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**The Security Implications of Child Trafficking for Labour
Exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa**

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Mini-dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in Security Studies (MSS)

in the Faculty of Humanities

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Subject:

Research Methodology (SEC 878)

Supervisor:

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Date of submission:

2021-08-31

Abstract

Human trafficking is a growing global crime that poses a threat to national and international security. Trafficking transgresses national borders and threatens human security, and, by default, it requires international cooperation. The threat posed by trafficking impacts the security of individuals, societies, and nations. Child trafficking is linked to distinct areas of exploitation that should be given attention to. These areas include exploiting children for sex, labour, organs, forced marriage. Sexual exploitation is an ambiguous and recognised type of exploitation of trafficked children in Africa. Several million victims are affected by trafficking, most of whom are children. This type of trafficking is influenced by various issues such as the demand for cheap labour amid porous borders and weak law enforcement. This research studied migration, focused on child trafficking for labour exploitation. The main purpose is to explore the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation by using Mozambique as the source country, and South Africa as the destination country. This study did this by using a human security perspective instead of traditional security. The study used a qualitative research design, and it made use of books, journals, articles, publications, and sources. The study constituted a desk study and as such relied on secondary data such as books, journals, publications, and internet sources. The main objectives of the study included to establish how children are trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, and to determine the insecurities of child trafficking for labour exploitation experienced by children. The objectives also included to determine the security challenges experienced by child trafficking victims and to examine why child trafficking for labour exploitation poses a threat to the human security of children. From this study, some of the key findings that were identified were that the definitions of human trafficking in South Africa and Mozambique mirror the Palermo Protocol definition to a certain extent. The literature on trafficking focuses on sex trafficking more than it focuses on labour exploitation. Thus, there is an inadequate amount of available data on trafficking for labour. Various nations do not always view human trafficking as a security problem because it is not viewed as a threat to the state, but instead as a socio-political issue. The implication of this

view is that it creates a state-centric and militarist approach to security because it ignores non-traditional security threats, which explains why human trafficking is not prioritised. Children who are trafficked for labour exploitation are at risk, because their security is threatened through their physical, psychological, and health security. A comprehensive response to trafficking is therefore required to address the whole range of insecurities. The governments should work with members of the region to implement a system that would allow countries to collect systematic data for the region.

Acknowledgements

Wholeheartedly, I thank the Almighty Lord for guiding me through this journey and sending the correct people to walk this journey with me. I thank him for his support through every struggle, through every tear and every word of this dissertation. I thank the Lord for blessing me with this opportunity, and always fighting this battle for me.

“Psalms 23:3 – ‘He gives me new strength, he guides me in the right paths, as he promised’” (The Good News Bible 1994).

My gratitude is dedicated to my parents for sacrificing everything they had for me to continue in a foreign country to complete my master’s degree and pushing me every day to get through this. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family and my friends during this time. I am grateful Dr Christopher Nshimbi, for continuously supervising me through this dissertation by getting the best out of me that not even I knew I was capable of. I would like to thank him for the guidance during my MSS journey and motivating me through our meetings to not give up on the topic.

Furthermore, I would like to dedicate my research to all the victims affected by child trafficking for labour exploitation, and to those who have been robbed of their human security and development.

Finally, I dedicate this research to the girl who wanted to give up, who doubted herself, who started this journey by wanting to write about a passion, a passion for children. She decided to decide to take her master’s journey by choosing a passion that she believed that she had to create a long-lasting impact now, and in the future. I also dedicate this research to all the children who have been victims, who have passed on because of child trafficking, and those that are at risk every day.

List of abbreviations

ECPAT International - End Child Prostitution and Trafficking International

FRELIMO - Mozambique Liberation Front political party

HSRC - Human Sciences Research Council

ILO - International Labour Organization

IOM - International Organization for Migration

ISS - Institute for Security Studies

RENAMO - Mozambique National Resistance political party

SADC - Southern African Development Community

UN - United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

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Chapter One: Introduction to the study

1.1 Introduction

Human trafficking is a growing global crime that poses a threat to individuals worldwide. Trafficking transgresses national borders and threatens human security. The threat posed by trafficking impacts society, the individual, and the security of a nation. Child trafficking is linked to distinct areas of exploitation that attention should be given to. These areas include exploiting children for sex, organs, forced marriage, and forced labour. Several million victims are affected by trafficking, most of whom are children. This type of trafficking is influenced by various issues, for instance, the demand for cheap labour amid porous borders and weak law enforcement. There have been global concerns on the occurrence of trafficking in Mozambique and South Africa because they are placed as tier 2 on the watchlist by the US Department of State. Tiers are rankings in which the US Department of State places each country as mandated by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. The placement is not based on the size of a state but on the extent of the state's efforts in eliminating human trafficking which is consistent with the Palermo Protocol (US Department of State 2021:51). The implications of being a tier 2 state for Mozambique and South Africa means that the governments do not meet the full requirements to eliminate trafficking. These countries either has severe forms of trafficking, or significant rising numbers in the country. Failure from governments to show efforts such as investigations and prosecutions, of trafficking crimes, and assistance to victims (US Department of State 2021:52). A negative consequence of being placed as a tier 2 country is a negative reputation in the international press, and not meeting the requirements to eliminate human trafficking victims (US Department of State 2021:52).

This research studies migration, focusing on child trafficking for labour exploitation. The main purpose is to explore the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa by using a human security perspective instead of the perspective of conventional security. This chapter is focused on providing an introduction to the study and background. This chapter provides the

basis of this study by describing the research problem, research questions and objectives. It also provides the research methodology that was used by the study, and the ethical consideration, and limitations.

1.2 Identification of the research theme

Human traffickers deny victims their basic right to life and freedom (Morehouse 2009:17). The industry of human trafficking has not yet been eradicated as it is growing nationally and internationally. Human trafficking is often associated with sexual exploitation (Morehouse 2009:17). Modern-day trafficking takes place in different forms, such as organ exploitation, child trafficking, and labour exploitation (Cullen-Dupont 2009:3). Human trafficking, commonly known as the “recruitment and transportation of people by force or coercion either for exploitation purposes, forced labour, removal of organs, and slavery” (Horne 2014, Davidson 2011:456). Human trafficking is an extensive crime occurring around the globe and it is considered to be a form of modern-day slavery that affects societies (Sen & Baba 2017; Iroanya 2014:103). According to Warria, Nel & Triegaardt (2015), “Child trafficking is a human rights violation, and finding child victims is a concern to social workers because of the nature of child trafficking and its association to legal, cultural, social, and economic factors” (Warria, Nel, & Triegaardt 2015). The UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (2003) states that child trafficking is associated to distinct areas of concern that should be given attention, such as sexual exploitation (UNESCO 2006:20). In Africa, sexual exploitation is an ambiguous and recognised concept for trafficked children (Palmary & De Gruchy 2019:53). Sex trafficking is often mixed with human trafficking because of academic work done on it and the amount of scholarly attention that it has been given. One of the main criticisms by scholars is that there is a lack of attention given to labour exploitation. Scholars have claimed that the media and public policy focus on sex trafficking, while labour exploitation is just as important (Baker 2015:6). However, international definitions of trafficking include many forms: labour, organ, child, and adoption trafficking, and it is not limited to sex trafficking (Baker 2015:4).

Child labour refers to children under the age of 18 years old who work in both the formal and informal economy, in hazardous conditions (Bachman 2000:32; International Labour Organization 2011:3). Children in hazardous working conditions are the silent majority in child labour (Bhukuth 2008:386). They are often exposed to physical, emotional, or sexual abuse, and work in dangerous settings, for example, underground and underwater (International Labour Organization 2011:4). Apart from the industries, traffickers and criminal networks exploit children in begging, as drug couriers, pickpocketing, and street hawking (International Labour Organization 2008:18). These activities are not seen as labour but in fact they have a commercial motive. The commercial motives cause children to be viewed as exploitable labour by those who seek to make an income from the act of trafficking. Apart from begging and street hawking, the reality is that children are also trafficked into the formal economy such as manufacturing, construction, mining, and fishing (Skrivankova & Jovevski 2017:8). The understanding of child trafficking for labour exploitation, the links between labour rights violations and children's human rights, and the influence from the labour market, do not appear to be sufficiently understood (Skrivankova & Jovevski 2017:7). This study will focus on child trafficking for labour exploitation and consider issues like cheap labour, as they relate to trafficked children. It will examine the human security implications of trafficking children for labour exploitation and attempt to analyse the threat this poses on human security.

1.3 Background to the study

The trafficking of human beings, specifically children, is offensive by any law because children are helpless and vulnerable (International Labour Organization 2002:5). Trafficking children is a violation to a child's right to their security of an education, a healthcare system, and a household (Tsiaousi 2017a). The trafficking of children and violation of their rights is a problem for many countries; in some countries is it within national boundaries and a national issue (International Labour Organization 2002:5). The victims, in this case the children, are separated from their families and communities and are taken to exploitative areas. These areas include prostitution, agriculture, mining, begging, and domestic services (International

Labour Organization 2002:5). Child labour involves children being enslaved and exposed to danger and illnesses (Tsiaousi 2017b).

Statistics show that in the United States from 2017 to 2018, there was an increase of 25% in human trafficking (UNICEF USA 2020). India is one of the states with the peak trafficking rates and they have been among the worst offenders. More than 10 million children aged “5-14 years old” are forced to work in India through trafficking and bondage (Aljazeera 2019). A common form of human trafficking is sexual exploitation (79%), in which women and girls are the key targets (UNODC 2009). Globally, women make up the largest number of traffickers which is why women trafficking other women is common. Another common form of human trafficking is for labour (18%), in which approximately 20% are children. However, in some parts of Africa, and the Mekong region, children are nearly 100% of the victims (UNODC 2009). During, 2014-2016/7, approximately 1,217 victims were reported in the Southern African region, however, there are more cases that are unknown because trafficking is complex crime, and one that is difficult to physically see (UNODC 2016:72). Between 2014-2016, the victims increased, and 94 were minors (UNODC 2016:40). The most frequent group of children trafficked in Mozambique to South Africa were under the age of 18 and they made up 75,6% of victims compared to adults, who constituted 24,4% (UNODC 2016:41). South Africa is widely said to be a destination country for victims of trafficking (Iroanya 2018:5, 119; UNODC 2016:40). From 2014 to 2016, 207 victims were detected. Human trafficking has been on the rise in South Africa for many years. The rescue rate remains at 1%, with hard labour and sexual exploitation as the primary sources of trafficking (eNCA 2019).

1.4 Research problem

A problem in research refers to “a puzzle that needs to be solved, it is a state that can be judged by an individual that requires further knowledge or intervention” (Blaikie 2010:16). The aim of a research problem in a qualitative study is to provide a need for a problem or an issue (Creswell & Cheryl 2018:196).

Child trafficking affects children on a global scale, and this affects how they grow and develop. Children experience trauma because they are helpless and cannot defend themselves. Labour exploitation exposes improper working conditions and intolerable environments. As reported over the last five years, Mozambique has been a source country for victims, in some instances it is a transit and destination country (Iroanya 2018: 73, US Department of State 2017). Children are taken from Mozambique to South Africa with promises of education or employment. Child trafficking is a growing concern in Maputo, which has a high mobile population (US Department of State 2017). Approximately, 1000 Mozambican women and children are trafficked to South Africa annually, mostly for sexual exploitation (The New Humanitarian 2008). This kind of trafficking takes place through the official border posts between Mozambique and South Africa. Furthermore, there has been a great deal of discussion about sex-trafficked children and the security implications thereof.

In Southern Africa, Specifically Mozambique and South Africa, little has been said/ is known about child trafficking for labour exploitation purposes. This is a problem because cases of child trafficking for labour purposes are only given attention when a specific case is exposed, and they are not viewed as national priorities, and as such the response is generally reactive rather than proactive. There is a need to view child trafficking for labour exploitation as a security issue of national importance, from a non-traditional view of security. The human security of children is at stake in various ways, such as their personal security, economic security, health security, and community security. Their health security is at stake because diseases cross borders and through trafficking children are subjected to malnutrition, and lack of basic healthcare once they are trafficked. Economic security is threatened because children are exploited, and because jobs are replaced for cheap labour which children are forced into. Personal security is at stake because children are subjected to physical abuse, harm, and child labour. There are various dimensions of

security threats that children are faced with, this study focused on a broad approach of human security.

1.5 Research question

The purpose of the research question is to narrow down the study and answer several questions that will be addressed in the study (Creswell & Cheryl 2018:203). Research questions answer 'what', 'how' and 'why' questions (Blaikie 2010:23).

It is only in the last few years that other forms of trafficking besides sex trafficking have been applied to other forms of exploitation (Miller 2018). Human trafficking is a human rights concern and a security concern as well. Trafficking can fuel conflict by permitting armed groups to raise income and increase military capabilities; for example, Boko Haram in Nigeria has imprisoned women and girls to generate an income for sex trafficking (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:1). Children are either forced or coerced into trafficking by multiple agencies such as friends or family members. Some children cross borders to pursue a better life for their relatives because they are driven by poverty and unemployment (International Labour Organization 2011:8). For this study, the focus is on children that are trafficked for labour exploitation, and to analyse the broader concept of security focusing on human security.

The aim of this study is to answer the research question brought forward:

What are the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa?

1.5.1 Sub-questions

Drawn from the main research question, the following sub-questions are brought forward:

- a) How are children trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa?
- b) What are the insecurities that children who are trafficked for labour exploitation experience?

- c) Why does child trafficking for labour exploitation pose a threat to the human security of the children?
- d) What are the security challenges experienced by victims of child trafficking for labour exploitation?

1.6 Research objectives

Research objectives are specific areas in the research that demonstrate the key issues that will be focused on during the research (Thomas & Hodges 2013). The objectives are required to investigate further. The objectives identify and explain further what the research will entail (Thomas & Hodges 2013). Research objectives define specific aims of the study that is being conducted. They are important because they help guide the study so that the direction is not shifted (Farrugia et al. 2010:278).

The main objective of this study is to explore the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation between Mozambique and South Africa.

1.6.1 Sub-objectives

- a) To establish how children are trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa.
- b) To determine the insecurities of child trafficking for labour exploitation experienced by children
- c) To determine the security challenges experienced by child trafficking victims.
- d) To examine why child trafficking for labour exploitation poses a threat to the human security of children.

1.7 Motivation of the study

This research was conducted to contribute to the existing literature on child trafficking for labour exploitation especially because there is insufficient data conducted on child trafficking for labour purposes in Mozambique to South Africa. Furthermore, the motivation for this study was done because child trafficking in

Mozambique is not viewed as a threat to human security because not much research was conducted in Mozambique to South Africa.

1.8 Research methodology

The research methodology is the route by which researchers conduct their research. The research methodology also shows how the outcomes will be obtained at the end in line with the research objectives (Sileyew 2019:1). In this section the research design will be discussed, as well as the methods in which the research will be conducted, the scope of the study, the limitations to the study, and the ethical considerations.

1.8.1 Research design

A research design is a structure of investigation to find answers to the research question and problems (Kumar 2014:122). The purpose of the research design is to make decisions, reason them, and be open to evaluation (Blaikie 2010:21). The research design used in this study was a qualitative study. The research design is an outline of the structural framework within the research process. . From the above research questions, an in-depth understanding is needed. Therefore, the research made use of examples using Mozambique and South Africa, such as the '*Caso Diana*' and '*Tata mama Tata Papa*' examples. These examples assisted with understanding the intensity of trafficking children in Mozambique to South Africa.

1.8.2 Research paradigm

The research paradigm uses beliefs about the nature of reality, and how to go about attaining this knowledge. A research paradigm is a basic belief system and framework with assumptions about ontology, epistemology, methods, and methodology (Abdul Rehman & Alharti 2016:51). Research paradigms understand the reality of what we are studying. Examples of research paradigms include positivism, constructivism, and interpretivism (Abdul Rehman & Alharti 2016:51). The

research paradigm of this study is constructivist research paradigm, with a theoretical perspective of human security because it is assumed that with globalisation increasing, and the conclusion of the cold war, human security has taken on greater importance (Tsai 2009:19). With this in mind, conventional security focused on security community and culture. The human security perspective adds conceptual tools to provide insight into human development, interest, and identity. Therefore, the phenomenon of the importance of human security can be better understood by applying constructivism to the concept of human security (Tsai 2009:19).

1.8.3 Research methods

Research methods are methods that are used to define the topic of the research and to establish a deeper understanding of it (Bhasin 2019). A qualitative research study was conducted. A qualitative research method is used to collect in-depth and detailed data about the topic. Qualitative research methods include focus groups, observation research, and record-keeping (Bhandri 2020). Qualitative research methods are used to generate new theories or to revise existing theories, and they are inductive rather than deductive and are used to describe concepts in detail (Schonfeld & Dreyer 2008). This study used a qualitative approach which places emphasis on the collection of textual data against the collection of numeric data. The study borrows from experiences in other countries, and adds to the literature on Mozambique because there is not much literature done in the country. The study thus aimed to add to the literature on child trafficking in Mozambique while borrowing from other countries where child trafficking is prevalent. In doing so, the study relied on secondary resources, meaning that it relied on data that already exists to address the research question . The sources included books that speak to the topic on a broader level, as well as government publications from the United States Department of State and the relevant governments. Furthermore, it also relied on journal articles and publications from the United Nations. Other documents included statements, newspaper articles, agreements, and internet sources. To acquire this data, the researcher made use of relevant libraries and visited the relevant websites.

All sources of information and documents are available in the public domain, and no special access was required.

1.9 Scope and delimitation of the study

This study covers human trafficking on a broader level, to demonstrate that trafficking is a problem. It covers the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation by looking at various relevant aspects. This study does not focus on adults or the trafficking of adults. It focuses on minors, which are under the age of 18 years old. This study did not intend to cover child trafficking and labour exploitation outside of Mozambique and South Africa because it would not have been feasible for this study.

1.10 Limitations of the study

This study was a study done for a mini-dissertation, in which the collection of primary data was not required for the study. The study constituted of a desktop study, meaning that the bulk of the work came from investigating existing literature through books, journals, organisations, government publications, and internet sources. Other limitations that were found was the access to information on child trafficking in Africa because most of the research done, as shown in the literature review, was conducted in the Unites States of America and Europe. Another limitation was the word count for the mini-dissertation, as it did not permit discussing every aspect of the topic. The research was not restricted to the English language only, because there were books and studies done in Portuguese. However, this was not a constraint, as the researcher is fluent in both languages. Various limitations were also inherent in this kind of research because of the location and the pandemic conditions. Therefore, fieldwork, and human participants were not feasible. Furthermore, time constraints and the nature of the study would have made both fieldwork and human participants impractical.

1.11 Ethical considerations

In terms of ethics, this study did not use human participants. All documents used in this dissertation are accessible in the public domain. All the documents were used in accordance with the university's anti-plagiarism rules and standards. All books, journals, articles, publications and sources that were used for the study were available in the public domain.

1.12 Chapter plan

Chapter 1: Introduction. Chapter one introduced the research topic by identifying the research theme and guiding the research. It provided the research problem, the overview, the outlined research objectives, and the methodology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review. Chapter two provides an outline of the existing literature on child trafficking for labour exploitation by focusing on previous debates on the issue.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework. This chapter provides identification and definition of the main concepts of this research by conceptualising child trafficking as a compound concept and conceptualising human security.

Chapter 4: The security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation. This chapter analyses the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation by analysing the link with the human security paradigm, and the security challenges posed by child trafficking for labour exploitation.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and recommendations. The final chapter includes the lessons learnt and evaluations, and the conclusion of this research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is broadly described as a systematic method of collecting information from previous research (Snyder 2019:333). A literature review provides evidence to uncover what is needed in the research. It is also a crucial component in creating theoretical or conceptual frameworks (Snyder 2019:333). Therefore, a literature review aims to bring clarity to the problem, improve research methodology, broaden knowledge, integrate your findings, and establish a link between what you are proposing to examine and what has already been studied (Kumar 2014:48, 49).

The aim of this chapter is to provide a discussion of the research theme and the literature pertaining the study. This literature review will do this by discussing the debates of human trafficking and security. This literature review will also include debates on the trafficking process of trafficking children, the impact on the human security of children, security challenges and children's experiences, and the threats posed by child trafficking and the security of children. This literature review will be done systematically. This means that the literature review will be organised in accordance with the sub-themes to answer the main theme of the research. Thus, this literature review will identify research to answer the clearly formulated question. The discussion will be presented under the following sub-themes: human trafficking and security, the trafficking process, the human security impact, security challenges and child experiences, and the threats posed to the human security of children.

2.2 Human trafficking and security

2.2.1 Conceptualization of human trafficking Human trafficking is a concept that has gotten attention from the world over the last 15 years (McCarthy 2014:221). However, human trafficking has also gotten attention from the Palermo Protocol of 2000. The common challenges faced by human trafficking are the inconsistencies in the Palermo definition, the methods of measuring trafficking, and the continued focus

on sex trafficking to the exclusion of other types of trafficking (McCarthy 2014:221). Challenges with regard to what type of crime human trafficking is considered to be, such as organised crime, human rights crime, migration crimes and so forth, also drive how the concept is conceptualised and dealt with on an international and national level (McCarthy 2014:221). Human trafficking involves human beings being used for commercial activities such as labour, prostitution, and organised crime (Portland State University 2011:2). Current trends also reflect these definitions, for example the newer dimensions of human trafficking such as organ harvest, and child soldiers.

In terms of the inconsistencies relating to the definition, each country has their own definition of what human trafficking is, and they often disagree with one another (UNODC 2008:61; MacInnis 2013:2; WuDunn 2020:16). For example, the United States of America does not consider organ trade as part of human trafficking, but other states do, such as Canada (MacInnis 2013:2). It is crucial to acknowledge that the United Nations attempted to construct a universal understanding of human trafficking. The General Assembly declared that “there needed to be effective action to prevent and combat trafficking in persons, especially women and children” (United Nations General Assembly 2000, Van der Watt 2018:3). This considered that there was no collective method that addressed all features of trafficking in persons, and the convention is thus concerned with the absence of an instrument and sufficient protection against trafficking in persons. Calling upon the “*General Assembly Resolution 53/111 of 9 December 1998, the Palermo Protocol, Article 3 (a)*” states that:

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the 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. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, 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 General Assembly 2000).

However, scholars believe that the world does not collectively agree to have a universal definition because there is no standard agreement on what ‘exploitation’ is (MacInnis 2013:2). The inconsistencies in the understanding of trafficking in persons can be drawn back to historical routes since the ‘white enslavement’ and trafficking of women for sex (Morcom & Schloenhardt 2011:4, Bonilla & Mo 2019). From this era, the definition has been inconsistent, and it has grown to portray a broad concept (Bonilla & Mo 2019: 202). The inconsistency also lies in the absence of harmonisation between legal systems, and the refusal of countries to recognise human trafficking as a crime (Savona & Stefanizzi 2007:2). This also stands in the way of getting accurate data, theoretical analysis, and empirical data. The inconsistencies in relation to human trafficking are also linked to definitional disagreements, inadequate data on trafficking and unreliable measurements resulting in a misconception and misunderstanding of the concept of human trafficking (WuDunn 2020:16,17). These misconceptions result in no or low prioritisation of trafficking in policy and legislation, and no allocations of resources for victims of trafficking (WuDunn 2020:16,17). Inconsistencies relating to the continued focus on sex trafficking and not the other forms of trafficking are a problem. According to Siskin and Wyler (2013), most data is related to sex trafficking of women, and most attention is given to sex trafficking through the media and public policy (Siskin & Wyler 2013:12; Baker 2015:6). The continued focus on sex trafficking is also an issue because more investigations and data are collected for sex trafficking, which disadvantages data on labour trafficking (Siskin & Wyler 2013:15). Other scholars argue that labour trafficking is also as important to discuss, and that sex trafficking gets more consideration because of common fears on gender, race, sexuality (Kempadoo 2005; Baker 2015:7). The inconsistencies in definitions of human trafficking implicate child trafficking as well because the definition of child trafficking is derived from the main definition of what constitutes human trafficking, which is in the Palermo Protocol. Although there is standardisation on the definition of trafficking in persons provided by the Palermo Protocol, it is not uniformly used or operationalised because trafficking in persons examines different

types of groups, which makes it difficult to compare the data, thus raising questions of how the definition contributes to human trafficking (Pharoah 2006:13). One of the main reasons the term is not being operationalised is because trafficking is not a term on its own, but rather an umbrella terms that covers a variety of outcomes. For example, there are cases of sexual slavery and cases of individuals being forced into begging. Scholars such as Anderson and Davidson (2003) state that trafficking is within a range of experiences, which varies from those who are forced into labour through violence and threats to people that are not coerced, are well paid and respected (Anderson & Davidson 2003:8). Another main reason for the inconsistency is the elements of trafficking, for example, coercion, deception and exploitation. There is no single definition of what constitutes exploitation because it is conceptualised in terms of labour and sexual exploitation. Within the labour context, what are considered acceptable and unacceptable working conditions varies between countries, and there is no universal standing against which types of exploitation can be measured. The question is therefore how exploitative the environment should be before a person can be considered a victim of human trafficking. Another inconsistency in the definition of the Palermo Protocol is also noted by the failure to establish what is expected by the terms “abuse of vulnerability” and the “exploitation of the prostitution of others” (Pharoah 2006:14). Therefore, the politics surrounding the definition in the protocol results in the inconsistency and vagueness of the term. The third inconsistency or difficulty with the definition is distinguishing trafficking from labour, smuggling and migration (Pharoah 2006:15). This is because it is difficult to tell apart trafficking from exploitive practices. For example, the ILO and Anti-Slavery International offer two different scenarios. In one instance, healthcare workers being recruited through legal agencies to work in different countries as nurses were expected to perform different tasks instead and were forced into expensive accommodation and had to pay fines. Similar cases were reported where individuals were told they would have to work to pay a fine of £7,000 (Anti-Slavery International 2003:21).

According to Weiner and Hala (2008), inconsistencies in the methods of measuring human trafficking are related to a standardisation of measurement tools or

procedures that are put in place to collect data systematically (Weiner & Hala 2008: iii). This view is also shared by various scholars; according to Savona and Stefanizzi (2007), it has been difficult to measure and estimate the value of trade in humans because of the lack of accurate data. Various scholars confirm that the volume involved with trafficking has never been large, and that the difficulty lies in scarcity of data, outdated and unreliable data and data that is not mutually comparable (Savona & Stefanizzi 2007:2; Aromaa 2007:13). The inconsistency of measures of human trafficking is also related to the inconsistency of the definition because each state has a different perception of what human trafficking is; this consequently links to policy changes and decisions, and statistics. That is therefore where the reliable national and international collection system collapses (Savona & Stefanizzi 2007:3; Aromaa 2007:20). The definition has therefore been critiqued for the lack of clarity on the term “exploitation”, which is central to child trafficking, and being vaguely explained and underdefined (Huijsmans & Baker 2012:922). The identification of trafficking for labour exploitation is indicated by an absence of consensus on pointers and a lack of clarity between labour rights violations and trafficking for labour exploitation (Skrivankova & Jovevski 2017:7). Issues of labour exploitation are only given attention when a particular case is exposed. These issues are therefore not seen as priorities and responses are reactive rather than proactive (Segrave 2016). An assessment of the literature relating to human trafficking and labour exploitation shows that it is a complex crime to notice and to prevent (Portland State University 2011:2). Contemporary debates on human trafficking are associated with women and girls. This association is derived from the historical precedent of slavery in the 19th century. However, many research bodies have made various efforts to include male victims, children, and trafficking for purposes of exploitation other than prostitution (Huijsmans & Baker 2012:921). It is important to note that anyone can be a victim of trafficking depending on the demand the traffickers intend to satisfy. However, the most vulnerable populations in the region tend to be women and children, where they are subjected to sexual exploitation and labour exploitation (SADC Secretariat 2016:3). Victims can range from different groups such as wealthy, highly educated, poor, unemployed, and orphaned groups. Other vulnerable groups include children with disabilities, are especially exploited and forced to beg on the streets of big cities (SADC Secretariat 2016:3).

2.2.2 Contextualization of human trafficking between Mozambique and South Africa

Human trafficking has been identified in the SADC region by member states (International Organisation for Migration 2007:1). In 2008, the SADC region was called upon to adopt a protocol that would criminalise trafficking in persons. This explored providing assistance and support to victims (International Organisation for Migration 2007:2). Human trafficking in Southern Africa was often considered invisible because many member states had not yet implemented any legal measures to combat it. The first country in the region to permit a law on human trafficking was Mozambique in 2008, following a draft from 2007 (International Organisation for Migration 2007:2,3). According to Smith (2010), the lack of consistent data in the region and in the rest of Africa is limited. Smith (2010) also states that the lack of consistent data may originate from the poorer countries that victims originate from (Smith 2010:279). The SADC region has acknowledged that trafficking in persons depreciates the socio-economic value of a region and the regional integration agenda (SADC Secretariat 2016:1). Human trafficking is a security concern, and members of SADC are not immune from it, as a region of origin, destination, or transit of victims (UNODC 2016:(i), SADC Secretariat 2016:3). According to Chembe (2016), SADC has various frameworks that could be used to fight human trafficking, but they are never used. Chembe (2016) also argues that although frameworks should be utilised, it would be beneficial to the region to consolidate one comprehensive document, instead of utilising various frameworks (Chembe 2016:121). An implication for the region is the lack of implementation from SADC due to political will, public awareness, and governance capacity at both regional and national levels (Chembe 2016:121). However, even though Southern Africa has a wide variety of efforts to human trafficking, some members of the SADC region have made significant efforts in taking measures to combat/eliminate trafficking, while others have not made any efforts (Britton & Dean 2014:5). This comparison is shown in the US Department of State reports, which ranks countries (through tiers) with their efforts in trafficking (Britton & Dean 2014:6). The SADC region's efforts to combat trafficking can be assumed to be moderate to low because most countries are placed on tier 2 (moderate efforts), for example Mozambique, South Africa, Malawi, Eswatini, and Mauritius. The DRC and Zimbabwe are ranked as tier 3 (no efforts) (Britton & Dean 2014:6).

As an illustration in the SADC region of the different perceptions of what trafficking in individuals is, research is restricted. This is because the literature has mainly focused on the West, and the smaller group that researched Africa has been primarily concerned with West Africa. There are a few studies that have been done by scholars in Southern Africa, in which most studies examined sexual exploitation (Pharaoh 2006:23). South Africa is one of 117 countries to have signed the Palermo Protocol, which came into force in 2003. South Africa dedicated itself to criminalising trafficking and developing regulations to combat trafficking. The country is recognised as an arrival point, an origin point and a point of transit for trafficking people (Buthelezi 2015:155). South Africa lacks clear legislation that deals with trafficking and all its elements. The framework that exists and sought to address human trafficking has been inadequate because the understanding of trafficking in persons compromises elements that need to be proved, and when they are proved, the penalty for offenders is light. For example, the “*Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (32 of 2007)*” states that “the act of trafficking of persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation is criminalised”, and the “*Children’s Act (38 of 2005)* criminalises the trafficking of children”. A critique made by scholars is that the Criminal Law Amendment Act is limited to sexual exploitation and that does not prioritise the different types of exploitation that woman and children are trafficked into, and nor makes provisions for victim services (Swart 2011:29,30, Buthelezi 2015:157).

“*Section 4(1) of the ‘Trafficking in Persons’ Act*” states that trafficking in South Africa includes:

“Any person who delivers, recruits, transports, transfers, harbours, sells, exchanges, leases or receives another person within or across the borders of the Republic, by means of threat of harm, the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, the abuse of vulnerability, fraud, deception, abduction, kidnapping, the abuse of power, the direct or indirect giving or receiving of payments or benefits to obtain the consent of a person having control or authority over another person; or the direct or indirect giving or receiving of payments,

compensation, rewards, benefits or any other advantage, aimed at either the person or an immediate family member of that person or any other person in close relationship to that person for the purposes of any form or manner of exploitation, is guilty of the offence of trafficking in persons” (The Presidency 2013:15).

Yesufu (2020:115) argues that in South Africa, the explanation of human trafficking is comprehensive, and if it were properly implemented, the country would be able to eliminate human trafficking to a certain extent. He also discusses that what is required is the support of an effective police service to enforce the law (Yesufu 2020:115). Cave (2016) similarly argues that in South Africa, the trafficking act is comprehensive and was an important step in the efforts made to fighting trafficking. However, the inconsistency with the definition is that it mirrors the Palermo Protocol, and it includes a full list of definitions regarding the terms of human trafficking (Cave 2016:4). The Migrating out of Poverty Programme (2016) discusses that the South African definition of human trafficking is indeed parallel to the “*Palermo Protocol*”, and the only difference is the inclusion of forms of illegal adoption and forced marriage. While the “*Palermo Protocol*” and the South African Trafficking Act are both similar, they both focus on exploitation for sexual purposes (Migrating out of Poverty Programme 2016:16). Thus, this implicates child trafficking for labour exploitation because little attention is given to trafficking for labour purposes.

Trafficking in persons in the Mozambican context is different and complex because of the differentiation between local and global trafficking in the country. Local trafficking becomes external when victims are traded and sold across transnational borders (Iroanya 2018:157). Human trafficking in Mozambique is also specific because of different target groups. For example, in rural areas of Gaza, Inhambane, Nampula and Maputo, the target is children aged three to twelve years, and in other provinces, the target groups are young women. Similar to other states, human trafficking in Mozambique is carried out, but not restricted to, sexual exploitation, organ removal, domestic servitude, and labour exploitation (Iroanya 2018:157). Mozambique was the first country to carry out legislation to combat in persons in 2008. This legislation occurred in 2008 through the ‘Lei numero 6/2008, de 9 de

Julho', known as the "Trafficking in Persons Law No. 6 of 2008" (UNODC 2016:7, SADC Secretariat 2016:30). This law allows that human trafficking is acknowledged and punishable. The law punishes people found trafficking in persons with between 16 and 20 years of imprisonment (Article 10) (SADC Secretariat 2016:30). Mozambique was also one of the first countries in the SADC region to make any publicity or material that advertises human trafficking a crime that could lead to two to eight years of imprisonment (Article 15) (SADC Secretariat 2016:30).

Article 10 of 'Lei numero 6/2008, de 9 de Julho' outlines Trafficking in Persons in Mozambique as:

'Anyone who recruits, transports, receives, supplies or receives a person, for any means, including under the guise of domestic or foreign employment or training or apprenticeship, for the purposes of prostitution, forced labour, slavery, involuntary servitude or debt servitude will be punished with a penalty of sixteen to twenty years of imprisonment or longer' (Republic of Mozambique 2008).¹

The implications of the Mozambican definition are that the Mozambican government does not meet the basic requirements for the eradication of human trafficking (Winterdyk & Jones 2020, US Department of State 2019; US Department of State 2020). Mozambique's weak system and infrastructure overshadows any efforts that the country has attempted to make from 2008 to 2020 because the implementation of policies fails to meet international standards, especially child labour policies (Lucht 2021). There is also poor disclosure of the law in Mozambique. One of the most significant difficulties in the fight against trafficking in Mozambique is the fact that the definition in trafficking remains a set of norms that do not correspond to the objective. The norms, although technically adequate, do not fit the current social relations in the Mozambican society (Magode, José, Congolo, Cadeado, Patrício & Lindy 2014:90).

Traditional approaches to security were state-centred and did not expand beyond military security to include other sectors such as environmental, economic, and political security (Monaco 2020). Other sectors of security expand the referent object

¹ Translated from the Portuguese language by the author

beyond the state to involve other players such as individuals, institutions, and societies (Peoples & Vaughn-Williams 2015:5). From this view, the essence of security is predominantly military strength and any other factor that is directly related to the likelihood of war (Peoples & Vaughn-Williams 2015:5). It is crucial to include trafficking as an indicator of globalisation in discussing security because it has reached a human rights crisis in different countries (Clark 2003:247). It also targets specific populations that are at the centre of being exploited because of certain vulnerabilities (Clark 2003:247). Debates reflect on the nature of security by looking at issues surrounding security from the outside, such as trafficking (Cooper 2019). Policymakers are beginning to acknowledge the inclusion of “human security” to create more holistic national security policies (Cooper 2019). The disconnect between national security and human security leads to lesser priority being given to or a neglect of security issues. Human trafficking is one of the security issues that have captured a certain degree of international attention but is still given less priority in security than other issues (Cooper 2019).

2.3 The trafficking process

Human trafficking is a crime and an abuse of human rights; it compromises personal security, national security and economic security. It also undermines the law and harms individuals, villages and communities (US Department of State 2021). Human traffickers’ prey on adults and children of any age, background, and nationality (US Department of State 2020). Victims are forced into commercial sex, and labour in legal and illicit industries, for example, hospitality, agriculture, restaurants, factories, beauty parlours, carnivals, begging, drug smuggling and distribution, and domestic work in the United States (US Department of State 2020). Children can be considered the most vulnerable group to human trafficking, specifically, children in foster care, children in juvenile systems, runaway and homeless children, and foreign nationals. Individuals with disabilities, LGBTQ+ individuals, and individuals with trauma and instability are also targets of human trafficking (US Department of State 2021). Children in the United States of America are also trafficked to work in areas such as factories, agriculture, prostitution and domestic services (Walts 2012). They are trafficked for both labour and sex. However, the line between labour and

sex trafficking is blurred because a trafficker may coerce a child to perform labour services by using power and control through sexual activities or abuse (Walts 2012). Child trafficking in the United States usually occurs in metropolitan, wealthy and rural areas, through family members, friends and strangers (Walts 2012). The measures that are taken to address these areas include investigating and prosecuting traffickers and dismantling criminal networks, enhancing victim identification, and relief for victims of trafficking, and encouraging participants such as civil society, police services, and government officials to increase victim identification prevention (US Department of State 2020). Other measures include involvement of foreign governments through diplomacy and engagement, and funding domestic and international programmes that focus on prosecution, protection and prevention (US Department of State 2020).

Throughout the 1990s, human trafficking was confused with illegal migration. Human trafficking was not a prominent security issue in the Cold War era; with the borders between the ideological camps being rigorously shut down, there was no movement of people (Makei 2013). Therefore, human trafficking was not a concern to the superpowers of the respective allies (Makei 2013). Generally speaking, there were no transnational concerns or interest in transnational crimes because the world's major players were mainly concerned with state security, which is known as a traditional security issue (Makei 2013). Human trafficking gained awareness in the 1990s and during the 20th century with the fall of the Soviet Union, migration flows, and the increase of transitional criminal organisations operating worldwide (US Department of State 2021). The end of the rivalry contributed to the opening of borders, and that is when the international community began realising the importance of transnational threats and challenges (Makei 2013). Another factor that contributed to the transnational threats were advances in technology and information systems. The illegal migration that human trafficking was confused with falls in the broader scale of a transnational crime as well (Makei 2013).

In 1994, the Department of State in the United States began to track human trafficking as part of the country's reports on human rights, focusing exclusively on sex trafficking. They started to do this because the understanding of human trafficking began to grow

and expand. Thus, the government in collaboration with other non-governmental organisations identified the need for legislation to combat human trafficking, and the necessary legal tools to eliminate trafficking in all its forms (US Department of State 2020:3). In Southern Africa, the rise in human trafficking became visible in 1989. However, this does not imply that human trafficking started in 1989. The fall of the Soviet Union and socio-economic factors also increased trafficking in countries like Mozambique (Iroanya 2014:103). There is a direct link between trafficking and the fall of the Soviet Union because economic, social and political transitions have an immediate effect on states. In the former Soviet states, the political and economic shift from communism to a liberal structure led to changes in the arrangements and systems that citizens depended on (Iroanya 2014:103). These changes in structure include the opening of borders and the entrance of foreign competitors (Iroanya 2014:103). The changes also marginalised agriculture, thus dividing the citizens, which led to unemployment because of the lack of skills to find new jobs. With the breakdown of the structures, social difficulties such as, child abuse began to occur, thus, increasing the risk of vulnerabilities in children (Shelley 1995:244, 256). Criminal groups became involved in human trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation. The link between the fall of the Soviet Union and human trafficking is also apparent because human trafficking gained awareness during the same period of the late 1980s and the 1990s (Iroanya 2018:92).

In the SADC region, the problem with the literature is that human trafficking is explained as slavery that is closely linked to women and prostitution (Iroanya 2018:13). This is a problem because this affects labour exploitation. Iroanya (2018) suggests that the attention on women and sexual exploitation means that there is no consideration for other races and gender, and for labour exploitation during the 19th century (Iroanya 2018:12). Scholars such as Shelley (2010) argue that human trafficking will continue to rise in the 21st century because of economic and demographic differences, and the rise in wars within countries (Shelley 2010:33). However, this minimises and gives no space for the security implications because more focus is given to the commercial side of human trafficking. Attention only focused on the economic side of human trafficking will weaken the measures to combat the problem. According to Nshimbi and Moyo (2016), research in the SADC region is built through unreliable and inadequate information, and that findings tend

to be mostly questionable (Nshimbi & Moyo 2016:158,168). Nshimbi and Moyo (2016) also believe that for the SADC region to combat human trafficking there should be effective legislation such as implementing regional legislation related to migration as a path to address those issues of transnational human trafficking (Nshimbi & Moyo 2016:158,165).

Human trafficking disorders the peace and security of the SADC region and, it is a crime that needs national and regional legislation by members to play a role in eliminating trafficking (Chembe 2016:100). There have been indications to the vulnerabilities that are faced by member states. These vulnerabilities will be discussed in chapter 4, as insecurities that contribute to trafficking will be discussed. Trafficking in persons is often difficult to deal with, and it is a cruel and inhuman attack on people's rights and freedom. The trafficking process is different for every country and takes place in different forms because different manifestations are identified from various sources by NGOs and other organisations (Iroanya 2018:3). In Southern Africa, the human trafficking process takes places in the following forms: child trafficking for labour, trafficking for sexual exploitation internally, and trafficking for sexual exploitation externally (Iroanya 2018:3).

2.3.1 The recruitment phase

The recruitment phase includes a set of methods and procedures in which a single person enters the net of human trafficking. The recruitment phase often occurs in the country of origin because it is where the victims originate from (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:4). The choices made by traffickers are usually made based on characteristics such as the socio-economic conditions of the individual. The recruitment phase is made easier in countries with economic crises, natural disasters, and war or conflicts. Recruitment is done through three methods known as "forced recruitment, deceptive recruitment, and partially deceptive recruitment" (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:5). Forced recruitment occurs when the victim does not have any contact with the trafficker, and kidnapping/abduction takes place. According to the ILO (2008), child trafficking for labour exploitation commences when a child approached for work. A recruiter may employ them or act as an intermediary who is part of the chain. Recruitment may happen in different ways. It

can happen when the family seeks help for their children to find employment, it may be another child who was trafficking encouraging other children to follow the same steps, or it may be from someone the child is close to or in the same community (International Labour Organization 2008:13). Thus, the trafficker places power over the person to have control over them. Deceptive recruitment occurs when there is no understanding or when the victim is deceived on what they are offered. For example, there may be a relationship with the victim that results in victims being exploited sexually. The partially deceptive method is based on deceit, for the victim to agree to a job opportunity for example. Another example is when victims of trafficking are sent to do the recruitment in their country of origin while they are being watched over and threatened. This form of human trafficking allows the victims to be released, and makes victims pretend to be having a wonderful experience to recruit other individuals, friends and family members (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:6). Children from Central Africa, are likely to be sent to big cities, and to relatives, for education in exchange for household chores, where households in the capital cities are rich and abuse children in modern-day slavery (Reitano 2017). Children in North Africa work in agriculture, mines, water sites and industrial areas. Children also work with drugs because organised gangs threaten children into drugs and begging (Reitano 2017). In Southern Africa, children are exploited for farming, mining, fishing, and domestic work. Publications show that children being forced into labour has been increasing because of the demand in mining, manufacturing and agricultural divisions in African countries such as South Africa, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Mozambique (Reitano 2017).

2.3.2 The transport phase

The transport phase is a crucial element because it is how victims are moved from one country to the other. Traffickers do not use the most common routes, to avoid police officials and control points (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:7). During the last decade, there have been debates and various studies that have been done on transit countries to reach destination countries. Characteristics of transit countries are based on geographic proximity, insufficient legislation, liberal migration policies, and criminal infrastructures. The transport phase in trafficking can be done by air,

land and sea (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:8). However, the most common route is by land because it is the easiest and least expensive way to move. Trafficking by land is also the most common because individuals can be moved in large numbers, such as in buses and trains or trucks. Trafficking by air is a growing method of moving individuals because there is less traffic, and insufficient controls (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:8). Thus, if all the documents are legal, individuals move without any issues. Trafficking by sea has the lowest risk because there is less detection and controls, and the logistics are much simpler. The conditions of travelling by sea can be compared to the conditions in which slaves travelled in past centuries (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:9).

2.3.3 The exploitation phase

Recalling the definition of trafficking in persons stated above, exploitation is minimally defined; this does not exclude the possibility of the existence of other forms of exploitation (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:11). Exploitation has a multilayer nature in human being because of the complexity and the different contexts that exploitation takes place in around the world. Victims are forced into either having sex, having their organs removed, working by force, selling drugs, and being forced to be a child soldier (Stanojoska & Patrevski 2014:11). Therefore, the trafficking process in human beings can be understood as the net that traffickers use, the paths that are taken, and how they are taken. The trafficking process is an important element to this study because it aims to answer a research question through a broader lens. Trafficked children are exploited once they reach the destination. The exploitation phase can take place in many different ways, which is determined by the gender and age of the child, the market the child has been trafficked into, and their level of skill (International Labour Organization 2008:16). According to the ILO (2008), there is a perception that child trafficking always ends up in prostitution; however, that is not the case because children are exploited in various areas such as agriculture, mining, factories, entertainment outlets, street-based areas, and armed conflict skills (International Labour Organization 2008:17). Although exploitation occurs in various areas, it often involves demand, dangerous working areas and no compensation, no healthcare, force and violence. E.G, in parts of

America and Asia, children are trafficked from rural areas to urban areas to work in major towns (International Labour Organization 2008:17) Children tend to mature and are moved, for example from working in domestic labour to working in manufacturing or agriculture (International Labour Organization 2008:17).

2.4 The human security impact and threats posed to the human security of children

As stated throughout this dissertation, security is traditionally described as being solely related to state security, with a militaristic point of view and the state as the main actor. However, over the past years, views on security have changed and evolved. New sources of threats have posed greater danger to human survival than previous decades, with inter-state wars (Vermaak 2009:33). The process of security broadened to deepen the concept in the security radius. The concept of security manifested into seven dimensions, namely, economic, environmental, food, health, personal, political, community and human security (Vermaak 2009:33). Trafficking in persons is at the centre of all the threats mentioned above. These threats transcend borders and challenge human security globally and impair the national security of a state (Pati 2014:32). According to researchers, human trafficking is at the intersection of the threats mentioned because supply and demand factors that contribute to trafficking, or because human trafficking creates a foundation for the threats to grow into other threats. Therefore, it is crucial to note that human trafficking is recognised as a crime against the state and as a crime that poses threats to the human security of individuals (Jansson 2014:54). Addressing security from the standpoint of human security is limited in scope. Human security is confined to personal, economic, health, food, environmental, community and political security (Acharya 2001:445). When the right to security is discussed in the constitutions of different countries, it is often limited to the right to freedom, and an individual's security and protection from physical harm. With regards to human trafficking, the primary causes of insecurity are economic, social political, and legal insecurities. According to Iroanya (2018), trafficking has not always been viewed as a security issue because policymakers do not believe human trafficking to be a security threat to the state (Iroanya 2018:4, Buzan Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde 1998:21). This reasoning is said to be narrow and state-centric because it ignores the expansion of

security, and thus it relates to the reasoning as to why states do not prioritise human trafficking. States view human trafficking as a socio-political issue instead of a security problem (Iroanya 2018:4). As Buzan et al. (1998) argue that “politicisation does not securitise an issue, there is more to public policy such as government decisions, and resource allocations” (Buzan et al. 1998:24). In Southern Africa, the state-approach to security weakens policies to address trafficking problems such as other types of trafficking (Iroanya 2018:4).

2.5 Security challenges and children’s experiences

In Africa, Child trafficking for labour is a universal issue and a challenged one too (Abebe & Bessell 2011:756). It is argued that child labour is challenged because the work is illegal, and also because there are various constructions of child labour such as survival, abuse and exploitation (Abebe & Bessell 2011:756). Child labour trafficking requires the presence of force, fraud, and coercion. The force aspect involves forcing physically restraining the victim in certain aspects such as job duties, working areas, and payment (Bakirci 2009; Development Services Group, Inc. 2016). Coercion involves serious physical injuries to the victims or their loved ones, and threats. The difference between child labour trafficking and sex trafficking is that force, fraud and coercion are present in child labour trafficking, whereas minors involved in commercial sex with or without the use of force is considered sex trafficking (Bakirci 2009). However, children may experience both labour exploitation and sexual exploitation simultaneously, for example being forced to engage in prostitution and in a burglary (Bakirci 2009; Development Services Group, Inc. 2016). There are also debates that engage in child labour and forced labour (Bhukuth 2008:385). In which child labour could be applicable to the engagement of children for commercial purposes which may not necessarily mean forced labour if the child has access and has consented to such labour the child can accept or not engaged in the labour. However, this discussion is beyond the scope of this study. The issues of children’s challenges/insecurities are discussed in further details in chapter four under the section that discussed the invulnerabilities that children are faced with.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at providing a literature review for the study. It presented different debates on human trafficking as a concept, sex trafficking, and trafficking for labour purposes. The literature review did this by discussing the debates on human trafficking and security. The literature review was done systematically, which meant that it was organised in accordance with the sub-themes to answer the main theme of the research. Thus, it identified the research in order to answer the clearly formulated question. The discussion was presented under the following sub-themes: human trafficking and security, the trafficking process, the human security impact, security challenges and children's experiences, and the threats posed to the human security of children. The main issues that were identified in the literature were that the "Palermo Protocol" definition of trafficking in persons is conflated with other issues, and does not provide a clear explanation of exploitation, the South African and Mozambican definitions of human trafficking are mirrors to the Palermo Protocol, and this creates an issue because the definitions do not speak for the reality in the countries. Another finding was that in the literature review the focus of literature of trafficking for sex. The implication of this for child trafficking for labour is that there is inadequate data available on trafficking for labour. The literature review identified that trafficking is not always viewed as a security concern because it is not always considered a threat to the state, but is rather viewed as a socio-political issue. The implication of this view is that it creates a state-centric and militarist approach to security because it ignores non-traditional security threats, which explains why human trafficking is not prioritised.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide clarity to the grounding theory of this study. This chapter will explore the concepts that relate to the study such as child trafficking for labour exploitation and human security. It will define these concepts as they relate to the paradigm of this study. Lastly, to understand the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, a distinction from conventional security to human security will be made.

3.2 Child trafficking and labour exploitation

“Human trafficking, trafficking in persons, and modern slavery” are terms that are used when referring to sex trafficking and forced labour (United States Department of State 2013). The UN Palermo Protocol (2000) outlines trafficking in people as follows:

“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the 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. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, 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.”

However, according to Nshimbi and Moyo (2016), there is a limitation in the definition as a limited cross-border phenomenon because human trafficking can include but is not limited to movement (Nshimbi & Moyo 2016:160). This is because people may be trafficked regardless of whether there is movement or not (United States

Department of State 2013, Nshimbi & Moyo 2016:160). Human trafficking robs individuals of their rights, dignity, and freedom. It also undermines national security and human security, changes markets, and increases crime (United States Department of State 2013).

Child trafficking refers to the “recruitment, coercion, transportation, transfer, and harbouring of children under the age of 18 for exploitation”. Child trafficking is a violation of one’s security and rights (International Organisation for Migration 2019:29). It denies them an opportunity to reach their full potential. Child trafficking derives from human trafficking and is any process that includes finding and hiding children and transporting and receiving children (International Organisation for Migration 2019:29). The different forms of exploitation in child trafficking refer to sex, work, or being sold (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children 2020). It is linked to the demands for cheap labour, in conditions that are hazardous, dangerous, and even children being turned into child soldiers (Davidson 2011:459; International Labour Organization 2008:6). Children that are trafficked are exposed to dangerous situations such as drugs and prostitution. They are also denied their human rights by not getting an education and having the freedom to make their own choices. When children take up a job and are not legally allowed to work because of their age, it is considered child labour and children that are trafficked are vulnerable to labour exploitation (Davidson 2011:456). Various disciplines and debates have attempted to explore the meaning of exploitation. Exploitation in social sciences is contested, like various other concepts in the field. Exploitation can be described as “all forms of forced labour, forced sexual exploitation, slavery and organ removal” (UNODC 2009). Scholars describe exploitation as a situation that people benefit from financially, and as individuals being taken unfair advantage of by other people (UNODC 2015: 21, 22). However, the nature of exploitation tends to be contested because there is a lack of clarity on what constitutes something as being ‘unfair’. Exploitation is dominant in the context of human and child trafficking. In this sense, human trafficking constitutes the actions, the ways and the ends, that are derived from exploitation. Exploitation is a difficult concept to define that takes shape in various ways (UNODC 2015:23).

Labour exploitation refers to the involuntary nature of employment or lack of free will in poor conditions (Dowling, Moreton & Wright 2007:8). Labour exploitation is a combination of harsh and hazardous working conditions that include blackmail, coercion, deception, and persuasion trafficking (Dowling, Moreton & Wright 2007:8). Adults and children are usually exploited in unhealthy working environments that affect their well-being or put them at risk (Beyrer 2004:16). They are faced with long working hours with no break in between and are not paid or are underpaid. Workers are often threatened, and their identity documents are taken away from them to keep them imprisoned (Rijken 2011:2). Labour exploitation in children refers to any work that is done by a child that deprives them of their childhood, livelihood, and dignity (International Organization for Migration 2019:29).

3.3 Human security

Security can be defined as an issue that poses an existential threat to a referent object, traditionally, but not necessarily, the state, territory and society (Buzan et al. 1998:21). Traditionally, the notion of security was state-centred, and the referent object was the use of force, and military force (Williams 2008:3; Buzan et al. 1998:1). However, calls were made to have the concept of security widened in the security arena by claiming different referent objects such as economic, environmental and societal factors (Buzan et al. 1998:1). The widening of the security debate grew out of dissatisfaction because of the intense narrowing of the security field being imposed by military obsessions of the Cold War, and economic and environmental changes in international relations (Buzan et al. 1998:2). The current notion of security requires a change of thought from territorial integrity to a greater importance on human security, and by ensuring security through military power to achieving development (Pati 2014:30). These threats transcend national borders, implicate human security, and weaken the national security of state. Trafficking is at the intersection of threats because there is a distinctive link between human security and national security. They are mutually reinforcing the primary protective functions of national security and the empowerment of human security (Pati 2014:33).

The end of the Cold War encouraged the responsiveness that security could mean more than the traditional meaning of security towards the state and physical security (Acharya 2001: 442). Human security has been a strong root of strategic priorities and has presented various philosophies across countries and principles (Acharya 2001: 445). Human security has been presented to be a means of dealing with human cost and providing for human needs. It also provides a framework for people's social needs and socio-economic conditions. The security debate questions the allocation of state resources being utilised for military purposes, as opposed to developmental issues (Acharya 2001: 444). The roots of human security can be drawn back to the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) of 1994. Various debates assisted the focus of the traditional security debate from military security to the security of the individual. These debates were followed by the recognition of non-military threats in global debates, making it a people-centred approach (Acharya 2001:444). There are several additional areas/dimensions to a people-centred approach such as "economic, environmental, political, health, food, personal and community security" (Acharya 2001:445). The conceptualisations of human security prompt policymakers to reorient security beyond the state and focus on the individual as the referent object (Bourne & Bulley 2011:454; Newman 2010:78). The expansion of security and acknowledgement of non-traditional threats to security have made it difficult to separate and discuss the common question of "what constitutes an existential threat to the state, region, individual, society and the global system". This is because various security issues may be considered a normal challenge of governance and law. The setting of a security issue is what determines whether it is a social problem or a security threat. Buzan et al. (1998) argue that for an issue to develop into a threat, it needs to be determined by its 'proximity, identity, occurrence and depth of consequences' (Buzan et al. 1998:12). If one of these is lacking, then there is no threat, but rather a challenge. However, the state decides what should and should not be viewed as a threat (Buzan et al. 1998:28). They also note that threats need to have a referent object. In traditional threats, the referent object is usually a country or territorial integrity. The referent object, in non-traditional threats, can be human life (Buzan et al. 1998:51).

The critique of traditional security created suggestions of how to include individuals in the definition of security (Paris 2002:89). Human security brought different perspectives to what security means (Acharya 2001: 442). Human security was proposed as an alternative to the traditional definition of security (Peoples & Vaughn-Williams 2015:122). The understanding of human security aimed to formulate a freedom from fear and want, thus denoting that people should be secure from threats and violence. Human security is not a concern of weapons but rather human life and dignity (Peoples & Vaughn-Williams 2015:123). The focus on this study is specifically on the human security of children who are trafficked for labour, and not conventional security. The definition of human security that is used in this research relates to security as safety from threats, and protection from harmful and sudden disturbances in the pattern of life, either in societies (Iroanya 2018:52). Human security constitutes an attempt to protect all human lives in ways that increase human freedom and fulfilment (Iroanya 2018:52). It includes choices that are the essence of life, and the protection of people from serious and widespread threats and situations. It entails establishing systems that ensure survival, human dignity and secure livelihoods (Iroanya 2018:52).

Child trafficking for labour exploitation and human security are linked because various aspects of the human security of children are at stake. These aspects include their personal security, health security, community security, and economic security. Children are subject to similar harms as adults; however, their age exposes them more (UNODC 2008:68). When their personal security and human security are at risk, children experience physical and sexual abuse, hunger, malnutrition and poor development (UNODC 2008:84). For example, children who are trafficked may suffer from poor teeth development due to malnutrition and may experience reproductive problems at a later stage due to sexual and physical abuse (UNODC 2008:84). Another example is that children are at higher dangers of getting sunstrokes, dust intoxication, substance poisoning, heart risks, machinery incidences, burns, road accidents, and exhaustion (UNODC 2008:84).

Their human security is also threatened through labour exploitation because they are considered cheap labour. Child trafficking for labour exploitation and human security

is also linked with human rights because victims are denied their basic rights to life and freedom when exploited (Morehouse 2009:17). Child trafficking for labour is also an offense to human rights and labour rights because of the hazardous working conditions (International Labour Organization 2011:3). According to the ILO (2017), children aged five to eleven years form the largest scale of those in labour and hazardous work, and this falls into 48% of children around the world (International Labour Organization 2017:13). Twenty-eight percent are aged 12 to 14, and 25% are older into 15 to 17 years of age. Children doing labour suffer physical and psychological injuries to their health and well-being because of being exposed to work at young ages which are crucial to their development (International Labour Organization 2017:13). Children that are trafficked from Mozambique to South Africa are involved in the worst forms of labour. For example, they work in the dangerous environment of tobacco production (Benque 2020). As a result of child trafficking, children aged five to fourteen years old are taken out of school to work (Benque 2020). These children are exposed to hazardous work in the following sectors: mining, agriculture, vending, commercial sex, industrial areas and farming (Benque 2020; International Labour Organization 2011:4).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at providing a framework for the conceptual clarification of key concepts of this research. In this chapter it was established that conventional security will not be the centre of this study. Instead, this study will emphasis on the human security paradigm, and on child trafficking for labour exploitation. The move from conventional security to human security is the main ground of the analysis of child trafficking for labour. Security requires a change in thought from territorial integrity to attention on human security, and from ensuring security through military power to achieving development in humans. Therefore, the link between child trafficking for labour exploitation and human security is crucial because the human security of children is at stake through various aspects such as personal security, health security and community security.

In conclusion, it is crucial to understand that child trafficking is a security issue because of the expansion of human security. Human trafficking, specifically child trafficking undermines the state's capabilities when they are connected to organised crime. Any act that challenges the state's capabilities is likely to impact the region as a whole and the international arena and is therefore a threat to security at all levels. These aspects link to the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, which will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

Against this, the next chapter of this study will discuss the process of child trafficking for labour exploitation to provide a background to how child trafficking for labour exploitation takes place from Mozambique to South Africa. The human security impact on victims and the security challenges, the insecurities associated with child victims and it will discuss child trafficking for labour as a threat to human security.

Chapter Four: The Security Implications of Child Trafficking for Labour Exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa

4.1 Introduction

Human trafficking intersects with human security because of the direct threat to human rights, and dehumanisation. Individuals are trafficked every day and most of the individuals comprise women and children in over 130 states (UNODC 2009:81). As previously mentioned, the trafficking of women and children involves sexual exploitation, forced labour, the sale of organs, and illegal activities. This intersects with human security, because it threatens the personal, economic and social security of individuals. The aim of this chapter is to provide an in-depth discussion on the context of the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa. The chapter will do this through the following themes: first, the processes of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, which will discuss the process of child trafficking for labour exploitation through the routes from Mozambique to South Africa, the borders, and how children are transported for labour from Mozambique to South Africa; second, factors that contribute to child trafficking for labour exploitation. Under this, the chapter will explain the vulnerabilities of children that are trafficked for labour exploitation. This sub-theme will provide a clear distinction on what are the 'push' factors, and what are the 'pull' factors that drive the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation. Third, the human security impact on the children that are trafficked for labour exploitation will be covered by unfolding the insecurities and vulnerabilities that are faced by children. Under the fourth sub-theme, the security challenges experienced by victims of child trafficking for labour exploitation will be discussed. Under this, examples will be covered of children who were trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, such as examples from '*Tata mama, Tata papa*' and '*Caso Diana*'. Lastly, the threats posed to the human security will be covered, and a conclusion will be provided. Though this chapter would have benefitted from primary data to assist segment the arguments made, and to provide relevant primary data, the approach used for the mini-dissertation was desk-based

for various reasons mentioned in the first chapter of the study such as Covid-19 restrictions, distance, length requirements of the mini-dissertation.

4.2 Processes of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa

Researchers from the International Labour Organization (2008) state that children are taken away from their homelands are exploited because it is difficult to find them in the informal sector (International Labour Organization 2008:18). The commercial motives cause children to be seen as exploitable labour by those who seek to make a revenue from trafficking. Children are exposed to dangerous work conditions such as long working hours, heavy loads, dangerous equipment, and violence (International Labour Organization 2008:6). Nshimbi and Moyo (2016:158) state that Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe are sources of human trafficking. They are all source and transit countries in the human trafficking trade. Mozambique is viewed as a regional human trafficking hub (Nshimbi & Moyo 2016:158). In Africa, over two million people are trafficked every year and the projected number of children trafficked is 30,000; of these children, over 1,000 girls are trafficked to South Africa annually to become prostitutes (Somduth 2018). South Africa is recognised as a country of arrival for trafficking in Africa (Iroanya 2018:5,119). Awareness of trafficking is increasing because levels of trafficking have reached alarming proportions. Although awareness is increasing, most research has been focused on the West (Pharoah 2006). A fewer amount of African research is primarily focused on West Africa. Most of the studies on trafficking have given attention to the trafficking of women and children for sexual purposes (Pharoah 2006). Therefore, this provides a suggestion of possible issues and insufficient data for other forms of exploitation.

Mozambique is a country that is known to supply the human trafficking business that feeds the regional hub, South Africa (Swart 2012:62). Mozambique is an origin and transit country for trafficking actions, both internal and external. The main destination for trafficked Mozambicans is South Africa, which is known as the trafficking regional

powerhouse (Swart 2012:62). The recent history of armed conflict, the covid-19 pandemic, destruction and dislocation make Mozambique an inviting target of organised crime (UNESCO 2006:14). According to the US Department of State, the Mozambican government “does not fully meet the minimum standards for the complete eradication of trafficking”, however, there are efforts to do so (US Department of State 2020:360). Thus, they are placed on tier 2 of the US Department of State report on trafficking. In as much as there have been efforts to eliminate trafficking in Mozambique, the government fails to proactively identify trafficked victims, other than opened cases (US Department of State 2020:360 2020:360). However, this view is refuted by Serra (2006). The authors refuse the argument that the main problem with child trafficking and human trafficking in Mozambique is the lack of legislation (Serra 2006:114). The Mozambican penal code foresees different types of legal crimes that can criminalise the conduct of those with minors and those that deliver a minor to a trafficker. It also states that each case of trafficking is different and depends on the juridical interpretation of each case. The assumption that the legislation is the problem in Mozambique may stem from authorities not interpreting the cases, and not taking advantage of the law and applying the law to the different phases of the act of trafficking (Serra 2006:115).

To understand the trafficking process from Mozambique to South Africa, it is crucial to note that borders are an essential element of the trafficking process. This is because the permeability of borders aids the trafficking industry, and borders are included in the routes that traffickers take to get from one country to the other. The borders of Mozambique and South Africa operate through a network of partners at different stations such as Johannesburg, Maputo and the Lebombo region. The fleets of minivans, transport women and children from Maputo to Johannesburg weekly. They carry Mozambicans looking for employment who depend on on low-priced transport and assistance in crossing the borders undocumented (UNESCO 2006:20). Along the Mozambique-South Africa border, there is a dangerous gang that has been known as ‘*mareyane*’ or ‘*zawarazas*’ that control the trade in people, rape girls, assault children and are facilitators in the trafficking process (Save the Children 2008:29). Mozambican children being trafficked into South Africa rarely have passports, and Mozambicans do not need a permit to enter South Africa. Thus,

the children are dependent on the facilitators who earn a living to smuggle people over the border crossing by exploiting the system, paying off officials, border police cutting fences and illegal border crossings. They work closely with trafficking agencies and dangerous criminals who are involved in human trafficking and smuggling (Save the Children 2008:30). Trafficking victims are also inertly chosen when they are close to taxi stands in hotspot towns such as Maputo. Taxi stands are a stop or parking area where people wait for public transport to take them to their desired destinations. The hotspot areas in which children are taken from in Mozambique are usually cities such as Maputo, Tete, Beira, Nacala, Chimoio, and Cabo Delgado (US Department of State 2021). These cities/towns are considered hotspot areas because they are highly mobile and have people always on the move (US Department of State 2021). There is always a trafficking agent that selects women and children for whom they can get the top 'price' and encourage them to use that specific traffickers' public transport. Victims are targeted in the informal sector, and local markets (Maharaj 2020). A female partner/accomplice known or unknown to the victim proposes employment in South Africa, with opportunities of waitressing or domestic help needed in South Africa (Lutya 2012). Eventually, these victims are exploited for labour or sex or sold to 'sex houses/clubs' in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal (UNESCO 2006:21). Children as young as eight years old are trafficked for labour to the destination country, South Africa. They are daily transported through the Kruger National Park or through the Eswatini borders (UNESCO 2006:21). These Mozambican children are also sold while in transit for as little as 30 USD to brothel owners, government officials, crime syndicates, and law enforcement. In 2000, a report done by Molo Songololo revealed that 20,000 Mozambican children were found in South Africa as child labourers on farms where they were receiving pitiful allowances and were experiencing devastating working conditions (UNESCO 2006:22).

The routes below show how trafficking operations take place from Mozambique to South Africa. These trafficking processes use three paths to carry the trafficking victims. The major path or route as demonstrated below is through 'Ressano Garcia' in South Africa (UNESCO 2006:28). The second route below uses Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal passages through the border posts into South Africa, which is at

'Ponta Do Ouro', border post located in Mozambique. The transport continues into the South of Swaziland or directly into Pretoria and Johannesburg or Durban and Pietermaritzburg (UNESCO 2006:28). Traffickers can easily access these routes because it is believed that these routes are their links with criminals that deal with other activities such as hijackings and armed robberies. Complicity is formed with border officials at the main crossings between Mozambique and South Africa, thus allowing for free movement at the relevant border posts without requesting the necessary documentation and patrol (UNESCO 2006:29).

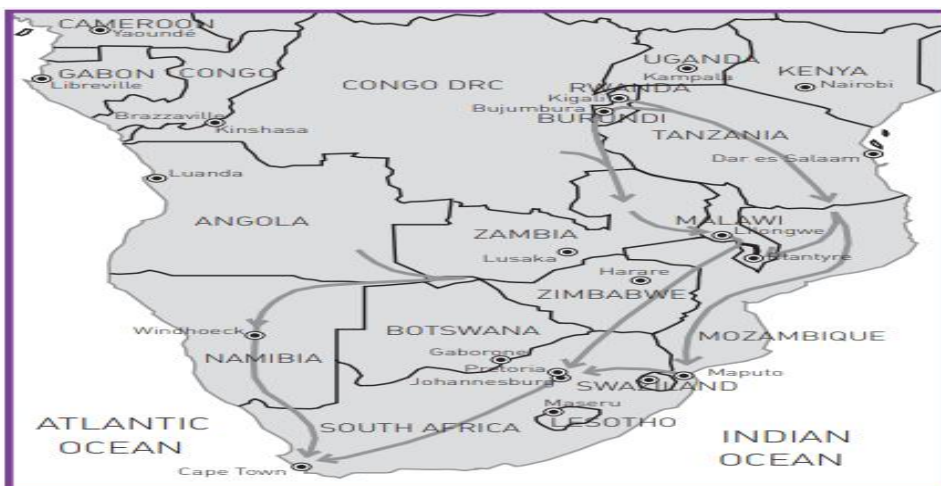
Figure 1: Routes from Mozambique



Routes from Mozambique

Source: (UNESCO 2006:28)

Figure 2: Routes through Mozambique



Routes through Mozambique

Source: (UNESCO 2006:28)

Mozambican society consists of historical gender roles, poverty and discrimination; thus, most children live with high levels of instability and vulnerability. Most of the children in child labour work in agriculture, mining, forced domestic labour, and illegal activities (Lutch 2021). Traffickers lure children from rural areas in Mozambique such as small towns in Maputo, Nampula, Beira and so forth. Children are lured with the promises of a better life for their families, education and employment in the urban cities. While plans against human trafficking have emerged, the implementation remains weak, and generally fail to meet international standards. In 2019, The US Department of Labor stated that approximately 22,5% of Mozambican children aged five to fourteen are working, and 69,5% of children attend school (Lutch 2021). Of these children, only 52% complete their education (Lutch 2021). In 2020, the Mozambican government acted to push back against the nature of human trafficking with policies such as the Prohibition of Child Trafficking in the recent penal code. However, Mozambique has continuously struggled to adopt the necessary measures and infrastructure to enforce these policies (Lutch 2021). The lack of power in the justice system limits the policies' effectiveness and leaves a gap in the Mozambican governments' ability to prevent trafficking. Since child labour policies repeatedly fail to meet international standards, the government raised the working age to 15 years old to encourage younger children to attend school. However, this has proven inefficient because the lack of significant literacy has increased (Lutch 2021).

4.3 Factors contributing to child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa

The Southern African region has experienced various changes such as, economic, social, environmental, and political aspects with implications for the people, the state and the systems that have formed the security of people (Chitupila 2009:34). The push-pull model is a theoretical approach in broader migration studies; however, it can also be used to view the factors that contribute to child trafficking. The factors

can be viewed through the push-and-pull theory because there are factors in Mozambique that cause children to become vulnerable, and factors in South Africa that create false 'opportunities' that draw children into South Africa. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor (1993) highlight that migration is argued to be caused by "a demand for labour that is essential to the economic structure of developed nations, and that immigration is not caused by push factors, such as unemployment, in sending countries, but by pull factors in the receiving countries such as the demand for foreign workers/cheap labour" (Massey et al. 1993:440, 441). Discussing migration's inception has focused on the inequalities in conditions between the source country and the destination country. The push and pull model suggest that migrants are pushed by poor living conditions and pulled by better prospects in more wealthy areas (Van Hear, Bakewell & Long 2018:928). Thus, the link with child trafficking can be made for this research because traffickers target children from poor backgrounds that live in rural areas that are looking for better conditions, or being forced by their parents to work to support the family; thus, traffickers lure them into believing that there are better opportunities in South Africa, and that they have jobs to offer them by making false promises of better prospects in the destination country. The model conceives of migration as a driven set of factors operating within the source or origin country (King 2012:13). Factors such as poverty, unemployment, repression, landlessness, and so forth operate as push factors in the source or origin country. Factors such as job opportunities, economic prosperity, better income, better education and living conditions operate as pull factors in the destination countries or the place (King 2012:13). The literature also discusses the issue of child fosterage, as it can also be considered a factor that pushes/pulls children into being trafficked because it puts them at greater risk, thus making them vulnerable to trafficking (Miller 2020). Traffickers take advantage of the children's vulnerability to gain power over them and loyalty by offering fostered children food, clothes, a safe place to sleep, love and friendship (this is known as the grooming stage of child fosterage). Many foster children have experienced trauma, trust issues, manipulation amongst other issues, however traffickers are willing to put the work, as the fostered child will serve as a profit at the end of the process (Miller 2020). However, this issue is beyond the scope of the study as it not only isa cultural

issue, but it also does not apply to child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa.

Having understood that the push-pull model is listed as a theory of broader migration studies, it can be understood by describing the factors of child trafficking, such as what pushes children into being trafficked and what pulls children to trafficking. The Anti-Slavery International (2003) and Human Sciences Research Council (2010), state that push factors in trafficking are domestic issues such as poverty, inadequate development, unemployment, political instability, conflicts, natural disasters, dysfunctional families, and social discrimination, in one's region/country. These internal factors may compel people to leave their country or to enter situations that risk them becoming victims of trafficking (Human Sciences Research Council 2010:5, Anti-Slavery International 2003:11). The pull factor is considered the demand for slave labour because it is the demand that brings the market that trafficker's benefit, operate and gain profit from. It is important to note that there are no push factors without pull factors. Push factors are said to be linked to pull factors because "they exploit those in poverty for example, because the push factor for meeting basic human needs is deprived or are compelling. The more push factors that are experienced, the stronger the demand will be". Pull factors are demand factors that are external, and include upgraded transport routes, technological advances, a demand for cheap labour, and the increasing expansion in global tourism (Iroanya 2018:42; Human Sciences Research Council 2010:89; Anti-Slavery International 2003:11,12). When discussing the factors, it is crucial to note that often factors interrelate with one another, and what may be a push factor in one country, may translate into a pull factor in another country.

4.3.1 Push factors: Mozambique

In Africa, generalisations about the factors of trafficking are often ambiguous. It is crucial to note that each state presents different factors because they have different forms of trafficking, and various factors can be unique to each situation (UNICEF

Innocenti Research Centre 2003:5). In this section, Mozambique is considered the pushing side of the factors that contribute to child trafficking for labour exploitation. This is because Mozambique is the supply side of the trafficking process because it is the source country.

A study done by the IOM shows that annually, 1,000 Mozambicans are trafficked to South Africa (Martens, Pieczkowski & Van Vuuren-Smyth 2003:63, UNESCO, 2006:30). Forced labour and exploitation of children are common practices in Mozambique, especially in rural areas. Trafficking in Mozambique is also fuelled by Mozambique's history of war between the two dominant parties "FRELIMO" and "RENAMO". Displacements of people during crisis, and rebuilding are also believed to fuel trafficking in Mozambique (Chitupila, 2009:38). The belief from the past that Mozambique is a source of labour for South Africa, and that South Africa used to recruit labour from Mozambique, is still existent and abundant in South Africa (Chitupila 2009:39; Gallinetti, 2008:7,8).

4.3.1.1 Poverty

Poverty is the one of the key push factors; it is directly linked to other aspects such as unemployment, an absence of meaningful employment opportunities, limited skills and living conditions in source countries (Martens et al., 2003:52). Poverty is a multifaceted concept because it is interrelated with other factors such as unemployment (Kerr 2014:2). At the basic level, poverty can be described as the lack of resources for survival such as basic needs. Research has found that economically disadvantaged people are at greater risk of being trafficked because they can be easily lured, and because they do not have adequate resources, they depend on the false promises made by traffickers without knowing what awaits them (Kerr 2014:2). Traffickers exploit these weak conditions by luring them into better living conditions (Aronowitz 2009:12). Poverty can lead to parents encouraging their children to go work in urban areas of other countries where the chances are better than in their country of origin. In extreme poverty, parents may sell their children to human traffickers to get a large sum of money or free themselves from debt. Poverty also forces children and women to sell themselves for sex to get food, shelter and money. Research done by the UNICEF Office of Research (2013) indicated that in

Mozambique rural poverty is the main push factor that makes children vulnerable to being exploited and trafficked. Sixty children were interviewed, and of these, 54 children were from rural communities. Rural poverty in Mozambique is extremely high; at the same time, most of the population live in less developed areas, and 54,7% live below the poverty line (Verdasco 2013:21). Rural poverty is one of the main drivers to being trafficked and is linked to food insecurity. Children often reach out for help as a response to poverty and food insecurity (Iroanya 2018:164).

4.3.1.2 Illiteracy

High levels of illiteracy can also be considered a push factor that makes individuals vulnerable to trafficking. This is because they are incapable to fully understand changes in other countries such as language barriers, the policies and legislation of the other country, the norms, and the dangers in other countries (Iroanya 2018:43). This is a condition in the United States and Europe. It is also evident in Mozambique, because individuals with limited or no education have fewer income opportunities, and they do not have adequate knowledge of contracts, rights and acceptable working conditions. Conditions of illiteracy and limited education can be determined by the lack of educational establishments and the cultural relevance of getting an education, community attitudes towards education, and the need for children to earn a salary and fend for the family (UNODC 2008:78). Statistics in Mozambique show that approximately 43,9% of the population is illiterate (Magode et al. 2014:60). This reality occurs because of the lack of access to information and documentation in the country, which has a substantial influence on the development of the population. This also implies that individuals who are illiterate struggle with their daily productivity, employment, and prevention of disease because they are not aware or well informed. In general, many children and adults are undocumented, and this is an advantage for traffickers because there is no control with authorities. Thus, illiteracy facilitates being lured and recruited by traffickers because there is little or no awareness of danger (Magode et al. 2014:61).

4.3.1.3 Families

Family households in which there is abuse are not usually favourable to raising children. Such settings push children to run away, and children are at risk of becoming trafficked because children often run away from their homes seeking freedom. Thus, children become vulnerable to human traffickers because of surviving on the streets. Families are also considered a push factor in child trafficking because often families break down either through divorce, remarriage, disease or death, resulting in desperation and tension in households. Children are then sent off to work or to move out to support the family because parents/guardians are incapable of taking care their children, and this exposes them to the dangers of child trafficking (Anti-Slavery International 2003). Approximately 2,1 million children in Mozambique are categorised as orphans because of loss of their parents. According to research done, 57 children out of 60 works in '*machambas*', also known as farming land, and as domestic workers because they are orphans from both parents or a single parent (UNICEF 2010, Verdasco 2013:22).

4.3.1.4 Borders

As a result of various factors, the porousness of borders aids traffickers and those in charge of the organisation process regionally and internationally. The capacity of border control is often weak in detection and prevention and needs to be improved (UNODC 2008:89). According to a study done by scholars of UNESCO (2006), border authorities were alleged to be partners in the route of Mozambican children (UNESCO 2006:36). For example, Mozambican women and children have been brought in by public transports because of fraud in the system that aids traffickers to cross the borders (UNESCO 2006:34). In Africa, porous borders are accountable for the rise in trafficking because of the inadequacy of resources both human and resources to protect the borders (Iroanya 2018:109). Human traffickers use roads where they will encounter less or no border patrol as a precautionary method. In the official border posts of "Ressano Garcia" and "Ponta de Ouro", the people that work in the area are often familiar with border officials, and are permitted to move across with little or no restrictions (Iroanya 2018:109). Thus, they support the trafficker to

smuggle individuals illegally to the South African side or they deter routes if border control is efficient (Iroanya 2018:109).

4.3.2 Pull factors: South Africa

The supply side of the chain was discussed in the section above as push factors from the Mozambican perspective because it is a 'source' country. The pull factors will be discussed from the South African perspective because South Africa is the destination country in the child trafficking chain. Scholars suggest that demand factors are closely linked to supply factors and are determined by social, cultural, and historical factors (Bermudez 2008:17). The pull factors that make South Africa a destination country is multifaceted and intertwined (HSRC 2010:136). It is impossible to discuss a pulling factor alone because they are linked to various pulling factors (HSRC 2010:136).

4.3.2.1 Economic prosperity

South Africa is a fairly stable country in comparison to other countries on the continent. This makes South Africa one of the main destinations for migrants all over Africa, both undocumented and documented. South Africa is one of the biggest countries in the African continent and has one of the largest GDPs in the region. South Africa is also considered the regional powerhouse by the rest of the continent (HSRC 2010:89). Economic prosperity in South Africa has led to children and adults who are trafficked believing that offers of employment are credible. The South African economy as mentioned is advanced and it remains competitive (Vollgraff 2013). From the point of view of relative stability in the region, South Africa meets the criteria. Economic prosperity, among other factors, promotes South Africa as an attractive destination for human trafficking (Iroanya 2018:137). Therefore, South Africa's economy is a influential tool to lure for people to seek a better economic opportunities and lifestyles (HSRC 2010:89). Mozambican children are moved to South Africa, specifically Gauteng and the Western Cape because they are lured to believed there are great economic opportunities awaiting (Dottridge 2004).

4.3.2.2 The demand for cheap labour

A discussion of factors is incomplete without recognising that human trafficking is driven by the commercial motives that are made by actors along the trafficking process that result from exploiting children. Such income is realised because of the demand for cheap labour and services, usually in industries of construction, agriculture, domestic services, industrial sites, factories, and mines (UNODC 2008:75). The demand for cheap labourers in South Africa can be traced to historical routes in which low-priced miners were separated and divided in precise areas according to ethnic group (Harington et al. 2004:65). In the past, Mozambique specifically has been a basis of cheap labour for South Africa (Harington et al. 2004:65). Thus, history plays an important role in explaining the need for cheap labour in South Africa. The demand for cheap labour is also a demand factor in South Africa because in sectors such as agriculture, they offer jobs to low-skilled individuals. Migrants, including children, from countries like Mozambique and Lesotho are vulnerable to this type of labour force and exploitive environments (HSRC 2010:137). On the farms, children are often exploited because they work under the sun for several weeks (Save the Children 2008:83). Just before pay day, the farmer calls the police and tells the police services that there are illegal migrants on his property, and they are arrested without being paid (Save the Children 2008:84). Frequently, children are being exploited by either not being paid or being underpaid. They have nowhere to turn (Save the Children 2008:84). Children from rural areas are betrayed into believing there are work or educational opportunities for them. They are recruited from local markets in Maputo to work mainly in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal as gold diggers in dangerous conditions by organised criminal syndicates (Sowetan 2012).

4.4 Insecurities/vulnerabilities suffered by children who are taken from Mozambique to South Africa

According to UNICEF (2021), in 2020, approximately 160 million children worldwide were subjected to labour exploitation, mainly because of economic hardship of families, thus compromising the child's safety. At the beginning of 2020, an additional 9 million children were at risk due to the impact of Covid-19, totalling nearly 1 in 10 children at risk. This accounts for almost half of the children working in hazardous work that affects their development, safety, and health. Children's human security is at risk because child labour can result in extreme body harm, mental harm and even death, and leads to sexual, economic, slavery, and labour exploitation. In every case worldwide, children's security is at stake as well because children are cut off from schooling, healthcare, fundamental rights and threats to their future (UNICEF 2021). The main factor that creates vulnerabilities and insecurities in children that are trafficked into South Africa is poverty because there is more poverty in Mozambique, which makes people become attracted to South Africa to find opportunities and a better life. Economic and social factors create vulnerabilities in children who become victims of trafficking. Unemployment, young people searching for a future, demand for cheap labour and illegal activities create the conditions that are targeted for trafficking and that create insecurities for children, thus threatening the human security of children (The New Humanitarian 2008).

Poor education, being easily overpowered, and being easy to convince are also reasons as to why children are vulnerable. Children are also in positions where they believe that they are helping their families and are sold relatives. Refugees, children on the street, and orphans are part of the vulnerable groups of children in human trafficking because they do not have anybody to look out for them such as family or the community. Children's insecurities stem from a range of activities that are dangerous and exploitative such as domestic child labour, agricultural work, drug-related activities, criminal activities and sexual activities (Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa 2010:91). Globally, children are the most targeted groups for traffickers because they cannot fight for themselves and are helpless. This is the same for Mozambican children because they have the most value and are innocent.

Mozambican children are targeted the most from families that are in need and that live in poor conditions (Magode al. 2014:59).

4.4.1 Poverty

When a country is in crisis, people are forced to emigrate to other countries to look for a better life (Wright 2015). Children are no different from adults in this regard. Children from as young as eight feel the burden and responsibility to support their families because of hunger and destitution from different provinces such as “Nampula, Zambézia, Tete, Manica, Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo Province and the city of Maputo” (Magode et al. 2014: 22). Children from different provinces, especially Maputo Province and the city of Maputo leave school to look for employment in countries with a strong currency because it holds value. However, child labour is illegal, and working without a permit to do so is illegal as well, which opens doors for exploitation (Save the Children 2008:80). One of the main motives behind children being targeted is poverty. Poverty reinforces the trafficking industry and drives innocent people into the hands of traffickers (UNESCO 2006:14). Poverty and trafficking are linked because of economic causes; people become victims due to unequal resource allocation, and the absence of income (Department for Global Development 2003:34). Households are increasingly becoming vulnerable as the margins shrink, because of the lack of resources in social security schemes and disadvantaged communities (Wright 2015). Poverty is a compelling insecurity and vulnerability in trafficking because potential victims attempt to move from their homes where extreme poverty is experienced to areas with less poverty and better conditions (Wright 2015; Save the Children 2008:80). Rede da Criança and ECPAT International (2020) have shown that the disasters in the recent years to the droughts, floods, and cyclones in Mozambique have made families experience economic difficulties and this has driven children to becoming vulnerable, forcing small girls into prostitution and sleeping with rich men for any form of remuneration. Article 10 and 11 of the Mozambican trafficking laws 6 of 2008 includes that anyone that is involved in trafficking Mozambican citizens for sexual exploitation, forced prostitution, and pornography (Republic of Mozambique 2008:3).

4.4.2 Education

Children's education is also threatened because they are robbed of the few educational opportunities that they have access to. Thus, a chance to expand their economic situation in the future is destroyed. Education deprivation among victims may have adverse outcomes such as delays in their development, difficulty in listening and learning, language and cognitive difficulties, loss of memory and verbal difficulties (Rafferty 2015:14). Education plays a significant role in making children in Mozambique vulnerable to being trafficked into South Africa because they lack knowledge and are not informed, thus they are easily 'tricked'. They have no information on documents, they have no documents, they do not speak English, and they do not know how to communicate. As Magode et al. (2014) state, education could put children in less danger because it would educate them on child trafficking is, what diseases are, and education children on their rights (Magode et al. 2014:66). As such, children that are not educated are more prone to being trafficked because they are unaware of the dangers and when they are trafficked, they are robbed of their personal development and right to an education.

4.4.3 Physical security

Children's physical security is at risk when children first arrive at the border of "Ressano Garcia" and "Ponta de Ouro" in Mozambique. Ressano Garcia borders with South Africa into Komatipoort, and Ponta de Ouro borders with South Africa into Kosi bay. They have nowhere to live (Save the Children 2008:8). They are forced to sleep in the bush, thus compromising their physical safety, there is nothing to eat, they experience xenophobic comments, and are undocumented. Thus, children live in fear because they have nowhere to go and are faced with abusive situations (Save the Children 2008:8). UNESCO (2006) shows a study done by Molo Songololo that reported a victim of child trafficking for labour exploitation explain how she was trafficked (Magode et al. 2014:44). The young girl aged 16 was trafficked from Mozambique into South Africa, was brutally taken from her house, forced to walk in the bushes, and was sold upon arrival to a recruitment agency in Johannesburg. From her experiences she suffered physical harm before even working and psychological harm as well. She explains that she was sold for cheap labour to work

in agriculture, and she was a sex slave to those that abused her for months before she escaped (Magode et al. 2014:45). This young girl is one example out of thousands of children that experience being physically hurt, and it also shows that there is a direct link between sexual exploitation and labour exploitation because children that are trafficked for labour end up being exploited sexually through rape and sexual abuse, and vice versa (Magode et al. 2014:76). Another example, which made it into the national and international media in 2011, is the case of '*Caso Diana*', which was when children specifically girls were taken from Maputo and were found to be working and exploited sexually in Pretoria. Eventually, they were discovered and brought back to Mozambique, and the trafficker, a woman, was given a life sentence (Magode et al. 2014:45).

4.4.4 Psychological security

The effects of trafficking are felt by victims because trafficking activities break basic human rights, and deny people of their freedom (Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa 2010:5). Every phase of the trafficking process can involve any type of abuse and violence, deprivation and torture, manipulation, and exploitation (Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa 2010:5). Child trafficking is an egregious crime that comes with child maltreatment (Rafferty 2015:13). Though the research and availability of data on the impact of child trafficking on a child's development and well-being is limited, various reports show that children experience physical abuse, emotional trauma, violence, unrelenting fear and humiliation (Rafferty 2015:13). Traffickers utilise mental manipulation and intimidating approaches to maintain control over children, thus making it impossible to run away, by destroying their defences (Rafferty 2015:14). These approaches include violence, separation, placement in unknown areas, dependence on substances, limited access to water and food, cameras, dogs and weapons to torture them (IOM 2007:45). Children are also subject to routine beatings to make sure that they are following orders and are being respectful (IOM 2007:45). The IOM shows that children face insecurities because trafficking is harmful to the victim occurred by constant abuse that is associated with trafficking daily (IOM 2007:25). Children that are exposed to trauma, prolonged physical abuse, torture and violence are at risk of having

behavioural irregularities, attachment issues, impaired functioning, and dissociative adaptations (Rafferty 2015:14; Louw, Bezuidenhout, & Pretorius 2002:50).

4.4.5 Health security

Child trafficking makes children vulnerable to different diseases and health constraints such as HIV or AIDS. Various links can be made between child trafficking and HIV; firstly, the likelihood of young girls being infected is high because of being used as sex slaves, prostitution, and sexual abuse. HIV and AIDS can also make children become more vulnerable to exploitation or to trafficking because it has led children to heading their households because of the death of parents; thus, they find it difficult to fend for themselves and engage in child labour because they have no other choice (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre 2003:6). Health insecurities also stem from inhuman living conditions, irregular diets, no hygiene, and denial of human rights to access to healthcare, thus resulting in health problems that have short- and long-term consequences (Zimmerman et al. 2003:26; Louw, Bezuidenhout, & Pretorius 2002:52). Victims of child trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation are also threatened by unsafe sexual abuse, increasing the risk of child/teenage pregnancies, unsafe abortion, and complications from sexually transmitted diseases (Rafferty 2015:14). Related research has also shown various health outcomes through frameworks for children who have been abused and whose human security is threatened (Zimmerman et al. 2003:27).

4.5 Child trafficking for labour exploitation as a threat to human security

There are various parts that still need to be examined in the human trafficking realm, especially the association between human trafficking and human security, the limitations in understanding what constitutes a threat to a nation, an individual, and a community, or if it is part of law and order (Iroanya 2014:28; Iroanya 2018:24). It is problematic to create a direct link amid human trafficking and security, especially when security is defined in its traditional form, in which the only existential are

military threats (Iroanya 2018:24). However, a non-traditional view of security shows that threats can be from a variety of sources and not only military sources. Human security concerns individuals in their everyday lives, as security from hunger, disease, unemployment, crime, repression and environmental hazards. Human security is crucial because it allows individuals to achieve freedom from want and fear and to live in dignity (Pati 2013:32). With this in mind, child trafficking has security implications at a state and individual level. Individually, child trafficking impacts the human dignity, safety, health and rights of the children. Nationally, child trafficking challenges the state's efforts to crime and the state's capabilities (Iroanya 2018:25).

The different aspects of human security that were covered in the conceptual framework as non-traditional aspects of security are interrelated, namely; "economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security". These aspects are interconnected because one aspect cannot be separated from the other or other aspects. For example, if an individual lacks economic security, they are most probable to experience a lack of health security as well. As shown in the conceptual framework the focus of this study takes a human-centred approach of human security, instead of conventional security. Human trafficking for labour exploitation is a concept that is difficult to detect and recognise. This is evident when the victims involved are children because of the lack of resources and adequate data, and the misconceptions and interpretations of child trafficking for labour exploitation (Puente 2017:14). Yousaf (2018) argues that trafficking and migration does not necessarily threaten the state. It does however constitute a threat to the individual's human security, in this case children. It is also argued that human security and migration are linked because human beings move because their security is threatened, and they want to increase their security (Yousaf 2018:220).

The United Nations General Assembly report (2004) states that "any event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening of life chances and undermines States as the basic unit of the international system is a threat to international security" (United National General Assembly 2004:12. The report identifies factors of threats that the international system needs to be concerned with now and in the

future. These factors are stated as threats that consist of poverty, disease, interstate, terrorism; and organised crime (United National General Assembly 2004:12). These discussions are used as a foundation for grounding human trafficking as a security issue. Human trafficking, specifically child trafficking, is directly linked to security threats because of the instability it causes in globalisation, migration, economic instability, and socio-political instability. For example, socio-economic instability includes poverty, insufficient and ineffective legislation, economic fluctuations, corruption, conflicts, and better conditions in other states as destinations (Iroanya 2018:58). Human trafficking also poses a clear threat to human security because it is associated with crime, sex and labour, and it poses a larger threat to when it is child trafficking because children are more vulnerable because of their age.

4.6 The human security impact on children that are trafficked for labour exploitation and challenges in child victims

The human security impact on children is important because of human rights and human life, and how child trafficking for labour endangers their life. The human consequences of child trafficking are persuasive because of the physical abuse, and torture, psychological trauma, the economic and political implications and the security of the individual and society that is at stake. This section would have benefited from primary data to aid segment the arguments, however, the research done is a desk-based study.

Child trafficking has a significant impact on children because it victimises them in every stage of life (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2008:10). At any phase of trafficking process, physical, sexual and psychological abuse may take place, such as torture, deprivation, violence, manipulation, economic exploitation and labour exploitation, and extreme living conditions (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2008:10). Child trafficking, unlike other crimes, involves prolonged trauma, and consecutive and repeated trauma in a child's life. This could either be through short- or long-term physical injuries, or disabilities and death. Different types of traumas include stress disorders, anxiety and depression and aggression. Research shows that child victims experience the impact of trafficking worse

because of their vulnerability due to age, immaturity and lack of experience, as they are still young. This affects the development of children mentally and physically, and leads to social difficulties (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2008:10). When analysing human trafficking, children should be treated as one of the most vulnerable groups because they are uniquely vulnerable. They are vulnerable to the demands of the traffickers, parents and family members. Physically, children are not able to protect themselves, they are unaware of the legislation that protects them, and are unable to negotiate conditions and treatment for themselves, and they are also vulnerable to harsh living and environmental conditions, especially in labour exploitation (Clark 2008:72). All forms of trafficking are abusive in nature and provide harmful effects to adults and to children. When analysing the human security impact of children who are trafficked for labour, the dimensions of human security that are visibly affected are personal security, food security, health security, environmental security, economic security, and community security.

Child victims' personal security is at risk in labour exploitation because of the specific labour conditions of the destination country. The minor size and fragility of children makes them favourable for labour, and to be exploited in factories, mines and agriculture with dangerous equipment (Rafferty 2015:13). They are physically vulnerable to eye damage, lung disease, physical injuries, and bone deficiency as they grow older. Children being exploited in environments with machinery are prone to breathing in toxic smoke and cutting themselves. In agricultural settings, they are prone to being infected by bacteria or handling deadly insects that can cause infections (Dixon 2008:83). Children's health security is at risk through mental health as well; anxiety, insecurity, and physical pain may have an impact in the well-being of children. This may affect older children, who have suicidal thoughts caused by depression and desperation, and may want to withdraw from the trafficking reality (Dixon 2008:84; Rafferty 2015:13). Children who are exploited for labour in tropical regions such as Mozambique and South Africa are at high risks of sun strokes, poisoning, heart problems, dust inhalation and accidents. These health risks also make children more prone to being fatigued and vulnerable to diseases because of exposure to harsh working environments (Dixon 2008:84).

4.7 Conclusion

The trafficking routes from Mozambique to South Africa were a crucial part of this chapter because they provide context to the objective of how children are trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa. This assists one in understanding the routes the traffickers take, the source countries and the destination countries, as well as the border control between these two countries. Based on the different sources of threats mentioned throughout, and the criteria of what constitutes an existential threat, it is crucial to understand that child trafficking is a human security threat and a security issue because of the expansion of human security, and its dimensions. The reason child trafficking poses a threat to human security is because it undermines capabilities by a state, and has the potential to disturb source, transit and destination countries. With this in mind, existential threats to states can be a security issue internally or externally. The factors contributing to child trafficking were discussed from the migration perspective first because the push-pull model is a theory of broader migration. This view was also applied to child trafficking to be able to analyse what drives children to trafficking. These factors were necessary in understanding the challenges that children experience, and included poverty, unemployment, family, illiteracy, and borders from the supply side, economic prosperity, and the demand for cheap labour. The vulnerabilities and insecurities were also discussed in this chapter, and these included poverty, education, physical security, health security, and psychological security. Child trafficking for labour exploitation causes extreme hardship to child victims, and has an impact on the human security of children, the state, the economy and social structures. Trafficking in humans has an interrelated negative impact across human security such as with the dimensions of human security, namely, personal, community, health, food, community security, environmental security, and economic and political security. The destabilising consequences of child trafficking range from violence to migration to instabilities and economic losses. However, the more complex security implications include violations of human rights, safety, social and health safety. Human trafficking and child trafficking crimes and their interrelated impacts to human security have shaped peace and stability, and it has shaped political and socio-economic responses at all levels. Although, primary data would

have benefitted the analysis chapter, it was based on a desk study and as such relied on secondary data. The main objectives of the study were addressed in this section and it included to establish how children are trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, and to determine the insecurities of child trafficking for labour exploitation experienced by children. The objectives also included to determine the security challenges experienced by child trafficking victims and to examine why child trafficking for labour exploitation poses a threat to the human security of children. From this chapter, the process of child trafficking for labour exploitation between Mozambique and South Africa was discussed in which the routes, locations and population was discussed. The factors that contribute to child trafficking for labour exploitation were discussed using the push-pull theory model in which Mozambique was used as the push country, and South Africa as the pull country. the insecurities of trafficked children were addressed the security challenges and children's experiences, and the human security impact of trafficking for labour purposes was discussed.

Chapter Five- Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Human trafficking is a problem that is growing in the world, with extensive implications especially for the human security of individuals. The threat posed by trafficking impacts society, the individual, and the security of a nation. Since the end of the Cold War, human trafficking grew extensively in Africa. Several scholars and organisations, institutions, and governments have done research on the phenomenon and its dimensions. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation, using Mozambique as the source country and South Africa as the destination country. Child trafficking is linked to distinct areas of exploitation; these areas include exploiting children for sex, organs, forced marriage, and forced labour. Several million victims are affected by trafficking. Most of these victims are children because they are the most vulnerable group. This type of trafficking is influenced by various aspects such as the demand for cheap labour amid porous borders and weak law enforcement. This research studied migration with a focus on the trafficking of children for labour exploitation. The main objective was to explore the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa by using a human security perspective instead of conventional security/traditional security. This chapter will consist of two sections, namely Part A: Summary of Findings and Part B: Recommendations and concluding remarks. The first section provides a summary of the findings of the study; it assesses the objectives that were made in the introductory chapter. The second section of this chapter provides recommendations to the findings from the objectives of the study. The recommendations will be targeted to specific groups such as policymakers, organisations and the academic community. Lastly, it will provide areas for future research, draw conclusions through closing remarks to the study.

5.2 Summary of findings

The study aimed at assessing the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, using Mozambique as the source country and South Africa as the destination country. For these reasons, this study was structured into five chapters. It also used a qualitative research method, which relied on secondary resources, which meant that it relied on books, journal articles, government publications, and organisation publications. Other sources included newspaper articles, briefs and internet sources. This data was acquired through libraries and relevant sites. All sources of information were available in the public domain, and no special access was required. For this dissertation, no human participants were interviewed or directly involved, thus there were no ethical concerns or violation of ethics.

The first chapter of this study provided the identification of the research theme, the research problem, questions, objectives, methodology, and the outline of the research. Chapter one identified the research theme by discussing that the human trafficking industry grows nationally and globally, and that most topics on human trafficking are associated with sexual exploitation (Morehouse 2009:17). Chapter one also discussed how child trafficking is a substantial part of global human trafficking. It discussed how child trafficking is a human rights violation, and it also discussed that there is little attention given to labour exploitation. Furthermore, chapter one assisted in understanding the links between labour rights violations and children's rights, and the role that the labour market plays in the prevention and detection of trafficking for labour exploitation.

Chapter two of this study provided a literature review for the study. It presented different debates on the selected concepts such as human trafficking and trafficking for labour exploitation. The purpose of this chapter was to provide a review of the literature. The literature review did this by discussing the debates of human trafficking and on security. The literature review also included debates on the trafficking process and how children are trafficked, debates on the human security impact of children, debates on security challenges and child experiences, and debates on the threats posed by child trafficking and the security of children. The literature review was done systematically, which meant that it was organised in

accordance with the sub-themes to answer the main theme of the research. Thus, it identified the research to answer the clearly formulated question. The discussion was presented under the following sub-themes: human trafficking and security, the trafficking process, the human security impact, security challenges and child experiences, and the threats posed to the human security of children. The main issues that were identified in the literature were that the universal definition of human trafficking is ambiguous and does not provide a clear explanation of exploitation, the South African and Mozambican definitions of trafficking are mirrors of the Palermo, and this creates a problem because the definitions do not speak for the reality in the countries. Another issue that was found in the literature review was the focus of literature of trafficking on sex. The implication of this on child trafficking for labour is that there is inadequate data available on trafficking for labour. Another issue identified in the literature review is that trafficking is not always viewed as a security issue because human trafficking is not thought of as a threat to the state; it is rather viewed as a socio-political issue. The implication of this view is that it is militaristic and narrow because it ignores non-traditional security threats, thus explaining why human trafficking is not prioritised.

Chapter three of this studied provided conceptual clarification. It presented a conceptual framework. The chapter aimed at providing clarity on the grounding theory of this study. The chapter explored the concepts, child trafficking for labour exploitation, and human security. It defined these concepts as they relate to the paradigm of this study. Lastly, the distinction between conventional security and human security was made. Chapter four focused on the security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa. The chapter did this through the following themes: first, child trafficking for labour exploitation processes from Mozambique to South Africa, which discussed the process of child trafficking for labour exploitation by discussing the routes from Mozambique to South Africa, the borders, and how children are transported for labour from Mozambique to South Africa; second, factors that contributed to child trafficking for labour exploitation, in which the 'push and pull factors' from the broader migration model were applied to child trafficking; third, the human security impact on the children that are trafficked for labour. Here, the human security impact of child trafficking for labour exploitation was covered by unpacking the human security aspect of child

trafficking for labour exploitation in Mozambique and South Africa; four, under this sub-theme the security challenges experienced by victims of child trafficking for labour exploitation were discussed. Under this, examples were of children who were trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa, such as '*Tata mama, Tata papa*' and '*Caso Diana*' were touched on; lastly, the threats posed to the human security were covered, such as physical, health, food, community, economic, and environmental security.

5.3 The security implications of child trafficking for labour exploitation between Mozambique and South Africa

Based on the introductory chapter, there were questions and objectives that were articulated for the study. The objectives were as follows:

- a) To establish how children are trafficked for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa.
- b) To determine the insecurities of child trafficking for labour exploitation experienced by children.
- c) To examine why child trafficking for labour exploitation poses a threat to the human security of children.
- d) To determine the security impact of child trafficking for labour exploitation

5.3.1 The process of child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa

The main finding of this section was that the trafficking process has different phases, such as the recruitment, transport and exploitation phase. The first objective was successfully met in the analysis chapter, as the dissertation showed that the choices made by traffickers are usually made upon characteristics such as the socio-economic conditions of the individual. The recruitment phase is made easier in countries with economic crises, natural disasters, and war or conflicts. The recruitment is done through three methods: "forced recruitment, deceptive recruitment, and partially deceptive recruitment". The transport phase in trafficking is

done by air, land and sea. Exploitation was minimally defined and does not exclude the possibility of the existence of other forms of exploitation. Therefore, the trafficking process in human beings can be labelled as the net that traffickers use, the routes that are taken, and how they are taken. The trafficking process is an important element to this study because it aims to answer a research question through a broader lens. The first objective was successfully met in the analysis chapter (chapter four). This chapter analysed the child trafficking process by discussing how children are trafficked and the routes that are used from Mozambique to South Africa. The chapter also discussed the two countries based on their geographical locations and the border crossing the two countries.

5.3.2 Factors contributing to child trafficking for labour exploitation in Mozambique and South Africa

In this section it was found that every country has different factors that draw children into trafficking and this is because of the socio-economic position of the countries, and because of the way they perceive human trafficking. This section was crucial because it assisted us to answer the next objective relating to the insecurities caused by child trafficking for labour exploitation. It was found that in Mozambique, poverty, illiteracy and families play the biggest roles in making children become vulnerable from the supply side, and from the demand side it is South Africa's economic stability, and the demand for cheap labour that makes traffickers target children. This section would have benefitted from primary data such as focus groups and interviews; however, it was not possible for this study for various constraints mentioned in the limitations.

5.3.3 Insecurities/vulnerabilities suffered by children who are taken from Mozambique to South Africa

The main findings of this section were that children are mainly trafficked for labour because of economic hardship within their families. The physical, psychological, and health security of children who are trafficked for labour are threatened. The second objective was successfully met in the analysis chapter as the dissertation showed

that the security of children is at stake because children are cut off from schooling, healthcare, fundamental rights and threats to their future. The main reason that was found in Mozambique that drives children into being vulnerable and insecure is poverty. Thus, they become attracted to South Africa to find better opportunities, and a better life. It was also found that children are also vulnerable to being trafficked because of poor education, being easily overpowered and easy to convince. Children are also in positions where they believe that they are helping their families and are sold by family members. Children's insecurities stem from a range of activities that are dangerous and exploitative such as domestic child labour, agricultural work, drug-related activities, criminal activities and sexual activities.

It was found that poverty makes children from as young as eight feel the burden and responsibility to support their families because of hunger and destitution from different provinces such as "*Nampula, Zambézia, Tete, Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo Province and Maputo City*". Poverty reinforces the trafficking industry and drives innocent people into the hands of traffickers. Therefore, the link between poverty and trafficking is existential because of economic causes, unequal resource allocation, and no income. Poverty is a compelling insecurity and vulnerability in trafficking because potential victims attempt to move from their homes where extreme poverty is experienced to areas with better conditions. Another finding was that children's education is also threatened because they are robbed of the few educational opportunities that they have access to. Education plays a big role in making children in Mozambique vulnerable to being trafficked into South Africa because they lack knowledge and are not informed or aware of the dangers. Education deprivation also threatens their security. It may have adverse outcomes such as delays in their development, difficulty in listening and learning, language and cognitive difficulties, loss of memory and verbal difficulties. Having access to education could put children in less danger because it would educate them on child trafficking is, what diseases are, and educate children on their rights. The findings also showed that children's physical security is at risk when they cross borders, and they have nowhere to live, are forced to sleep in the bush, thus compromising their physical safety, there is nothing to eat, they experience xenophobic comments, are undocumented and have nowhere to go as they fear the police.

In terms of psychological security, it was found that each stage of the trafficking process can lead to abuse and violence. Although the research and access to resources on the impact of child trafficking on a child's development and well-being was limited. It was found that children experience physical abuse, emotional trauma, fear and humiliation because of the use of manipulation and coerciveness to control children, thus making their escape impossible by destroying their defences. In terms of health security, trafficking children makes them vulnerable to disease. Health insecurities stem from inhuman living conditions, irregular diets, no hygiene, and denial of the human right of access to healthcare, thus resulting in health problems that have short- and long-term consequences.

5.3.4 Child trafficking for labour as a threat to human security

It was found that there are various issues that still need to be examined in the human trafficking realm, such as the relation between human trafficking and human security, because of the limitations in understanding if human trafficking constitutes a threat to one's security. The third objective was successfully met in the analysis chapter, as the dissertation showed the move from conventional security to human security, and traditional threats to non-military threats. It also showed that it is difficult to establish a direct link between human trafficking and security when security is defined in its traditional form. However, a non-traditional view of security shows that threats can be from various sources. Thus, the importance of the link made in the conceptual framework when answering the third objective, as it guides the perspective that the research has taken. Human security is linked to individuals in their everyday lives. Such as, security from hunger, disease, unemployment, crime, repression and environmental risks. With this mind, child trafficking for labour exploitation has security implications for people and for the state. It was found that at the individually, child trafficking impacts safety, human dignity, and health of the children. Nationally, child trafficking undermines the state's response to crime and the state's capabilities.

5.3.5 The human security impact on children that are trafficked for labour exploitation and challenges in child victims

In this section it was found that the human security impact on children is important because of human rights and human life, and how child trafficking for labour endangers their life. The fourth objective was successfully met in the analysis chapter, as the dissertation showed that child trafficking has an impact on children because it victimises them. At any phase of the trafficking process, abuse, such as torture, deprivation, violence, manipulation, economic exploitation and labour exploitation. The study also found that child trafficking, unlike other crimes, involves prolonged trauma. This could either be through short- or long-term physical injuries, or disabilities and death. Different types of traumas include stress disorders, anxiety and depression and aggression. Research showed that child victims experience the impact of trafficking worse because of their vulnerability due to age, immaturity and lack of experience, as they are still young. This affects the mental and physical development of children and causes social difficulties. Children's vulnerabilities also included the small size and fragility of children making them desirable for work. Children that are exploited in environments with machinery are prone to breathing in toxic smoke and cut themselves. In an agricultural environment, they are prone to catching bacteria or handling deadly insects that can cause infections. It also found that children's health security is at risk through mental health as well; anxiety, insecurity, and physical pain may have an impact on the well-being of children. Children who are exploited for labour in tropical regions such as Mozambique and South Africa are at high risk of sun strokes, poisoning, heart problems, dust inhalation and accidents because of the heat levels and pollution levels.

5.4 Recommendations

Drawing on the findings of this research, recommendations can be made in order to develop comprehensive approaches that can advise significant action, combat child trafficking, protect children of trafficking, and condemn offenders. The main stakeholders to whom these recommendations are directed include the government, the international community, the academic community, organisations working with children, and the media.

a) Regulations on trafficking

This recommendations in this section are directed to the Mozambican and South African governments. It is clear that trafficking is a human rights issue, and the combating thereof remains a challenge. Trafficking is not just about the law and punishing the traffickers; it is also changing the socio-economic conditions of children in poverty; entrenching a culture of respect for upholding human rights; reaching consensus among governments on how to combat trafficking in the SADC region; and successfully implementing measures that effectively protect citizens from trafficking. A comprehensive response to trafficking is therefore required to address the whole range of challenges, factors and vulnerabilities in the region. The Mozambican government should ensure that the regulations are settled and aim to improve their status as a tier 2 country on the watchlist. The South African government should improve the investigation, and action management of human trafficking cases in South Africa to be able to identify Mozambican children. Human trafficking in South Africa should be allocated to specific units for investigation and prosecution to avoid negligence or missing cases. The South African government should also work with members of the region to implement a system that would allow the collection of systematic and national-level data. The government should also invest in strict training and prosecution of officials, especially at the official border posts. Lastly, the education system needs to be more effective so that every child should have the opportunity to learn and be aware of the dangers of trafficking.

b) Regional Cooperation

Regional cooperation, in addition to international cooperation, is required to take successful action. Thus, countries in the SADC region need to come together to obtain resources and capacity to combat trafficking. Trafficking transcends borders, and it is an offence in the country where it starts, and where it continued to take place. Hence the importance of a joint community. This also includes instituting an integrated system for gathering trafficking cases data. The region should also increase its efforts in protecting children by developing a formal structure to identify proactively trafficking victims in all sectors, not just in West Africa. Therefore, Mozambique and South Africa should enter into regional and international arrangements with other countries to provide witness protection and shared information systems.

c) Data on Access to Information

Concrete and reliable data on human trafficking, specifically child trafficking, is limited; thus, it is an essential requirement to have effective information systems. The need for official databases encompassing even the most basic fact on child trafficking cases in Mozambique and South Africa is necessary. The absence of adequate figures is a serious limitation in measuring the magnitude of child trafficking for labour exploitation in Mozambique, South Africa, other countries, and the SADC region. Therefore, implementing a database or structure to allow the collection of systematic data at a national level to address prevention, protection and prosecution of child traffickers.

d) Protective services for and awareness of trafficked children

The organisations working with children should increase the accessibility of protective services for victims through increased funding. They can also provide services that will assist victims and their families, such as a dedicated hotline for the reporting any suspicion of trafficking and missing children. Together with the relevant stakeholders, organisations should work to encompass awareness of child trafficking

and exploitation. This allows education on trafficking to be taught to children at a young age, from primary level, as it will allow children to react to circumstances of risk and allows children to access related departments and services. Organisations should work together to cover research, investigations, prevention, and publicity, and train officials to investigate those facilitating child labour.

e) Media and Provision of Information on Child Trafficking

When accessing data and media reports, it was found that the media does not publicise stories of trafficked children therefore, the media can encourage the inclusion of children's voices in media stories and ensuring that children's stories can be heard so that this can prevent the next child from experiencing the same by helping children make informed choices about being lured by strangers and crossing borders. The media can also play a vital role by highlighting cases of abuse and exploitation of children to bring these to the attention of government and organisations working with children and communities.

5.6 Areas for future research

This research was aimed to focus on child trafficking for labour exploitation through a human security perspective. This section speaks to areas that need further clarification and investigation. Continuous research is necessary to increase understanding of human trafficking, especially child trafficking for labour, as most research is focused on sex trafficking. The lack of available data in the continent requires changes, thus carrying out additional research in Africa, and Southern Africa specifically, to better understand the factors that encourage the movement of children. The misconceptions of the definition of human trafficking in the literature, especially Africa also needs to be further investigated. This is because the definitions that were found mirrored the definition of the Palermo Protocol and were not specific to the country in the cases, or South Africa and Mozambique. The definitions in the respective laws also showed a long list of issues that may contribute to a loss of attention on issues of concern within trafficking. The Palermo Protocol as shown in

the study provides a universal definition of trafficking in persons, however, it is difficult to apply a universal definition when each country is different, and experiences different forms of trafficking. Thus, conceptual clarity is needed in the understanding of human trafficking to successfully combat trafficking. Areas for future research also include expanding on the literature of child trafficking for labour purposes, child trafficking and child fosterage, amongst other new dimensions of child trafficking. Another area for future research would be field work to collect primary data to fill the gaps in the literature and parts of the thesis where it would have benefitted from primary data.

5.7 Concluding remarks

Throughout the research, this study made use of concepts to understand the study of child trafficking for labour exploitation, and human security. When conducting the research, it was found that in most states trafficking and child trafficking are considered to be social issues rather than security issues. In answering the main objective of the study, which was to examine the security implications of child trafficking from Mozambique to South Africa, it was necessary to securitise and demonstrate how child trafficking poses a threat to security, the focus being on the human security of individuals. In terms of human trafficking in general, the literature found that it was adequately conceptualised in different parts of the world; however, when the research focuses on Africa, it has been insufficiently prioritised by scholars, especially in Southern Africa. Mozambique and South Africa played a significant role in the trafficking process because for the research being done, Mozambique was considered the source country for child trafficking, and South Africa the destination country. While other countries securitise human trafficking as a threat to their state security by identifying their referent objects, Mozambique and South Africa gave little prioritisation to the matter, and this is seen by the absence of reliable data. The study also demonstrated the challenges, factors, vulnerabilities and insecurities of exploiting children for labour.

Furthermore, this study has provided a link between child trafficking for labour exploitation and human security to be able to understand the security implications of

child trafficking for labour exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa on the human security of children. The value of this research is that it contributes to the literature of child trafficking, and the limited research on child trafficking for labour purposes in Southern Africa, and it provides a shift from traditional security threats to non-military threats, in this case human security. With this research, other nations or scholars may be able to avoid similar events of trafficking from a source country to a destination country in general.

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7. Appendices

Appendix I - Declaration form

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

This document must be signed and submitted with every
essay, report, project, assignment, dissertation and/or thesis.

Full names of student: Melissa Michelle Da Silva Samuel

Student number: 16033427

Declaration

1. I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University's policy in this regard.
2. I declare that this dissertation (eg essay, report, project, assignment, dissertation, thesis, etc) is my own original work. Where other people's work has been used (either from a printed source, internet or any other source), this has been properly acknowledged and referenced in accordance with departmental requirements.
3. I have not used work previously produced by another student or any other person to hand in as my own.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT: 

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR: 

Appendix II – Plagiarism Policy

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA PLAGIARISM POLICY AGREEMENT

The University of Pretoria places great emphasis upon integrity and ethical conduct in the preparation of all written work submitted for academic evaluation.

While academic staff teaches you about referencing techniques and how to avoid plagiarism, you too have a responsibility in this regard. If you are at any stage uncertain as to what is required, you should speak to your lecturer before any written work is submitted.

You are guilty of plagiarism if you copy something from another author's work (eg a book, an article or a website) without acknowledging the source and pass it off as your own. In effect you are stealing something that belongs to someone else. This is not only the case when you copy work word-for-word (verbatim), but also when you submit someone else's work in a slightly altered form (paraphrase) or use a line of argument without acknowledging it. You are not allowed to use work previously produced by another student. You are also not allowed to let anybody copy your work with the intention of passing it off as his/her work.

Students who commit plagiarism will not be given any credit for plagiarised work. The matter may also be referred to the Disciplinary Committee (Students) for a ruling. Plagiarism is regarded as a serious contravention of the University's rules and can lead to expulsion from the University.

The declaration which follows must accompany all written work submitted while you are a student of the University of Pretoria. No written work will be accepted unless the declaration has been completed and attached.

Full names of candidate: **Melissa Michelle Da Silva Samuel**

Student number: **16033427**

Date: **09 September 2021**

Declaration

1. I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University's policy in this regard.

SIGNATURE OF CANDIDATE: 

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR: 

This document must be signed and submitted to the Head: Student Administration within two months of registering for the research component of the programme.

Appendix III – Ethics Declaration



Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomothe



31 March 2021

Dear Miss MMD Samuel

Project Title: The Security Implications of Child Trafficking for Labour Exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa
Researcher: Miss MMD Samuel
Supervisor(s): Dr CC Nshimbi
Department: Political Sciences
Reference number: 16033427 (HUM036/0221)
Degree: Masters

Thank you for the application that was submitted for ethical consideration.

The Research Ethics Committee notes that this is a literature-based study and no human subjects are involved.

The application has been **approved** on 25 March 2021 with the assumption that the document(s) are in the public domain. Data collection may therefore commence, along these guidelines.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. However, should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, a new research proposal and application for ethical clearance will have to be submitted for approval.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Innocent Pikirayi
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate Studies and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomothe

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof I Pikirayi (Deputy Dean); Prof K. Harris; Mr A. Bizos; Dr A.M de Beer; Dr A dos Santos; Ms KT Gwinda; Andrew, D; P Gubane; Dr E Johnson; Prof D Maree; Mr A Mohamed; Dr I Nsoane; Dr C Rubergil; Prof D Rayburn; Prof M Soer; Prof E Tsaleni; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tshebe; Ms D Mokalapa

Appendix IV – Editor Declaration



7 September 2021

To whom it may concern,

I hereby confirm that I reviewed the Master's thesis, "The Security Implications of Child Trafficking for Labour Exploitation from Mozambique to South Africa" by Melissa Michelle Da Silva Samuel, student number 16033427, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, for language errors, style and flow, formatting and cross-checking of references. The final quality of the work remains the student's responsibility. I wish her all the best with this submission and her future work.

Yours sincerely,

Salomé Smith

Registered language practitioner

SATI membership number: 1002588

Translation | Text editing | Copy writing

Lexica Language Services, Pretoria, South Africa
email: info@lexica.co.za | c: 084 598 2704