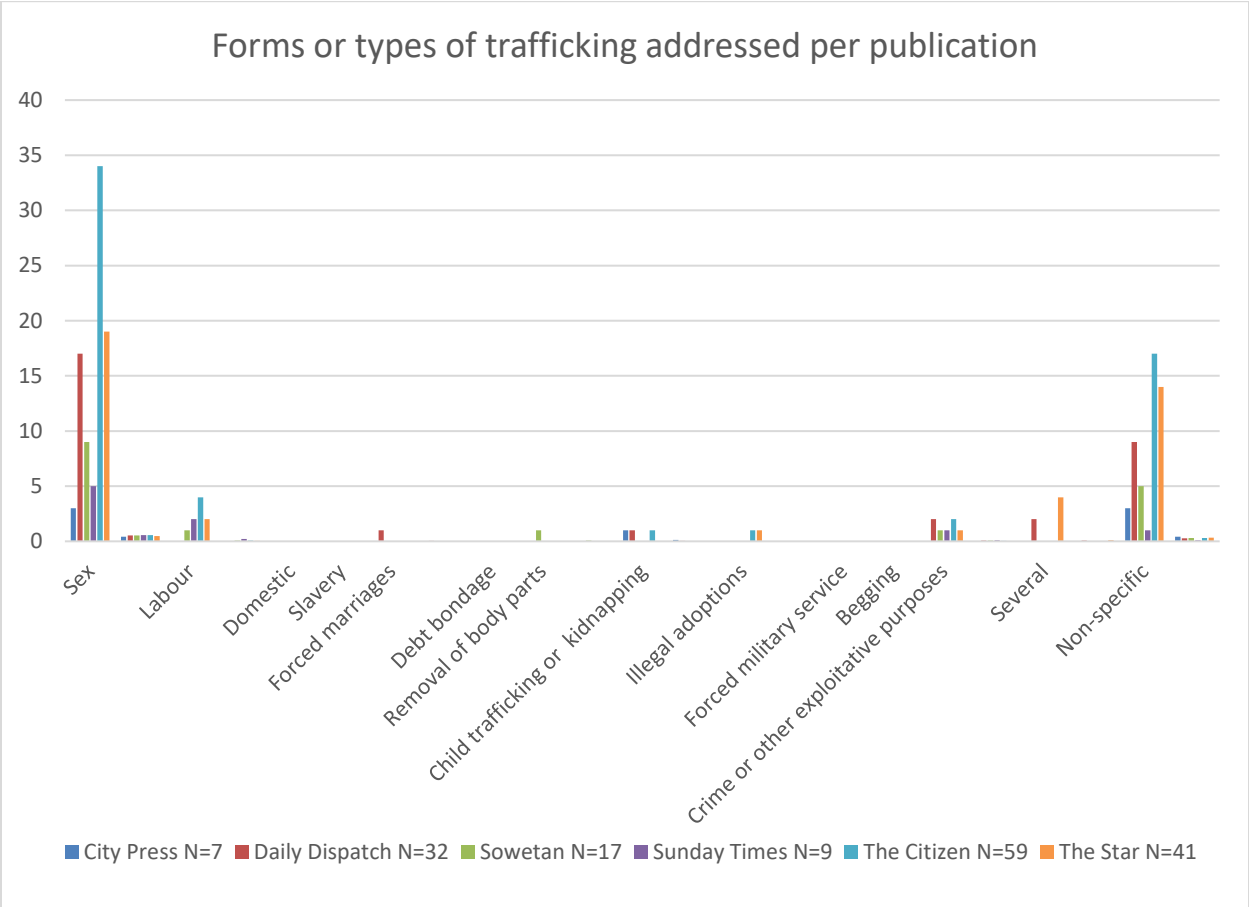
4.4 FORMS OR TYPES OF TRAFFICKING ADDRESSED IN THE ARTICLES

In order to answer Research Question 3 to determine the forms or types of human trafficking addressed, all articles were coded for 'form or type of trafficking addressed' (sex, labour, domestic, slavery, forced marriages, debt bondage, removal of body parts, illegal adoptions, forced military service, begging, crime or other exploitative purposes, several, or non-specific).

Table 4.12: Forms or types of trafficking addressed per publication

Type	<i>City Press</i> N=7	<i>Daily Dispatch</i> N=32	<i>Sowetan</i> N=17	<i>Sunday Times</i> N=9	<i>The Citizen</i> N=59	<i>The Star</i> N=41	Overall N=165
Sex	3	17	9	5	34	19	87
	42.8%	53.1%	52.9%	55.5%	57.6%	46.3%	52.7%
Labour	0	0	1	2	4	2	9
	0%	0%	5.8%	22.2%	6.7%	4.8%	10.3%
Domestic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slavery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Forced marriages	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	3.1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.6%
Debt bondage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Removal of body parts	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	5.8%	0%	0%	0%	0.6%
Child trafficking or kidnapping	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
	14.2%	3.1%	0%	0%	1.6%	0%	1.8%
Illegal adoptions	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.6%	2.4%	1.2%
Forced military service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Begging	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crime or other exploitative purposes	0	2	1	1	2	1	7
	0%	6.2%	5.8%	11.1%	3.3%	2.4%	4.2%
Several	0	2	0	0	0	4	6
	0%	6.2%	0%	0%	0%	9.7%	3.6%
Non-specific	3	9	5	1	17	14	49
	42.8%	28.1%	29.4%	11.1%	28.8%	34.1%	29.6%

Figure 4.12: Forms or types of trafficking addressed per publication



4.4.1 Sex trafficking

Of the 165 articles analysed, 87 (52.7%) address sex trafficking. The majority (34) of these are found in *The Citizen*, and constitute 57.6% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *The Star* with 19 articles, which comprise 46.3% of the articles analysed from this publication. Seventeen articles are found in the *Daily Dispatch* and represent 53.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The *Sowetan* presents nine articles, which constitute 52.9% of the articles analysed from this publication. Five articles are found in the *Sunday Times*, and represent 55.5% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The *City Press* presents only three articles that address sex trafficking, and this constitutes 42.8% of the articles analysed from this publication.

4.4.2 Labour trafficking or Forced labour

Nine articles (10.3%) of the 165 analysed articles address labour trafficking or forced labour. The majority of these are found in *The Citizen*, and comprise 6.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *Sunday Times* and *The Star*, each with two articles. For the *Sunday Times*, this represents 22.2% of the articles analysed from this publication, and 4.8% of the articles analysed from *The Star*. The *Sowetan* presents only one article that addresses labour trafficking or forced labour, which constitutes 5.8% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. *City Press* and the *Daily Dispatch* have no articles addressing labour trafficking or forced labour.

4.4.3 Forced marriages

Only one article (0.6%) of the 165 articles analysed addresses trafficking for purposes of forced marriages. This is found in *Daily Dispatch*, and constitutes 3.1% of the articles analysed from this publication. The other five publications have no articles that address trafficking for purposes of forced marriages.

4.4.4 Removal of body parts

Only one article (0.6%) of the 165 articles analysed addresses trafficking for purposes of removal of body parts. This is found in *Sowetan* and represents 5.8% of the articles analysed from this publication. The other five publications have no article that addresses trafficking for purposes of removal of body parts.

4.4.5 Child trafficking or kidnapping

Of the 165 articles analysed, only three articles (1.8%) address child trafficking or kidnapping. These are found in *City Press*, the *Daily Dispatch* and *The Citizen*, each with one article. For *City Press*, this constitutes 14.2% of the articles analysed from this publication, 3.1% of articles analysed from *Daily Dispatch*, and 1.6% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. The other three publications have no article that addresses child trafficking or kidnapping.

4.4.6 Illegal adoptions

Only two articles (1.2%) of the 165 articles analysed address trafficking for purposes of illegal adoptions. These are found in *The Citizen* and *The Star*, each with one article. For *The Citizen*, this represents 1.6% of the articles analysed from this publication and 2.4% of the articles analysed from *The Star*. The other four publications have no articles that address trafficking for illegal adoptions.

4.4.7 Crime or other exploitative purposes

Seven articles (4.2%) of the 165 articles analysed address trafficking for crime or other exploitative purposes. The majority of these is found in *Daily Dispatch* and *The Citizen*, each with two articles. For *Daily Dispatch*, this represents 6.2% of the articles analysed from this publication, and 33.3% of the articles analysed from *The Citizen*. This is followed by *Sowetan*, *Sunday Times*, and *The Star*, each with one article. For *Sowetan*, this constitutes 5.8% of the articles analysed from this newspaper, 11.1% of the articles analysed from *Sunday Times*, and 2.4 % of the articles analysed from *The Star*. *City Press* is the only publication that has no articles that address trafficking for crime or other exploitative purposes.

4.4.8 Several forms of human trafficking addressed

Of the 165 articles analysed, six articles (3.6%) address several forms of human trafficking. The majority (4) of these were found in *The Star* and constitute 9.7% of the articles analysed from this publication. This is followed by *Daily Dispatch* with two articles, which represent 6.2% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The other four publications have no articles that address several forms of human trafficking.

4.4.9 Non-specific

Forty-nine (29.6%) of the 165 articles analysed address human trafficking in general, with no specific type or form of trafficking addressed. The majority (17) of these were found in *The Citizen*, and constitute 28.8% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. This is followed by *The Star*, with 14 articles which comprise 34.1% of the articles analysed from this publication. Nine articles were found in *Daily Dispatch*, and represent 28.1% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The *Sowetan* presents five articles, which constitute 29.4% of the articles analysed from this publication. Three articles are found in *City Press* and comprise 42.8% of the articles analysed from this newspaper. The *Sunday Times* presents only one article that addresses human trafficking in general, which constitutes 11.1% of the articles analysed from this publication.

Of the 165 articles analysed from the six publications during the period under investigation no articles address domestic trafficking, slavery, debt bondage, forced military service, or begging.

5. SUMMARY

This chapter presented the findings on the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers. Findings on themes covered in the selected newspapers were also outlined. In addition, this chapter presented findings on the forms or types of human trafficking addressed in these newspapers. This qualitative analysis of articles from six newspapers reflects various representations of human trafficking, different themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered, as well as various forms or types of human trafficking addresses.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the findings of this study, conclusions as well as recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Creswell (2002) maintains that the final step involves interpreting or elucidating the meaning of the data. At this stage, the researcher presents the general lesson of the findings and compares and contrasts theoretical issues and the practical experiences. The researcher uses the literature on representation of human trafficking, to compare the findings to other related research reports to prove or disprove. Accordingly, the investigator synthesised the key findings, making conclusions, and recommendations. This section therefore provides a discussion of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

5.2 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The aim of this investigation was to analyse the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers, by exploring the themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered, as well as the forms or types of human trafficking that are addressed in these newspapers. The discussion of the findings is organised according to the research sub-questions as outlined in Chapter 1 of the study.

5.2.1 Representation of human trafficking

To answer Research Question 1 so as to determine whether South African newspapers represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, as an immigration problem, as a human rights issue, or as a public health concern, all selected articles were read and coded for 'representation'.

The findings reflect that the majority (80%) of the articles analysed represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime. A proportion of 9.6% represent human trafficking as a problem of immigration, followed by 6.6% that represents human trafficking as a

Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations

human rights issue while only 0.6% of the articles represents human trafficking as a public health concern. A proportion of 2.4% of the articles present more than one representation of human trafficking.

These findings reveal that South African newspapers represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, an immigration problem, a human rights issue as well as a public health concern. This is consistent with Jahic and Finckenayer's (2005) study, which disclosed that trafficking is represented as an issue of migration, prostitution, and organised crime. Muraszkievicz et al. (2014) undertook a study encompassing case studies from the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland, also discovering that media represented human trafficking as an immigration problem, and furthermore represented trafficking within the criminal frame. Likewise, Koos-Goryszewska (2010) revealed that the press in Poland tended to report about human trafficking in the contexts of criminality, and migration.

These findings indicate that South African newspapers concentrated more on representing human trafficking as a form of organised crime than as an immigration problem, human rights issue, or public health concern. This is consistent with what was found by Gulati (2010), who revealed that newspaper reporting in the US, Great Britain, and Canada from 2000 to 2005 routinely concentrated on human trafficking as a criminal activity. Additionally, Wallinger's (2010) study disclosed that the media represented human trafficking as a form of organised crime transpiring in darkness, and piloted by mysterious international syndicates. Similarly, Johnston et al. (2012a) established that reports were predominantly framed as a crime problem in leading US newspapers. Also in another analysis Johnston et al. (2014) discovered that news reporting of trafficking was devastatingly framed as an episodic crime problem. Likewise, Sobel (2014) discovered that coverage of human trafficking was predominantly focused on crime and policy aspects of human trafficking, as opposed to human rights or public health, while Sobel (2016) realised that human trafficking reporting in Thai newspapers concentrated on crime-focused reports.

5.2.2 Themes surrounding human trafficking covered in the articles

In order to answer Research Question 2 to determine which themes surrounding human trafficking are covered in South African newspapers, all articles were read and coded for 'themes covered' (focus on causes, focus on solutions, focus on nature or type, focus on victims, focus on perpetrators).

5.2.2.1 Focus on causes of human trafficking

The findings reflect that only 6.6% of the articles analysed mentioned a cause of human trafficking. Socio-economic causes and family pressure are the two specific causes of human trafficking mentioned in the articles analysed. A proportion of 4.8% of the articles mentioned socioeconomic causes of human trafficking, while only 1.8% mentioned family pressure as a cause of human trafficking. Other causes of human trafficking including war or armed conflict, victim ignorance, and policy or legislation were not mentioned in any of the articles analysed.

These findings reveal that few articles (less than 10% of the articles) focused on the causes of human trafficking. Articles also only mentioned socioeconomic causes and family pressure, and ignored other causes, including war, armed conflict, victim ignorance, and policy or legislation. This is consistent with Gulati's (2010) study, which discovered that almost fifty percent of the reporting did not examine any causes of human trafficking and that the issues of poverty, political violence, and government corruption constituted three of the top four causes cited. In contrast, Borer's (2015) study revealed that the significant social and underlying causes of human trafficking were absent from the stories analysed.

5.2.2.2 Focus on solutions or remedies of human trafficking

The findings reflect that 21.8% of the articles analysed suggested a solution or remedy for human trafficking. A proportion of 8.4% of the articles analysed suggested policy change as a solution or remedy for human trafficking; 6.6% suggested creating awareness about human trafficking as a solution or remedy for human trafficking; 3.6% suggested punishing the perpetrator as a solution or remedy; 2.4% of the articles suggested promoting NGOs as a solution; and only 1.2% of the articles analysed suggested support for victims as a solution or remedy for human trafficking.

These findings indicate that less than 30% of the articles analysed focused on solutions. The most frequently suggested solution or remedy was policy change, followed by creating awareness, punishing the perpetrator, and providing support for victims. This is consistent with Gulati's (2010) study, which revealed that over 50% of the articles in the news of every country studied did not cite a pre-emptive remedy to the problem of human trafficking. The study further revealed that the most regularly mentioned remedy was harsher law enforcement, followed by political transformation and restructuring, as well as encouraging better global collaboration. Other most common solutions mentioned were: raising awareness; stricter law enforcement of immigration legislation; legal procedures; or more regulations. Similarly, Sobel's (2016) analysis realised that reporting proposed few solutions. On the other hand, Roth's (2004) study discovered that reporting was scattered and incomplete, with no emphasis on remedies, while Johnston et al. (2012a and 2014) discovered that news reporting in prominent US newspapers suggested no solutions.

5.2.2.3 Focus on nature or type of human trafficking

The findings reveal that more than fifty percent of the articles analysed focused on nature or type of human trafficking.

5.2.2.4 Focus on victims of human trafficking

The findings reflect that 52.7% of the articles analysed focused on victims of human trafficking. The majority (20%) of these articles identified young girls as victims of human trafficking. A proportion of 16.9% of the analysed articles identified women as victims of human trafficking; 7.2% identified several victims of trafficking; while 2.4% of the articles identified illegal immigrants as victims. Only 1.8% of the articles identified men and children respectively as victims of human trafficking. Only 0.6% of the articles identified adults as victims of human trafficking. Of the 165 articles analysed, no article identified young boys as victims of human trafficking.

These findings indicate that more than 50% of the articles analysed focus on victims of human trafficking. This is congruent with Feingold's (2010) argument that news narrative in human trafficking reporting consistently focused on victims. De Shalit (2014) also revealed that the framing of human trafficking using stories of trafficked persons and rescuers dominates media representation. On the other hand, the study by Johnston et al. (2014) of news reporting of sex trafficking in US newspapers discovered that trafficked persons and their supporters were the least heard-from sources.

The most frequently identified victims of human trafficking are young girls. The second most frequently identified victims are women followed by illegal immigrants, men, and children. No article identified young boys as victims of trafficking. This is consistent with Sobel's (2016) study, which revealed that coverage of sex trafficking victims is mostly focused on women with a remarkable absence of reports around sex trafficked boys.

5.2.2.5 Focus on perpetrators of human trafficking

The findings reveal that 53.9% of the articles analysed focused on perpetrators of human trafficking. A proportion of 22.4% of these articles identified men and organised groups respectively as perpetrators of human trafficking; 7.2% of the articles identified immigrants as perpetrators of human trafficking; followed by only 2.4% that identified women as perpetrators of human trafficking.

These findings indicate that more than half of the articles analysed focused on perpetrators of human trafficking. Similarly, Muraszkiwicz's et al. (2014) revealed that reports concentrated on the imprisonment or prosecution of offenders. On the other hand, Sobel (2016) discovered that discussions of traffickers were generally missing from reporting.

The findings show the most frequently identified perpetrators of human trafficking to be men, and organised groups or syndicates. The second most frequently identified perpetrators are immigrants, followed by women. This is consistent with Wallinger's (2010) study, which disclosed that the media has represented human trafficking as a form of organised crime, piloted by mysterious international syndicates.

5.2.3 Forms or types of human trafficking addressed in the articles

In order to answer Research Question 3, in order to determine the form or type of human trafficking addressed, all articles were coded for 'form or type of trafficking addressed' (sex, labour, domestic, slavery, forced marriages, debt bondage, removal of body parts, illegal adoptions, forced military service, begging, crime or other exploitative purposes, several or non-specific).

The findings reflect sex trafficking to be the most common type of trafficking addressed in the articles analysed. This is consistent with Borer's (2015) study, which discovered that sex trafficking was the most predominant form of trafficking covered. Marchionni's

Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations

(2012) study also established that sex trafficking was the most commonly appearing sub-category, further revealing that sex trafficking tremendously dominated coverage through the four newspapers analysed. Similarly, Koos-Goryszewska (2010) discovered an extensive reporting of sexual exploitation in news media. On the other hand, Muraszkievicz (2014) discovered that the emphasis on sexual exploitation, prostitution constituted the predominant discussion frame for human trafficking in the press. Sobel (2016) also revealed that trafficking for sexual exploitation is largely covered relative to other countries. Gulati (2010), on the other hand, established that the media conceptualised the trafficking problem in terms of sex trafficking.

The second most frequently addressed type is labour trafficking or forced labour, followed by trafficking for crime or other exploitative purposes, child trafficking or kidnapping, illegal adoptions, forced marriages, and removal of body parts. A proportion of 3.6% of the articles addressed several forms or types of trafficking; while 2.9% of the articles addressed trafficking in general, with no specific form or type of trafficking mentioned. Other forms of trafficking not addressed in the articles analysed included domestic trafficking, slavery, debt bondage, forced military service, and begging. This is consistent with Sobel's (2014) study, which indicates that coverage mostly reported on sex trafficking and child trafficking victims. Likewise, Dugan (2013) revealed that coverage of sexual trafficking was more inconsistent, with little emphasis placed on domestic servitude. On the other hand, Gulati's (2010) study exposed that the articles hardly tackled labour trafficking, except when it was combined with an examination of unlawful migration. The analysis also disclosed that human trafficking reporting emphasises certain types of human trafficking and disregards others.

Two theories have been identified as relevant for the current study, framing, and agenda-setting theories. The study has highlighted the significant role of the media in shaping the perceptions of society about the issue of human trafficking. The findings revealed that South African newspapers select certain facets of human trafficking, and make them more prominent, as suggested by framing theory (Entman 1993), and agenda setting theory (Wanta et al. 2004 & Coleman 2009).

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

From these findings, it can be concluded that South African newspapers represent human trafficking as form of organised crime, an immigration problem, a human rights issue, as well as a public health concern. South African newspapers concentrate more on human trafficking as a form of organised crime than as an immigration problem, human rights issue, or public health concern.

The reporting of human trafficking in South African newspapers does not focus much on causes of trafficking, even when they do they only mention few causes and disregard others. South African newspaper reporting of human trafficking proposed few solutions for human trafficking. The solutions or remedies suggested are policy change, creating awareness, punishing the perpetrator, and providing support for victims with policy change being the most predominant solution or remedy. More than half of the articles analysed focus on nature or type of trafficking.

The reporting of human trafficking in South African newspapers concentrates on victims of human trafficking. Specific victims identified are young girls, women, illegal immigrants, men and children with young girls being the most commonly identified victims. Young boys are not identified as victims of human trafficking.

South African newspapers also focus on perpetrators of human trafficking (more than 50% of the articles). Specific perpetrators identified are men, organised groups or syndicates, immigrants, and women. Men and organised groups or syndicates are the most frequently identified perpetrators.

The most common type of human trafficking addressed in South African newspapers is sex trafficking. Other types of trafficking addressed are labour trafficking or forced labour, trafficking for crime or other exploitative purposes, child trafficking or kidnapping, illegal adoptions, forced marriages, and removal of body parts. Human trafficking reporting in

Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations

South African newspapers emphasises certain forms or types of human trafficking, and disregards others, including domestic trafficking, slavery, debt bondage, forced military service, and begging.

All the research questions set at the beginning of the study were answered and the research objectives were achieved. The study offered insight into the issue of human trafficking. It highlighted the areas that need to be addressed to improve public awareness around the issue of human trafficking as well as areas that need attention in news reporting of human trafficking in South Africa. The study is relevant to media practitioners and policy makers. Policy makers would use the study as a point of reference when reviewing and making policies around the issue of human trafficking.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

As the study discovered, South African newspapers focus more on representing human trafficking as a form of organised crime. It is therefore recommended that they also report more on human trafficking as an immigration problem, human rights issue, and public health concern. This is important, as the public needs more knowledge and understanding of these issues. This can in turn reduce cases of xenophobic attacks, where the public would assume that whenever a person is trafficked in the townships, the first suspects would be foreign residents of the area. People also need to be made aware that human trafficking is a human rights issue, especially in terms of forced labour, where people are exploited. The media should also report more on the impact of human trafficking on the health of victims.

Based on the findings of the study, it is also recommended that South African newspapers' reporting of human trafficking ought to focus more on causes of human trafficking, as well as the solutions or remedies for the problem. The focus should also be on victims of human trafficking, especially the identification of young boys as victims of

Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations

human trafficking. The media should also continue to report on perpetrators of human trafficking as a means of creating awareness for the public.

South African newspapers ought also to report more on other forms of human trafficking other than on sex trafficking. It is further recommended that South African newspapers' reporting should focus on other forms of human trafficking, especially those forms that are ignored, which include domestic trafficking, slavery, debt bondage, forced military service, and begging.

This study can serve as a point of reference for other researchers to further investigate the representation of the issue of human trafficking. Further research could investigate the representation of human trafficking over an extended period of time. A comparison can also be made with other countries and with different newspapers. A similar study could be conducted with a larger sample. This would allow for generalisation of the findings to a larger context.

5.5 SUMMARY

The study analysed the representation of human trafficking in South African newspapers by exploring the themes surrounding human trafficking that are covered as well as the forms or types of human trafficking addressed. The study has established that South African newspapers represent human trafficking as a form of organised crime, an immigration problem, a human rights issue as well as public health concern. It has also shown that South African newspapers focused on causes, solutions, nature, victims as well as perpetrators of human trafficking. The study also revealed that the forms of human trafficking addressed in these newspapers are sex trafficking, trafficking for forced labour, trafficking for crime or other exploitative purposes, child trafficking, illegal adoptions, forced marriages, and removal of body parts. Other forms of human trafficking were not addressed in the articles analysed.

Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations

The following recommendations have been made. South African newspapers should also report more on human trafficking as an immigration problem, human rights issue, and public health concern. Their reporting should focus more on causes, solutions as well as victims of human trafficking. They should also report more on other forms of human trafficking other than sex trafficking.

Finally, three suggestions for further investigation have been made. The investigation of the representation of the issue of human trafficking over an extended period; a comparison with other countries and with different newspapers; a similar study conducted with a larger sample.

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APPENDIX 1: CODING INSTRUCTIONS

Article ID

Code *City Press* as CP, *Daily Dispatch* as DD, *Sowetan* as SW, *Sunday Times* as ST, *The Citizen* as TC and *The Star* as TS.

The code for each publication should be followed by the date of the particular issue in which the article appears.

The date should be written starting with the day, followed by the month and then the year. For example, 010619.

The date should be followed by the number assigned to the article by the coder and written on the article. It should be a two digits number, for example, 01.

For example, the IDs of the articles appearing in the issues of *City Press* and *Daily Dispatch* of 1 June 2019 would be CP01061901 and DD01051901.

Headline

The whole headline must be written for easy identification.

Representation refers to how human trafficking is represented in an article, for example, as a crime problem.

Themes covered refers to the themes with regard to human trafficking that are covered in the article, for example, focus on solutions. If a solution is mentioned, then it should be identified which solution is mentioned. If causes are mentioned, then per publication it should be identified which specific causes are mentioned

Form or type addressed refers the type of human trafficking addressed in the article, for example, sex trafficking.

Refer to the coding schedule and coding sheet.

APPENDIX 2: Coding frame or schedule

CODE NO	CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
1	REPRESENTATION	Organised crime problem Immigration problem Human rights issue Public health concern	How human trafficking is represented	“Epstein, who was awaiting trial on sex trafficking charges involving underage girls, hanged himself with a bed sheet, according to officials”
2	THEMES COVERED	Focus on solutions Focus on nature or type Focus on causes Focus on victims Focus on perpetrators	Which themes are covered	“He was arrested on July 6 and pleaded not guilty to federal charges of sex trafficking involving dozens of

Appendix 2: Coding frame or schedule

				underage girls as young as 14”
3	FORM OR TYPE ADDRESSED	Sex trafficking Labour trafficking or forced labour Domestic trafficking Slavery Forced marriages Debt bondage Removal of body parts Illegal adoptions Forced military service Begging Crime or other exploitative purposes Non-specific	Which form or type of trafficking is discussed	“Organisations have revealed that they are constantly being called upon to investigate cases where young women, in particular, are being lured by people masquerading as potential employers”

Appendix 3: Coding Sheet

APPENDIX 3: CODING SHEET

Article ID:

Headline:

CODING UNITS	REPRESENTATION	THEMES COVERED	FORM/TYPE ADDRESSED
Coding Unit 1	Subcategory	Subcategory	Subcategory

Appendix 4: Details of articles

APPENDIX 4: DETAILS OF ARTICLES

TITLE: CITY PRESS

	TOPIC	DATE	ARTICLE ID
1	US, Mexico seal the deal	9 June 2019	CP09061901
2	DEMAND FULL EMANCIPATION	4 August 2019	CP04081902
3	Jeffrey Epstein's death ruled suicide	18 August 2019	CP10081903
4	The day she was sentenced	25 August 2019	CP25081904
5	Prince Andrew speaks out	25 August 2019	CP25081906
6	WE CONTINUED TO PRETEND	15 September 2019	CP15091908
7	No place for timidity in SA	15 September 2019	CP15091909

TITLE: DAILY DISPATCH

	TOPIC	DATE	ARTICLE ID
1	Province targeted by traffickers	1 June 2019	DD01061901
2	Take steps to put a stop to scourge of human trafficking	1 June 2019	DD01061902
3	SA constitution recognises customary law	4 June 2019	DD04061903
4	THAILAND FREES DRUG MULE, BUT SA BLOCKS HER RETURN	5 June 2019	DD05061904
5	March against abuse to mark Youth Month	17 June 2019	DD17061905
6	7 ON TRIAL FOR FORCED MARRIAGE	9 July 2019	DD09071906
7	Omotoso's case gets rolled over	31 July 2019	DD31071907
8	Trial of Nigerian pastor postponed yet again	1 August 2019	DD01081908
9	Omotoso trial to start following dismissal of application for details	2 August 2019	DD02081909
10	Further delay in Omotoso trial	6 August 2019	DD06081910
11	'Babsie' to be freed from jail	8 August 2019	DD08081911
12	Nigerian pastor's rape trial on hold again as court considers appeal over case being heard only in PE.	13 August 2019	DD13081912
13	Probe into Epstein's jail death as doubts, conspiracy theories abound	13 August 2019	DD13081913
14	Omotoso's defence team to petition Supreme Court of Appeal	15 August 2019	DD15081914
15	Zephany defends her 'mother'	17 August 2019	DD17081915
16	Women guilty of selling girl for sex	30 August 2019	DD30081916
17	Crime spot unchecked	10 September 2019	DD10091917
18	Sentencing next month in rape, trafficking case	17 September 2019	DD17091918
19	LRC fights for undocumented schoolchildren	18 September 2019	DD18091919
20	Ngcobo woman charged with trafficking girl, 13	18 September 2019	DD18091920
21	Illegal brothel shut down in Joburg	19 September 2019	DD19091921
22	Get rape crisis under control	21 September 2019	DD21091922
23	Red paint marks homes of suspected traffickers	30 September 2019	DD30091923
24	Omotoso SCA ruling in two weeks' time	8 October 2019	DD08101924
25	Dan Patlansky to play at Legends	9 October 2019	DD09101925
26	Take responsibility, Nigeria	12 October 2019	DD12101926
27	Gig guide	19 October 2019	DD19101927

Appendix 4: Details of articles

28	Omotoso team to approach ConCourt	22 October 2019	DD22101928
29	Patlansky back to the blues	25 October 2019	DD25101929
30	The couple who give their lives to broke community	1 November 2019	DD01111930
31	140 arrests in border crackdown	8 November 2019	DD08111931
32	Outage causes delay sentencing child traffickers	13 December 2019	DD13121932

TITLE: SOWETAN

	TOPIC	DATE	ARTICLE ID
1	Mute lyrics projecting women as objects of sexual	17 July 2019	SW17071901
2	Omotoso says state is hiding info	1 August 2019	SW01081902
3	Judge Omotoso defence obtuse	2 August 2019	SW02081903
4	'Druglocks' mule opens up about trafficking	6 August 2019	SW06081904
5	Judge rules Omotoso trial stays in PE	15 August 2019	SW15081905
6	I love my jailed mom	16 August 2019	SW16081906
7	Man (61) accused of raping wife aged 13	21 August 2019	SW21081907
8	Pandor meets African envoys	10 September 2019	SW10091908
9	Lack of crime intelligence exposed	10 September 2019	SW10091909
10	Apply laws, stop blaming citizens	12 September 2019	SW12091910
11	Don't tell me how to run my home	20 September 2019	SW20091911
12	Police task team on point	20 September 2019	SW20091912
13	SA society needs to get its moral compass back	27 September 2019	SW27091913
14	Alleged sex pest pastor Omotoso's case postponed	8 October 2019	SW08101914
15	Trains, minibus taxis and the demise of the platteland volk	9 October 2019	SW09101915
16	Illegals, child labourers rescued from Chinese factory	19 November 2019	SW19111916
17	Only in SA do sex traffickers feel really at home	2 December 2019	SW02121917

Appendix 4: Details of articles

TITLE: *SUNDAY TIMES*

	TOPIC	DATE	ARTILCE ID
1	They said potato, she said ARVs	16 June 2019	ST16061901
2	Fall of a sex offender	14 July 2019	ST14071902
3	Fancy dress is the worst	18 August 2019	ST18081903
4	Warnings of xenophobic attacks ignored	8 September 2019	ST08091904
5	Xenophobia tarnishes us, and the government's irresponsibility is criminal	15 September 2019	ST15091905
6	Mock the Bible, but it has led the way in human affairs	29 September 2019	ST29091906
7	'Forced labour' claim a lie, say unions	6 October 2019	ST06101907
8	State diamond firm hobbled by ban	10 November 2019	ST10111908
9	Out of jail, with a degree and a recipe	29 December 2019	ST29121909

TITLE: *THE CITIZEN*

	TOPIC	DATE	ARTICLE ID
1	Why healthy living is hard for women	7 June 2019	TC07061901
2	SANDF launches probe to fill in 'gaps'	18 June 2019	TC18061903
3	Changan Star: Going right back to basics	21 June 2019	TC21061904
4	Study shines light on how vulnerable children are trafficked in Nigeria	30 June 2019	TC30061905
5	Pretoria human trafficker gets two life sentences	10 July 2019	TC10071906
6	R. Kelly denied bail- The singer remains behind bars	17 July 2019	TC17071907
7	19 Victims rescued from alleged human trafficker	22 July 2019	TC22071908
8	Cheryl Zondi expected to testify again in 'new' Omotoso trial	29 July 2019	TC29071909
9	Timothy Omotoso trial postponed to Wednesday	30 July 2019	TC31071910
10	Omotoso can't raise an alibi, says defence	31 July 2019	TC31071911
11	Omotoso retrial 'a threat to victims' mental health	31 July 2019	TC31071912
12	Double blow for Omotoso as Home Affairs official surprises him with bad news in court	1 August 2019	TC01081913
13	Omotoso rape trial: 'International' charges to be added	2 August 2019	TC02081904
14	The long road to legal sex work in SA winds on	2 August 2019	TC02081915
15	R. Kelly pleads not guilty to sex trafficking charges in New York	2 August 2019	TC02081916
16	Omotoso trial postponed after Daubermann requests	5 August 2019	TC05081917
17	Omotoso rape trial: Defends to appeal judge's jurisdiction ruling	6 August 2019	TC06081918
18	SAPS raid suspected Durban North brothel	6 August 2019	TC06081919

Appendix 4: Details of articles

19	Woman who smuggled cocaine in her dreadlocks to be released	7 August 2019	TC07081920
20	Disgraced US financier Jeffrey Epstein commits suicide in prison	10 August 2019	TC10081921
21	'Serious irregularities' at prison where Epstein died	12 August 2019	TC12081922
22	How police get away with rape because sex work is illegal	12 August 2019	TC12081923
23	The weird world of Trump's conspiracy theories	13 August 2019	TC13081924
24	Cape Town woman charged with kidnapping- The baby	14 August 2019	TC14081925
25	Stop foreigners from 'war torn countries' killing, smuggling and human trafficking	17 August 2019	TC17081926
26	How SARS should be fighting money laundering and tax evasion	23 August 2019	TC23081927
27	Epstein accusers detail sexual abuse in emotional court hearing	27 August 2019	TC27081928
28	Gauteng govt won't accept foreigners 'who enter illegally, commit crimes'	28 August 2019	TC28081929
29	Why young women in Soweto say healthy living is hard	29 August 2019	TC29081930
30	ANC 'disturbed' by violent clashes in Pretoria	29 August 2019	TC29081931
31	Only concrete action can take us out of the xenophobic muddle	5 September 2019	TC05091932
32	Xenophobic looting, attacks engulf, Malvern	8 September 2019	TC08091933
33	Second fatality confirmed in Joburg CBD anti-foreigner protests	9 September 2019	TC09091934
34	Former Mrs SA Nicole Capper opens up about childhood sexual assault	17 September 2019	TC17091935
35	Elderly Cape Town man fined R10K for selling three men into forced labour	17 September 2019	TC17091936
36	SA should apologise to unwilling prostitutes, not foreigners	18 September 2019	TC18091937
37	Govt welcomes harsh sentences handed out to human trafficker Ediozi Ozi	19 September 2019	TC19091938
38	Woman who smuggled cocaine in her dreadlocks is on her way back to SA	19 September 2019	TC19091939
39	Nigeria owes SA an apology, not the other way round	26 September 2019	TC26091940
40	'We cannot talk of a borderless Africa,' says newly elected IFP president	27 September 2019	TC27091941
41	Pretoria police cagey on drug involvement claims	27 September 2019	TC27091942
42	The abuse of our spooks' slush fund boggles the mind	3 October 2019	TC03101943
43	Woman describes sex traffic escape after rape and flight to Cape Town	5 October 2019	TC05101944
44	Timothy Omotoso trial to resume at 2 pm	7 October 2019	TC07101945
45	Omotoso retrial in limbo as SCA stays silent on international charges	7 October 2019	TC07101946
46	Cops seize R5m worth of dagga, destined for Namibia	16 October 2019	TC16101947

Appendix 4: Details of articles

47	Another blow for Omotoso as SCA dismisses his jurisdiction application	21 October 2019	TC21101948
48	Holidaying parents warned, 'losing' children while partying will be an offence	26 October 2019	TC26101949
49	39 dead bodies found in UK refrigerated truck	27 October 2019	TC27101950
50	Police rescue 104 women from alleged sex trafficking in Witbank	31 October 2019	TC31101951
51	Waiver for foreign kid tourists given thumbs up by tourism sector	11 November 2019	TC11111952
52	Hawks, SAPS uncover Chinese factory used to traffic illegal immigrants	15 November 2019	TC15111953
53	US prison guards charged over Epstein death	19 November 2019	TC19111954
54	Seven suspects in court for human trafficking, violation of labour laws	21 November 2019	TC21111955
55	Omotoso arrives in court wearing Springbok outfit	21 November 2019	TC21111956
56	Prince Andrew urged to help US over paedophile	21 November 2019	TC21111957
57	Prince Andrew's alleged sexual assault victim seeks UK support	3 December 2019	TC03121959
58	Five guilty of human trafficking, sexual exploitation get hefty sentences	13 December 2019	TC13121960
59	Fake modelling scouts prey on Ballito girls	19 December 2019	TC19121961

TITLE: *THE STAR*

	TOPIC	DATE	Article ID
1	Only 20% of biggest canned tuna brands know who caught the fish	4 June 2019	TS04061901
2	Drug mule failed by SA government	6 June 2019	TS06061902
3	Vatican to open tombs after tip	3 July 2019	TS03071903
4	Overhaul of red light district	4 July 2019	TS04071904
5	Bill 'knew nothing'	10 July 2019	TS10071905
6	High life to jail cell	11 July 2019	TS11071906
7	R. Kelly arrested for sex crimes	15 July 2019	TS15071907
8	Epstein injured	26 July 2019	TS26071908
9	Time to let our people go Trafficking suspect held	30 July 2019	TS30071909
10	Pastor's case postponed	31 July 2019	TS31071910
11	Judgement expected in Nigerian pastor trial	1 August 2019	TS01081911
12	Omotoso declared 'prohibited immigrant'	2 August 2019	TS02081912
13	Women are upset groupies-R. Kelly's lawyer	2 August 2019	TS02081913
14	Trafficking indicates desperation	7 August 2019	TS07081914
15	Omotoso application dismissed	7 August 2019	TS07081915
16	Court rejects application	15 August 2019	TS15081916
17	A song to inspire women	21 August 2019	TS21081917
18	Epstein accusers to go to court	26 August 2019	TS26081918
19	Fear grips tertiary students	2 September 2019	TS02091919

Appendix 4: Details of articles

20	Opening the doors to African innovation	5 September 2019	TS05091920
21	Twilight world of male slavery	11 September 2019	TS11091921
22	Crime intelligence should have known about eruption of violence	12 September 2019	TS12091922
23	Nation/Opinion/World	12 September 2019	TS12091923
24	Die Antwoord's Ninja in sex assault claim	17 September 2019	TS17091924
25	SAPS root out corrupt officers	27 September 2019	TS27091925
26	Raising the bar in Africa	30 September 2019	TS30091926
27	Minister calls for help to stem tide of human trafficking	2 October 2019	TS02101927
28	Migrants add value to economy	3 October 2019	TS03101928
29	Omotoso petitions SCA, case postponed	8 October 2019	TS08101929
30	Official charged in human trafficking	11 October 2019	TS11101930
31	H2O xx plpl plpl lplp lplp	22 October 2019	TS22101931
32	39 bodies found in truck	24 October 2019	TS24101932
33	Philip Morris support battle against Illicit	25 October 2019	TS25101933
34	Travel law waiver on minors gets applauded	12 November 2019	TS12111934
35	Africa in New World Order	19 November 2019	TS19111935
36	Two jail guards in cover-up rap in Epstein suicide	21 November 2019	TS21111936
37	UK cops charge man with trafficking	25 November 2019	TS25111937
38	Horror of 'legal' sex trade in Iraq	2 December 2019	TS02121938
39	Scores drown in rough sea	6 December 2019	TS06121939
40	Chilling message	12 December 2019	TS12121940
41	'HUMAN TRAFFICKING' bail hearing	17 December 2019	TS17121941