

Master's Research Report in Journalism and Media Studies

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**Topic: How Does the Media Frame Human Trafficking in South Africa: A Study
of Four Metropolitan Newspapers**



Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master's of Journalism and Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination or at any other university.

Avantika Seeth

15 day of March, 2024

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For Ayaan and Armana

“For you, a thousand times over.” – The Kite Runner, by Khaled Hosseini

Abbreviations

AU - African Union

Ecpat International – End Child Prostitution and Trafficking

FPB - Film and Publication Board

IOL - Independent Online

ILO - International Labour Office

IOM - International Organisation for Migration

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

SAPS - South African Police Services

TVPA - Trafficking Victims Protection Act

UNODC- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Abstract

Human trafficking has become a widely discussed topic in the South African media in recent years, with an apparent increase in media reports on kidnappings, abductions and arrests. Given the severity and frequency of the crime, and that it happens in South Africa, the way in which the media frames its coverage of human trafficking is important in terms of creating public awareness and even informing lawmakers. This research investigates how the print media in South Africa frames its stories on human trafficking by looking at coverage in four metropolitan newspapers, *The Star*, *The Cape Times*, *The Witness* and *The Pretoria News*, from 2015 to 2019. This time frame was chosen as it is the period in which unabridged birth certificates for minors were introduced and then removed, in an effort to combat human trafficking by the South African government. Based on an analysis of a total of 306 articles, the findings from this study indicate that when it comes to human trafficking, there is a striking absence of investigative reporting on the topic. Coverage of human trafficking in South Africa tends to happen when prominent people are involved, or comment, or if an event like a court case happens. Amongst the frames identified, the topic of sex trafficking and sex work is often misunderstood, and yet reports on human trafficking are linked to sex trafficking the most. A high volume of reports deal with child exploitation. While the media is dependent on international stories for some of its coverage, these are often not given a local angle or relevance.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

This study takes an in-depth approach based on thematic content analysis, of 306 articles, to determine how the media frames human trafficking in South Africa. The news coverage considered is for the period June 2015 to December 2019, and is based on the timeline when unabridged birth certificates were introduced to South Africa as part of measures to combat human trafficking (this requirement at border posts was finally repealed in 2019). High rates of crime have been endemic to post-apartheid South Africa. Between August 9, 2015, and December 12, 2017, a total of 2 132 cases of human trafficking related-cases were reported by the South African Police Service (SAPS) Crime Administration System (Van der Watt 2018). While human trafficking falls within several definitions in accordance with government and legislative policy, it is often defined by a number of contributing factors which are identified as key indicators, such as domestic violence, kidnapping, abduction, rape and assault (Van Der Watt & Burger 2018). Victims of human trafficking are typically forced into doing something (i.e. forced labour or sex work) against their will for an extended period of time, while someone else usually earns money or profits through them. Despite these indicators, because these crimes are present in other forms of criminal behaviour or activity which are not necessarily defined as human trafficking, it is known as a crime which is often difficult to quantify, given that statistically there are no quantifiable measures to provide insight into how widespread it is in South Africa. It is considered an “elusive statistical nightmare” (The Conversation 2015), with global ramifications, affecting a countless number of people worldwide, particularly those from vulnerable backgrounds such as those who are seeking job opportunities in more developed countries or cities in order to provide for their families back home. South Africa is known as a source, transit, and destination country for men, women and children who end up being trafficked. NGOs and law enforcement officials indicate that amongst the victims, South African citizens constitute the largest number within the borders of the country (Van Der Watt 2015).

The media, by offering the public information on cases related to human trafficking, is an important stakeholder in educating and creating awareness around the scourge of this phenomenon. It is therefore important to understand how it frames human trafficking in order to understand where there might be strengths and gaps in its coverage, and how effectively it is reporting on the topic in the public interest.

1.2 Background

1.2.1. . The role of the media and how it reports on human trafficking

Mass media, such as print media for the purposes of this research, is meant to play a central role in creating awareness around the scourge of human trafficking both globally and within South Africa, particularly after several reports, such as the Trafficking in Persons Report (2014) shows that there appears to be an increase in the crime, which the news media assists with in terms of showcasing the findings of these reports. The media, as a platform for free and fair press¹ has a role not only to provide information to the public about the threat of human trafficking in South Africa, but also to report on cases where missing victims who have been kidnapped and held against their will for the purpose of being trafficked are rescued. As outlined by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), “The media have a large role to play in mobilizing public support and involvement to help prevent and combat trafficking. Owing to their reach and their ability to mould public opinion, they are a powerful tool of social change.”² The South African media has over the years reported on cases of human trafficking, but research suggests that in some cases, allegations of kidnapping or sexual abuse, illegal labourers or assault have been misidentified and are in fact cases of human trafficking (Van der Watt 2018). Human trafficking occurs both internally between our provinces, as well as externally across our South African borders. Some of the earliest statistics related to missing children in South Africa include an article which was published in Afrikaans newspaper, Beeld, in 1991 (Van der Watt 2018). Since then, the media has continued to report on a crime which seems to be evading authorities yet is infiltrating communities across South Africa. Using a keyword search “human trafficking” on SA Media, I found a total of 2923 news reports related to human trafficking which have been catalogued on SA Media, with the first article listed by the Sunday Times in 1999, detailing an undercover investigation in which journalist Mzilikazi wa Afrika pretended to be a Mozambican citizen looking for a job in South Africa.

At Ressano Garcia, a border village in Mozambique,

I pretended I wanted

¹ <https://www.humanrightscenter.org/issues/whats-the-role-of-the-media-in-protecting-human-rights/>

² https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/Toolkit-files/08-58296_tool_9-16.pdf

a job in Johannesburg.

A man came up to me and said I

should take a taxi to Maputo, where

I would meet with their "chief" at a

park. When I got to the park, I met a

man who said his name was Augusto

Makwakwa. He said he would

help me get into South Africa and

find a good job - I would have to

pay him R480 in return.(Sunday Times, pg 5,) 1999

According to the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (2011) there are also some local customs, such as the local cultural practice of Ukhuthwala, which has been identified as having links to young girls being kidnapped and forced into marriages and other means of exploitation. In some instances, children as young as the age of 11 or 12 are being married off, often by their own parents or caregivers who in exchange for selling their daughters, receive money for food and other staples (Van der Watt 2018). When someone under the age of 18 is taken away from their parents, transported to another location and forced to have sexual intercourse, South African law, as stated by the Legal Resources Centre, permits that the perpetrator be charged for trafficking. A majority of the reports which the media publishes encompasses such articles, but the media has also faced scrutiny for not being more probing towards the topic.³ Some of these criticisms towards the media includes the sensationalisation of human trafficking stories to get that “shock factor” and the use of stereotyped images in news articles, such as hands in cuffs, which sends the message that human trafficking is always visually obvious. ⁴This research examines how the reporting of cases related to human trafficking are framed. This research seeks to fill a crucial gap in the

³ <https://www.dressember.org/blog/what-the-media-gets-right-and-wrong-about-human-trafficking>

⁴ <https://www.dressember.org/blog/what-the-media-gets-right-and-wrong-about-human-trafficking>

research towards human trafficking in South Africa and outlines the role and importance that the media plays when reporting on such an important topic.

1.2.2. Background to Unabridged Birth Certificates in South Africa

For the purposes of this research, the time period of this study (June 2015 – 2019) is significant given that the implementation and introduction of unabridged birth certificates as a form of monitoring the movement of minors into and outside the borders of South Africa was introduced as a tool to help mitigate human trafficking, particularly in minors.

An unabridged birth certificate contains the identity document number, first name and surname, date of birth, place of birth, and country of birth of not only the minor to which it belongs, but for both parents as well. If the original unabridged birth certificate is not written in English, then a sworn English translation performed by an accredited authority in the minor's country of origin must be provided.⁵

In order to combat child trafficking and the migration of over 30 000 minor children mostly undocumented immigrants, through South African borders, the South African government enacted new legislation in 2014 aimed to preventing the trafficking of minors through the country's borders.⁶

Following this regulation, there was fierce debate by many which included the fact that this hampered the growth of tourism in the country given the strict requirement for minors entering and leaving the country.

By the end of 2019, this regulation was scrapped to attract more tourism inflow to the country.⁷

1.2.3. The problem with defining human trafficking

Defining human trafficking can be complex given that it has fallen into numerous categories over the years. In Framing the problem of sex trafficking, Whose Problem? What Remedy? (Johnston, Friedman and Stafer 2014) refers to (Bates 2000, Gozdiak & Bump 2008) with regards to the complexity of human trafficking:

⁵ <https://www.savisas.com/unabridged-birth-certificate-south-africa/>

⁶ <https://q-pro.co.za/unabridged-birth-certificates/unabridged-birth-certificate-traveling-with-minor-children-in-to-and-out-of-south-africa/>

⁷ <https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/346158/south-africas-controversial-birth-certificate-rule-to-be-scrapped/>

The work reflects the complexity of trafficking through a wide range of definitions, causes, consequences and remedies, and is distributed across fields such as criminal justice, economics, sociology, public health, feminist studies, immigration and politics to name just a few.

The media has not been the sole receiver of criticism when it comes to the reporting of human trafficking. NGOs or anti-trafficking groups are “skilled at using exaggerated numbers and extreme cases to attract media attention and provoke outrage among the public, and, as a result, support for carceral solutions” (Johnston, Friedman and Stafer 2014). This criticism has however yielded insight into how the media structures information about human trafficking into the news functions and values of the US media.

On July 30, 2019, the world commemorated World Day against Trafficking in Persons. I monitored the media coverage by the major newspapers in the country and the coverage of human trafficking in relation to the significance of the day was limited. Apart from doing a Google search and physically scanning a few newspapers including The Star and the Citizen, I also searched on SA Media, a portal of Sabinet Online. This portal holds a record of all articles published by South African newspapers and would be best placed to search for any articles related to human trafficking. By doing a baseline search, 18 news articles contained the term “human trafficking”. To whittle it down even further into a direct relation to World Day against Trafficking in Persons, eight results were found, six of which spoke directly to the significance of the day. I also found one report in The Star on the day which defined human trafficking according to a quote by Community Safety MEC in the Western Cape, Albert Fritz, as follows:

Human trafficking refers to the buying and selling of people for the purposes of exploitation which includes sex work, forced or bonded labour, involuntary domestic servitude, child soldiers or organ trafficking (Fritz in The Star, July 30, 2019)

The article went on to list how victims of human trafficking could be identified, which includes that they are controlled by another person, are unpaid or paid very little, as well as not being permitted to speak for themselves.

This article is one example of how the media talks to or addresses the topic of human trafficking. This analysis will correlate to the framing aspect of this study in terms of how the media frames human trafficking based on how they define human trafficking.

1.2.4. Background of newspapers analysed in this study

1.2.4.1. Pretoria News History: Audience and Readership

The reports of human trafficking between the periods June 1, 2015, to December 1, 2019, for *The Pretoria News* were analysed. The restrictions for outgoing tourists still remained as of December 2019, however, and minors who travelled outside of the country still required an unabridged birth certificate in order to leave the country. I allowed the research period to continue until 1 December 2019 to allow some space for reporting following the announcement by the Department of Home Affairs on November 11, 2019 (Traveller, 2019) to ensure that reports following the announcement were given a chance to be recorded and analysed.

1.2.4.2. *The Star* Newspaper

The Star is a daily newspaper which was founded in Grahamstown as "The Eastern Star" in 1871 and moved to Johannesburg in 1887. It was subsequently renamed "*The Star*" in 1889.

Historically, *The Star* was one of the leading newspapers in South Africa, with readership across various demographics. According to data by The Audit Bureau of Circulations in South Africa which released the circulation figures of newspapers in South Africa in 2019, *The Star* showed a decline in its readership to 55 899, down 22.6% from the 2018.

1.2.4.3. *The Witness* Newspaper

The Witness, which was previously known as *The Natal Witness*, is a daily newspaper published in Pietermaritzburg. It mainly serves readers in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and the inland areas of the KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa and was first published in 1846. Circulation figures for *The Witness* as of 2019 was 9935, down 9.1% from the previous year.

1.2.4.4. *The Cape Times* Newspaper

The Cape Times is an English-medium newspaper which was founded in 1876 as the first daily newspaper to exist in South Africa at the time.⁸ In 2019, readership figures stood at 25,376, down 13.5% from the previous year.⁹

⁸ <https://cdm21048.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p21048coll53>

⁹ <https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/90/200639.html>

1.2.4.5. Research Question

This research has sought to answer a few questions around the role of the media when it comes to reporting on the topic of human trafficking. This includes:

1. How is human trafficking defined in the sample media outlets?
2. What are the dominant themes that emerge in their coverage?
3. To what extent is it considered a problem in South Africa according to the newspapers analysed?

I have therefore settled on the following question which guides this research:

A human rights issue: How does the media frame human trafficking?

For example, is human trafficking more newsworthy when it has economic implications, or when girls are involved? Are the views of specific groups, organisations, or institutions given more authority to speak on the topic than others? Are the victims of human trafficking mostly seen as male or female, or black or white? Are they from rural areas, or cities, poor or middle class? And who are seen to be the perpetrators, according to media coverage?

1.2.4.6. Aim

The aim of this research was to examine the coverage of human trafficking in newspapers in South Africa to understand how the issues around human trafficking are framed. Through a content-analysis study, it investigates how the topic has made its way into mainstream print media by considering the news angle of articles, by examining the use of sources and whose perspectives dominate coverage, and by considering the framing of both victims and perpetrators of human trafficking.

This study has analysed the coverage of four major metropolitan newspapers which includes *The Star*, *Pretoria News*, *The Cape Times* and *The Natal Witness*. While this research sheds light on the media's definition of human trafficking, and how it is defined separately from crimes such as abduction or kidnapping, it has also aimed to assess whether the theory of moral panics can be applied to, when reporting on human trafficking in South Africa by the media. Other theories which are relevant to this study include agenda-setting theory and framing theory.

1.2.4.7. Rationale

The topic of human trafficking as covered by the media has grown so much over the years, that in 2010 the United Nations convened a panel discussion on the news media's role and its coverage on human trafficking.¹⁰

The media plays an important role in helping society to understand what is going on around them and can influence the discourse among the general public as well as policy makers. Given the history of the South African political landscape, the media was during apartheid used as a tool to expose the wrongdoings of the apartheid government. While there was the pro-apartheid mouthpiece, there was even greater resistance to the oppressive and racially divisive movement, which the media played an important role in helping to fight against the apartheid regime. Since the democratic dispensation of the South African government in 1994, the media has continued to act as the fourth estate, often exposing corruption and holding the government to account. It has also, through the use of freedom of speech as enshrined in Section 16 of the Constitution, reported on various criminal activities which sweeps through South Africa, partly as a result of the complex way the socio-political landscape has developed.

This research explores the way in which human trafficking has been reported on in South Africa with the aim of increasing this area of research which has minimal coverage on the way in which the media and human trafficking exist. Based on multiple searches across many of Wits University's research portals, there is limited research which has been conducted in South Africa on human trafficking in relation to the print media. In 2018, a news framing analysis (Rosas-Moreno 2018) was conducted on the existence of human trafficking in South Africa in relation to the country being a member of the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Dialogue Forum. The news framing analysis was conducted around the time before South Africa was a member of IBSA and after the membership was initiated, with news reports spanning a period of 19 years. The main findings of the analysis on the way in which human trafficking has been framed by the media in relation to its membership of an alliance which was formed to shine a spotlight on human rights issues such as the exploitation of people through human trafficking, was that the press, in its reporting of human trafficking, had done a "poor job", and that the narratives of victims in news reports were "few and far between" (Rosas-Moreno 2018:57). Another news framing analysis was conducted over a two-month period by Media Monitoring

¹⁰ Rachealle Sanford, Daniel E. Martínez & Ronald Weitzer (2016) Framing Human Trafficking: A Content Analysis of Recent U.S. Newspaper Articles, *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 2:2, 139-155, DOI: 10.1080/23322705.2015.1107341

Africa in 2011, which looked at how widely reported the topic of human trafficking was during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. The comprehensive report, which will be discussed later in this paper in more detail, analysed the media reports of human trafficking one month before and one month after the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was hosted by South Africa with matches being played across the country. It found very few reports of human trafficking in print media over this two-month period. This research will therefore look at more extensively, the topic of human trafficking and how it has been reported on in mainstream media over a more recent period in South Africa's history (between 2015 and 2019), and will look at, in detail, the framing of news reports given the implementation of unabridged birth certificates, in order to fill this gap.

A simple yet concrete example of how human trafficking is misunderstood in South Africa can be understood better based on the findings of a study which was conducted by the University of Johannesburg in 2016. In this study, the awareness of human trafficking was conducted on a sample size of 993 people. It was found that most respondents were not aware that victims of human trafficking in South Africa were actually South African citizens. Most respondents believed that victims were from central Africa (19.3%) and Asia (16.1%) (Human Trafficking Awareness Survey Results, UJ, October 2016).

In South Africa, most victims of human trafficking end up in forced labour, with the mining and agricultural sectors most prone to this kind of labour (US State Department 2016 Report, Trafficking in Persons).

The survey, however, showed that an overwhelmingly large number of respondents believed that victims of human trafficking ended up in prostitution (Human Trafficking Awareness Survey Results, UJ, October 2016).

While there is certainly a case to be made when it comes to the sexual exploitation of victims of human trafficking in South Africa, does the media report on cases where children and adults are used as forced labour? Is the area of forced labour a point which the media does highlight through its reporting or is the media missing out on this? At this point, there is no research to prove or disprove this, so this research fills that gap. These are some of the sub-sections that this thesis will discuss.

These are just some of the examples of how the topic of human trafficking has managed to gain public attention. It is through reports such as these that closer attention has been paid to the

scope of human trafficking in South Africa, and the role that the media plays in reporting on the topic.

Due to the scarcity of concrete statistics around human trafficking, the media plays a vital role in helping to add to the data collection process in order to better understand and counter the effect of human trafficking, both in South Africa as well as globally.

The International Labour Office (ILO 2012:7) emphasizes the role of data collection and research in order to help implement sustainable and impactful action in order to combat the forced labour and exploitation of adults and children around the world.

Reliable statistics are essential to understand the nature and extent of the problem, its causes and consequences, and to inform policy-makers and other stakeholders involved in action against forced labour. Regular data collection also enables the assessment of progress and impact of the implementation policy, action plans and specific programmes and projects to eradicate forced labour. (ILO 2012:7).

The hope for this research is that the fresh data which has been collected through the analysis of various articles related to human trafficking and relevant to this study will add to a growing body of information and data linked to human trafficking, in order to locate human trafficking both in South Africa and globally.

CHAPTER TWO

2.Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1.How South Africa defines human trafficking

In July 2013, former President Jacob Zuma signed the Prevention and Combatting of Trafficking in Persons Bill into law. According to the bill, there are three requirements which need to be met in order for human trafficking to have occurred:

1. A person has to be delivered, recruited, transported, transferred, harboured, sold, exchanged or lead within or across the borders of South Africa.
2. There has to be a threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim.
3. The victim has to be trafficked for the purpose of exploitation, which includes sexual exploitation, servitude, forced labour or the removal of body parts. (Africa Check, 2013)

While this may be the legal framework in which South Africa identifies victims of human trafficking, there have also been other definitions proposed by various NGO's which work to create awareness and prevent human trafficking from occurring in South Africa. One such organisation is the National Human Trafficking Resource Line , which states:

Human Trafficking is the illegal trade of people for the purposes of forced labour and sexual exploitation. As the world's fastest growing criminal industry, it affects every nation across the globe, and is also defined as modern-day slavery. (Human Trafficking Resource Line, 2019)

2.2. Prominent media cases of human trafficking between 2015 and 2018, as per the period of this study

In 2018 Nigerian pastor Timothy Omotoso underwent trial proceedings against him for charges related to racketeering, rape, sexual assault, human trafficking and trafficking in persons (IOL, 2018). Much of the prominence surrounding this particular case was *The Witness* testimony which was delivered by a victim of Omotoso's, Cheryl Zondi, who soon gained public admiration and praise for speaking publicly about what she endured as a result of Omotoso's actions. In *The Pretoria News*, much of the articles surrounding human trafficking centred around the Omotoso case. Cases such as this have been reported by the mainstream media, and as such has opened the conversation surrounding human trafficking. Since his arrest in 2017 and as of November 2019, Omotoso spent his third Christmas in jail (News24, November 2019).

In August 2018, another case caught the eye of the public after two cases of human trafficking were reported in Cape Town. A 44-year-old Nigerian man, allegedly the kingpin behind a brothel which was operated in Springs, east of Johannesburg, was charged with human trafficking after luring unsuspecting victims, raping them and forcing them into prostitution (IOL 2018). The sentencing and court proceedings were reported on extensively by *The Pretoria News*.

Internationally, the #MeToo movement brought to the fore prominent and well-known figures within the movie and banking industries who have been accused of sex trafficking, as in the case of US businessman Jeffrey Epstein. For more than two decades reports (ABC News, August 2019) indicated that Epstein, who was a billionaire after having made his money off Wall Street, evaded authorities following a string of accusations made by victims who alleged that Epstein had had sex with minors (ABC News, August 2019).

In July of 2019, famed US musician R. Kelly was arrested on sex trafficking charges (Rolling Stone, July 219) after he was found to have transported underage girls across state lines for the purposes of sex. Part of his charges related to video footage which was alleged to have been found of him having sex with underage girls (Rolling Stone, July 2019).

On June 1, 2015, new legislation was introduced by the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa in order to help, among other things, curb human trafficking.¹¹ The department informed the public that based on available data to them at the time, 30 000 children were victims of human trafficking each year, and as a result, there was a greater need to monitor the flow of children into and out of the country in a more systematic way. In order to help monitor this, the introduction of unabridged birth certificates was introduced, which meant that parents or guardians travelling with minors under the age of 18 had to be in possession of documents which showed the names of both parents, and that consent was given by both parents for the minor to travel into or out of South Africa's borders. The new travel regulation was met with mixed reactions, and was followed by public outcry, particularly from the tourism sector which argued that it would impede on the country's ability to gain tourists as the new visa regulation was an impediment for tourists who would want to visit the country.

11

<http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/statements-speeches/646-statement-by-minister-gigaba-on-the-meeting-with-child-advocacy-groups-held-in-rosebank-on-02-july-2015>

On July 14, 2015, the department of Home Affairs released a statement ¹² accusing the newspaper, The Times, of ‘shoddy journalism’, after it wrote about the department’s “gross exaggeration” of human trafficking in South Africa.

The department said:

To be clear, the Department of Home Affairs had never said the regulations were a response to those numbers. The regulations are in line with two pieces of legislation – the Children’s Act of 2005 and the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act of 2013 (Department of home affairs 2015).

The Times in its front-page article said:

Home Affairs has for some time quoted a figure of 30 000 children being trafficked in or through South Africa annually to justify the draconian new visa regulations which have the tourism industry up in arms (The Times 2015).

In November 2019 the requirement from the department of home affairs was relaxed when it announced that tourists travelling into the country were no longer required to carry unabridged birth certificates with them, but that tourists who were leaving the country still needed this as a requirement. In response, the tourism industry rejoiced, after Statistics South Africa recorded a drop in inbound tourists to South Africa (Fin24, November 2019).

These are just some of the examples of how the topic of human trafficking has managed to gain public attention. It is through examples such as these that closer attention has been paid to the scope of human trafficking in South Africa, and the role that the media plays in reporting on the topic.

2.3. Existing research and literature on the framing of human trafficking in South Africa

While there is limited research on how the media frames reports on human trafficking in South African print media, a comprehensive report was done by Media Monitoring Africa in 2011¹³,

¹²

<http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/statements-speeches/647-media-statement-on-misleading-reckless-report-on-child-trafficking-figures>

¹³ https://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/images/uploads/ATangledWeb_WebPDF_.pdf

as mentioned previously, which managed to analyse the media reports of human trafficking one month before the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was hosted by South Africa with matches being played across the country, and one month afterwards. Some of the findings from this report include:

- That of a total of 3009 newspaper and broadcast items which were monitored, only 60 (1.99%) were related to human trafficking.
- During the World Cup the media had failed in numerous stories to identify human trafficking where it was in fact found, and these items were classified as Missed Opportunities because of this; and
- During the World Cup there was a predominance of stories pertaining to education, awareness and protection, whereas after the World Cup, there was greater reporting on actual occurrences or incidents of human trafficking.

2.4. Theories

2.4.1. Framing theory

Over the years framing theory has grown to become an increasingly popular choice of media research. Information which is published by newspapers on a daily and weekly basis act as an important source of news and communication for the public. News audiences differ according to the different publications, and as such, pieces of information are framed in different ways for specific audiences or target markets. For example, a mainstream business newspaper such as *The Business Day* may talk about the economy and how it may have an impact on a reader's financial investments, but a tabloid newspaper such as the *Daily Sun* may choose to frame the topic of the economy according to the increase in the price of consumables such as bread and milk. In terms of human trafficking, the media's role cannot be emphasized enough as it may influence the discourse between the public as well as policy makers and gives a voice to victims and organisations who advocate for an end to human trafficking.

According to the reasoning behind framing theory, the media selects certain topics and then places these topics within a certain field of meaning (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). The research around framing theory also suggests that when particular components are highlighted, the framing of these components are more likely to influence a person's judgment-making process (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 2000). Leading framing theorist Robert Entman (1993) proposes that audiences choose to simplify information given to them through the use of mental filters

of schema, in order to understand the messages. This simplified way of processing information is referred to as framing. Entman's (1993) four-part typology on framing includes the defining of problems, the diagnosis of causes, the making of moral judgments and the suggested remedies.

This research will be guided by the following definition by Entman (1993):

To frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a perceived reality and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation this research (Entman, 1993).

The moral evaluation in Entman's definition will tie in with Moral Panic Theory which is also being used in this study of the framing and newsworthiness of human trafficking.

In a study done by Rosas-Moreno (2018), *A South African News Framing Analysis Reveals Modern Day Slavery Flourishes Domestically Despite an International Human Rights Relationship*, Rosas-Moreno refers to the argument put forward by (Han, Chock and Shoemaker 2009; Han and Wang 2012) which says that "framing has the potential to significantly and critically influence citizens evaluation of issues, affecting how they think about and act upon the issues that confront them (Kuypers 2000)."

Some of the frames which will be looked at in this study around the topic of human trafficking include the forced labour, social justice, human rights and sex trafficking frames. For example, it hopes to find that certain articles frame the topic of human trafficking around victims of trafficking who have been rescued from sex traffickers, or around NGO's who are speaking out against human trafficking in relation to the social justice framing.

2.4.2. Agenda-setting theory

Agenda-setting theory has also been referred to in the content analysis of stories by looking at what issues are pushing the topic of human trafficking to the fore. Issue proponents in specific news events such as the department of home affairs introduction of unabridged birth certificates or the charges of human trafficking which were laid against Nigerian Pastor Timothy Omotoso in 2018 who underwent trial proceedings against him for charges related to racketeering, rape, sexual assault, human trafficking and trafficking in persons (IOL, 2018) were also be examined. Some of the questions asked include what angles the newspaper articles are reporting on and how this attaches itself to the newsworthiness of the story. Another important question asked

is how the agenda is set by the newsroom and how this sets the editorial policy when selecting these stories within these newsrooms.

2.4.3. Moral Panic Theory

Sociologist Stan Cohen first coined the term moral panic (1972) in order to refer to the way in which the media was used to conflate or magnify societal issues which therefore incited public opinion against specific phenomenon's, and this in turn challenged prevailing norms and brought up the topic of morality in the eyes of society.

Moral panic is described by McRobbie and Thornton (1995:565) contend that moral panics have become a central means by which daily events are reported and brought to the attention of the public.

During the 2010 Soccer World Cup which was hosted by South Africa, campaigns which were run by international and national organisations on human trafficking were characterised by 'distracted young women or children lured into the sex trade against their will.' (Gould 2010,33)

Gould (2010) argues that the discourse around human trafficking has, since the 1980s, and continues to bear characteristics of moral panic. She points out that the way in which victims are portrayed are in a stereotypical manner, as 'hapless women and children lured into prostitution, and exploited and abused.'

In Kenneth Thompson's book, *Moral Panics*, he refers to the 'age of moral panics'.

Newspaper headlines continually warn of some new danger resulting from moral laxity, and television programmes echo the theme with sensational documentaries. In one sense moral panics are nothing new. For a century and more there have been panics over crime, and the activities of 'youth' in particular have often been presented as potentially immoral and a threat to the established way of life. (Thompson 1998)

A significant period in South Africa's recent past is the 2010 Soccer World Cup, as mentioned before, during which several anti-human trafficking campaigns took place and a greater awareness of the crime was reported on by the media, both locally and around the world. The world's attention was on South Africa, and so campaigns formed a large part of the media which was being broadcast and pushed through the media.

This research interrogates the theory of moral panics and how the topic of human trafficking, when reported in the media, may cause society to bring into question things like morals, values, right versus wrong and other related factors when it comes to morals. Does the reporting of human trafficking affect the way people view human rights issues like human trafficking, and do these kinds of stories invoke questions of a panic element in society? Are the stories framed in a way which creates a sense of panic and an exaggeration of the situation? This research also examines the use of tabloid news values which ties into how, through the use of exaggerated reporting and how moral panic is used to sensationalise stories on human trafficking.

2.4.4. Agenda-setting theory

Agenda-setting theory has also been referred to in the content analysis of stories by looking at what issues are pushing the topic of human trafficking to the fore but will not form the main basis of the theories when it comes to this study. Issue proponents in specific news events such as the department of home affairs introduction of unabridged birth certificates or the charges of human trafficking which were laid against Nigerian Pastor Timothy Omotoso in 2018 who underwent trial proceedings against him for charges related to racketeering, rape, sexual assault, human trafficking and trafficking in persons (IOL, 2018) has also been examined as there was a lot of media coverage on this specific case. Some of the questions asked will include what angles the newspaper articles are reporting on and how this attaches itself to the newsworthiness of the story.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology

3.1. Thematic content analysis

The research which has been applied is a qualitative content analysis to analyse newspaper articles from four metropolitan daily newspapers in South Africa: Pretoria News, Cape Times, *The Star* and *the Natal Witness* which then later discuss the themes which overlap in each article.

As quoted by Wassermann, Chuma and Bosch (2018), in *Print media coverage of service delivery protests in South Africa: A content analysis*, Hesmondhalgh (2006:120) says that content analysis has traditionally been used as a quantitative measure which allows researchers to look across a broad spectrum of texts and involves ‘counting and measuring quantities of items such as words, phrases or images’.

In 2001, Lubbe and du Plessis, argued that content analysis as a means of research was underutilised, ‘with great potential for studying beliefs, organisations, attitudes, and human relations’ (Lubbe & du Plessis 2001:24).

Content analysis is a way of identifying specific components of a text and images, and so this method was best-served for the purpose of this research.

The reason for using content analysis for this study is to be able to methodically analyse individual articles which are linked to human trafficking, to gather concise data.

3.2. Tone

For the purposes of this study, it is important to also measure the tone of the articles which report on human trafficking. According to Agility PR Solution, tone can be defined as the following:

“Tone or sentiment measures how a person, group, organization, or issue is portrayed in the media. Tone is normally categorized as positive, neutral or negative, with various degrees of negative and positive tones.”

Key identifiers for a negative story include:

Use of disparaging words, sense of hopelessness or evidence of moral panic theory.

Key identifiers for a positive story include;

Showcasing solutions towards human trafficking in communities, informing the public of how to identify human trafficking.

Key identifiers for a neutral story include:

The reporting of a court case which involves human traffickers and their victims.

3.3. The definition of human trafficking applied to this research

For this research I have defined human trafficking according to the United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol of 2000.

The United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol of 2000 defines human trafficking as having three components, including:

- The Act (What is done)

Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons.

- The Means (How it is done)

Threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim.

- The Purpose (Why it is done)

For the purpose of exploitation, which includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or similar practices and the removal of organs. (UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol, 2000)

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, human trafficking has been recognised as a crime so serious, that it is considered to be ‘a grave violation of human rights’ (UNODC, 2019). Part of what makes it a human rights violation is that victims of human trafficking are often forced into various forms of trafficking, including labour, sex, drug, and organ trafficking.

3.4. How the data was collected.

By applying the components of this definition as well the definition as outlined by government to the various articles which have been analysed, this study focused its understanding of the relationship between the media and human trafficking.

By means of content analysis, this research looked at the coverage of human trafficking between the period of June 2015 to 2019 in print media. This is the time frame in which unabridged birth certificates for children were introduced and then removed. By means of a keyword search using the term 'human trafficking' on SA Media, for the period January 2015 to May 3, 2019, a total of 1514 results were found. The top five publications of these searches were:

1. The New Age: 183
2. Cape Times: 118
3. Pretoria News: 115
4. Daily News: 109
5. *The Star*: 106

While The New Age brought up the most reports of human trafficking in South Africa, I decided not to consult this newspaper because it closed down in 2018. In order to narrow down the searches, this study focused on four existing regional newspapers, *The Pretoria News*, Cape Times and *The Star* and *the Natal Witness*. By focusing on the major metropolitan areas of the country from the Western Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, the research was aimed at extracting data which showcases how regionally, victims of human trafficking differ and how certain factors influence how victims are reported on such as the location, demographics of victims and perpetrators and the frequency of reporting on a specific person.

For each article I have captured the page on which the article appears, the kind of story it is; whether it is a hard news story, an opinion piece, a cartoon, a letter to the editor or an investigative piece, if the article has any images as well as who the author of that particular news item is. I then further scrutinised each article by looking at the general topic, such as that of visa immigration requirements, rescued victims of trafficking, victims of forced labour or sexual trafficking. I also explore the news angle of each article, is it about violence that victims have endured or is it about the exploitation of victims who are forced into sex work? Does the article have a government-aligned angle with official commentary from government officials addressing the topic of human trafficking? Who are the main people or sources quoted by the media when the media reports on human trafficking? I have also assessed the tone of each article and the reference or wording which is used to describe victims and perpetrators of

human trafficking. Is the language used to describe the victims, for example, demeaning or stereotypical in the way that victims of sex trafficking are reported on?

3.5. Content Retrieval Process

I used the SA Media database, which can be located through the Wits Library portal via Sabinet Online. It is considered a good tool to use given that newspaper articles are scanned into the system, thereby creating an archive of content from all of South Africa's major newspapers, magazine and journals in the country. Once I accessed SA Media, the word 'trafficking' was entered into the keyword search. The reason I used the word "trafficking" and not "human trafficking" was because I found a larger pool of data to work with which included articles on drug trafficking for example, but still had links and mentioned human trafficking. Pretoria News was selected as the first preferred newspaper in which the word 'trafficking' was referenced. The use of keywords helps to narrow down the search relevant to the stories being analysed. As described below/above, the text of each story was also analysed according to its tone, which sources were quoted, and the frames which were prevalent in each article and what news values were attached to them. The information in the articles were also used to determine how each publication set the agenda by prioritising different elements of that information and foregrounding different aspects of the story around the topic of human trafficking. The time period for the search was also selected, June 1, 2015, to December 1, 2019. The reason for this timeline is because the unabridged birth certificates were introduced by the department of home affairs on June 1, 2015, and were lifted for international tourists coming into the country on November 11, 2019 (Fin24, 2019). This was done by analysing whether the sources quoted in each article described the topic of human trafficking were those of victims, police officials, court judges or activists and figures of seniority.

I also identified articles according to four categories, namely:

1. Opinion Piece
2. News
3. Editorial
4. Court Case

The reason I used these categories was because these are sections in the newspapers which are generally dedicated to these kinds of stories. For example, the editorial page in a newspaper is of importance because, "Through editorials, a newspaper offers moral judgments and

interpretations about what it considers to be the public interest (Fogoaga, 1982; Ryan, 2004).” (Marques, 2019).

News stories are generally written by journalists who report on, interview, research and write about a specific topic. News stories can also be republished or repurposed. For example, newspapers often publish articles which have been written by Reuters.

Court cases also hold presence in newspapers, as they inform the public about high-level or sensitive issues which are taking place as a legal proceeding, such as that the sentencing of a rapist for example.

Opinion pieces are usually written by people with a certain level of expertise or experience on a particular topic. This is usually framed as a thought leadership article, is usually written in first-person and is more often than not a longer length article of at least 800 words, depending on the newspaper or publication.

It was therefore important for me to group these articles into these categories, to show the newspapers preference or agenda towards how the topic of human trafficking is reported on by the newspaper.

I also, as part of my thematic content analysis, analysed the articles according to eight frames, namely:

1. Military and Security Frame

The reason I used this frame is because articles on human trafficking would be framed according to perhaps a court case or sentencing of traffickers who have been charged with human trafficking, in this instance the framing would fall under the military and security frame. It also speaks to issues of security such as that of the police or military’s involvement in an investigation into human trafficking.

2. Labour Exploitation and Slavery Frame

There were also a number of reports on traffickers who had smuggled people into cities to with the sole purpose of exploiting them as cheap or unpaid labour, this kind of news article would fall under the labour exploitation and slavery frame.

3. Policy and Governance Frame

I came across articles which spoke to policies which were being discussed by the United Nations or even governmental policies which sought to strengthen action against human trafficking taking place, these articles would then fall under the policy and governance frame.

4. Drug Use and Vulnerability Frame

According to The Trafficking in Persons Report of 2021, “Some traffickers force sex trafficking victims to become addicted to drugs and use addiction to keep them in sex trafficking and forced criminality.” (TIPR2021) It was therefore important for me to look at articles which reported on drug abuse, exploitation or trafficking and the links to these reports on human trafficking.

5. Travel Regulations Frame

I included travel regulations as a frame given that the time-period for this study was determined by the introduction of the unabridged birth certificate in South Africa for minors travelling into and out of the country, until the South African government determined in 2019 that foreign nationals travelling to South Africa were no longer required to present an unabridged birth certificate for any minors they were travelling with. Articles which fell into this category were therefore related to visa issues, deportation issues or similar, in relation to the article also mentioning human trafficking.

6. Climate Change and Environment Frame

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) published an information sheet titled Climate Change- The Human Trafficking Nexus in 2017. The information sheet or study says the following:

“Many displaced persons who see irregular migration as the only viable option to pursue better opportunities may seek assistance from human smugglers, placing themselves at risk of many of the forms of exploitation that are commonly associated with trafficking, such as sexual exploitation, forced labour, forced marriage, as well as organ removal.” (IOM, 2017)

When it comes to reporting on issues related to migration, refugees and asylum seekers, a change in environment and certainly climate change propels people to seek better environments in which to live and work. It was therefore important for me to look out for these articles related to climate change and the environment where human trafficking was mentioned.

7. Sex Trafficking Frame

The sex trafficking frame is perhaps the frame which is most commonly associated with human trafficking, as most reports are based on things like pimps, prostitution, the selling of sex, exploitation of sex workers and so on. The Trafficking in Persons Report of 2021 refers to The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, as amended (TVPA), which defines “severe forms of trafficking in persons” as:

- sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.”

As such, I analysed articles according to the how the media mentioned victims of sex trafficking, and how these were framed.

8. Child Exploitation and Protection Frame

There were also articles which reported on children being exploited for the use of cheap or unpaid or forced labour, as well as sex trafficking. I included the child exploitation and protection frame in this regard.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Findings & Analysis

4.1. Total results and grouping for Pretoria News

I used the keyword “trafficking” in SA Media and a total of 130 relevant results were yielded for the period June 1, 2015, to December 1, 2019. This was after I deleted any duplications or articles related to animal trafficking, which I did not include as part of the analysis. I then analysed and grouped the articles by year, according to the headline, date of publication, author, page on which the article was located, talking points or themes, whether it was a locally relevant or international story and the sources who were quoted in each article. If we look at the year-on-year reporting of human trafficking in Pretoria News, in 2015 there were 14 articles, in 2016 there were 27 articles, in 2017 there were 27 articles, in 2018 this figure almost doubled to 43 articles and in 2019 it dropped again to 19 articles. A total of 130 articles were analysed for *The Pretoria News*.

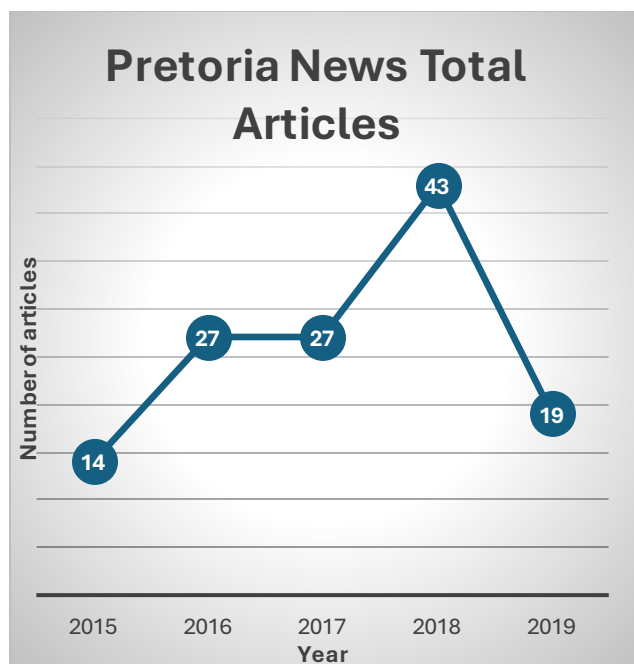


Figure 1 Number of total articles Pretoria News

By doing a count of local versus international coverage, a total of 90 articles were recorded as local coverage, versus a total of 40 articles which were international articles. Although the international coverage was half of the local coverage, this is fairly in line with the audience of *The Pretoria News*, given that it has a local readership rather than international readership.

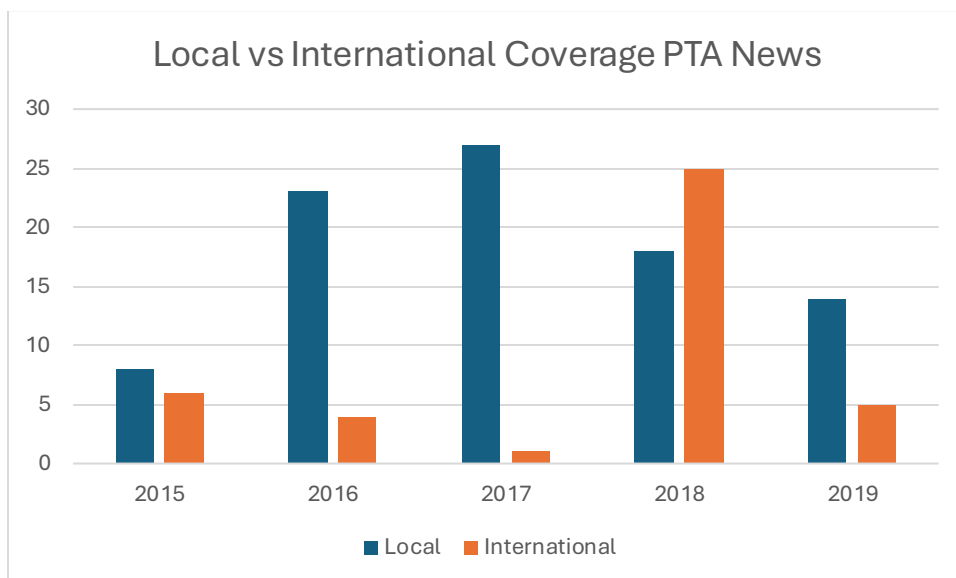


Figure 2: Local versus International Coverage Pretoria News

4.2. Local versus International Coverage

Upon closer examination as to why there was a steep increase in the number of articles on human trafficking in 2018, I found that there were a total of 25 international articles focusing on human trafficking, far more international coverage than was given in previous years. For example, the topics which were discussed in these articles in 2018 includes the issue of migration and refugees:

- “The EU has slapped six human traffickers and smugglers operating in Libya with travel bans and asset freezes...” (EU Sanctions Traffickers, Pretoria News, 2018).
- “Spanish aid group Proactiva Open Arms says it is afraid that several of its staff members could face prosecution over the rescue of mostly African refugees off the Libyan coast last week...” (Aid group fears migrant trafficking charges, Pretoria News, 2018)

There were also articles related to the vulnerability of children as a result of the displacement caused by the Sudan civil war:

“Little -acknowledged tragedy in South Sudan's five-year civil war is that child kidnappings between clans had increased as people become more desperate amid widespread hunger and devastated economy, human rights groups said...” (Civil war and mass displacement sparks violation and trafficking of children in South Sudan, Pretoria News, 2018)

4.3. Types of articles

June 2015-December 2015

For June 1, 2015, to December 31, 2015, a total of 16 results were brought up. These results were then sorted by publication date into ascending order i.e. day-by-day from June to December. I found that two search results for *The Pretoria News Weekend* were also added to the 16 results, so the I manually selected Pretoria News thereby eliminating any results which were brought up by *The Pretoria News Weekend*, which in turn brought the total results to 14. One result, I found, was catalogued in SA Media according to the title of the first article on the same page it was being held on, yet the article, an opinion piece, related to human trafficking was further down the page, so this was included. Once all of the articles were organised according to its relevance in this study, the types of articles were further categorised into News, Opinion, Court Case and Editorial as these were the most prominent themes which were attached to the reporting of human trafficking. For 2015 this included four opinion pieces related to human trafficking, six international articles and eight local articles relevant to human trafficking in South Africa. Of the eight local articles reported by *The Pretoria News*, two were related to court cases which occurred, one of which was the court granting asylum to children who entered the country with a caregiver other than a biological parent, and the other related to a case of two people who were arrested and sentenced for their role in human trafficking and kidnapping.

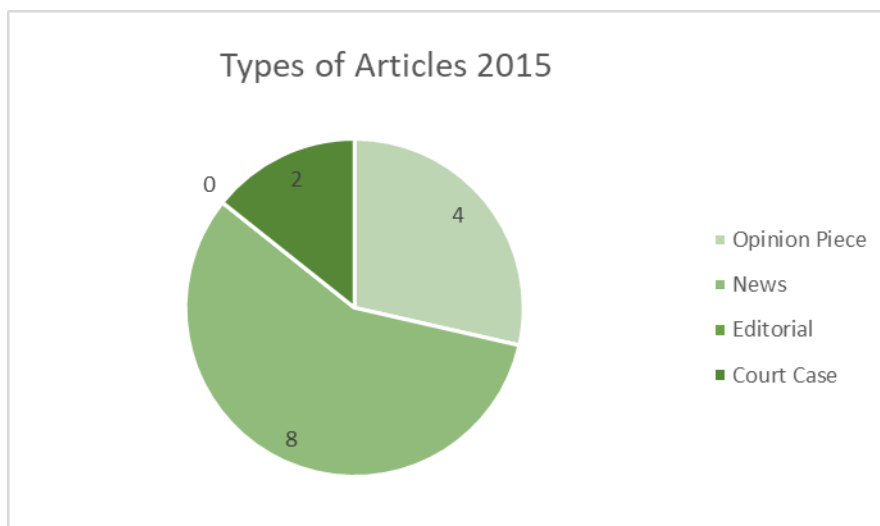


Figure 3: Type of articles 2015 Pretoria News

There were five articles whose headlines included the words “trafficking” or “human trafficking”, which made it easy for the reader to understand the context behind what the article

was about. One article with the headline “Watch on child dealing in Nepal” also spoke to human trafficking of children but instead used the words “child dealing” as opposed to “human” or “child trafficking”. This term was still suggestive of the trading in children, indicating that the article was on child trafficking.

Based on a count of the total types of articles for the period 2015 – 2019, my findings revealed that the kind of article with the most coverage was general news articles on the topic of human trafficking, followed by court cases and then opinion articles. There were no editorial articles which I identified, indicating that newsrooms did not necessarily look at the topic of human trafficking within a four-year period newsworthy enough to feature as part of their editorial section of the newspaper. Why this is important is because editorials are generally written as statements which are put out by the newspapers based on the days or week’s “hot topics” or prominent news stories which have been covered.

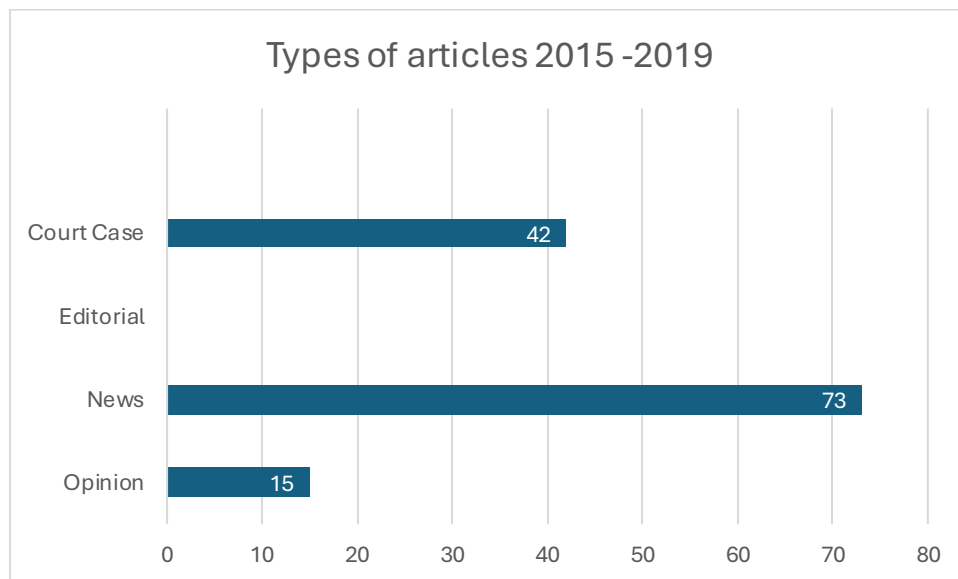


Figure 4: Types of articles Pretoria News 2015 - 2019

4.4. Framing analysis Pretoria News

Of the total articles analysed in *The Pretoria News* in 2015, I made some interesting observations regarding the framing of the topic of human trafficking. Sex trafficking, as stand-alone frame on its own, was recorded as the dominant frame, with 6 articles speaking

deliberately about sex trafficking and the links to human trafficking. Child exploitation as a frame covered by *The Pretoria News* was the second most reported on frame, with 3 articles speaking to this. Travel regulations, which included the mentioning of the unabridged birth certificate, only featured in one article.

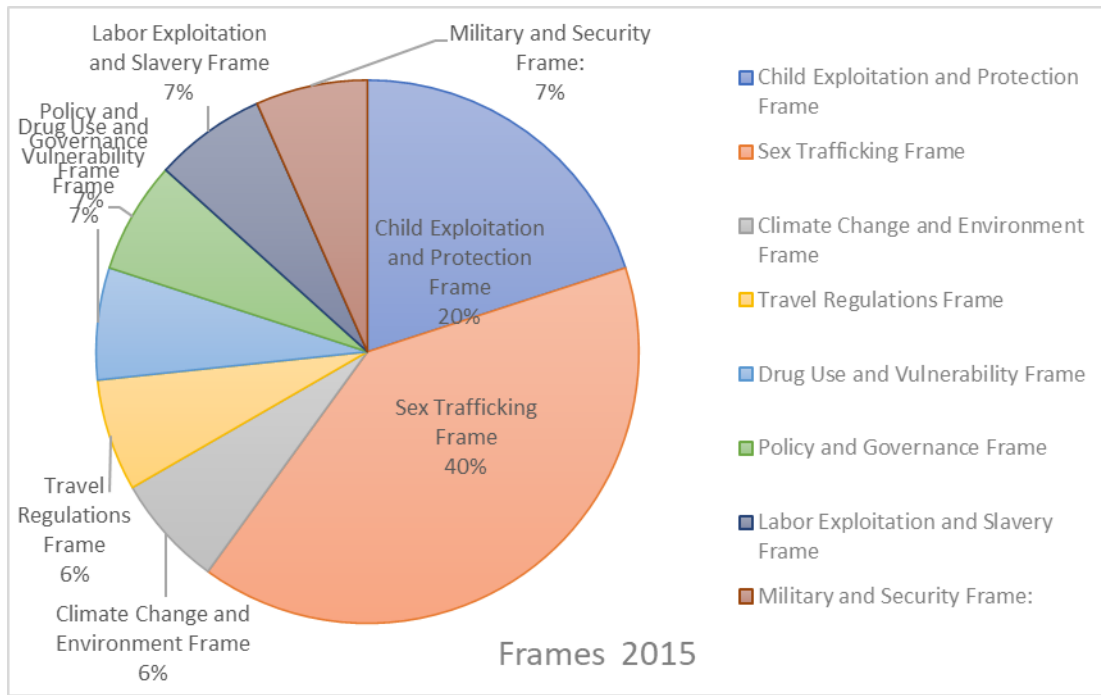


Figure 5: Frames 2015 Pretoria News

What is important to note, is that sex trafficking was the highest recorded frame used to report on human trafficking between 2015 and 2019, with a total of 88 articles discussing sex trafficking or some sort of sexual exploitation when referring to human trafficking. This was followed by the child exploitation and protection frame, with a total of 23 articles using this to frame human trafficking for the same period. Based on this analysis alone, it is clear that the media prefers to report on issues on sexual exploitation when it comes to the framing of human trafficking, perhaps because it is a topic which is both controversial and shocking at the same time. Child exploitation in the form of sexual exploitation and child labour is also a topic which the media seems to report on in high numbers.

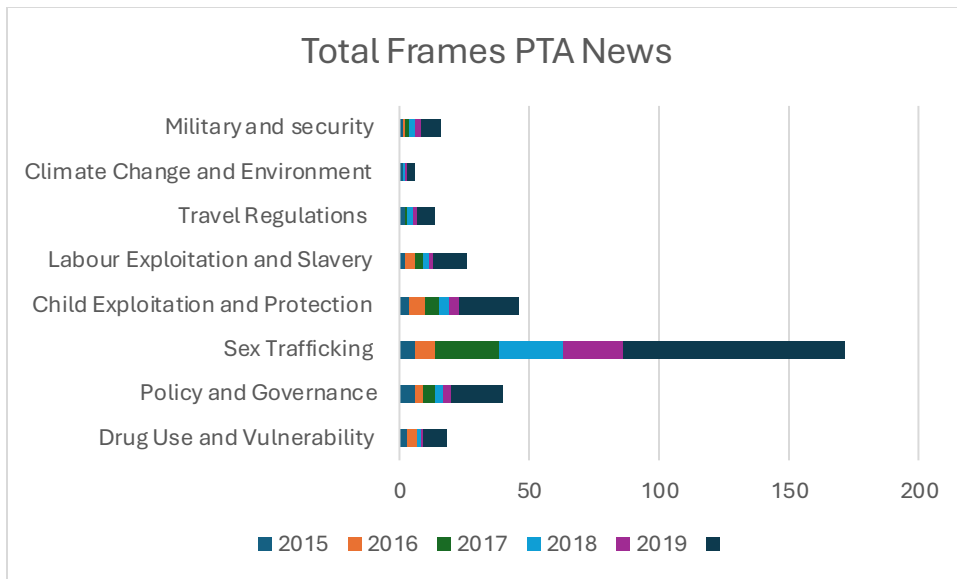


Figure 6: Total Frames 2015-2019 Pretoria News

4.5. Unpacking the frames of Pretoria News

As previously mentioned in the methodology section of this study, and for the purposes of this research, I identified eight frames in which the media reported on human trafficking during my research period.

They are:

- 1) Drug use and vulnerability
- 2) Policy and governance
- 3) Child exploitation and protection
- 4) Labour exploitation and slavery
- 5) Travel regulations
- 6) Climate change and environment
- 7) Military and Security
- 8) Sex trafficking

The reason I identified these frames, which are being applied to all four of the publications which I have analysed, is that these frames were the most common themes which I identified when analysing the articles related to human trafficking. The frames will be applied to all four newspapers.

To unpack these further, here are examples of the frames from the articles which were analysed for Pretoria News:

1) Drug use and vulnerability:

- In 2016, an article was published by *The Pretoria News* titled “E'rus drug death toll stands at 35”, which spoke of how “in just six months, more than 35 young people from Eersterus, east of Pretoria, had reportedly died from drug related conditions. In addition to the deaths, some young people had since ended up in ICU, many suffering from mental disturbances, while others had become vulnerable to human trafficking. This article therefore framed the use of drugs as increasing the chances of people who were already vulnerable, into being trafficked. (E'rus drug death toll stands at 35, Pretoria News, 2016)
- In 2017, an article was published by *The Pretoria News*, titled “Protect our women and children, men urged”, where the article discussed a protest march in Rustenburg, where men were urged to stand up and protect women and children. Organized by the Platinum Motorcycle Association, the march aimed to raise awareness about women and child abuse, human trafficking, and drug abuse. (Protect our women and children, men urged, Pretoria News, 2017)
- In 2018, an article was published based on a report by the United Nations titled “Alarming trend of drug crime in West, Central Africa: UN”. The article was about how the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) warned that drug trafficking, drug use, and associated crimes were posing a serious threat to stability in West and Central Africa. Additionally, other crime and security threats, including arms trafficking, money laundering, human trafficking, smuggling of migrants, cybercrime, maritime piracy, and terrorism, further compounded the challenges faced by West and Central Africa. Again, this article framed human trafficking as a direct link to drug use and drug trafficking (Alarming trend of drug crime in West, Central Africa: UN, Pretoria News, 2018)
- In 2019 an article was published based on developments by Justice Minister Ronal Lamola, who had called on government departments to find alternative means to deal with children caught using or possessing cannabis. This was also aimed at combatting the vulnerability of children towards human trafficking. (Move to treat child druggies humanely, Pretoria News, 2019)

2) Policy and governance:

- In 2016 an article was published which spoke to the South African Law Reform Commission drafting the Prohibition of Forced Marriages and Child Marriages Bill, meant to curb the criminal exploitation of the practice. The bill was to address the abuse of the cultural practice of ukuthwala, a controversial traditional custom that has been associated with abductions, rape, and abuse. Given that there were no laws to address or prosecute ‘abductors’ or rapists, existing

laws related to crimes like rape, human trafficking, and abduction were utilised to address the issue. This is an example of how policy was used to charge or prosecute people, in relation to human trafficking. (Women mum on 'ukuthwala' abuse, Pretoria News, 2018)

- In 2018, an article was published which discussed that South Africa was under resourced to deal with human trafficking. The event which was convened jointly by Unisa College of Law and Media Monitoring Africa, concluded that lack of accurate statistics was not helping the authorities to deal with the human trafficking as an “epidemic”. Although not directly mentioned, the article alludes to the fact that South Africa does not have the adequate policies in place to deal with human trafficking. (SA lacks means against trafficking, Pretoria News, 2018)

3) Child exploitation and protection

- In 2015, an article was published on the threat of children being vulnerable to being trafficked in Nepal, following an earthquake which had hit the region and left many people displaced. (Watch on child dealing in Nepal, Pretoria News, 2015)
- In 2016 an article was published which reported on the controversy surrounding South Africa's Film and Publication's Board (FPB) Draft Online Regulation Policy, with concerns about internet censorship. Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi, highlighted the prevalence of internet access among students and the need to address child pornography and human trafficking online. In this instance, human trafficking was discussed with reference to the vulnerability that people, and in particular, children, faced online. (Protecting SA's children is a priority, Pretoria News, 2016)
- In 2017, an article discussed a conference on the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism, hosted by Child Welfare South Africa and Ecpat International. Stakeholders, including representatives from the African Union Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, emphasized the global expansion of child exploitation in the travel and tourism industry. This article framed human trafficking in the context of how children were being exploited in the travel and tourism industry globally. ('It's up to all of us to stop child sexploitation', Pretoria News, 2017)
- In 2018 an article was published based on an oversight visit by Democratic Alliance to the Rearabilwe Child and Youth Care Centre in Ga-Rankuwa. The Rearabilwe Child and Youth Care Centre catered to vulnerable children from birth to 18 years who had experienced trafficking, orphanhood, or abuse. This article framed human trafficking in the sense that

children who were once trafficked, were now being cared for at the youth care centre. (City childcare centre a guiding light, Pretoria News, 2018)

4) Labour exploitation and slavery:

- In 2015 an opinion piece was published, written by Yuri Fedotov, Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). In his piece, he spoke about the United Nations World Day Against Human Trafficking and highlighted the vulnerability of victims. He called on governments and organisations to educate themselves and implement protocols in order to better equip themselves to curb the rise of human trafficking. “As a consumer; employee or business owner; you can advocate for measures to prevent the use of forced labour in operations and supply chains and eliminate abusive and fraudulent recruitment practices that may lead to trafficking,” he said. In this instance, the article mentioned that forced labour was a form of human trafficking. (Help end the scourge of human trafficking, Pretoria News, 2015)
- In 2016 an article was published on the use of DNA forensic technology to address concerns about child and slave labour in the global cotton industry, particularly in the manufacturing of cotton clothing. The article said that the global cotton industry, “which involves over 250 million people, has faced challenges related to child and slave labour during both the harvesting and production processes.” Again, this article framed human trafficking on the back of the scale of the global cotton industry, and how children were exploited as labourers. (Is your shirt made from slave labour? Pretoria News, 2016)
- In 2017 an article was published on how more than 70 migrant workers who were allegedly victims of cross border human trafficking were rescued from living in a KwaZulu-Natal factory where they worked for wages of less than R100 a month. Again, the labour exploitation of the migrant workers was linked to human trafficking here. (Workers rescued, Pretoria News, 2017)

5) Travel Regulations

- In 2018 an article was published on how South Africa was considering relaxing visa requirements for other African countries such as Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and for China and India. Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba had emphasized the country's commitment to relaxing travel regulations, particularly for international tourists traveling with children. The relaxing of the travel regulations was on the back of how unabridged birth certificates were being used to manage the travel of minors into and out of South Africa, to combat human trafficking. (SA weighs visa rules for some countries, Pretoria News, 2018)

6) Climate Change and Environment

- In 2015 an article was published which centred around mayors and governors from major world cities, representing South America, Africa, the US, Europe, and Asia, who urged global leaders to take decisive action at the UN climate change summit which was yet to take place. The leaders, invited by Pope Francis to a two-day conference at the Vatican, emphasized the interconnected emergencies of climate change and human trafficking. This article framed human trafficking around climate change, and the risks which climate change posed for vulnerable people. (Pope calls for action over climate, Pretoria News, 2015)

7) Military and Security:

- In 2015 an article was published about a group of Southern African military officers who participated in a classroom exercise focused on running a multinational peacekeeping mission as a joint force for the African Union. The exercise mirrored real-life challenges in Africa, including civil war, internally displaced people, human trafficking, and drug issues. (How to take peacekeeping seriously, Pretoria News, 2015)

8) Sex Trafficking

- In 2016 an article was published about the trial of two South Africans who were facing charges of promoting human trafficking in Botswana. This included sex trafficking. (Trial of SA 'human traffickers' postponed, Pretoria News, 2016)
- In 2016 an article was published based on a petition which was being lodged by community members in Mamelodi, in order to prevent a rape-accused from getting bail. The man was accused of kidnapping and raping a 12-year-old. Because the man was accused of kidnapping and raping the child, the article linked to human trafficking. (Mams men oppose bail for 'sex slave' accused, Pretoria News, 2016)
- In 2017 an article was published about a Nigerian pastor who was charged with human trafficking, sexual assault and the rape of young girls, and how he faced an additional charge of being in the country illegally. (Sex charge pastor is here 'illegally' too, Pretoria News, 2017)
- In 2017 an article was published about a former sex worker, who was under strict witness protection whilst testifying against her alleged Nigerian “pimps”, who said she had sex with up to 10 clients a night. (Prostitute’s dark side, Pretoria News, 2017)

4.6. Total results and grouping for *The Star*

Again, applying the same keyword search as I used for *The Pretoria News*, “trafficking” was used to search for articles published by *The Star* newspaper between 1 June 2015 and 1 December 2019 on the SA Media portal. 104 articles were yielded. I again classified the articles by year, the headline, date of publication, author, page on which the article was located, talking points or themes, whether it was a local or international story and who the sources were being quoted in each article.

Year-on-year reporting of the trafficking in *The Star* newspaper shows the following:

In 2015 there were 19 articles, in 2016 there were 18 articles, in 2017 there were 18 articles, in 2018 there were 30 articles and in 2019 there were 19 articles.

In a similar trend to *The Pretoria News*, there was a peak in reporting in 2018, which dropped again in 2019.

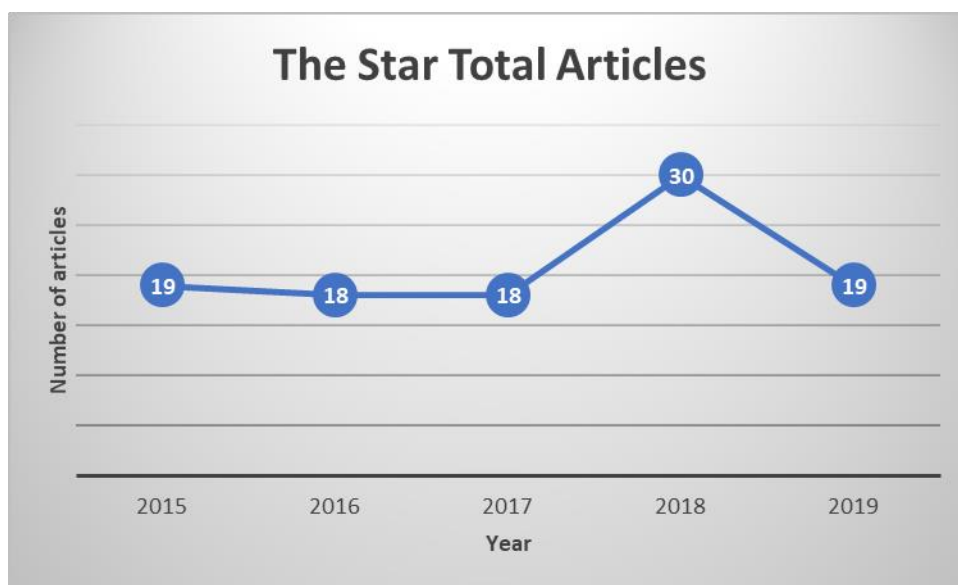


Figure 7: *The Star* Total Articles 2015-2019

4.7. Local vs International Coverage

For three years, 2015, 2018 and 2019, international coverage of human trafficking seemed to dominate local coverage. In 2016 and 2017, however, there was a greater difference in the reporting between local and international coverage.

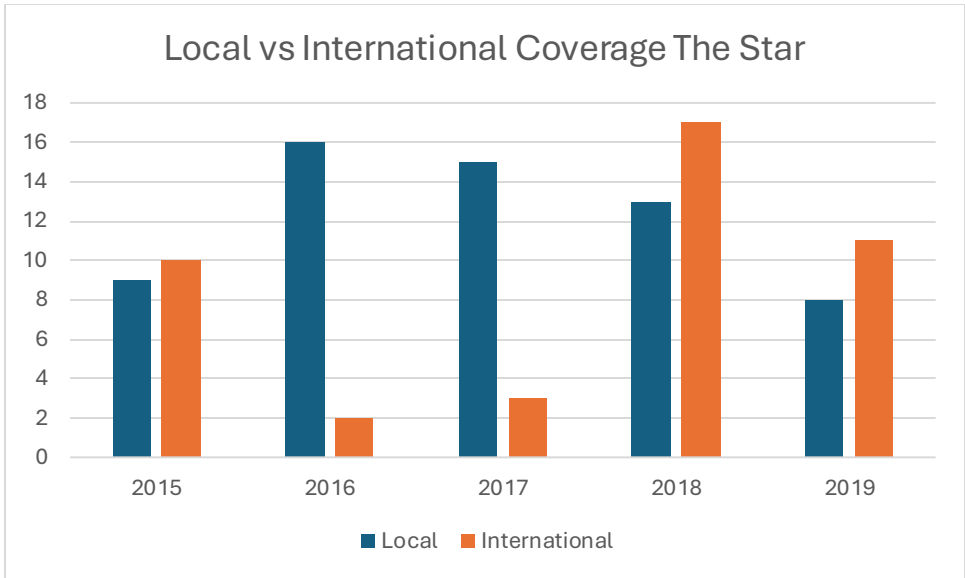


Figure 8: Local versus International Coverage *The Star* 2015-2019

4.8. Types of articles

The types of articles for 2015, as reflected in figure 9 below, show that there were 15 articles which were written as news pieces, four articles written as a report of court cases related to human trafficking, and four articles which were written as opinion pieces.

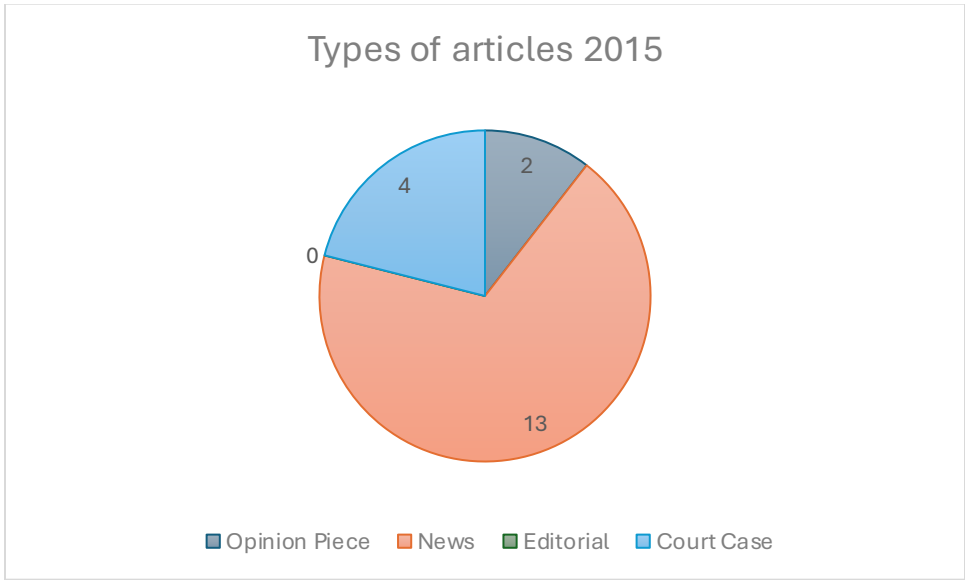


Figure 9: Types of articles for *The Star* 2015

For the total research period of June 2015 to December 2019, there were 20 court cases which were reported on, 76 news pieces and 8 opinion pieces which were published by *The Star*.

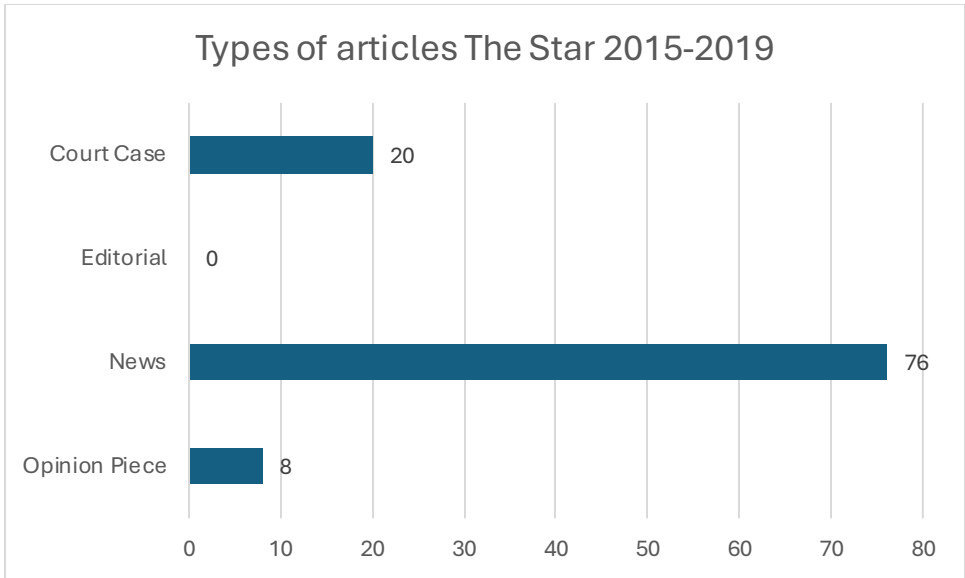


Figure 10: Types of articles *The Star* 2015-2019

4.9. Framing Analysis *The Star* newspaper

In 2015, I identified and analysed the frames, of which I found that child exploitation and protection, and labour exploitation and slavery were the top frames for that year, which were used to frame human trafficking in the reporting by *The Star*.

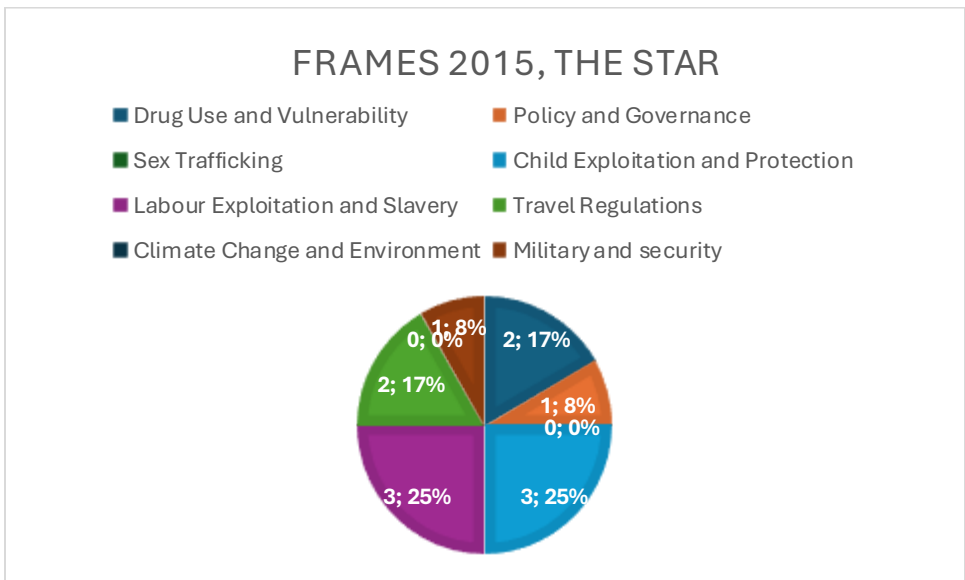


Figure 11: Frames for 2015, *The Star*

For the total research period, child exploitation and protection was the frame which was used the most as a means of reporting on human trafficking. This was followed by the military and security frame and the drug use and vulnerability frame.

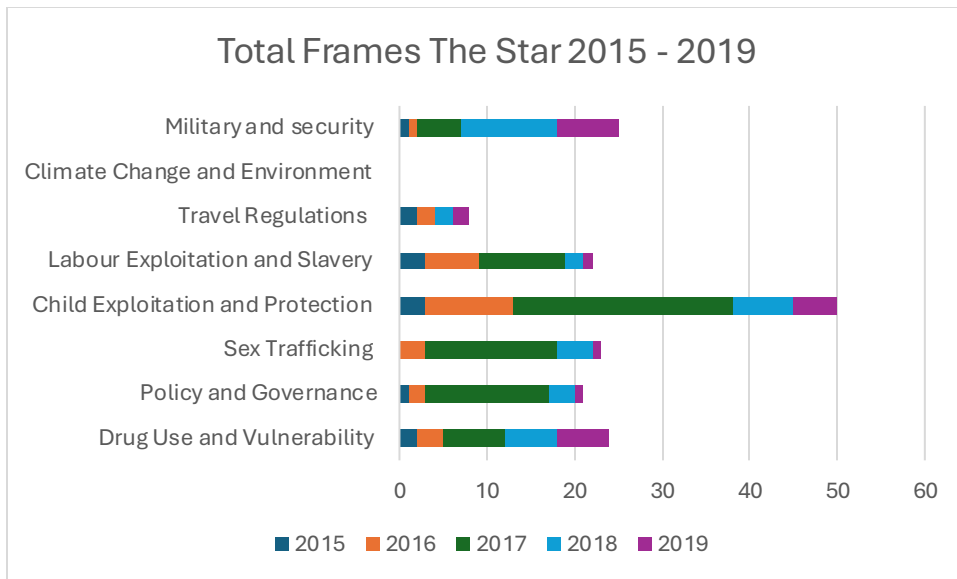


Figure 12: *The Star* Total Frames 2015-2019

4.10. Unpacking the frames of *The Star*

As I did for *The Pretoria News*, I continued to analyse the frames of *The Star*.

1) Drug use and vulnerability

- In 2015, an article was published about Zimbabwean President and AU Chairman Robert Mugabe, who, at the African Union Summit, had called for African countries to unite against xenophobic attacks, referring to recent incidents which had taken place in South Africa. President Jacob Zuma of South Africa at the summit provided details of anti-crime programmes, including Operation Fiela, which was aimed at addressing violence and crime. President Zuma mentioned that the police, supported by the army during Operation Fiela, had rescued children who have been victims of trafficking. (Eradicate xenophobia, Mugabe tells AU leaders, *The Star*, 2015)
- In 2016, an article was published by *The Star* on a property viewing in Krugersdorp which turned violent when members of the anti-trafficking organization, Asilweni Cleaning Streets, were allegedly assaulted by a group of men while investigating a suspected drug house. The NGO, led by Cherlyn Tshabangu, claimed the property was involved in drug trafficking and prostitution, and they were looking to purchase it. Cherlyn Tshabangu, chief executive of Asilweni, stated that the property was suspected of being involved in drug trafficking and prostitution. Tshabangu also emphasized the importance of stakeholders coming together to combat traffickers, suggesting ongoing encounters with human trafficking cases. (House up for sale turns out to be drug den, *The Star*, 2016)

- In 2017, an article was published on a UN Office workshop on the prevention and combating of trafficking in persons which was held in Pretoria. At this workshop, it was revealed that South Africa was recognized as a major source, transit, and destination country for individuals subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime South African regional representative Zhulsyz Akisheva. Carina Coetzee of the National Prosecuting Authority mentioned the "lover-boy syndrome," where girls were groomed to become drug addicts and later sex workers. (SA a haven for human trafficking, *The Star*, 2017)
- In 2018 an article was published about protests which had erupted in Krugersdorp as residents clashed with police, alleging issues of drug peddling, prostitution, and human trafficking. Community leaders expressed frustration over police inaction regarding concerns of drug peddling and human trafficking, claiming that children were being forced into the sex trade. (Situation still tense in townships, *The Star*, 2018)
- In 2019 an article was published which shone a spotlight on allegations of police involvement in the drug trade in Pretoria CBD. The provincial commissioner, Lieutenant-General Elias Mawela, was quoted saying that the three priorities were addressing organized crime, the scourge of drugs and human trafficking, and rooting out corruption within the service. (SAPS roots out corrupt officers, *The Star*, 2019)

2) Policy and governance

- In 2015, an article was published on President Jacob Zuma who blamed the migrant crisis in Europe on the consistent and systematic bombardment of Libya by NATO forces. Zuma said that Libya's security situation triggered the refugee crisis, emphasizing that before the Arab Spring and the killing of Gaddafi, North Africa was quiet. He highlighted Gaddafi's role in holding back migrants and securing financial support from the EU, preventing the floodgates from opening. However, with Gaddafi's demise and civil war, Libya became a haven for human traffickers, leading to a tragic wave of migrants attempting hazardous journeys to Europe. The article mentions Gaddafi's efforts to secure financial support from the EU to control the flow of migrants from Libya, indicating a policy approach to addressing migration. (Zuma slates Europe over migrant crisis, *The Star*, 2015)
- In 2016 an article was published on The Film and Publication Board's Draft Online Regulation Policy which was highlighted as a crucial step in South Africa's efforts to protect children and prevent them from being drawn into the dangers of online pornography and exploitation in the real world. Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi, emphasized the need for policy and legislation around the online environment to combat child pornography and human trafficking

perpetrators who target jurisdictions with weak prosecution and capture measures. (Protecting SA's children is a priority, *The Star*, 2016)

3) Child exploitation and protection

- In 2015, an article said that Interpol reported that police in Ivory Coast conducted raids in the country's western cocoa belt, rescuing 48 child slaves and arresting 22 individuals accused of trafficking or exploiting children. Interpol emphasized that the arrests were part of planned operations against child trafficking and labour in West Africa, sending a strong message to plantation owners and traffickers about the consequences of exploiting children. (Police free 48 child slaves, arrest 22, *The Star*, 2015)
- In 2016, an article was published an article which quoted the US Department of State describing the landlocked country of Lesotho as a source, transit and destination country for women and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking in South Africa. But that could soon be thing of the past with special dispensation between Lesotho and South Africa, which would allow undocumented Basothos to live in South Africa for four years, on condition that they provide proof they're working, studying or running business. (New permit to give Basothos a better deal in South Africa, *The Star*, 2016)
- In 2017, an article was published on The Nqobile Women's Development Project, who mentioned that human trafficking was among the crimes of violence against women and children and urged law officials to act more effectively. This was on the back of a larger story done by a survivor of domestic abuse, who had started a non-profit organisation and created the tools to uses an SMS code and GPS to connect victims to their nearest care centres so that they do not have to hunt down assistance, especially when facing abuse in remote locations. (Police ill-equipped to deal with violence, *The Star*, 2017)
- In 2018, an article was published on how child labourers in countries from Bangladesh to India and police and prosecutors fighting human trafficking in nations such as Sri Lanka and Zambia were to receive support through £5.5 million (R93.4million) aid package. The £3m pledged to tackle child labour was to focus on conflict -hit areas and communities such as the Rohingya in Bangladesh where there “is high risk of modern slavery seeping into global supply chains,” the government said. (Millions in aid to help fight human trafficking, *The Star*, 2018)

4) Labour exploitation and slavery

- In 2015, an article was published on how two children went missing, were lured into Mozambique and then into Malawi where they were forced into child labour. Their grandmother helped rescue them after seeking help from the department of social services. (Trafficked siblings back in SA, *The Star*, 2015)
- In 2016, a report was published which said that "Up to 250 000 South Africans live under conditions described as modern slavery", according to the shocking global slavery index. (Modern slavery shock in SA, report shows, *The Star*, 2016)

5) Travel regulations

- In 2015, an opinion was published discussing how child trafficking was making headlines as the Department of Home Affairs as parents sought the rationale behind the country's regulations surrounding the travel regulations for children travelling into and out of South Africa. The opinion piece sought to explain that the travel regulations were meant to help fight the scourge of child trafficking. (Child travel regulations are a start, *The Star*, 2015)

6) Climate Change and Environment

- There were no articles published by *The Star* which focused on the cause of the displacement of people being climatic or environmental related.

7) Military and Security

- In 2015, an article was written about a mass police operation in Thailand which resulted in the arrest of 56 people who were accused or involved in human trafficking. (Human trafficking crackdown nets 56, *The Star*, 2015)
- In 2015 an article was published about a group of Southern African military officers who participated in a classroom exercise focused on running a multinational peacekeeping mission as a joint force for the African Union. The exercise mirrored real-life challenges in Africa, including civil war, internally displaced people, human trafficking, and drug issues. Important to note here is that this article also appeared in *The Pretoria News*. (How to take peacekeeping seriously, Pretoria News, 2015)

8) Sex trafficking

- In 2015, an article was published which discussed and analysed the scourge of human trafficking in South Africa. The article said: "In South Africa, claims by anti-trafficking campaigners and NGOs include that 30 000 children are trafficked into the country annually as

part of the sex trade.” (Human trafficking in SA: an elusive statistical nightmare, *The Star*, 2015)

- In 2016 an article was published highlighting that a hotline to report human trafficking was set up. The helpline aimed to eradicate human trafficking in the country and provide support to victims. The South African National Human Trafficking Resource Line (NHTRL) and website was started by the A21 Campaign, a non-profit organisation which fights human trafficking. (New helpline set up to help end horror of sex trafficking, *The Star*, 2016)
- In 2018 an article was published which discussed the conflation of sex work and sex trafficking. Following nationwide calls to decriminalise sex work in South Africa, the article said that this conflation led to the term and the industry generally acting as synonym for sex trafficking. (Sex workers' trade is a far cry from sex trafficking, *The Star*, 2018)

4.11. Total results and grouping for *The Witness*

Using the same keyword search, “trafficking” was used to search for articles published by *The Witness* newspaper between 1 June 2015 and 1 December 2019 on the SA Media portal. After a process of elimination, based on articles which were repeated, or some articles which brought up trafficking related to animals, a total of 54 relevant articles were yielded. I once again classified the articles by year, the headline, date of publication, author, page on which the article was located, talking points or themes, whether it was a local or international story and who the sources were being quoted in each article.

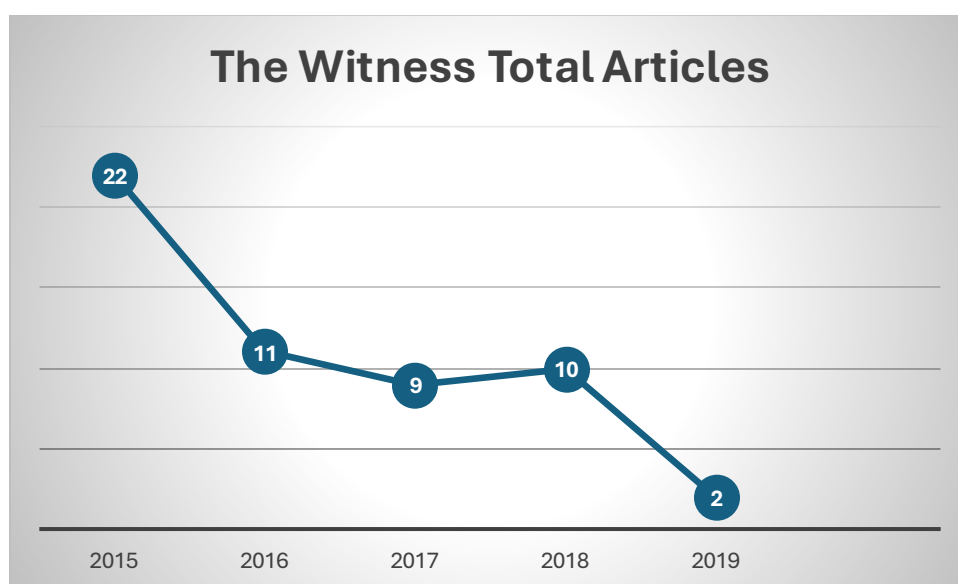


Figure 13: *The Witness* Total Articles 2015-2019

There were a total of 54 articles which were relevant to this research which I analysed from June 2015 – December 2015. The most articles which were reported on human trafficking were in 2015, with 2019 yielding the least amount of reporting or coverage on human trafficking.

4.12. Local versus International Coverage

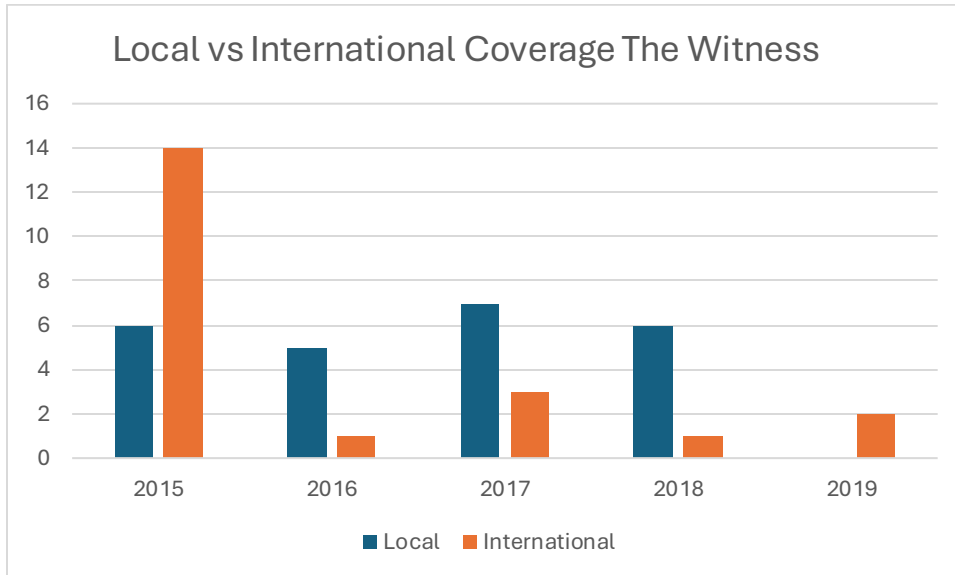


Figure 14: Local versus International Coverage The Witness 2015-2019

There was very high international coverage of human trafficking in 2015, but this dropped significantly and was surpassed by local coverage in 2016, 2017 and 2018. In 2019, I found 2 articles which spoke to international reports of human trafficking such as the Jeffrey Epstein case. There were no local reports which I found for that year.

4.13. Types of articles

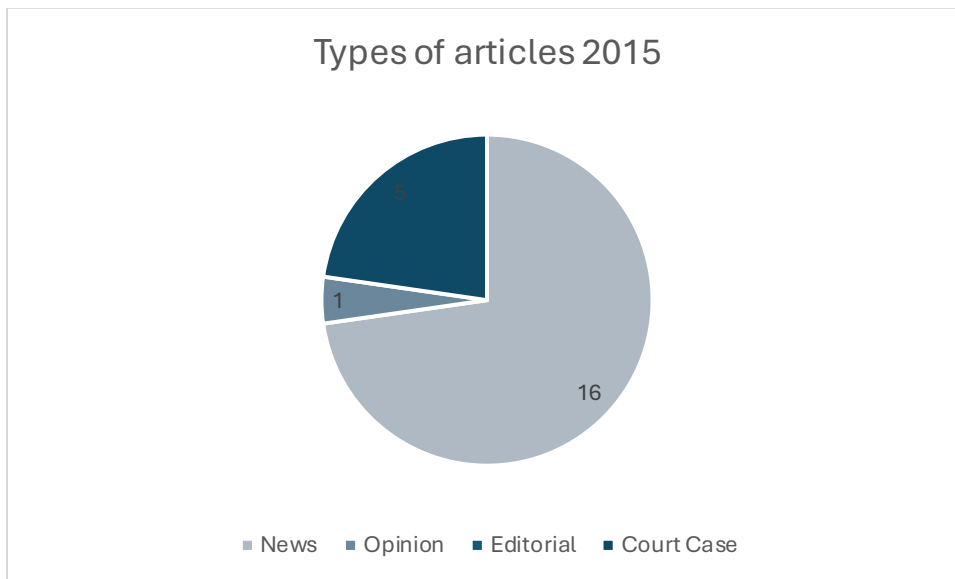


Figure 15: Types of Articles *The Witness* 2015

Of the types of articles which were published, 16 were news articles which reported on human trafficking, 5 were articles framed around court cases and 1 was an opinion piece which was published.

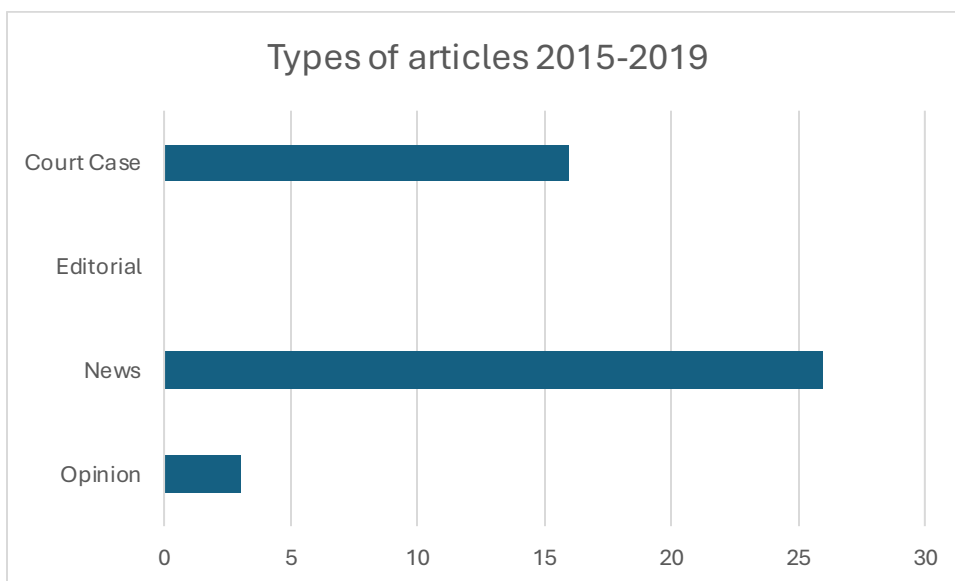


Figure 16: Types of Articles *The Witness* 2015-2019

The types of articles published over the full length of this period showed that news reports on human trafficking were highest, followed by court cases and then opinion pieces. Important to note here is that there were no editorials being published by *The Witness*, indicating that the topic of human trafficking did not feature high on the agenda of the editorial team.

4.14. Framing Analysis *The Witness*

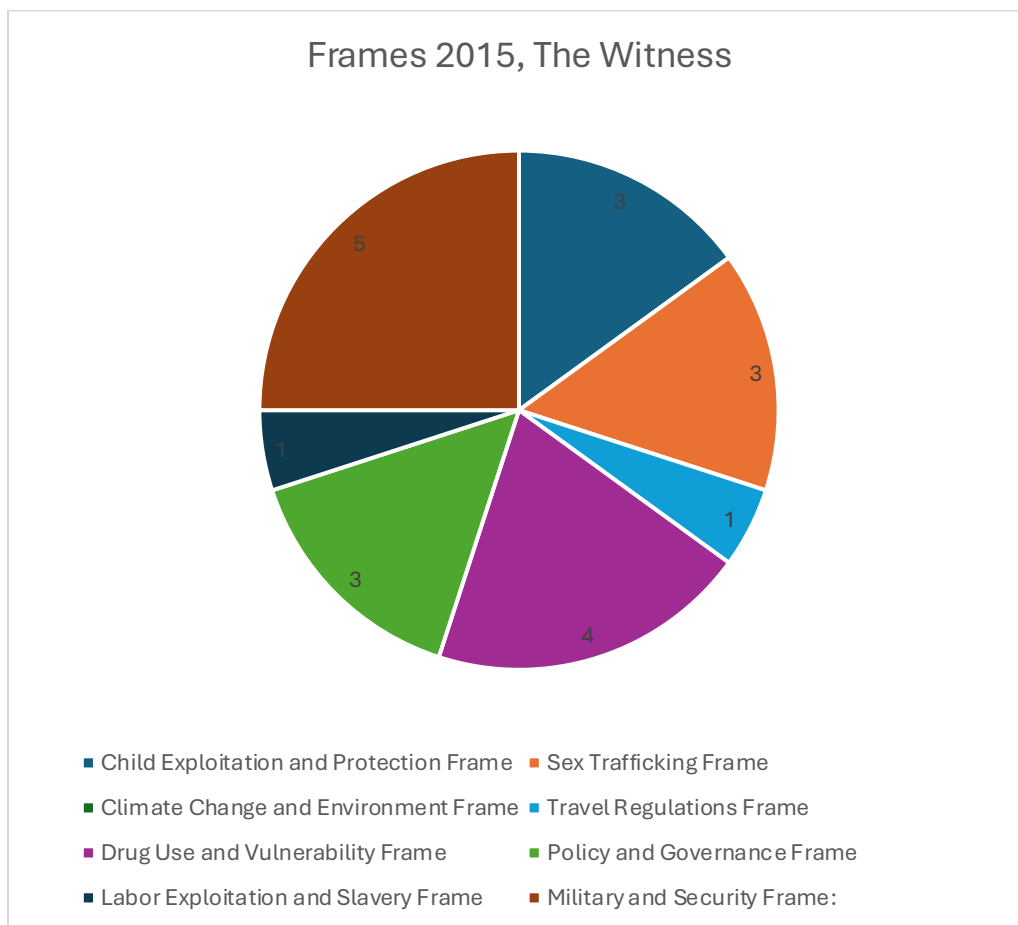


Figure 17: Frames The Witness 2015

In 2015, the military and security frame was the highest count of articles framed. This included an article of a “trafficking crackdown” in Thailand (Inside Thailand's trafficking crackdown, *The Witness*, 2015) and an article which reported on the arrest of eight suspected human traffickers thought to have forced migrants to stay in the hold of a fishing boat in Italy (Suspected Human Traffickers held, *The Witness*, 2015).

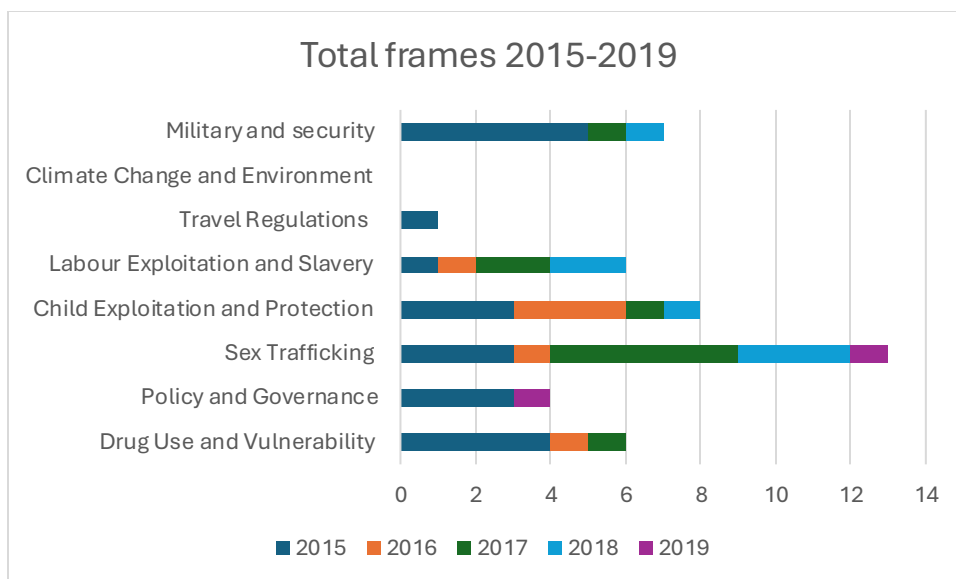


Figure 18: Total Frames *The Witness* 2015-2019

Of the frames which I analysed, I counted the reporting of sex trafficking as the highest. This was followed by child exploitation and labour and military and security.

4.15. Unpacking the frames of *The Witness*

1) Drug use and vulnerability

- In 2015 an article was published on the back of the AU conference, where President Jacob Zuma said that the proliferation of arms, drug and human trafficking were not the only issues and threats on the continent. (Zuma: Peace is vital for Africa's future, *The Witness*, 2015)
- In 2017, an opinion piece was published which advocated for the Nordic or Equality Model, which decriminalizes individuals selling sex while criminalizing pimping, brothel operation, and sex buying. Although drug use is not explicitly mentioned, it does mention how a victim of trafficking was “drugged” by a brothel owner, a tactic used to subdue victims who are resistant towards being trafficked, which leaves them vulnerable towards being trafficked. (Victims one day, criminals the next, *The Witness*, 2017)

2) Policy and governance

- In 2015, an article reported on a petition signed by Hollywood stars, including Meryl Streep, Kate Winslet, and Emma Thompson, urging Amnesty International to reject a proposal endorsing the decriminalization of the sex trade. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) expressed concern that such a policy would effectively legalize pimping, brothel

ownership, and sex buying, constituting a \$99 billion global sex industry. (Decriminalisation the sex trade would have negative consequences, *The Witness*, 2015)

- In 2015 an article was also published which reported that Amnesty International had voted to endorse a controversial plan supporting the decriminalization of sex work. The move aimed to advocate for the rights of millions of sex workers globally, emphasizing their marginalized status and the constant risks of discrimination, violence, and abuse they face. References to human trafficking were made in the context of arguments for and against Amnesty's proposed policy. (Amnesty pushes for the decriminalisation of sex work, *The Witness*, 2015)

3) Child exploitation and protection

- In 2015, a case was reported on the case of a Pietermaritzburg woman charged with selling her child through an online advertisement on Gumtree. The woman, whose identity was protected, was said to be considering pleading guilty to a charge of human trafficking. (Mother who tried to sell baby set to plead guilty, *The Witness*, 2015)
- In 2016, the case of the woman who tried to sell her baby continued to be reported on. This article discussed the upcoming sentencing of a 20-year-old woman convicted of human trafficking for selling her baby for R500. The charges which the woman faced included human trafficking. (Mom who sold baby to learn fate, *The Witness*, 2016)
- In 2016, the same case was covered by the newspaper, which reported that the mother who tried to sell her baby on Gumtree was sentenced to three years of correctional supervision and a five-year suspended sentence for selling her 19-month-old baby. The woman pleaded guilty to charges, including human trafficking, explaining that she decided to sell her son after her boyfriend withdrew financial support following a DNA test that confirmed he was not the father. (Mom who sold baby avoids jail time, *The Witness*, 2016)
- In 2017, another case was reported on about two women, Tazley Msweli and Sibongile Ndimande, who were sentenced to an effective 20 years and 10 years, respectively, behind bars for human trafficking, kidnapping, corruption, and money laundering. The charges stemmed from their actions of selling a six-month-old baby for R5200 and an air conditioner, which they pawned for R600. (Baby sellers handed heavy sentences, *The Witness*, 2017)
- In 2017, an article was published which about a flight attendant, Donna Hubbard, who had raised concerns when she observed a couple carrying a boy who appeared to be in distress on a flight from Honduras to Miami. Suspecting human trafficking, Hubbard and her crew spoke to the individuals separately, leading to the interception of the boy by authorities in Miami. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) had urged airline bosses to train

flight crews to help prevent human trafficking. (Airlines on frontline trafficking, *The Witness*, 2017)

4) Labour exploitation and slavery

- In 2015, an article was published which shed light on a human trafficking investigation triggered by a Rohingya Muslim street vendor in Thailand. The vendor, who sold fried bread, sought help from authorities after his nephew fell victim to human traffickers. The investigation uncovered numerous jungle graves on the Thai-Malaysia border, leading to a regional crisis involving Rohingya boatloads. The article mentioned that police said some were sold into slavery. (Inside Thailand's trafficking crackdown, *The Witness*, 2015)
- In 2016, an article was published spoke to The Global Slavery Index report which revealed that South Africa had an estimated 248,700 modern slaves, ranking it 27th globally. The index considered forced labour, human trafficking, debt bondage, child exploitation, and forced marriage. In 2015, research identified instances of forced marriage and forced labour within the general population. (Modern slavery in SA, *The Witness*, 2016)
- In 2017 an article was published which said that authorities rescued 72 foreigners believed to be trafficked into South Africa for cheap labour at a factory in KwaZulu-Natal, according to the Hawks. The individuals were trafficked from Swaziland and Lesotho to work in a Newcastle area factory. (Trafficked workers saved in KZN, *The Witness*, 2017)
- In 2017 a book review was published on *The Color of Our Sky*, a debut novel by Amita Trasi that tells the powerful story of two childhood friends in Mumbai, India, whose lives converge and change forever. The narrative spans from a remote Indian village to the bustling metropolis of Bombay, Los Angeles, and back, addressing issues like human trafficking, love, betrayal, and redemption. Mukta, a 10-year-old village girl from a lower caste, faced the destiny of becoming a temple prostitute, but she escapes and becomes a housegirl for an upper-middle-class family in Mumbai. References to slavery, labour, and human trafficking in the article include Mukta's fate as a temple prostitute, her kidnapping, and the overarching theme of human trafficking. (Rich, sweeping tale of India, *The Witness*, 2017)

5) Travel regulations

- In 2015, an article was published on how two children, Faith and Lion, who had travelled from Saudi Arabia, faced deportation from South Africa due to the stringent child travel regulations implemented to combat human trafficking. The children, who were traveling to South Africa for Eid, faced deportation upon landing due to a lack of documentation complying with the

new laws. The children faced deportation under the new child travel regulations, which set up a challenging list of requirements for children traveling to or from South Africa. (Visa horror story as kids deported, *The Witness*, 2015)

6) Climate change and environment

There were no references or article framed around climate-induced effects of human trafficking for *The Witness*.

7) Military and Security

- In 2015, an article reported on a significant development in the crackdown on human trafficking in Thailand, where a three-star Thai general, Lieutenant General Manus Kongpan, accused of involvement in human trafficking, had surrendered to authorities. The general's surrender was highlighted as a prominent event in the ongoing effort to address human trafficking in the country. A total of 84 arrest warrants were issued in connection with human trafficking, reflecting the scale of the operation against traffickers. (Trafficking: Thai general surrenders, *The Witness*, 2015)

8) Sex trafficking

- In 2015, an article was published on a petition signed by Hollywood stars, including Meryl Streep, Kate Winslet, and Emma Thompson, urging Amnesty International to reject a proposal endorsing the decriminalization of the sex trade. (Decriminalisation the sex trade would have negative consequences, *The Witness*, 2015)
- In 2015 an article was also published which reported that Amnesty International had voted to endorse a controversial plan supporting the decriminalization of sex work. The move aimed to advocate for the rights of millions of sex workers globally, emphasizing their marginalized status and the constant risks of discrimination, violence, and abuse they face. (Amnesty pushes for the decriminalisation of sex work, *The Witness*, 2015)
- In 2015 three human traffickers, Emmanuel Uche Odii, Bonginkosi Shange, and William Ojiaku, were sentenced in a Durban regional court for charges related to "trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation." The perpetrators exploited victims by promising false employment opportunities. Odii, a Nigerian national, recruited women through Shange, a South African citizen. The victims were subjected to sexual assault, rape, and forced prostitution. (Pimps pay a price, *The Witness*, 2015)
- In 2016, the article on the Global Slavery Index Report revealed that an estimated 248,700 modern slaves exist in South Africa, ranking the country 27th globally. Victims identified in South Africa were subjected to commercial sexual exploitation. South African women, along

with women from other nations, were targeted in the sex industry. (Modern slavery in SA, *The Witness*, 2016)

- In 2017, an article was published about Four teenage girls from Pietermaritzburg were lured into a non-existent "Wizzkids Youth Camp" by an imposter who distributed misleading leaflets. The girls, aged between 14 and 18, were promised an educational weekend but ended up locked in a room in Amanzimtoti without food or water for an entire weekend. They believed it was an attempt at human trafficking. The leaflet falsely claimed the camp would teach self-discipline and proper conduct for young women. The imposter, using the misspelled name "Wizzkids," tricked the teens, and they were released only after being told they didn't meet the unspecified "requirements." Although the article does not explicitly reference sex trafficking, the article suggests that the girls were released due to having scars on their bodies, indicating that their physical appearance was what they were kidnapped for – an indirect reference to towards sexual trafficking. (Scars save 4 teens, *The Witness*, 2017)

4.16. Total Results and Grouping *The Cape Times*

A total of 18 articles were analysed for *The Cape Times*, for the period June 2015 – December 2019. This is far less compared to the other publications which I researched, indicating to me that human trafficking is not a topic high on the agenda for the newspaper.

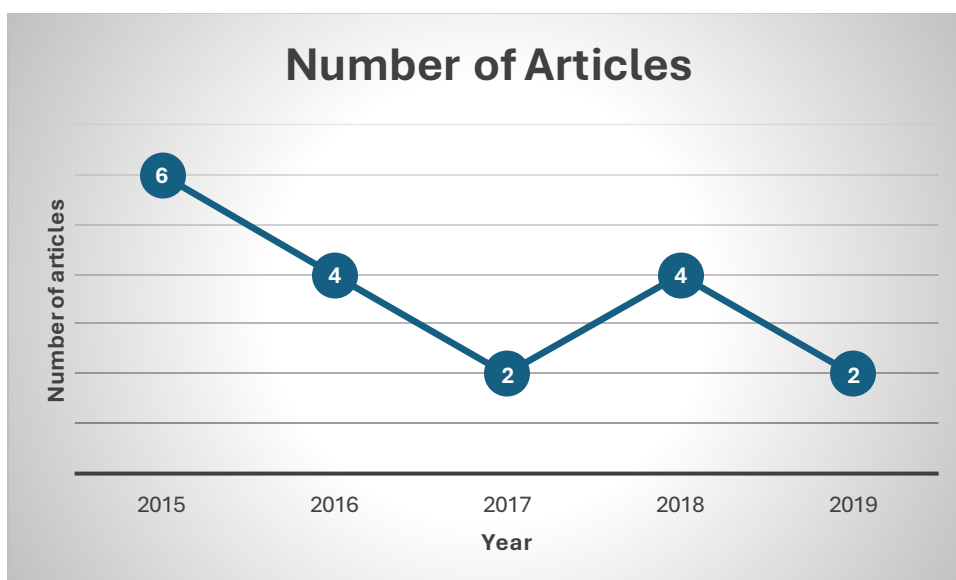


Figure 19: Total Articles The Cape Times 2015-2019

The most articles on human trafficking were reported in 2015, with 2017 and 2019 showing a decline to just 2 articles reported for the year.

4.17. Local versus International Coverage The Cape Times

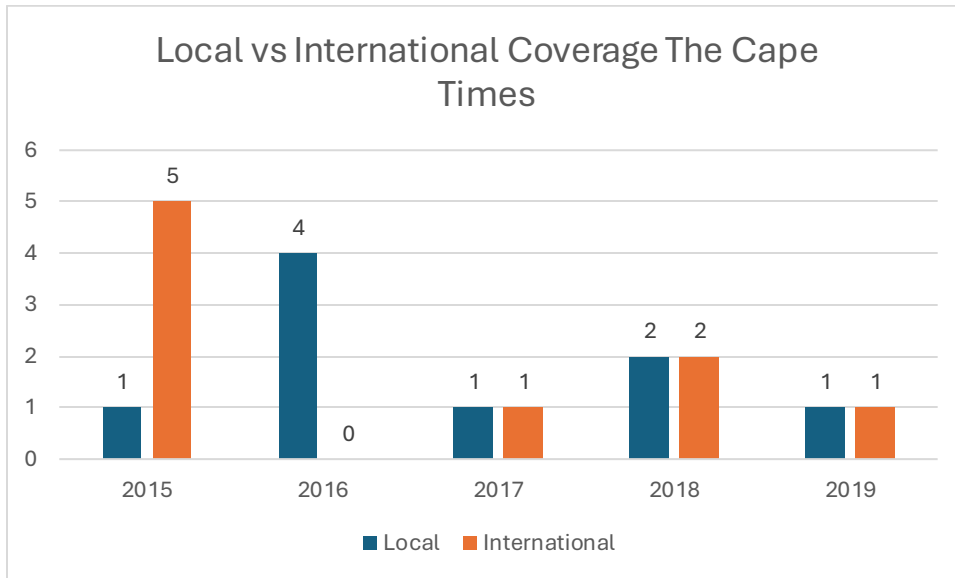


Figure 20: Local versus International Coverage The Cape Times 2015-2019

There was significant international coverage in 2015, which surpassed the local coverage of human trafficking for that year. The rest of the years showed that local coverage was more or less equal for the newspaper. In 2018, an article was published based on a ruling which was made by the Calcutta High Court (A win for victims of trafficking as court orders payout, *The Cape Times*, 2018). This article spoke how the government was ordered to pay compensation to a child trafficking survivor, even though her case had yet to be tried.

4.18. Types of Articles The Cape Times

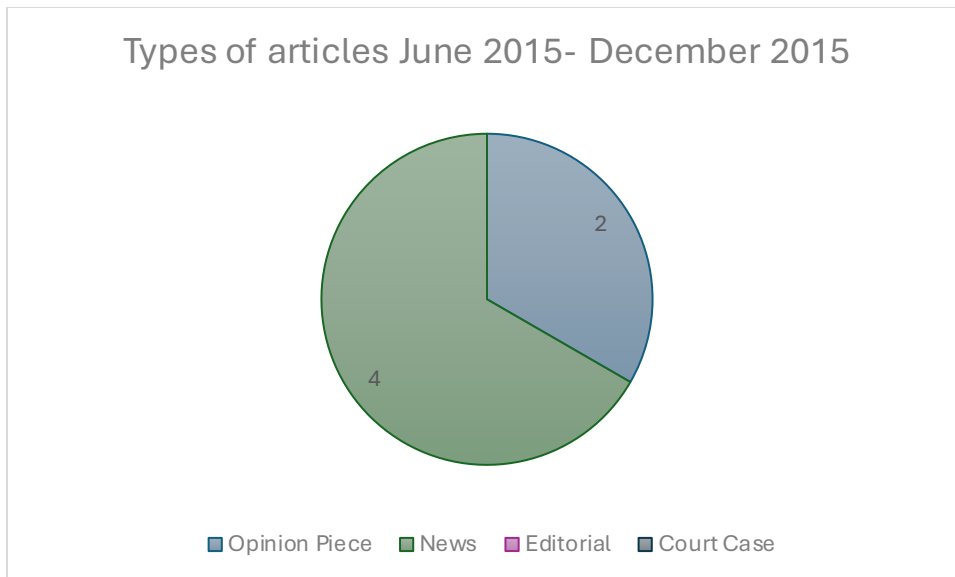


Figure 21: Types of Articles The Cape Times 2015-2019

When it comes to the types of articles which were published between June 2015 and December 2015, 4 articles comprised news reports on human trafficking, and 2 articles were opinion pieces which were published. The opinion pieces included one published “Help to relieve plight of the vulnerable on World Day against Trafficking”, which focused on raising awareness about people who are vulnerable globally and the low prosecution rates of human traffickers and how vulnerable people are forced into being trafficked for sex or labour or both.

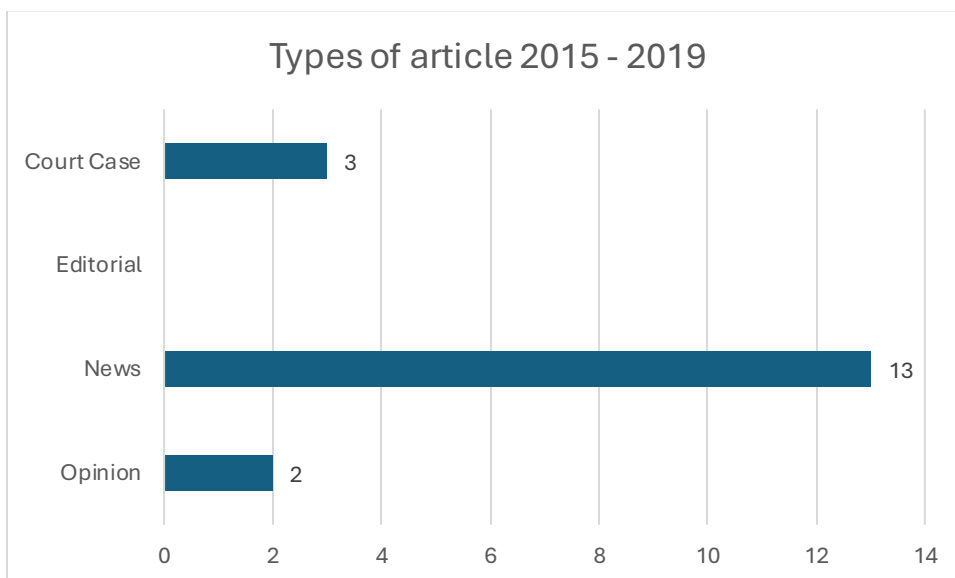


Figure 22: Types of Articles The Cape Times 2015-2019

The total types of articles which were published by *The Cape Times* for the period of June 2015 – December 2019 included 13 news articles, 3 articles which covered court cases on human trafficking and 2 opinion pieces.

4.19. Framing Analysis *The Cape Times*

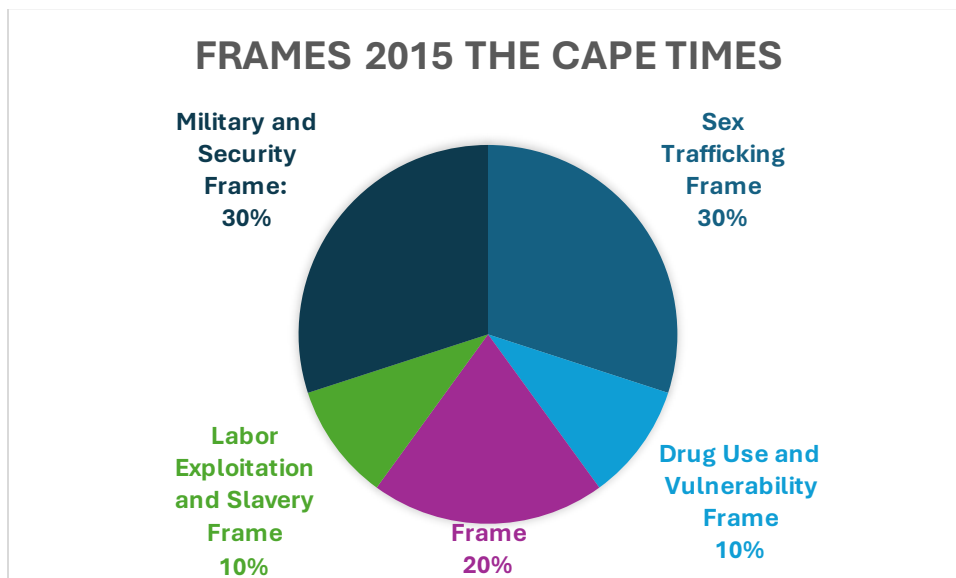


Figure 23: Frames, *The Cape Times*, 2015

In 2015, the Military and Security frame and the Sex Trafficking Frame were the highest, based on the articles which were published by *The Cape Times*. What's important to remember here is that of the 6 articles which were published, 5 were international and 1 was local.

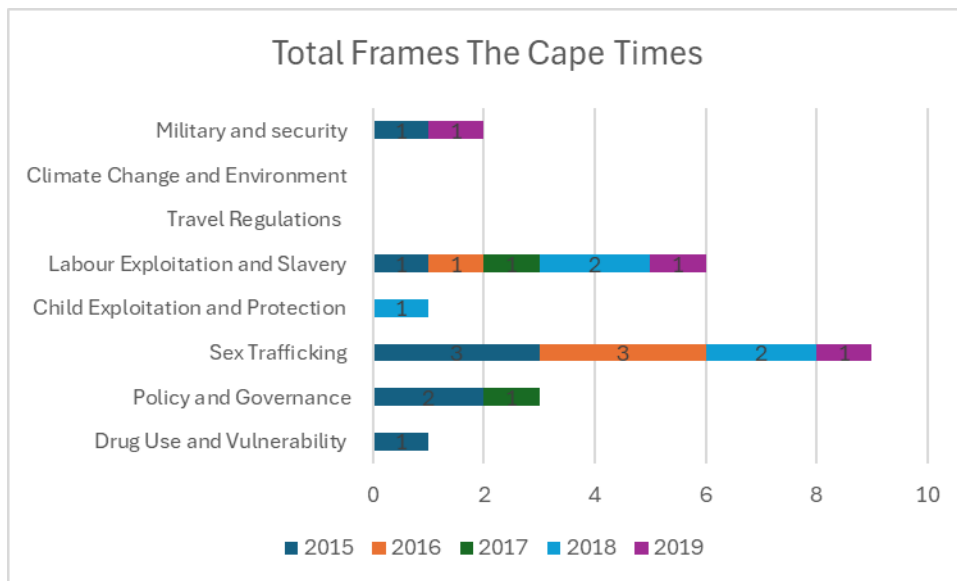


Figure 24: Total Frames The Cape Times, 2015-2019

The total frames for June 2015 to December 2019 showed that sex trafficking was the frame which was used to report on human trafficking the most, followed by labour, exploitation and slavery. Labour exploitation and slavery was a frame which was reported on in all of the years at least once, indicating that the framing of human trafficking around the exploitation of labour such as forced labour was a topic which came up every year at *The Cape Times*.

4.20. Unpacking the Frames for *The Cape Times*

1) Drug use and vulnerability

- In 2016, an article reported on the sentencing of three men convicted of human trafficking and running a brothel with girls as young as 12. In sentencing the three, the judge said that poverty and poor economic circumstances made it easier for human traffickers to drive young women into a life of drugs and prostitution. (3 Human Traffickers jailed for 85 years, *The Cape Times*, 2016)
- In 2019 an article was published to commemorate World Day Against Trafficking in Persons. The article focused on urging residents to be aware of signs related to human trafficking as World Day against Trafficking in Persons is observed. (Be vigilant of signs of human trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2019)

2) Policy and governance

- In 2015, an article discussed Tanzania's efforts to curb human trafficking by suspending a quarter of its recruitment agencies. Recruitment agencies, family members, and intermediaries were noted as facilitators of trafficking, enticing individuals with promises of lucrative jobs. This move is indicative that with government intervention directed towards policies which monitor these agencies and limit them, is a step towards curbing human trafficking, (Tanzania bans job agencies in bid to curb trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)

3) Child exploitation and protection

- In 2015, an opinion piece was published which spoke to the need for comprehensive efforts to combat human trafficking, particularly focusing on child exploitation and protection. The article marked the second World Day against Trafficking in Persons as a call to action by governments, businesses, and communities to end this heinous crime and provide hope to victims. The article emphasised the urgency of addressing human trafficking, with a particular emphasis on protecting vulnerable groups, including children, and ensuring the rights of trafficked persons. (Empowering communities vital in fighting prevalence of human trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2016 an article reported on a court sentencing three men in Durban for human trafficking and operating a brothel involving girls as young as 12. Magistrate Simphiwe Hlophe, in sentencing the three, mentioned that poverty and poor economic circumstances make it easier for human traffickers to exploit and drive young women into a life of trafficking. (3 Human Traffickers jailed for 85 years, *The Cape Times*, 2016)
- In 2018, an article reported about outlines a £5.5 million aid package from Britain to address child labour and support efforts against human trafficking in various countries. The aid distribution included £5.5 million aid package to support child labourers and combat human trafficking. (Millions in Aid to help fight human trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2018)
- In 2018, an article discussed an Indian court's order for the government to compensate a child trafficking survivor, setting a precedent for similar cases. The Calcutta High Court in India had directed the government to pay compensation to a child trafficking survivor before the trial of her case. The survivor, trafficked at the age of 14 to a brothel in Pune, applied for compensation under a government scheme, seeking relief for physical injuries and mental agony. (A win for victims of trafficking as court orders payout, *The Cape Times*, 2018)

4) Labour exploitation and slavery

- In 2015, an article mentioned "forced labour" as one of the unjust purposes for which people were trafficked into and within South Africa according to the LexisNexis South Africa Human Trafficking Awareness Index. It criticizes the government and businesses for not taking meaningful action to stop the sourcing of goods and services that use the labour of trafficked persons. (Empowering communities vital in fighting prevalence of human trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2015, an article mentioned how Tanzania banned job agencies in bid to curb trafficking: The article explicitly mentions that girls sent as domestic servants to the Middle East were used as sex slaves and forced to work without pay, indicating instances of forced labour and sexual exploitation. (Tanzania bans job agencies in bid to curb trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2015, an article was published which mentioned that vulnerable individuals, including women, men, and children, are being "coerced into working in factories, fields, and brothels," indicating instances of forced labour. (Help to relieve plight of the vulnerable on World Day against Trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2016, an article was published on the issue of labour trafficking in Cape Town, with NGOs estimating that between 10 and 15 victims disembark in the city each month. This was on the back of a new phone line which opened dedicated to reporting of human trafficking by the public. (New national trafficking resources line opens today, *The Cape Times*, 2016)
- In 2017, an article mentioned that Swazi textile workers endure "slave-like" working conditions in South African factories, indicating instances of labour exploitation. The article touches on the vulnerability of workers due to their precarious immigration status, with some crossing the border illegally, making them susceptible to exploitation. (72 Swati workers trafficked to SA, *The Cape Times*, 2017)
- In 2018, an article highlighted the UK's funding's focus on tackling child labour in industries such as agriculture, construction, and the garment sector, indicating efforts to combat labour exploitation. (Millions in Aid to help fight human trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2019, an article emphasised the importance of raising awareness about human trafficking on World Day against Trafficking in Persons. Despite the existence of national trafficking laws aligned with the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol, the crime persists globally, exploiting women, children, and men for various purposes, including forced labour and sex, the article said. (Be vigilant of signs of human trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2019)

5) Travel regulations

- There were no articles which had any links to travel regulations for *The Cape Times*.

6) Climate change and environment

- There were no articles which had any links or references to climate change and environment published by *The Cape Times*.

7) Military and Security

- In 2015, an article was published which reported on the arrest of a Thai General on trafficking charges. The crackdown on human trafficking involved police actions and resulted in 84 arrest warrants. (General detained on trafficking charges, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2019, an article reported that Portuguese authorities, supported by Europol, have successfully dismantled a human trafficking network involved in forcing vulnerable women into sex work across Europe. The article emphasised law enforcement efforts in collaboration with Europol to combat human trafficking. (Police swoop on trafficking cartel, *The Cape Times*, 2019)

8) Sex trafficking

- In 2015, an article was published on how Tanzania had banned job agencies who were exploiting young girls and sending them to the Middle East to work as sex workers. This article framed the link between human trafficking and sex work based on the fact that the girls were being falsely led into believing that their employment opportunities which were being sold by the job agencies were in fact false and they were being sent to work as sex workers instead. (Tanzania bans job agencies in bid to curb trafficking, *The Cape Times*, 2015)
- In 2015, an article was published about how three men were convicted for trafficking young girls from the age of 12 years old, driving them into a life of prostitution and drug abuse. This article framed human trafficking around how they exploited the young girls into sex trafficking. (3 Human Traffickers jailed for 85 years, *The Cape Times*, 2015)

4.21. Tone Analysis

The overall tone in each article around human trafficking was that it is was a combination of both positive and negative activity, with sentences describing human trafficking as:

Negative: Many millions of vulnerable women, men and children are being cruelly exploited - coerced into working in factories, fields and brothels or begging on the street;

pushed into armed combat or forced marriages; trafficked so their organs can be harvested and sold.

Positive: But South Africa was brave enough to take a stand on child trafficking by enforcing the new regulation and has set an example for other countries.

Negative: Poverty, the need for sexual gratification, retribution and human trafficking are among the major factors contributing to the high number of missing minors across the city, with stakeholders saying the actual number of children who have gone missing could run into thousands.

What these sentences, among others, do suggest is that the media does foreground the criminality of human trafficking, thereby keeping in line with its agenda of reporting on criminality as having a high level of newsworthiness.

When it comes to the theory of moral panics and what the media does to create some form of panic, I found that a handful of them seemed to contain broad, unexamined statements and hyperbole that can be read as potentially contributing to a sense of impending threat amongst readers. In the article with the headline *Asylum seeking children score court victory (Pretoria News, July 2015,)*, which deals with a court ruling on children who entered the country without their biological parents but could still claim asylum attributes a statement by the department of home affairs which says that:

- 1) Judge Tati Makgoka said: There are inherent risks with documenting separated children as 'dependent' of adult refugee or asylum seekers without any preceding investigation, but there is a higher risk if that is not done." The department of Home Affairs argued that children are at risk of being trafficked.

This single line within the article provided no further explanation backed up by any statistics of evidence to prove that children in general were in fact at risk of being trafficked and could be interpreted as creating panic for the reader.

Here is a synopsis of some of the various tones which I came across in the different newspapers.

Tone analysis *The Cape Times*

The 18 articles collectively present a comprehensive view of the global issue of human trafficking, ranging from proactive measures and collaborative efforts to tackling the problem to the grim realities of exploitation and criminal activities. For instance, some articles highlight

positive initiatives such as community-based interventions, like the empowerment of communities in South Africa to fight trafficking, and innovative approaches involving financial institutions, as seen in banks' potential role in combatting trafficking. Additionally, legal victories for trafficking survivors, such as the court's order for compensation to a child trafficking survivor (A win for victims of trafficking as court orders payout, *The Cape Times*, June 2018), exemplify positive steps toward justice. However, other articles shed light on the severity and complexity of the issue, including high-profile arrests like the detention of a Thai general on trafficking charges (General detained on trafficking charges, *The Cape Times*, June 2015) and the prevalence of modern slavery, as described in South Africa's struggle against 'modern slavery' (Trafficking a form of 'modern slavery' in SA, *The Cape Times*, June 2016).

The narratives surrounding human trafficking often differ, highlighting the complexity of the issue and the various perspectives and responses surrounding it. Some articles express hope and progress, citing examples such as the establishment of a national human trafficking resource line in South Africa and international aid packages to combat trafficking. However, other articles emphasize the urgency of the problem and the difficulties in policing trafficking networks, as discussed by Justice and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister John Jeffery (Tough to Police Human Trafficking, *The Cape Times*, July 2018).

Tone analysis *The Pretoria News*

The articles analysed covered a range of topics, showing both positive advancements and concerning issues within society. Amidst these advancements, some articles shed light on more negative aspects of society. For instance, there are troubling incidents such as drug-related deaths and attempted baby sales, which reveal the darker realities faced by communities (E'rus drug death toll stands at 35, *The Pretoria News*, February 2016; Gumtree baby-for-sale bid: mum spared jail, *The Pretoria News*, May 2016). These articles showcase the conflicts within communities, as well as the reluctance of individuals to confront criminal activities, often due to fear or societal pressures. They also highlight the devastating impact of such issues on individuals and families, underscoring the urgent need for intervention and support systems. Despite the contrasting tones, each article offers timely and relevant insights into societal challenges and the ongoing efforts to address them.

Tone analysis *The Star*

The tones of the articles vary widely, encompassing both positive, negative, and neutral perspectives. "Migrant crisis heads for tsunami" (*The Star*, September 2015) and "Zuma slates

Europe over migrant crisis" (*The Star*, September 2015) exhibit a negative tone, expressing concern, criticism, and urgency regarding the migrant crisis in Europe and the controversial statements made by President Zuma. These articles convey a sense of alarm and dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. On the other hand, "Cases of trafficked kids a worry" (*The Star*, September 2015) and "Human trafficking crackdown" (*The Star*, June 2015) maintain a neutral tone, focusing on informative reporting rather than explicit judgment. They provide insights into the challenges of human trafficking and efforts to address it without conveying a clear positive or negative sentiment. Additionally, "Criminals dealt huge blow by intel centre" (*The Star*, September 2015) presents a more positive tone, highlighting the successes of law enforcement agencies in combating financial crimes. Overall, while some articles convey negative sentiments, others remain neutral or even positive in their portrayal of the issues discussed.

Tone Analysis *The Witness*

The articles discussed span a range of topics, from contentious legal cases to pressing global issues, each with its own distinct tone reflecting the nature of the subject matter. In "Blinded by faith" (*The Witness*, October 2018) and "Fake religion, big business and misogyny," (*The Witness*, November 2018) the tone is predominantly negative as they delve into controversial topics within religious contexts, including alleged instances of sexual abuse, exploitation, and fraudulent activities perpetrated by religious leaders. These articles critically examine the harm caused by such leaders, questioning the influence of blind faith and highlighting the exploitation of vulnerable individuals, particularly women and children. Conversely, "Drama in pastor's case" (*The Witness*, May 2018) maintains a neutral tone, reporting on recent events in the legal proceedings against Timothy Omotoso, presenting facts objectively.

"Focus on women, girls, living in rural areas" (*The Witness*, March 2018) maintains a neutral to slightly positive tone, emphasizing the importance of addressing gender inequality and violence against women while calling for global collaboration and solutions.

"Gains in the anti-slavery fight" (*The Witness*, January 2018) takes a slightly more positive tone, highlighting recent progress in combating modern slavery and acknowledging the significant efforts made by various organisations in addressing the issue of human trafficking.

"Omotoso's church in PE shutdown" (*The Witness*, October 2018) adopts a negative tone, highlighting the conflict between supporters and protesters of a church associated with Pastor Omotoso. Finally, "SA's and Nigeria's relations pivotal to peace in Africa" (*The Witness*, June

2018) strikes a balanced tone, discussing the historical and contemporary relations between the two countries without overt negativity while acknowledging past conflicts and emphasising their roles in African peacekeeping and regional cooperation.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Conclusion

I began this research by asking the question: *How does the media frame human trafficking in South Africa?* Initial assumptions around this question were that there seemed to be an increase in missing reports of children and minors, as well as adults, and there was more coverage around the topic of human trafficking in recent years than there had been previously. While I knew that statistics would be hard to come by given the scope of the crime as discussed previously in this study, I needed to understand if the topic of human trafficking was a priority for South Africa print media. What I have discovered is that the local print publications, mostly adds human trafficking to their agenda if there is an event in which a minister or senior official is in attendance, or when a court case around a person who has been charged with human trafficking is taking place. Other writings include opinion pieces which the newspaper has added to their agenda, but it is not commonplace for the topic to reach the front page of the newspaper except in the instance of 2017 when a court case was being heard around the arrest and sentencing proceedings of an alleged trafficking kingpin. In 2017, this particular court case was on the front page of *The Pretoria News* twice that year. It is also a startling finding to note that when it comes to the seriousness of human trafficking, there were hardly any in-depth investigative articles on human trafficking. It appears as if the media, as part of their agenda, have either intentionally or unintentionally not prioritised human trafficking as a topic worthy of being reported on as a priority, but instead report on it as a means of updating the public on court cases involving atrocities against victims of human trafficking. These reports happen as and when a court case occurs, and these are usually linked to cases of sex trafficking, sexual exploitation or in some cases labour trafficking. This also ties into the “shock” or “moral panic” theory, and how this is used to gain readership. My findings also revealed that sexual exploitation in the form of sex trafficking, sexual abuse or the sexual exploitation of children and sex workers was the kind of article most reported on in relation to human trafficking. The framing of these articles falls very much on what hook is used to add them to the agenda, and any references to sex work, sexual exploitation or rape appeared to be the kind of article which was most reported on when it came to human trafficking. There was also significant international coverage on the topic, with articles reported on from Thailand and the Middle East for example. Articles were also being sourced from other publications, or services such as Reuters, were not given a local angle. Simply put, the research showed that local media should pay more attention to human trafficking. This means they should not only report on

specific cases but also do more thorough investigations to understand the bigger problem and how it affects society.

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