



SOCCER & SEX

A POLYVOCAL CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF THE FIFA WORLD CUP 2010 ON SOUTH AFRICA'S SEX INDUSTRY

**DATE: APRIL 2011
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A polyvocal case study of the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry.

Master Thesis

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Preface

This master thesis is the final assignment for my master Human Geography, 'Globalisation, Migration and Development' at the Radboud University Nijmegen. In order to collect data for this study I spent three months in South Africa during the FIFA World Cup 2010. When I landed at O.R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg on May 5th 2010 it was the third time in two years that I set foot on South African soil. In 2008 I spent three months in Port Elizabeth to collect data for my bachelor research and I instantly fell in love with the country. When I left my newly acquired South African friends they asked me to come back for the World Cup 2010. I never expected that I would indeed return to South Africa during the World Cup to conduct a very interesting research about this global event.

When walking out of O.R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg on May 5th, 2010 I could feel the World Cup vibe already while there was still more than a month left before the kick off of the global sport event. I entered the cab that would take me to my South African friend's house, the radio broadcasted the news with the main news-item being the murder of Lolly Jackson, a notorious strip club boss. When overhearing the news about the murder of this most prominent figure in South Africa's adult entertainment industry, and the discussion with the cab driver that followed about crime syndicates battling to increase their market share in South Africa's illegal sex industry, I felt that the subject of my research was very much alive in the country. At that moment I realised that this research was a big challenge, but definitely worthwhile.

During the field work period, it was often hard to find informants, but in the end I have been able to interview twenty five very interesting persons. Especially the interviews with the sex workers were very interesting and some of their life stories have made an everlasting impression. The writing of the actual thesis has been an educative and explorative academic pursuit without much difficulties.

Now that I have written this thesis, it is time to thank the people who have been very helpful in the realisation of this study. First of all I would like to thank all my informants, as without their participation this research project would not have succeeded. In particular, I would like to thank Saskia Wishart from the organisation Not for Sale for giving me detailed insight in Cape Town's sex industry. I also like to thank Dianne Massawe of the Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce for giving me the opportunity to interview sex workers. I would like to thank both my old and newly acquired friends in South Africa for the wonderful time I had. Finally, I like to thank Prof. Dr. Henk van Houtum for guiding and supervising me in this academic expedition. Thanks to the freedom that he gave me I was able to develop my ideas to a thesis of which I am very proud.

Mieke Langenberg

List of Abbreviations

Anex CDW	Activist network against the exploitation of Child Domestic Workers
CBD	Central Business District
CNN	Cable News Network
CPMC	Concerned Parents of Missing Children
ESPN	Entertainment and Sports Programming Network
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISS	Institute of Security Studies
Justice Acts	Justice Alliance of Christians Against Trafficking Acts
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Prosecution Authority
SACTAP	Southern African Counter Trafficking Assistance Programme
STOP	Stop Trafficking of People
SVRI	Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council
SWEAT	Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN	United Nations

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1.Introduction

'Globalisation' is a relatively recently developed concept in social scientific discourse, referring to a social reality which is variously defined and politically contested. Nevertheless in one way or another in human geography we all work in the shadow of the realities of globalisation, and, whether explicitly or implicitly, in relation to the analysis of globalisation as a distinctive intellectual paradigm (Roche, 2006). Understanding globalisation processes and dynamics, and thus the potential for 'global society', is one of the greatest social scientific challenges of our period (Roche, 2006). At an abstract level, globalisation can be regarded as a long standing-standing tendency within modernity that compresses time and space, and hence links, in new and accelerated ways localities that hitherto had little direct connection (Giddens, 1990). The concept of globalisation however, has – in less than two decades - passed from a technical term circulating among a small number of academics, political scientist and sociologists to an all-purpose buzz-word used by politicians, bank economists and social commentators (Waters, 1995).

The development of a global level of social organisation through processes of globalisation is one of the dominant sociological realities and political challenge of our times and of the 21st century, just as the development of the nation-state level was the dominant reality for the 19th and 20th centuries (Roche, 2006). The development of this nation-state level is responsible for the creation of nationalism. Among other things, in the process of building a strong nation, sports became important (Roche, 2006). Since the Second World War and the advent of the television age there have been significant transformations in sport and sporting cultures (Nauright, 2004). During the 1980s and 1990s this process intensified as governments increasingly diverted large sums of money into national sporting programs aimed at succeeding on the international stage (Nauright, 2004). In this way states tried to position themselves in the global hierarchy of nations (Maguire 1999). In other words; nations started to compete in a global game, which came to expression in global sport events. Hence, in the 19th and 20th century the social role of global sport events needed to be understood in relation to the sociology and politics of nations, particularly the nation-building of host nations, and the motivations of participant nations in terms of the presentation and recognition of national identities. In the contemporary period however, the social roles, and hence the potential social legacies of global sport events, need to be seen – in addition to their national implications for nation states – in relation to the contemporary realities of globalisation and global society building (Roche, 2006).

The structural importance of the nation persists despite the increasing circulation of sportspeople around the globe as part of the new international division of cultural labour (Rowe, 2003). For example, more association football players operate outside their countries of origin than ever before.

Their clubs complain more than ever before about the potential damage to or even the loss of their labour power caused by international demands (Giulianotti, 1999). Yet, football clubs still retain a 'national' brand, which is irrespective of the composition of their playing and coaching staff and of their shareholder register. More than clubs however, that follow business considerations in buying talented football players from everywhere to play for the club's honour, the national team is assumed to represent the 'true' and 'real' national strength (Van Houtum & Van Dam, 2002). The players of the international clubs are still expected to return to their home countries for peak international sports tournaments like the World Cup. Hence, Giulianotti (1999) states that football more than any sport can lay claim to be the 'global' game.

Van Houtum & Van Naerssen (2002) explain that by nature, the game of football involves a competitive match between two teams. According to them it is not self-evident however, that the competition is played out on an international level between nations. Nevertheless, football competitions on an international level are widely accepted as the most important type of football games. This is according to Van Houtum & Van Naerssen (2002) an interesting and remarkable phenomenon; an imagined community of people plays an important role in bordering our daily lives, and thus strengthens our nationalistic feelings. Within the context of international football tournaments, no matter how polyethnic a society may be, its individual members are each expected to identify with a specific national team. At international tournaments, thousands of different supporters groups commingle, with each country displaying distinctive kinds of dress, music, song and patterns of behaviour. Thus, cultural relativisation turns the global game into the 'glocal game' (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Here, it has become clear that, it is in particular football, that constitutes one of the most dynamic, sociologically illuminating domains of globalisation (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Giulianotti and Robertson understand football as one representation – indeed, manifestation – of globalisation.

Sports and sporting events have become integral components of a global political economy, which has seen production shift from developed to less developed societies and an expanding focus in the developed world on the 'branding', 'theming' and consumption of image and lifestyle (Klein, 2001). Among other things, this is one of the reasons why sport has become a multi-billion dollar industry (Black & Westhuizen, 2004).

Besides this, sport is also uniquely globalised in terms of the complex interplay between the media and tourism sectors, and the attendant competition to attract sports stars, corporate sponsorships and, above all, the right to host major sport events; mega-events, with all the global prestige, symbolic power and potential economic spin-offs that will follow (Black & Westhuizen, 2004).

1.1 Global Sport events

There have been a number of discussions about 'mega-events' or 'hallmark events' (see Witt 1988, Syme *et al.*, 1989 and Law, 1994). But nowadays it is Maurice Roche's definition that is most important in understanding mega-events. He states that mega-events are best understood as 'large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance' (Roche, 2000 : 1). Roberts (2004) explains that what defines certain sports events as 'mega' is that they are 'discontinuous', out of the ordinary, international and simply big in composition. 'Megs' have according to Roberts (2004) the ability to transmit promotional messages to billions of people via television and other developments in telecommunications: the whole world is watching the same thing at the same time (Rowe, 2003). Van Houtum (2010) argues that every time a mega event like the World Cup is hosted by a certain nation or city, the final result is the creation of a selective hyperreality, a romantic fiction of the local reality. Countries and host cities are reduced to attractive mannequins in show windows that are well dressed. Van Houtum (2010) describes this strategic focusing on and the sensual exhibition of countries and cities for exploitation purposes as a 'topoporno'. Here, it does not matter what is real, as long as the desire has been waked. Van Houtum & Van Dam (2002) argue that the evolution of internet as a way of communicating imageries, symbols and narratives, – in this case about global events, like the World Cup – has certainly stimulated the development of such toposporno. Hence, hosting cities and nations become translated into fulfilling and seductive prêt-à-porter images. Local specificities are thereby blown up and displayed for the eye of the other (Van Houtum & Van Dam, 2002).

There are two central features of contemporary mega-events. Firstly, they will attract considerable media coverage. Both the Olympic Games and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup have since the 1980s attracted substantial media interest and commercial partners. Especially the Football World Cup is a huge media event. The resources made available for communication systems, the amounts paid by national broadcasting systems to televise the event and the enormous media centres provide ample evidence for this (Rowe, 2003). Secondly, they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur (Rowe, 2003). A city or region which hosts a major event is attracting global attention and is affected in many positive and negative ways (Ritchie & Smith, 1991). Mega-events are short-term events with long-term consequences for the nations that stage them and are associated with the creation of infrastructure and facilities (Roche, 1994). When they are successful they project a new and perhaps persistent and positive image and identity for the host city and country through national and international media. It is assumed that this has long-term positive consequences in terms of

inward investments, industrial relocation, and tourism (Roche, 1994). Consequently, city leaders and event organisers often claim that mega-events help to address the economic and cultural needs and rights of local citizens, regardless of whether the citizens have actually been consulted about or involved in their production (Roche, 1994). Some analysts however, raise questions about the social distribution of the supposed benefits of mega-events (Lowes, 2002). It raises questions that are often ignored; which social groups actually benefit and which are excluded? (Lowes, 2002). Local politicians often only focus on the interests of the middle-class consumers, developers and property owners. In so doing, sectional interests are treated as *the* general interests, while class and community divisions regarding the support and enjoyment of spectacular urban entertainments are ignored (Gruneau, 2002). The claims made by local politicians for hosting mega events range from positive impacts on employment (or rather unemployment), additional spending in the community, visiting tourists/spectators numbers, media coverage on an event locality, and some impact on the social condition of the host community (Rowe, 1995). In relation to this, the earlier discussed 'topoporno of mega events' is of course a stroke of luck for local politicians, and event organisers.

Negative impacts however, are by politicians either ignored or hidden under the table (Hall & Hodges, 1996). Nevertheless, in the last decennium the media has been focusing on one negative effect of the FIFA World Cup; the media started to assume that the Football World Cup has a negative impact on the host society's sex industry. According to the media, this mega event is an incentive for criminals to traffick women and girls from (poor) surrounding countries to the host nation.

One should realise that not only football players and tourists are attracted by the magnet of the Football World Cup, also criminals are attracted by the billion dollar event. It is assumed by the media that criminals have the intention to make a lot money during such a mega event; among other things, by meeting the demand from male tourists for sex during the time period of the FIFA World Cup. To meet this demand the media explains that criminals believe that it is necessary that more women work in the sex industry during the event. Therefore, criminals traffick girls from remote and poor areas to the host cities of the World Cup to work in the sex industry for the time period of the mega event. Of course, the traffickers become rich from this, while the lives of the trafficked women are broken. This practice can be seen as the shadow side of the World Cup (Molo Songolo, 2008). The cover of this thesis shows this claim of the media about the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry. The image shows how the media asked for attention by blowing up their assumptions. Due to this kind of images that circulated in the country before the World Cup started the media has reached a worldwide audience to spread its fearful and alarming assumptions.

However, several scholars have invalidated this claim (Hennig *et al.*, 2007). Yet, for the most recent FIFA World Cup 2010 that took place in South Africa the same claims have been made by the

media. This raises the question what is really happening within the sex industry when a global-event takes place. Does the high number of tourists indeed lead to effects on the sex industry of the host society? More importantly, it is not only the media that has an opinion about this shadow effect; there are more voices that should be heard. What is the opinion of experts (theorists and academics) about this shadow effect? What do people working in or related to the sex industry think about the effects of a FIFA World Cup on the sex industry? What happens during the World Cup according to sex workers themselves? What has been observed by the local authorities during the latest World Cup?

In the next subsection this discrepancy will be related to the FIFA World Cup 2010. After that, the concepts 'sex work' and 'sex industry' as used in this study will be made clear. Third, I will discuss the contrasting perspectives and expectations about the consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry which exist prior to the World Cup. Fourth, the relevance of this research will be outlined and this will be followed by the research aim and question. The last paragraph of this chapter can be seen as an additional paragraph which elaborates on the context of the sex industry and human trafficking in South Africa.

1.2 The FIFA World Cup 2010

The FIFA World Cup 2010 has been hosted by South Africa. The media (mainly newspapers) in South Africa and in the rest of the world predicted that the World Cup would have large consequences for the sex industry. Among other things, the media expected a rise in human trafficking during the World Cup. However, these predictions are in contrast to previous research. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) there exists no data that shows that a huge sport event has an impact on the sex industry. Moreover, according to a research of the IOM the expected rise in human trafficking during the World Cup 2006 in Germany was unrealistic and unfounded (Hennig *et al.*, 2007). Since there has not been many research on a relation and consequences of a mega sport event on the sex industry, these contrasts ask for more insights into what happened with South Africa's sex industry during the World Cup. In other words, there is a need to make an inventory of what happens with a host society's sex industry when a World Cup takes place. This explanatory research aims to clarify the consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry in South Africa from several perspectives.

"We feel privileged and humbled that South Africa has been given this singular honor of being the African host country. We must strive for excellence in our hosting of the World Cup, while at the same time, ensuring that we are going to leave a lasting benefit to all our people. [...] The people of Africa learnt the lesson of patience and endurance in their long struggle for freedom. May the reward brought by the FIFA World Cup prove that the long wait for its arrival on African soil has been worth it... *Ke Nako!* It's time." (Nelson Mandela's speech at the FIFA World Cup Final draw, December 4, 2009).

The FIFA World Cup 2010 was the first world cup that took place on African soil. According to Nelson Mandela the world cup is a gift for South Africa; it was finally time for the hidden continent to step out of the shadow and host the biggest event of the world on which the whole world would be focused (The Guardian, June 13, 2009). The people of South Africa believed that Africa's time had come not only to stage the soccer fest, but also to use the 2010 FIFA World Cup to change perceptions of Africa and reposition the continent in a positive light with South Africa as the theatre and Africa as the stage (The Guardian, June 13, 2009). In other words, South Africa was ready to put itself out there as a well dressed mannequin in the world's show windows; becoming a surreal and romantic place; the development of a 'topoporno.' In 2004, when South Africa was awarded the bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, there were celebrations throughout South Africa and the African continent. The decision to award the bid to Africa is celebrated not only because of the continent's love for the game, but is also applauded because of the expectations that this global event will generate more than \$4 billion, the highest revenue in World Cup history (Molosongololo, 2008). Among other sectors, it was expected that the tourism sector would generate economic profits from the increase of tourist flows that this global event would provoke. During June and July of 2010 thirty-two teams arrived two to three weeks prior to the tournament (Molo Songololo, 2008). During a period of 43 days, there have been 400.000 visitors in the country, of which 130.000 were visitors from the African continent, who viewed 64 matches played in nine cities around the country (Statistics South Africa, 2010).

Regarding this large flow of tourists during the World Cup period, South Africa is the place where a lot of money could be made. Since it was expected that tourists would be mainly male, it was expected by among others the nongovernmental organisation (NGO) Molo Songololo that the demand for sex would increase (Molo Songololo, 2008). This means that potentially a lot of money can be gained in the sex industry when a World Cup takes place. Molo Songololo is a NGO that is based in Cape Town and is a major national role-player and stake-holder concerning the rights and protection of children.¹ According to Molo Songololo's (2008) rapid assessment of impact of 2010 FIFA World Cup 2010 on the abuse, exploitation, and trafficking of children, any large sport event can contribute to a short-term increase in demand for prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation

¹ Derived from: Molo Songololo, November 12, 2009

in and around the event. Also Craggs et al. (2006) indicate that the assumption that football and sex belong together predicts an unprecedented boom in sex tourism. In consequence, since human trafficking is a demand-driven business, the assumption has aroused among predominantly the media that during large sport events human trafficking increases (Loewenberg, 2006). On these assumptions it looked like that next to the transfers of money and capital to South Africa, a transfer of girls and women was also needed to 'serve' the large amount of male tourists. In South Africa, similar sentiments were before the World Cup started being expressed by NGOs and politicians in the anticipation and expectation of mass tourism at its best during the World Cup period (Bird & Donaldson, 2009). Hence, it is clear that the gathering of a specific time; June and July 2010, a specific location: South Africa and the hosting of a mega sport event; the World Cup might have led to an impact on South Africa's sex industry during the World Cup period. In the next paragraph I will make clear what is meant by 'sex industry' and 'sex work' in this study.

1.3 The concepts 'sex work' and 'sex industry'

In general, sex work covers a wide range of activities including street work, ship work, parlor work, escort work, working independently, mistressing, peep show work, stripping, and telephone work (Bell *et al.*, 1998). An umbrella term that covers all aspects of sex work is the 'sex industry' (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001). The sex industry is an area that has attracted substantial debate from a variety of approaches. Views of prostitution as a crime, disease, sin and perversity play a role in everyday understandings of sex work as well as in legal responses to it (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001).

Sex workers, usually referred to as prostitutes, have occupied an anomalous position in societies throughout history. They are generally regarded as a social category, as women who do not adhere to sexual and other behavioural norms; pitied or despised, they are excluded from mainstream society, their marginal position analogous to that of a low caste or minority ethnic group.²

Unfortunately, even within what are broadly feminist approaches, there is little consensus about how to understand sex work. There exist multiple and contradictory meanings of sex work (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001). According to Weatherall & Priestley (2001), different feminist approaches can be categorized as roughly falling into two camps. In one camp, the radical feminist and Marxist feminist approaches are against prostitution, viewing it as essentially wrong. The radical feminist perspective on sex work is that it is about coercion and sexual subordination. In this view all prostitution is deviant – an act of sexual violence; a form of abuse against women (Jeffreys, 1995, 1997). The

² See Statement on Prostitution and Human Rights, International Committee for Prostitutes' Rights, 1986, in Pheterson, Gail, ed. 1989. *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*, Seal Press, Seattle, USA. p. 103.

Marxist feminist perspective places more emphasis on the 'work' aspect of prostitution, viewing any exchange of services for money as an entrance into a relation of subordination. Thus sex work can be viewed as specific instance of the more general exploitation of the worker (Zatz, 1997).

The liberal feminist and sex radical positions have a more positive message about prostitution. Liberal feminists argue that sex is a job, much like any other, and can be a form of self-determination for women. Bindman (1997) states that the designation of prostitution as a special human rights issue as put forward by the Marxist feminist perspective, is a violation in itself. According to Bindman (1997) it emphasises the distinction between prostitution and other forms of female or low-status labour, such as cleaning or food-serving, however exploitative they are. Consequently, it reinforces the marginal and vulnerable position of the women and men involved in prostitution.

The terms 'sex work' and 'sex worker' have been coined by sex workers themselves to redefine commercial sex, not as the social or psychological characteristic of a class of women, but as an income-generating activity or form of employment for women and men. As such it can be considered along with other forms of economic activity. An employment or labour perspective is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for making sex work a part of the mainstream debate on human, women's, and workers' rights at local, national and international level (Bindman, 1997).

The autonomy and freedom reported as being felt by some sex workers are cited as one justification for promoting a more positive view of prostitution. This more palatable construction of sex work tends to be endorsed by prostitutes' rights groups. Furthermore, a market exchange of sex for money is viewed by many prostitutes and their clients as morally superior to the 'gift' exchange of sex that is characteristic of romantic relationships (Prasad, 1999). The sex radical approach is also pro-prostitution. Critical of any form of social regulation that places restriction on sexual activity, sex radicals view the sex industry as one of the few social arenas where non-normative sexual activities may be practiced (Zatz, 1997).

From these two approaches it becomes clear that defining sex work is not an easy task. Since both ways of thinking about prostitution are present in South Africa's society (Wojcicki, 2003), it is important to notice that in this study it has been chosen to define 'sex work' according to the simplest definition, which is Gould's (2008) definition. Gould (2008) defines sex work as 'the exchange of sexual services for financial reward.' It has to be noted that Gould's definition derives from the second approach; however this does not mean that this study is pro-prostitution or chooses the liberal feminist approach over the radical feminist and Marxist feminist approaches. This study is open and includes all perspectives about sex work and the sex industry.

Sex industry can then be defined as an umbrella term that covers all aspects of the exchange of sexual services for financial reward. It should be mentioned here that also the dark side; sex worker trafficking, child prostitution, violence, crime, police abuse, drugs, and HIV/AIDS are all aspects that

overshadow the sex industry (Rao, 1999, Lalu, 2005) and hence are taken into account in this research.

With its roots in ancient history, the presence of prostitution is evident all over the world in different forms. One should note that sex work is illegal in South Africa. This illegality has major implications for the work lives of sex workers, therefore it is also important to discuss 'illegality' in relation to sex work. Here I will discuss the illegality of sex work in general, the illegality of sex work in South Africa will be discussed in paragraph 1.7.

The illegal work setting of sex workers in general has been found to have major effects on their lives (Campbell, 1991). The work of street based sex workers requires a strict separation between their work and home lives. Sex among street based sex workers and their customers usually takes place very close to the street on which prostitutes work. Often it takes place in customers' cars, a practice referred to by prostitutes as 'working cars' or 'car dates.' The interaction that transpires is usually quick since the behaviour is illegal and the sex worker has to return to the street in order to transact more business. They are usually approached by men who want quick sex at cheap prices (Campbell, 1991). Also, sex workers working off the street do not always have a warm, private place in which to conduct their work or an appropriate physical setting in which to engage in hygienic practices with customers (Campbell, 1991). Both lack safety reinforcements and are more physically vulnerable than licensed sex workers in countries where sex work is legal, because of their illegal status. Due to that status, illegal sex workers have a complicated relationship with law enforcement and are usually unable to seek help if they find themselves in physical jeopardy (Rekart, 2005). They have a different relationship with the health care system as well, since this contact is very much tied to their contact with the legal system in that it is often the result of arrest and conviction for prostitution. Many scholars believe that the relationship with the health care system is one of the causes of the spread of HIV/aids, according to them sex workers should be empowered in order to get more bargaining power and in consequence diminish the spread of HIV/aids (Rekart, 2005).

1.4 Contrasting perspectives regarding the impact of the World Cup

As has been discussed above, the media – which are in this study limited to newspapers and news websites – predicted before the tournament started that the FIFA World Cup 2010 would have large consequences for South Africa's sex industry, which is in contrast to previous research. In this subsection these expectations and contrasting perspectives will be discussed in more detail.

According to several newspapers and news websites one of the most important consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry in South Africa would be the trafficking of girls and women into the country. These are just a few headlines of newspapers published prior to the World Cup: 'SA on

alert for Human Trafficking in 2010 and *'Human Trafficking Red Alert: women, children under threat as World Cup sees prostitution demand rocket'*. The NGO Molo Songololo argued that The FIFA World Cup 2010 would be a perfect chance for human traffickers to make a lot of money by trafficking girls and women into the country for sexual exploitation in order to meet the demands of male tourists. Experts working in human trafficking estimated that 40,000 women and girls were trafficked into Germany for the 2006 World Cup (Hennig et al., 2007). It was predicted that there will be a similar or higher number of women and girls that will be trafficked for the World Cup in 2010 in South Africa (Smith, 2009).

These expectations have led to a passionate debate about decriminalizing prostitution. Here I make a little side step to elaborate on this debate. The police forces relationship with the sex work industry can in some cases be turbulent; with abusive situations arising due to the fact that sex work is illegal in South Africa. Some argue that keeping the sex industry illegal opens the door for police corruption and mistreatment, and increases the vulnerability of sex workers (particularly street-based workers). They argue that criminalization drives prostitution underground (CNN, January 7, 2010). Sex workers find that they are not able to approach the police for assistance in cases of abuse during the course of their work. Decriminalization may lessen the amount of abuse that the girls are exposed to, both in terms of police interventions and exploitative working conditions. Furthermore, some believe that decriminalizing prostitution can help control the spread of HIV (Lalu, 2005). Decriminalizing sex work would make it easier to provide sex workers with condoms and make it easier for sex workers to turn down clients who refuse to use condoms (Gould, 2008, CNN, January, 2010). Furthermore, legalization of the industry may strengthen the bargaining power of sex workers when negotiating contracts with brothel owners and their negotiating power with clients. 'Rescuing' or 'removing' women from their role as sex worker may in fact not be what they need. Rather, recourse to the law may be more helpful to them. It is mainly the sound from organisations that are pro decriminalization that one hears before the World Cup started. They recommend South Africa's law reform commission to decriminalize the sex industry, the government however is too anxious to legalize prostitution. Hence, the sex industry will remain underground which may according to these organisations lead to an increase in human trafficking.

Returning to the predictions which are reported by the media; the prediction of an increase in demand for sex and thus an increase in human trafficking is not the only possible influence on the sex industry. The media also warns for the increase of HIV, a chance of unwanted pregnancies and the ever-present threat of violence and rape during the World Cup (CNN, January 7, 2010). As outlined above, the picture that has been sketched by the media about the consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry in South Africa is very pessimistic. Since the media is a powerful medium, this pessimistic view reaches a lot of people in South African society. In consequence, the

media's view on this phenomenon is the view that is widespread among South Africans. Hence, it seems that the media determines the discourse about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry, while there are also other perspectives from other angles about the consequences of the World Cup. For instance, experts of the IOM state that there exists no data that shows that this impact of a huge sport event on the sex industry is true. Moreover, according to a research of the IOM the expected rise in human trafficking during the previous World Cup 2006 in Germany was unrealistic and unfounded. Also the pessimistic view about an increase in HIV/AIDS has been tempered by experts. Julian Seedat of the South African National AIDS Council, which advises the government on HIV and AIDS, is optimistic about the health implications. He thinks that the World Cup will necessarily bring an increased risk of the spread of HIV (CNN, January 7, 2010). He states that over the years there has been an incredible amount of education and awareness work done among sex workers. Years ago the high-risk groups were thought to be sex workers, but there has been such a focus on education for this group, that their behaviour has really changed. According to Seedat it is quite a norm for a commercial sex worker to have a bag full of condoms (CNN, January 7, 2010).

These contrasting statements raise the question what really happens with the sex industry in South Africa when a large sport event, like the World Cup, takes place. The problem is that it is hard to answer this question since the sex industry is illegal in South Africa. Several scholars have argued that researching illegal work is difficult and that it is marred by obstacles and challenges. Freeman (1991) describes why illegal work may seem a rational decision; given the alternatives of low-wage payoffs from legal work and the expectation of relatively high returns from income-generating criminal activities, coupled with high incarceration risks that may appear to be independent from crime commission, illegal activity may seem a rational choice not unlike choices made among legitimate occupational pursuits (Freeman, 1991).

Until recently, researchers often viewed legal and illegal economic activities as mutually exclusive (Fagan & Freeman, 1999). Freeman (1992) explains that one view suggests that through processes of self or social selection, a formidable social and economic wall separates many young men and women from the world of legal work. This separation is the product of several forces that are concentrated in inner-city areas and may account for the persistently higher unemployment rates. Excluded from legal work, their earnings are likely to be heavily skewed toward informal economic activity and also toward crime incomes (Freeman, 1992). People may be excluded from legal work by poor job skills or low education, a weak labour market, the racial hiring preferences of employers, or spatial mismatches that make jobs inaccessible for urban youths (Fagan & Freeman, 1999). These dynamics leave few income opportunities open other than public assistance, the licit informal economy or illegal work in crime or drug selling. At the core of this view is a presumed divide

between legal and illegal economic activity that leads many to choose the latter and forgo the former (Fagan & Freeman, 1999). Only in the last decade it has come to the fore that some shift back and forward over time, while others juggle legal and illegal economic activities at the same time (Venkatesh, 1997). In consequence, one difficulty when focusing on illegal work is that illegal and legal work are not mutually exclusive choices but represent a continuum of legal and illegal income-generating activities (Fagan & Freeman, 1999).

Nowadays, both empirical research and theory challenge a deterministic view of an exclusive relationship between crime and work. Several studies show a fluid, dynamic and complex interaction between legal and illegal work; as discussed above they often overlap both within time periods and over developmental stages (Weisbrod and Worthy, 1997). As a result, ethnographic studies suggest a blurring of distinctions between legal and illegal work, and a broader conceptualization of work that neutralizes the legal distinctions among licit and illicit income-generating activities. Individuals involved in illegal work may change their evaluations over time of the costs and returns of such work compared to legal pursuits, leading to career shifts from illegal to legal sources of income (Weisbrod and Worthy, 1997). Hence, one can say that illegal work, like sex work is situated in a grey zone.

Another important difficulty that one comes across when studying illegal work is that since the illegal industry consists out of criminal activities one cannot grasp every detail of the industry. Already in 1988, Margaret Levi stated that one of the main features common to all illegal (economic) practices is that they do not provide revenue to the state through official channels (Levi, 1988). Hence, illegal activities had to be hidden for the state. Focusing on the study of illegal workers, these workers – like sex workers – can be seen as a ‘hidden population’. Spreen (1992) explains that it is hard to get access to hidden populations. The reason for this difficult access is the threatening nature of the specific trait that characterizes members of a hidden population. This specific trait is an illegal or social unacceptable activity (Spreen, 1992). In consequence, Spreen (1992) argues that when researching hidden populations this difficult access makes it hard to use usual probability standard designs to make rigorous and detailed inferences. In short, it is hard to research an illegal industry, like the sex industry. To get round this difficulty and to get better insights in contrasting statements about the sex industry as a whole during the World Cup in order to find out what really happens with a host society’s sex industry when a World Cup takes place, this study has not only focused on sex workers, but on several players related to this industry. In this way the contrasting statements about the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry are clarified. Although the media – newspapers and news websites – is perhaps the most powerful, it is not the only player in the debate. What do the media report during the World Cup and on which resources do they base their arguments? Next to the media, experts also have a view on the impact of the World Cup on the sex industry, what do they say? What is the opinion of NGO’s that work with sex workers and anti-human

trafficking organisations about the impact of the World Cup? Another group which should be heard are the sex workers themselves. What is the impact of the World Cup according to the sex workers? Do they see a rise in clients? Do they see foreign clients during the World Cup? And do they believe that the amount of prostitutes (from non South African countries) has increased? A last group which might have a perspective on this phenomenon is the authorities, like the local authorities.

Hence, in this study I will focus on different perspectives of several groups about the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry in order to give a voice to every group and sketch the different perspectives. In this research not only the voice of the media will be heard; every group will be equally heard.

1.5 Scientific and societal relevance

In this section the scientific and societal relevance will be discussed. Hennig *et al.* (2007) argue that there is a lack of credible empirical data examining the consequences for the sex industry when a mega event takes place and what the possible links are between trafficking for sexual exploitation and major events, including sporting events. Most studies on the impact of a mega event have mainly focused on economic effects gained by hosting the event (Crompton, Lee, & Shuster, 2001; Crompton & McKay, 1994). Nevertheless, there have been some studies about human trafficking in relation to major events. However, these studies focused mainly on human trafficking and did not report about an increase of HIV/AIDS and violence. Hence, there exists a knowledge gap about the consequences of a major sport event on the sex industry. Since there has not been much research about the link between the World Cup and consequences for the sex industry yet, this explanatory research is scientifically relevant.

Focusing at an important part of the sex industry, human trafficking; there is a general lack of data about human trafficking in (Southern) Africa. Despite the magnitude of the problem, however, it has only recently seized policy makers' attention. As recently as 10 years ago, the expression 'human trafficking' rarely appeared in migration policy debates (Lackzko, 2002). Today however, trafficking is one of the major concerns of both governments and (non-governmental) organisations active in the migration field, and has become a priority for those working in many other policy areas such as human rights, health, law enforcement, and social services (Lackzko, 2002). Despite the attention it gained in the past decade, there is still very limited information on the scale of trafficking, how it works, and the most effective means to halt it. Despite the growing literature on trafficking, relatively few studies are based on extensive research, and information on the actual numbers of people trafficked remains very sketchy (Lackzko, 2002). Although there is certainly a general knowledge gap, researchers have been mainly focusing on human trafficking in Asia and Europe, while empirical data for Africa seems to lack. The IOM (2003) states that little is known about the trafficking of Africans,

by Africans in mainly Southern Africa.

Furthermore, this research is scientifically relevant, since the effect of a major event on the sex industry and human trafficking is often overestimated. A good example of the overestimation of the impact on the sex industry and an increase of human trafficking regarding a large sport event is the previous World Cup that took place in Germany as has been discussed above. All data, information and expert statements that are available strongly indicate that an increase in human trafficking did not occur either during or after the World Cup 2006. Media reports were thus extremely overestimated (Hennig et al, 2007). Likewise reports about human trafficking in South Africa in general are often overestimated. Several studies on human trafficking in South Africa claimed that human trafficking is a big issue in South Africa, however, Chandré Gould (2008) concludes in her study 'Selling sex in Cape Town' that the number of women who are trafficked or debt-bonded is much lower than suggested by previous studies. According to her, trafficking is not a significant feature of the sex work industry in her case study Cape Town. Furthermore, Gould (2008) argues that many papers on human trafficking lament the lack of quantitative data on the phenomenon and yet repeat claims that the industry is growing. The figures in such reports are often uncritically repeated in NGO and press reports on the extent of the globalisation problem.

Tyldum & Brunovskis (2005) argue that overestimated and thus inadequate data might result in descriptions that have little to do with reality. With regard to the use of numbers in the human rights field Dottridge (2003) argues:

'Some human rights activists argue that exaggeration is not a major problem, as long as attention ends up being given to whatever abuses are occurring. This seems to be a rather idealistic, not to say naïve approach, which ignores the damage that can be done by misrepresenting the scale of a problem. [...] an inaccurate estimate of the problem is likely to result in a remedy being proposed that is equally inappropriate.'

In addition, Tyldum & Brunovskis (2005) state that overestimating the extent of a phenomenon can have equally negative consequences as underestimating it. This is where the societal relevance of this study becomes clear, uncritically using or publishing findings not based on sound methodologies may result in misinformation and hinder the creation of relevant policies and appropriate programs. Hence, to develop relevant policies and programs to combat negative impacts of a major event on sex workers and to combat trafficking, and to assist victims in the sex industry, research is needed.

1.6 Research aim and question

In the previous subparagraphs I showed that expectations and estimations of the media are in contrasts with empirical findings. Furthermore, it seems that the media is determining the discourse about the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on the sex industry. It has only been the voice of the media that one hears about the supposed relation between the World Cup and the sex industry, while the voice of others, like experts, NGO's or sex workers themselves are not heard. In order to get more insights in this issue from more than just one perspective and to find out what the effects are of the World Cup on the sex industry, it is important to hear all voices related to this issue and hence to clear up the grey zone that surrounds this issue. Therefore the aim of this study is to map the perspectives about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry of all parties that are related to this issue; NGO's, local authorities, experts, journalists and of course sex workers themselves. In this way I hope to make a contribution to the enlargement of the available data on the sex industry in relation to mega sport events. To grasp this plurality of voices a polyvocal approach is very useful; a polyphonic driven mode of research privileges all these competing voices at work (Mattingly, 1991). The aim of a polyphonic approach is to encapsulate a multiplicity of voices, which is also the aim of this research. Therefore the concept 'polyvocality' will be central in this study. In the next chapter I will elaborate further on this concept. The main research question that follows is:

What is the effect of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry from a polyvocal perspective including voices of NGO's, experts, journalists, local authorities and sex workers themselves?

The following sub-questions are helpful to answer the research question.

- What are the effects of the FIFA World Cup for South Africa's sex industry according to nongovernmental organisations working with sex workers and counter trafficking organisations?
- What are the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 for South Africa's sex industry according to experts?
- What are the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 for South Africa's sex industry according to the media?
- What are the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 for South Africa's sex industry according to sex workers themselves?
- What are the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 for South Africa's sex industry according to local authorities?

In respect of the main research question, two concepts have to be made clear. The first concept; 'the sex industry', has already been made clear above. The second concept however; 'effects' is not easy to conceptualise. Firstly, there has not been much scientific research about the effects of a global sport event on the sex industry of the host country, hence there are no effects which have been scientifically observed. Secondly, a lot of unfounded information has been spread by the media. Due to these two circumstances, the relation between a global sport event and the sex industry can be described as a grey zone. Considering this grey zone and the fact that this research is explanatory and interested in what the several parties believe what the effects of the World Cup are, the concept 'effects' will not be conceptualized. Hence, what is meant by 'effects' will be measured by the perspectives of the several parties themselves.

Before I turn to the research methodology and methods which will be discussed in the next chapter, I will first zoom in on South Africa's sex industry and human trafficking in South Africa. This paragraph is not part of the main thread of this study, but in my opinion it is important to have an understanding of South Africa's sex industry and human trafficking in general to understand the results of this study which will be presented later. Hence, the next paragraph can be seen as an addition to this chapter, which should be read to understand the context of the sex industry and human trafficking in South Africa.

1.7 Context of South Africa's sex industry & Human Trafficking in South Africa

In this subsection the context of South Africa's sex industry and human trafficking in South Africa will be described. Firstly, the context of the sex industry will be outlined, after that the focus will lie on human trafficking in South Africa.

1.7.1 Context of South Africa's sex industry

South Africa's history has been characterized by the economic exploitation, political exclusion, and social disempowerment of the country's black majority. The white minority government's apartheid policies stated very explicitly that black people were inferior to white people (Sparks, 2003). Blacks formed 70% of the population resided in 9 politically separate "homelands" (constituting 13% of South Africa's geographical area). The country's resources were overwhelmingly directed at developing the predominantly white urban areas, with the rural areas becoming increasingly economically unsustainable (Campbell & Mzaidume, 2001). In the late 20th century, the white government conceded to black majority rule, and the African National Congress took over the government in 1994 (Sparks, 2003). Although black people now have full political rights, much work remains to undo the negative economic legacies of apartheid. Levels of unemployment currently

stand at 38%. Employment opportunities are exceptionally poor for unskilled women with little education, and it is from this group that sex workers in South Africa originate (Campbell & Mzaidume, 2001).

Sex work in South Africa is criminalized. The Sexual Offences Act (Act 23 1957) makes it illegal to exchange sex for financial reward. The Act criminalizes all activities related to the sale of sex, including living off the earnings of prostitution, persuading someone to become a sex worker, or keeping a brothel (Gould, 2008). Although it is illegal, sex work is nevertheless common. The difficulty of enforcing this Act means that it is not often used to prosecute street-based sex workers, who are more often arrested for contravening municipal by-laws related to loitering or soliciting. The indoor sector of the sex industry tends to be tolerated by the police (Gould, 2008). Sex workers of higher socioeconomic status work out of escort agencies and massage parlours, while those of a lower socioeconomic status work on the street or at harbours, mines, bars, and various working class haunts (Gould, 2008).

Just as the 'migrant labour system' during apartheid has created a market for prostitution in mining towns, the trucking industry has created a similar market at certain gasoline and diesel filling stations known as truck stops. Women working at these truck stops and street based sex workers are typically at the upper end of the scale for risk of HIV infection (Karim et al., 1995). However, it is not only these sex workers who are vulnerable for sexual transmitted diseases, like HIV/AIDS. All prostitutes in South Africa have been cited as being particularly vulnerable to sexual transmitted diseases as they lack access to economic resources and positions of power and as such may end up having to choose between economic survival and possible HIV infection (Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). In South Africa, estimates of HIV among sex workers who work in mining communities suggest that over 25% of sex-workers are HIV positive. Other studies in the Hillbrow/Joubert Park (in Johannesburg) area have indicated that sex-workers have HIV infection levels close to 50% (Wojcicki & Malala, 2001).

Sex-workers are not unique in their problems pertaining to sexual negotiation. Studies in Southern Africa indicate that women, in general, are relatively 'powerless' in sexual negotiations with men as far as influencing men to wear and use condoms. The violence including rape that sex workers, especially women working on the streets, experience in their daily lives increases the possibility of HIV infection. Street based sex-workers face daily harassment from the police and the community, which pushes them to work in poorly lit areas, placing them at increased risk of violence from clients. Condom use may also increase levels of violence in sex-work. Many sex-workers do not use condoms with clients because this often led to violence as condom use left clients sexually unsatisfied. Furthermore, clients are only willing to pay a quarter of the price for sex with a condom. Regardless the issue of using a condom, sex workers experience high levels of violence in their

working lives in general. This violence is consistent with the overall high levels of rape and assault that women experience in South Africa (Wojcicki & Malala, 2001).

1.7.2 Human trafficking in South Africa

In this subparagraph, I will zoom in on human trafficking in South Africa. First of all, since trafficking of people is often confused with smuggling of people, it is important to make a clear distinction between these two concepts; the smuggling of individuals violates the rights of the state, while human trafficking amounts to the violation of human rights (UNESCO, 2007). The UN Protocol to Prevent suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, often referred to as the Palermo Protocol defines trafficking as:

- a. Trafficking persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use or force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include at a minimum the exploitation of the prostitution of other or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;
- b. The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this Article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;
- c. The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this Article;
- d. 'child' shall mean any person under 18 years of age (UN, Article 3, 2000).

What becomes clear from the protocol is that smuggling does not involve exploitation or abuse, smugglers are just paid to transport people from one place to another. Trafficking, however, involves a continued exploitation of the victim. In smuggling the migrant is acting voluntarily; in trafficking the persons are moved against their will (UNESCO, 2007).

Now, I turn to another major issue which should be outlined: the main root causes that underlie human trafficking. Poverty, with associated poor education standards and lack of employment opportunities is the primary driving force that propels vulnerable people into the hands of traffickers. The trafficking industry, responding to growing demands for cheap, malleable labour and an expanding, globalized sex industry guarantees a ready supply to satisfy that demand (UNESCO, 2007). Adepoju (2005) adds to this main cause a variety of other factors, which can be seen as causes of human trafficking as well: deteriorating living conditions, conflicts, human deprivation, and hopelessness.

Next to these causes, literature indicates that women often fall prey to traffickers as a result of rural-urban migration, broken homes, displacement, and peer influence (Adepoju, 2005). Trafficked women end up offering sexual services in brothels or as domestic servants. Poor women who wish to

migrate to rich countries may simply be looking for better job opportunities in order to assist their families. In this process some fall prey to traffickers (Adepoju, 2005). Though, some of these women are willing to participate in prostitution in order to escape the poverty trap, deception is the most common strategy used in procuring them and young girls under the guise of promises for further education, jobs or marriage. The trafficked women who obtain huge loans for procuring their tickets, visas and accommodations find out on arrival that the promise was false. Their passports are seized to prevent their escape. Many are stranded and helpless, since there is an absence of a judicial framework the attempts are limited by law enforcement agencies to prosecute and punish perpetrators and accomplices for their trafficking crimes (Adepoju, 2005).

South Africa is the regional powerhouse of its region, with a GDP (\$159.9 billion) four times greater than its southern African neighbours. Poised at the foot of Africa, with a stable, democratic government and enlightened legislation; well developed and maintained national and international transportation systems; leading the continent in industrial development and technology; glittering with modern cities and amenities and their attended bustle and glamour, South Africa inevitably attracts migration from across the whole continent (UNESCO, 2007). Next to this, the repressive sexual ideology of the apartheid years, that sanctified heterosexual relationship within marriage, stigmatized prostitution and confined all sexual encounters within its rigid racist boundaries, has changed dramatically. Since 1994 the strict sexual mores and conservatism have changed to more liberal stances against these issues (UNESCO, 2007). Therefore, South Africa is often described as a human trafficking hotspot (Martens et al, 2003). The country provides a market for the services of trafficked persons from regional and extra-regional locations. Armed conflict and associated dislocation, political and economic upheaval, food insecurity, lack of education and employment opportunities make South Africa a magnet that attracts migration from across the continent (UNESCO, 2007). Especially Cape Town and Durban, as South Africa's premier tourist destinations are said to provide the most potential for substantial earnings for human traffickers (Martens et al, 2003). Furthermore, Hilton (2007) states that because of the country's organized crime gangs and large, porous borders, human trafficking is a serious problem in South Africa.

Although South Africa signed and ratified the Palermo Protocol in 2000 and created the Sexual Offences Act (Act 23 1957), South Africa has still not promulgated any legislation dealing directly with trafficking in persons (Hilton, 2007, Gould, 2008). Besides, the country lacks a victim friendly environment for those who have been trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation. These victims suffer from both a lack of support mechanisms and systematic abuse at the hands of traffickers. Furthermore, Hilton (2007) states that anti-immigration legislation results in forced deportations of these victims. For the successful prosecution of a trafficker a victim testimony is needed, however, often victims do not feel safe enough to testify against their abusers. Hence, there

is no compensation for victims of sex trafficking in South Africa (Hilton, 2007).

Adepoju (2005) states that the trafficking map is complicated; involving diverse origins within and outside the region. Considering regional trafficking activities, Lesotho is one of the source countries, women and girls, responding to the boom on the textile industry in the capital Maseru and economic pressure following the return of migrant labour, moved to the border towns in search of work, fell often prey to traffickers (UNESCO, 2007). Traffickers based in Maputo, also actively target recruitment of sex workers among Mozambican young women working in the informal sector. A female accomplice, possibly known by the victim, may assist by typically offering employment as waitresses in South Africa. Next to Lesotho and Mozambique, young girls have been lured from Swaziland to South Africa for forced prostitution (UNESCO 2007, IOM 2003). Also Malawi is a source country, where women and girls children are recruited along major transportation routes in Malawi by long distance truckers who promise marriage, educational opportunities or jobs in South Africa (IOM 2003). Focusing on the recruitment in extra-regional countries, there is evidence that women and girls were trafficked from west-Africa by organized trafficking syndicates/business people as well as by men established in South Africa as refugees, who exploit their family members on arrival (UNESCO, 2007). Furthermore, wars, civil unrest, natural disasters and economic collapse have provoked refugee movements from the great lakes region, the Horn of Africa, as well as closer regional neighbours such as Angola (UNESCO, 2007). Next to women trafficked from across the continent, women are also trafficked from countries outside Africa. Research has shown that victims have been trafficked from Thailand and China to work in the South African commercial sex industry (UNESCO, 2007). In addition, women are also trafficked from Europe, whereas Russian and Bulgarian agents recruit women from Eastern Europe to work in clubs and brothels in South Africa (UNESCO, 2007). Besides cross-border trafficking much of the human trafficking is from internal sources. Increasingly unsustainable livelihoods in the rural sector, limited job opportunities, family breakdown, systematic gender discrimination that limits opportunity and violence all contribute to the creation of a ripe environment for human trafficking within South Africa (UNESCO, 2007).

2. Research methodology

In this section the research methodology and research methods that have been used in this study will be discussed. In this study the research methodology can be seen as a theoretical perspective. By means of this theoretical perspective data has been gathered. Secondly the research context; the research population, the choice of the location and the local context will be outlined. After that I will discuss the difficulties which have been faced in this study. Finally an overview of the time schedule will be given.

2.1 Research methodology and research methods

2.1.1 Research methodology: A polyphonic-driven mode of research

In order to move beyond the voice of the media, a polyphonic driven mode of research was necessary to capture a more nuanced understanding of competing perspectives about the effects of the World Cup for South Africa's sex industry. This qualitative method privileges all these competing voices at work. The aim of a polyphonic approach is to encapsulate a multiplicity of voices, and this is primarily achieved by using a polyphonic textual strategy (Mattingly, 1991). This corresponds with the idea that a certain degree of pluralism is inherent in all storytelling, since different people will tell different stories about the 'same' situation (Mattingly, 1991). Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) state that from an empirical point of view this pluralism creates an exclusion problem in two dimensions: 'on the one hand, how different groups, categories and individuals can be represented or silenced in the research process and in the text; and on the other, how different voices within these groups and individual subjects can be allowed space or excluded. A polyphonic driven mode of research tries to capture this pluralism in a research project.

Ideas about writing polyvocal, or 'polyphonic' geographical narratives are not new (See Crang, 1992; Duncan & Barnes 1992). The representational politics of the 'cultural turn' has brought such issues of 'geographical authority' to the fore, and in an attempt to construct multivocal texts, geographers have been sensitive to other than the dominant voices (Crang 1992). The origin of the concept can be found in the new ethnography of the late 1980's. In this period the notion of polyvocality was explicitly raised in an attempt to rethink the relations between professional anthropologists, and their subject of study (Crang, 1992). In the 1980's new ethnographers were particularly interested in the work of Edward Said: his book 'Orientalism', which was written in 1978. In this book, Said tries to dismantle the Orientalistic discourse and his interest lies in how one can study other cultures and people from a libertarian, or a non-repressive and non-manipulative perspective' (Said, 1978). Consequently, the idea of polyphonic composition was raised within new

ethnography primarily as a way to stage a different sort of encounter with 'otherness' and the self (Crang, 1992). One of the claims of polyvocality is that it might allow the representation of otherness or cultural difference without constructing coherent and residual 'Others' (Crang, 1992). Barnes and Duncan (1992) explain the same but with different words: polyvocality calls for the deconstruction of the internal contradictions within dominant discourses about cultural opposites.

While other methods seek general conclusions, a polyvocal method is in search of a plurality of voices. Each voice brings a new and different angle on the topic, and, as a whole, they create a mosaic of different voices. A polyphonic mode of research is about taking others' voices seriously throughout the whole research process. Crang (1992) argues that a polyvocal approach is more than a textual strategy concerned with the writing up of research material; it is also a specific way of looking at the world, with its own production of knowledge. Following Dormans (2008) polyvocality is about a different representation of otherness. Instead of creating dichotomies, an effort is made to represent multiple 'voices from the field' in another way.

According to Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2000) in a polyphonic mode of research the degree of theoretical sophistication and the scope for the researcher's more advanced interpretations, are reduced. In this study the subjects should be heard and for that reason this polyvocality cannot be suppressed with grand narratives and researcher authority. As Stake (1995) explains the multiple realities, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening are preserved by the researcher. The voices do not speak for themselves; it is the author who makes them communicate on his or her conditions (Czarniawska, 2004). The researcher is part of the material and subjectively involved in the production, which can be said to be neither subjective nor objective, but contextual, constructed, and a form of dialogue (Jones, 2006).

In this study, all voices (from the media, NGO's, sex-workers, experts, and local authorities) equally deserve close analytically attention and therefore they are treated equally in this study. However, seeing these voices as equal in this study does not mean that they are considered to be equal outside it. Furthermore this study re-crafts reality in another way, since it focuses on an often excluded voice: the voice of the sex workers.

The several voices are gathered by several qualitative research methods, which will be discussed in the next section. The gathered data contributes to the creation of a mosaic of voices, which reflects the several perspectives of several groups regarding the impact of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry. This mosaic of voices will be presented by thick descriptions. In this way, the polyvocal mode of research gives the reader/audience the possibility to see, feel, hear and relate sensually to the research material (Sparkes, 2003, Jones, 2006).

2.1.2 Research methods: collecting voices from the field

Considering the complexity of the subject of this research, several methods to gather data have been used. The use of different research methods and instruments is called triangulation. The advantage of using different techniques is that it allows for cross-validation (Pratt & Loizos, 1992). The following techniques have been used in this study: literature study, in-depth interviews and participant observation. Next, the different techniques will be discussed.

Literature study

The literature study in this research is twofold. Firstly, an important component of this study is the examination of existing literature; in order to gain insight into the current body of knowledge concerning the sex industry in South Africa, and the relationship between the sex industry and mega events. Furthermore, literature and documents have been explored with the purpose of gaining insight into relevant theoretical concepts, research methodologies and the research context. The theoretical concepts and theories used in this study can be viewed as a separate voice that is helpful for the other voices (of the media, journalists, experts, sex workers and local authorities) to speak and to be heard in the empirical chapter. This literature study has mainly been conducted during the preparatory stages of this research.

Secondly, during the fieldwork period – beginning of May till the end of July 2010 – newspaper articles have been collected that discuss the sex industry in relation to the World Cup. Next to collecting newspaper articles by myself, the NGO Sex Workers Educational and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) – which will be discussed in paragraph 2.2.1 – was helpful in collecting articles. SWEAT had access to the Media Coverage Database and received daily notifications when an article about the sex industry was published. One of the staff members passed these articles on to me. In this way a database has been created which reflects the opinion of the media about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry. In total, this data base contains 79 articles. The second part of the literature study is thus an important component of the data that has been gathered.

In- depth Interviews

Next to the literature study, the largest share of the empirical data has been gathered by means of in-depth interviews. In this study semi-structured interviews have been used to get insight in the perspectives of several groups on the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry. This type of interviewing is less controlled than structured interviews. It gives the subject of the interview more freedom to direct the flow of the conversation (Marvasti, 2004). In this kind of interviewing the interviewer maintains discretion to follow leads, but the interview guide / topic list is a set of clear topics and instructions. It demonstrates that the interviewer is fully in control of what he or she

wants from an interview but leaves both the interviewer and the respondent free to follow new leads (Bernard, 2006). It allows a more fluid interaction between the researcher and the respondent. The flow of the interview, rather than the order of the questions, determines when and how a question will be asked (Marvasti, 2004). It shows that the interviewer is prepared and competent, but that the interviewer is not trying to exercise excessive control. Since this study focuses on the perspectives of several groups, semi-structured interviewing is the most useful way of interviewing. In this way it can be assured that the same topics have been questioned for every group, and at the same time the lead of the answer of the respondent could be followed, which turned out to be very different for the several groups. In the next subsection I will zoom in on the interview guides/topic lists that have been used in this research.

The objective of these interviews was to gain detailed insight into the sex industry during the World Cup. As mentioned above, to gain these insights members of several groups have been interviewed. First of all representatives of NGO's that are focused on sex workers and counter-trafficking organisations have been interviewed. Secondly, interviews with experts in the field of South Africa's sex industry and in the human trafficking field have been conducted. Next to collecting news paper articles that deal with the impact of the World Cup on the sex industry journalists who write articles about sex work in South Africa have been interviewed in order to capture the perspective of the media. Fourthly, sex workers have been interviewed in order to gain insight in what sex workers think about the World Cup and if they feel affected by the event. Finally, an interview with the local authorities has been conducted to grasp their ideas about the influence of the World Cup on the lives of sex workers and how they respond to this. In paragraph 2.2.1 the research population will be discussed in more detail. The interviews have been taped by a voice recorder and are transcribed into a verbatim. These verbatims have been the starting point of analysis.

Participant Observation

In this study 'participant observation' has been a research technique to gather data. The strength of participant observation is that the researcher becomes the instrument for data collection and analysis through his or her own experience (Bernard, 2006). Participant observation is a strategic method. It puts the researcher where the action is and let him or her collect data, any kind of data you want, narratives or numbers (Bernard, 2006). It has to be mentioned here that in this study participant observation will not be used in the classical sense, as Malinowski started this research technique: experiencing the lives of the people of the Trobiand Islands he was studying as much as he could. Neither will participant observation be applied to every group of the research population. In this study this research technique will be applied to the group of experts and the group of

representatives of NGO's. Regarding these groups, I will take on the role of a participating observer (Bernard, 2006). As an outsider I have participated in activities organized by these groups and while participating I observed them and recorded what they were doing and saying.

Two seminars have been attended; one of them was held on the 24th of May and organized by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) The title of this seminar was: 'Human Trafficking in South Africa: What do we know and what should we be concerned about?'. In the next subsection I will elaborate further on this seminar. The second seminar that I attended was organized by the MST project and took place June 9 and 10, 2010. MST project is a ministry to men who seek the services of prostitutes.³ During this seminar people were trained to minister clients of prostitutes.

Next to attending these seminars I have made two drives through town with the manager of Not for Sale Campaign. In the next subsection I will discuss what this campaign aims for. The first drive took place during the World Cup; July 10, 2010. The second time we drove around was after the World Cup; July 29' 2010. The manager of Not for Sale makes these drives to get an indication of what is happening on the streets. Are there more sex workers present? And in what streets and areas do they work? Sometimes she –the manager- picks up a girl, gives her food and asks her if she wants to leave the sex industry. Because of participating in these drives I was able to gather data from a more general perspective.

Furthermore, during the interviews, observations about the location of the interviews and the appearance and behaviour of the informants have been made. In this way the answers to the questions could be placed in a context.

2.1.3 In depth-interviews: semi structured interview guide

In this section the semi structured interview guide that has been used in this study will be discussed. In this study the interview guide is a topic list. The topic list contained the topics that have been discussed with every informant in order to analyze the data from several groups in the same manner. In other words, in this study data has been collected among several groups about the same topics. The same topic list has been used for representatives of NGO's, the local authorities and experts. The topic list for journalists was slightly different, since the job of this group differs from the representatives of NGO's, the local authorities and experts who are all working for a certain organisation. It should be noted however that for one group; the sex workers, the topic list differs from the main topic list. This topic list for sex workers was different because sex workers are the ones who are working in the sex industry themselves; therefore more specific questions had to be asked. By using the topic lists I was able to collect data about the several perspectives about the

³ Derived from: MST project, October 5, 2010

consequences of the World Cup for South Africa's sex industry.

First of all the informants (except for the sex workers) were asked to sketch their own context and the context in which they work; what kind of organisation they work for, their positions, ambitions, what they are aiming for, etc. As has been made clear in chapter one, the concept 'effects' has not been conceptualized, since this research is aiming at getting insight in what informants believe what the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry are. Therefore, after having gained a clear picture of the informant's context, a very open question that deals with the consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry in the informants' view has been asked. The question that followed dealt with what the causes of the effects are and what he or she thought would be a possible solution and what kind of actions are undertaken to decrease the impact of the World Cup on South Africa's sex industry. Questions like: 'who?', 'why?', 'how?' were important to get insight into the way the sex industry is organized during the World Cup 2010. See Appendix 1 for the topic list for representatives of NGO's the local authorities and experts. See Appendix 2 for the topic list for journalists. See Appendix 3 for the topic lists for sex workers, that has been used in this research.

2.2. Research context: population, choice of location and context

2.2.1 Research population

In this section the research population - that consists out of several groups that have been interviewed - is made explicit. In this study, in total 25 interviews have been conducted, spread over the several groups. Before I define the research population I will first elaborate on the sampling strategy that has been used in this study.

Sampling method

The first interviews with representatives of NGO's, journalists, experts and local authorities were preceded by email and telephone correspondence. After that the networks of interviewees have been used to interview more informants. Therefore, the main sampling strategy in this study is snowball sampling. This kind of sampling is a network sampling method. In the snowball technique, you use key informants to locate one or two people in a population. Then, you ask those people to list others in the population and recommend someone whom you might interview. This way you are directed from informant to informant and the sampling frame grows with each interview (Bernard, 2006, p. 193). This way of sampling has been used to interview representatives of NGO's, journalists, representatives of local authorities, and experts.

Since it is hard to get access to sex workers; the sex work scene is laid in the criminal circuit, sex workers and specifically trafficked women constitute an 'invisible' labour force, which are almost

impossible to access and research, therefore they are often called a 'hidden population' (Gould 2008), the sampling of sex workers has been conducted in another way. Two organisations that work with sex workers were willing to assist in reaching this group. Ten sex workers have been reached through the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT). SWEAT is a non-profit organisation situated in Cape Town. SWEAT is involved in direct outreach work with sex workers around health and safety as well as public awareness and advocacy work.⁴ Every Wednesday afternoon workshops called 'creative space' were organized by this NGO. For this study, three of these workshops have been attended and during these afternoons ten interviews have been conducted. Furthermore, one former sex worker has been interviewed through the organisation Victory Outreach Cape Town. Victory Outreach is an international organisation with the mission 'to empower individuals to take control of their lives by placing their future in the hands of god.'⁵ Now, the several groups of which the research population consists will be discussed.

Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

The first group consists of representatives of NGO's that are focused on sex workers in or human trafficking in South Africa. In total 8 representatives of different NGO's have been interviewed. In alphabetical order the next NGO's have been interviewed:

- Activist Networking against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW)
- Concerned Parents of Missing Children (CPMC)
- Justice Alliance of Christians Against Trafficking Acts (Justice ACTs)
- Molo Songololo
- Not For Sale Campaign
- STOP Trafficking now
- Straatwerk
- Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT)

These NGO's will be shortly discussed in more detail now. A first representative that has been interviewed represents the NGO *Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW)*. Anex CDW is a non-profit organisation that strives to develop instruments and programs to combat and prevent exploitative and hazardous child labour practices.⁶ Secondly, an interview has been conducted with a representative of the *Concerned Parents of Missing Children*. The Concerned Parents of Missing Children (CPMC) is a non-profit organisation, registered with the Department of

⁴ Derived from: Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) October, 11, 2009

⁵ Derived from: Victory Outreach October, 3, 2010

⁶ Derived from: Activist Networking against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) October, 3, 2010

Social Development. The organisation is a volunteers association that strives to promote good governance and equity amongst its members and volunteers. For the last 11 years, the Concerned Parents of Missing Children has investigated over 400 cases of missing children, with a 98% success rate in tracing and reuniting them with their families. The organisation also assisted over 100 families with children affected by drugs and anti-social delinquent behaviour. The rights, care and protection of children are key concerns that drive the organisations work to provide a service to reuniting missing children with their parents and providing support services.⁷ Thirdly, the director of *Justice Alliance of Christians Against Trafficking (Justice ACTs)* has been interviewed. This organisation is a network of believers working in practical ways to combat human trafficking in South Africa.⁸ Furthermore, the director of the organisation *Molo Songololo* was willing to give an interview. Molo Songololo is having impact at local, national and international level and recognition as a major national role-player and stake-holder concerning the rights and protection of children.⁹ A fifth informant in this group is the representative of *Not for Sale Campaign South Africa*. Not For Sale is a Campaign of students, artists, entrepreneurs and people of faith, athletes, law enforcement officers, politicians, social workers, skilled professionals, 'and all justice seekers untied to fight the global slave trade and end human trafficking. The campaign aims to recruit, educate and mobilize an international grassroots social movement that effectively combats human trafficking and slavery through 'Smart Activism'. It deploys innovative solutions for every individual to re-abolish slavery -- in their own back yards and across the globe.¹⁰ Sixth, a representative of the NGO STOP Trafficking of People (STOP) was interviewed. STOP Trafficking of People is a non-profit alliance situated in Stellenbosch who aims to create awareness about the realities of trafficking, to network organisations working in the field and to get victim assistance structures in place.¹¹ Furthermore I spoke to two representatives of the organisation *Straatwerk*, which is a non-profit organisation with a strong evangelist focus that reaches out to those who were cast out by society, those who are broken and in distress and who yearn to be healed.¹² Finally, a last organisation that has been interviewed within this group is Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT). As said before, SWEAT is involved in direct outreach work with sex workers around health and safety as well as public awareness and advocacy work. For an overview of the dates of these interviews see Appendix 4.

⁷ Personal communication, email correspondence with founder of Concerned Parents of Missing Children, June, 2, 2010

⁸ Derived from Justice Alliance of Christians Against Trafficking (Justice Acts) April, November 12, 2010

⁹ Derived from Molo Songololo November, 12, 2009

¹⁰ Derived from: Not For Sale Campaign: October, 3, 2010

¹¹ Derived from: Stop Trafficking of People (STOP) April, 13, 2010

¹² Derived from: Straatwerk April, 13, 2010

Experts

The second group of which the voice has been heard are the experts in the field of South Africa's sex industry and the human trafficking field. This group is labelled as 'experts', however next to experts one can also understand academics and theorists among this label. Hence, when I speak about 'experts' in this study one can also read academics and theorists. Experts of the following organisations (in alphabetical order) were willing to give an interview:

- Institute for Security Issues (ISS)
- International Organisation for Migration (IOM)
- Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI)

Experts of the second and last organisation were willing to give an interview. Nevertheless, valuable information has been gathered from the Institute of Security Issues as well, but not through an interview. The Institute of Security Issues held a seminar on the 24th of May: 'Human Trafficking in South Africa: What do we know and what should we be concerned about?' which has been attended. The Institute for Security Studies is a regional research institute that operates across sub-Saharan Africa. As a leading African human security research institution, the Institute is guided by a broad approach to security reflective of the changing nature and origin of threats to human development. This approach is reflected by the term human security – which, transcending a narrow focus on traditional state-centric national security concerns - brings additional areas of focus such as human rights, good governance (political and economic), personal and community security (crime), justice, refugee movements and internal displacement, food security, sustainable livelihoods, etc.¹³ Secondly, an interview has been conducted with an expert of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). The International Organisation for Migration works with partners, government and civil society to assist in meeting the operational challenges of migration and mobility, advance understanding of migration issues, encourage social and economic development through migration, and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants and mobile populations. Human trafficking is being addressed through the Southern African Counter Trafficking Assistance Programme (SACTAP). SACTAP is a key player in Southern Africa's efforts to tackle and respond to human trafficking.¹⁴ Thirdly an expert of the Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI) has been interviewed. The SVRI aims to promote research on sexual violence and generate empirical data that ensures sexual violence is recognized as a priority public health problem. The Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit

¹³ Derived from: Institute for Security issues (ISS) April, 13, 2010

¹⁴ Derived from: International Organisation for Migration (IOM) October 6, 2009

Medical Research Council does this by building an experienced and committed network of researchers, policy makers, activists and donors to ensure that the many aspects of sexual violence are addressed from the perspective of different disciplines and cultures.¹⁵ For an overview of the dates of these interviews see Appendix 4.

Journalists

A third voice that had to be taken into account was the voice of the media, in this study; journalists of news paper articles or news websites. In total, three journalists have been interviewed, all of them being freelancers. Most of their articles are published in the newspapers Argus, Weekend Argus, Sowetan, Noseweek and a magazine called Growth. For an overview of the dates of these interviews see Appendix 4.

Local Authorities

The fourth group of which the voice needed to be heard consists of local authorities. Unfortunately, most local authorities in Cape Town did not reply to the invitation email to conduct an interview. Also several calls to the national and local authorities did not lead to any interview. When trying to get more informants within this group I was always directed to the same authority: the City of Cape Town's Vice Squad, which has been a very informative informant. Therefore, this group consists out of only one authority. The Vice Squad is part of the specialised services; it is a special unit of police officers. It ensures that the City of Cape Town deals with the issue of prostitution. It deals with the anti social behaviour and the crimes that go around the crime of prostitution like drugs and other issues. Therefore the law has to be enforced. This law enforcement approach is combined with a social intervention. This social intervention ensures the reintegration of prostitutes that have been arrested into their communities. The Vice Squad tries to stop street prostitution.¹⁶ For the date of this interview see Appendix 4.

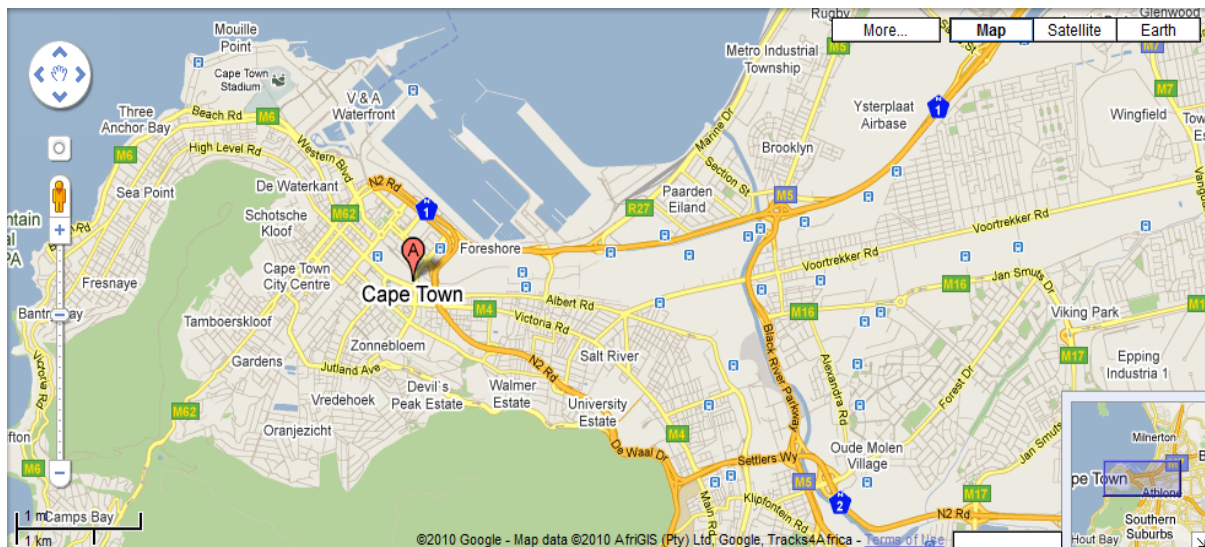
Sex workers

Finally another important group of which the voice has been heard are the sex workers themselves. All sex workers that have been interviewed work in the streets and none of them works in a brothel. In total ten sex workers and one former sex worker have been interviewed. Eight of these sex workers are female and three are male. The age of the sex workers ranges from 25 till 52. One of them works every day, six workers work a few days a week and three of them work whenever they need money. One of them has recently left the sex industry and is in rehab in a shelter of Victory

¹⁵ Derived from: Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI) October, 3, 2010

¹⁶ Personal communication, email correspondence with spokesperson and assistant chief specialized services of the Vice Squad, June, 18, 2010

Outreach. One out of these eleven sex workers sees only private clients and another one does see regular clients next to different clients in the streets. The sex workers work in several areas: Somerset, Green Point, Longstreet (town), Seapoint, Waterfront, Woodstock, Salt River, Koeberg Road, Observatory, Mowbray, Gardens (see the map of Cape Town below). It should be mentioned that there are ethical considerations related to interviewing this group, this will be elaborated in the next section. For an overview of the dates of the interviews with the sex workers see Appendix 4.



Source: Google Maps, December, 6, 2010

Next to the five parties that are central in this research, I have spoken to several cab drivers while driving through Cape Town. During these short conversations it turned out that these cab drivers also had valuable information about what was happening within the sex industry during and prior the World Cup. The most valuable conversations with cab drivers took place on the 21st and 22nd of May 2010.

2.2.2 Choice of the research location

The nine cities where the World Cup 2010 took place included: Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein, Rustenberg, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Nelspruit and Polokwane. Of all these cities, I choose to be based in Cape Town. There are several reasons why I chose Cape Town as the research location. Firstly, as mentioned in the introduction, Cape Town is South Africa's premier tourist destination and often perceived as 'sex capital' of its region and therefore is said to provide the most potential for substantial earnings for human traffickers (Martens *et al*, 2003). In other words, Cape Town is perceived as a 'trafficking hotspot' and has a reputation as sex capital (Gould, 2008, Martens *et al*, 2003). Secondly, the study 'Selling Sex in Cape town' from Chandré Gould gave me already

insight in the sex industry in Cape Town. Such a study is not available for other large South African cities like Johannesburg and Durban. Since this study has been very helpful for this research, Cape Town was the best place to be based. A third reason why Cape Town was chosen as research location is that I was familiar with this city. For a previous study I have been to Cape Town for two weeks, in consequence I had some contacts in Cape Town. These contacts were of importance in supporting me in this relatively challenging research. Finally, several important organisations are based in Cape Town; specifically the International Organisation for Migration counter-trafficking unit and the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce, which were important organisations in this study.

2.2.3 Local context: Cape Town

In this section the local context will be discussed. First I will outline the context of the sex industry in Cape Town, after that I will discuss Cape Town in relation to the World Cup. Cape Town is the second largest city, situated in the south-west of South Africa, with a population of some 3.2 billion, which is 65 percent of the population of the Western Cape province (Gould, 2008). As stated above, Cape Town (and Durban) are said to provide the most potential for substantial earnings because of their high profile as South Africa's premier tourist destinations, Cape Town's appeal is further bolstered by its reputation as the sex capital of South Africa (Martens et al, 2003). Despite the commonly held perception that there are large numbers of sex workers selling sex from the street, Gould found only about 245 street-based sex working in the period February to April 2007. Regarding the indoor industry, she states that there were 964 brothel-based sex workers in the same period. Another important finding is that there does not appear to be a significant demand for foreign sex workers. In addition, the demand at the time of Gould's study (February to April 2007) appeared to be met sufficiently by the existing number of sex workers in Cape Town (Gould, 2008). The data gathered by Gould presents a picture of the industry made up largely of black South African women who are adults in their childbearing years (24-28 years) and who travel from the areas where they live to the areas where they work. The data also gives insights in why women choose to work in the sex industry. Most enter the industry to meet their immediate and pressing financial needs, while some (25 % of brothel-based sex workers) enter because it offers them the chance of earning more than they could in the formal sector. For sex workers in Cape Town generally, this work offers them the opportunity to earn three to five times more than they could in any other job (Gould, 2008).

Every cityscape has its known 'red-light' area for street prostitutes and to a lesser extent for brothels. According to a study of Bird & Donaldson (2009) the most common area for street prostitutes in Cape Town is Voortrekker Road, more specifically the open space area which runs between Salt River and Black River Parkway. It is here where the open space attracts outdoor sex workers, because there is less foot traffic. It would seem that more 'low-class' street prostitutes are

located in this area. In the inner city numerous streets and pockets are hosting street prostitutes, for example, Dorp Street as well as the Big Bay area. 'De Waterkant' is a gentrified post-industrial area wedged between the Central Business District (CBD), the Waterfront, and Green Point and is considered a hub for the homosexual community and sex work does occur in this area. Sea Point Main Road and the Green Point area were once a haven for street prostitutes, but the area has recently gone through a redevelopment (gentrification) phase and is in the process of being transformed into a trendy new nightspot, with fashionable shops, cosmopolitan restaurants and an active nightlife, which could possibly have been the reason for the decline in street prostitutes (Bird & Donaldson, 2009). The harbour end of Long Street is a popular area for street prostitutes, as they service the crew on fishing trawlers that dock in the harbour. Long Street has been infamous for its prostitutes for decades. The Woodstock area (traditionally a Muslim area) was highlighted as hotspots for both indoor and outdoor prostitution. An upsurge in prostitution has been noted in the typically industrial, blue-collar areas, which are beyond the purview of residents who may complain and the police; such areas include Koeberg Road, Platterkloof Road, and Killarney Gardens (Bird & Donaldson, 2009).

Cape Town has been one of the nine cities that hosted the World Cup. In total eight matches have been played in Cape Town, the last one being the semi final¹⁷. The new Cape Town Stadium has taken an impressive 33 months to complete and can hold 68 000 soccer fans. A number of fan parks have been set up in Cape Town where fans were able to watch the matches on large screens and enjoy the vibe even if they were not in the actual stadium. There has been plenty of entertainment both before and after matches, which made sure that fans stay entertained regardless of the outcome of the matches. The main Cape Town fan park for the World Cup will be Grand Parade, with a capacity of 28 000. This fan park had a fan walk running from Cape Town Station through to Riebeeck Street and Somerset Road, all the way to Cape Town Stadium. To ensure the safety of soccer fans during the World Cup, careful plans were being implemented by the South African Police Service, disaster management teams, traffic law enforcement, emergency services, fire and rescue services and metropolitan police services were set up as well.¹⁸

¹⁷ Derived from FIFA World Cup, October, 6, 2009.

¹⁸ Derived from Cape Town Travel, February, 27, 2010.

2.3 Difficulties

Regarding the subject of this study, several challenges had to be faced, which will be discussed next. Furthermore the ethical considerations will be discussed.

2.3.1 Challenges

Since the sex work industry and human trafficking scene is laid in the criminal circuit, it was expected that this research would not always be easy and safe. Therefore, during the entire fieldwork period I have always been aware of my own safety, which might have limited the results of this research; it happened twice that I did not trust the informant and interview location and chose for my own safety instead of the gathering of data. Furthermore, since this study is a qualitative research the research is not value – neutral. As a Western, white, and female researcher I have influenced this research, and hence the data will be somewhat biased. It is important to understand that this might have influenced this study.

2.3.2 Ethical considerations

When doing research about hidden and illegal phenomena ethical dilemmas should be taken into account. Part of the research population; the sex workers, is involved in illegal activities that carry strong negative moral sanction. Therefore it was important to maintain a high level of confidentiality. Sex workers have not been asked for their real names, but have been interviewed under their aliases. When processing the data I changed their names into pseudonyms, hence the names of the sex workers that can be read in the analysis are not their real names. I have been the only one who had access to the computer which has been used for data capture. No data will be accessed by third parties. Furthermore, the recommendations regarding research ethics from sex workers to researcher discussed by Metzenrath (1998) have been taken into account. The recommendations include the following: recognize sex work as an occupation; acknowledge that workers are female, male, and transgender; recognize that it is unsafe conditions at work, rather than the work itself, that causes health risks and recognize that police abuse is part of the unsafe work environment. Agustin (2004) states that among the list of research ethics showing respect is very important as well. As a result, for this study a consent form for sex workers (see Appendix 5) has been created. In this consent form I promised as researcher that the interview will be kept anonymous, that all names would be made anonymous in the transcription. Furthermore I promised that no one would ever get hold of the personal details, that everything they talked about in the interview would be treated strictly confidential, and that no one has access to the entire interview. Both the interviewer and the interviewee had to sign this form, before the interview started. Before I started interviewing sex workers the NGO Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce – through which I got access to the

sex workers - has approved the consent form.

Following Chandré Gould's (2008) study, I decided before the fieldwork period started, that in case I would come across a victim of human trafficking I would contact the Saartjie Baartman Centre or the Haven night shelters. Saartjie Baartman is a specialized shelter for abused women and has a rape crisis centre on the property, offering legal aid, a trauma centre and assistance with HIV/AIDS issues. Security at the shelter is good and grief counselling is offered. Shelter is free and they will accommodate someone for up to three months if necessary.¹⁹

2.4 Time schedule

This study can roughly be divided into three time periods; firstly, the literature study which resulted in the research proposal, the fieldwork period and the writing of the thesis. The literature study took place from October 2009 till April 2010. The fieldwork period has been accomplished during the 2010 FIFA World Cup which took place between 11 June and 11 July 2010.²⁰ To get acquainted with the research field the fieldwork period started one month before the World Cup started. Since the developments after the World Cup in relation to this research were also of interest in this study, the fieldwork period continued one month after the World Cup ended. Hence, the fieldwork period took place from the 4th of May till the 4th of August 2010. Finally, from September 2010 till February 2011 the research proposal has been rewritten into the introduction and methods, gathered data has been analyzed and the most important conclusions has been drawn, which has resulted in the thesis.

¹⁹ Derived from Saartjie Baartman Centre, February 27, 2010

²⁰ Derived from FIFA World Cup, October 6, 2009.

3. Results

In this chapter the results of this study will be described. The aim of this study was to map the perspectives about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry of all parties that are related to this issue; NGO's, local authorities, experts, journalists and of course sex workers themselves about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry. As has been discussed in the first chapter, the concept 'effects' has not been conceptualized on purpose. The first reason for this decision is based on the fact that there has not been much scientific research about the effects of a global sport event on the sex industry of the host country, hence; there are no effects which have been scientifically observed. The second and perhaps more important reason for this decision is based on the explanatory character of this study. Since this study is explanatory and interested in what the several parties believe what the effects of the World Cup are, the effects could simply not be conceptualized before the fieldwork period started. Hence, what is meant by 'effects' has been measured by the perspectives of the several parties themselves. However, this does not mean that the effects that have been discussed during the interviews only depended on the perspectives of the parties that have been taken into account in this study. Of course, the literature study provided the basis of the fieldwork study and hence determined the course of the effects discussed during the interviews. In chapter one it has been outlined that contrasting perspectives exist about the increase of the amount of women working in the sex industry during the World Cup and in consequence the rise in human trafficking. In relation to these effects, contrasting perspectives exist about the amount of clients during the World Cup. Hence, among other things, these three possible effects have been questioned during the interviews with all parties. After analysis of the data it turned out that the different parties have contrasting voices with regard to these three effects of the World Cup on the sex industry and for that reason have been selected to be discussed in this results chapter. However, the voices of the several parties did not only differ from each other, there were also voices that agreed and corresponded with each other in respect of these effects of the World Cup. These three effects –the increase of the amount of women in the industry, human trafficking, and the amount of clients during the World Cup – can be seen as effects on the sex industry on the ground. Hence, in this study these three effects are classified as effects of the World Cup on the sex industry on the micro level.

After analysis of the data it turned out that not only effects on the micro level tend to occur, but that also effects on a macro level have been witnessed. However, these effects on the macro level did not come to the fore during the literature study and only came up-slightly unexpected- during the interviews. During these interviews it became clear that the World Cup had not only an effect on the sex industry on the ground, but also effected the political climate of Cape Town with regard to the

sex industry. On this macro level two effects have been noticed: firstly, an increase of the debate about decriminalization and secondly, campaigns that have been undertaken to fight human trafficking. Because these two effects did not come up in the literature study and were slightly unexpected, these effects have thus been measured by the perspectives of the several parties themselves.

Hence, in total the results with regard to these five effects will be discussed in this chapter. First, the effects on the micro level will be defined; an increase of women in the industry, human trafficking and the amount of clients. Second, the effects on the macro level will be clarified; the debate about decriminalization of sex work and campaigns and actions that have been undertaken to fight human trafficking. Finally, the concluding remarks of these results will be discussed.

Since this study dealt with contrasting voices about several topics, the effects are not clear cut and therefore the effects are divided in several subtopics in order to grasp the polyvocality of voices and hence a clear and understandable overview of the outcomes of this study. Furthermore, I have chosen to readily quote the informants to let the voices 'speak' and to enhance the readability of the results.

3.1 Micro level: Effects on the ground

In this first paragraph the effects that occurred on the micro level will be discussed. Firstly, the results that deal with the increase of the amount of women in the industry will be clarified. Secondly, an overview will be given whether the five parties believe there have been women trafficked because of the World Cup. Finally, the outcomes in relation to the amount of clients for sex workers during the World Cup will be discussed.

3.1.1 Increase of sex workers in the sex industry

In this first paragraph the increase of sex workers in the sex industry during the World Cup will be discussed. The first subtopic that will be clarified is the speculation in the newspapers prior and during the time period of the event. Next, it will be pointed out if new faces in the sex industry have been witnessed by NGO's and experts. After that the voice of the vice squad will be heard regarding this issue. Subsequently the focus lies on the question whether sex workers themselves have seen a rise in new faces. Finally, the question whether foreign faces have been witnessed during the World Cup will be discussed.

Speculation in newspapers

In the run up to the World Cup 2010 several newspapers have published articles about the expected increase of women in the sex industry during the time period of the tournament. The amount of women that would enter the sex industry (both legal and illegal) was first estimated on 10.000 women and later on 40.000 women. The question is where these numbers came from. After interviewing several journalists it turned out that no journalist knew the origin of these figures. According to the three journalists that have been interviewed the estimations were high for a reason. All three of them said that anything related to sex sells newspapers:

'You should know that when it comes to news papers, especially tabloids, anything that has to do with sex sells.' (Interview journalist 1, May 27, 2010)

One journalist explains that since the second half of 2009, newspapers have shown keen interest in the World Cup. He said that anything related to the World Cup sells as well. Hence, when 'sex' and the 'World Cup' are combined in an article or headline one will definitely sell more issues. For this reason, all newspapers published about the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry and the increase of women related to that (Journalist 1, May 27, 2010, Journalist 2, May 28, 2010 & Journalist 3, June 2, 2010). All journalists however said that it was hard to write about the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry. Because, one said:

'We work with nothing.' (Journalist 1, May 27, 2010)

Another one explained:

'We do not even know how many prostitutes there exist in South Africa, so how would we know what will happen during the World Cup?' (Journalist 3, June 2, 2010)

What is interesting to note is that the visions of journalists on the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry are similar to perspectives of experts. At the seminar of the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) and the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) that has been attended on the 'eve' of the World Cup, experts of the ISS showed that they simply did not know if there is a correlation between the World Cup and the sex industry (ISS Seminar, May 24, 2010). According to the representative of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) we simply had to wait and see what was going to happen (Interview IOM, May 20, 2010). What is striking here is that both the experts and the journalists that have been interviewed agree on a lack of knowledge; however, newspapers have published articles in which it seems that there is an indisputable link between the World Cup and the sex industry. Hence, the reason for this discrepancy might be – as discussed

above – the motivation to earn money by selling newspapers which speculate instead of spreading the truth.

New faces in the sex industry

Although there was no proof for what was going to happen during the World Cup 2010 with regard to the sex industry, NGO's which focus on sex workers were able to give a cautious sketch of the effects of the World Cup on the size of the sex industry.

Both the NGO's STOP Trafficking of People and the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) believed that towards the World Cup's commencement the sex industry was moving to the cities, rich influential areas, and the cities around soccer stadiums:

'People that are working in other parts of the country are about to come to places near to the stadium to make more money. You know, so it would not make sense if I was a sex worker in the middle of the Karoo. I would probably get two – three clients a week. You know it would make more sense to come to Cape Town, where I can actually get two – three clients a day.' (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

The representative of SWEAT said that people have the perceived notion of gaining a lot of money in Cape Town. Therefore they also expected that sex workers would make themselves more visible:

'I mean the world cup does present an opportunity for a lot the women to engage with tourists, with foreigners. Cape Town is a tourist destination anyway, so during the world cup you have a possibility of 30.000 possible clients. The fact that the women want to capitalize their potentials during this time period, makes sense, also if we look at other sectors, we have seen an increase in bed and breakfasts, we have seen an increase in tourists shops, so why is it wrong for people in the sex industry to make more money? They can actually see more clients'. (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

Hence, SWEAT's general thought was that women who were sex workers already would move to host cities of the World Cup to make sure that they would also share in the benefits of the tournament. Hence, the representative of SWEAT thought that there would just be a small percentage of new entrees (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010). Other NGO's however, do not agree, they believe that there will certainly be new entrees in the sex industry prior and during the World Cup. The NGO's STOP Trafficking of People and Justice Acts have been warned for new women and girls coming from the outline areas to earn money as sex worker during the World Cup:

'We have got little girls from our rural areas, who know that the soccer 2010 is here.. they are already planning how they are going to make themselves beautiful.. they get on the

train from all the rural areas.. because they think they are going to make some money. But they come back.. pregnant, broken, HIV positive some of them.. They don't have a clue that they will have completely broken spirits, soul and body.'

(Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010)

'A woman called me: the teenagers here are buying new make-up, they want to go to Cape town for the weekend during the WC to make loads of money. They just don't know that they won't come back.' (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010)

The director of Justice Acts was sure that there is a relation between the World Cup and the sex industry, because – she explains – people see it as an opportunity to get money:

'One of my colleagues spoke to a family on a market and the woman said that she was encouraging her daughter, who was under aged, to go into the sex trade for the World Cup. It is money.' (Interview, Justice Acts June 22, 2010)

Also the NGO Straatwerk assumed that there were going to be more sex workers, but the representatives of this organisation that have been interviewed did have no idea in what extent. Straatwerk explained why access to the sex industry by new entrees could be expected:

'Concerning the demand, when girls know sisters or friends who are working in the sex industry, it is very easy for them to do it as well. So it is easy for our local people also to get involved more and more. But I have nothing to base that on, it is just that we have the privilege to see where they live and their families.' (Interview Straatwerk, May 12, 2010)

Although SWEAT stated that they did not expect a high increase of new entrees, the representative does give another reason why new women would access the sex industry during the World Cup; the recession and in consequence high unemployment:

'One has to take note on the recession; you know a lot of people lost their jobs, mainly manufacture workers, who are predominantly women. And when one looks at the nature of the industry, is also predominantly made off women and this is the one job where women do not need a qualification to work, it is easy money. It is a hard job, but we have seen last year that a lot of women working in factories have changed to sex work.' (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

The manager of the organisation Not for Sale gives two more signs why she believes there is an increase of the amount of women in the sex industry during the tournament. Firstly, she kept track on advertisements for sex in newspapers. Just before the World Cup started she saw an increase in

advertisement saying 'new girls', 'young girls', 'Asian girls' and advertising '18 year olds'. (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010) After the World Cup the manager of Not for Sale sent me a report in which she claimed that on the internet, Not for Sale discovered a 62% increase in those selling sex in Cape Town. More than 50% of those claim to be 'brand new' to the industry (Email correspondence Not for Sale, September 6, 2010). Not for Sale is aware of the fact that this does not necessarily mean that all this girls were new, but that people just became more aggressive in their advertisements during the World Cup time. However, the increase of advertisements corresponds with the view of the representative of SWEAT that more sex workers would simply try to make themselves more visible (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010). Nevertheless it is definitely an interesting development in relation to the World Cup and the size of the sex industry, which should be noted.

A second sign for an increase of women in the sex industry given by Not for Sale has to do with the pimps of the girls. Not for Sale picked up conversations with pimps, who said before the World Cup started that one should not worry about the World Cup, they would have more than enough girls in town for that (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010).

Also Justice Acts believes that there is an increase of women. The director of Justice Acts knew that that during the tournament period there were cab drivers who took guys around for a sex tour (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010). I spoke to several cab drivers and their answers agreed with the thoughts of the director of Justice Acts. Before the World Cup started one of the cab drivers said:

'There are already a lot of sex workers in town; they are waiting for the tourists for the World Cup. They give me their phone numbers, and I will get a commission if I take my clients to them. If the men in my taxi want a Russian woman, I know where to go.. if they want an African woman, I know where to go.. I get commission from the strip clubs and women I take them to.' (Drive with cab driver, 21-05-2010)

Vice Squad

As described above most NGO's believed that there was an increase of sex workers during the World Cup, however none of them could give any accurate numbers. The Vice Squad however, is working on the ground and profiling sex workers. Therefore, the Vice Squad is able to give reliable numbers about the amount of women working in the industry. Since the last few weeks before the World Cup started they saw a steady increase of women they had never profiled before. Also in the months before the tournament started they have found new faces on the street:

'From February to April we found 97 new faces on the street. That was for us very significant. After having done this for so long already, you sort of know your customers, you know how to find in which streets, you know their faces by now. And quickly in a period of two months you suddenly see 97 new faces. It shows that more people are working on the street. And immediately after that you could see the average age dropping.' (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010)

Concerning the dropping of age, the spokesperson of the Vice Squad found the average age of the girls going down; The average age was 22 – 27 years old and just before the World Cup the average age was going down to 17 (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010). When asking if there was a relation between the World Cup and the 97 new faces, the spokesperson was confident about that:

'Because when we profile them they actually explain that at least they must also make something out of the World Cup. They do not have businesses but they believe that they can at least make something. And then a few of them will explain that they are only doing this for the WC and after they will stop. We tell them that it is not easy for them to get out, they might not be alive anymore by then.' (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010)

Most of these girls really wanted to get out of the sex industry, but most of them said they first wanted to earn money during the World Cup. Hence, the World Cup was definitely a drawing cut for a lot of them (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010). This corresponds with what the representative of Straatwerk said, she spoke to a girl on the street saying that she was going to end when the World Cup was done (Interview Straatwerk, May 12, 2010). Likewise it does agree with the statements of the organisation STOP; girls from the countryside making themselves beautiful and planning to go to Cape Town during the tournaments period and in this way profit from the World Cup (Interview Stop, May 18, 2010). However the spokesperson of the Vice Squad made clear that the hype saying that 40.000 women would enter the sex industry was not realistically what happened. According to him the Vice Squad has seen increases, but not as significant as expected by the media. Nevertheless there was certainly an increase of women recognizable (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010).

Sex workers: increase new faces?

Both the Vice Squad and NGO's did see a rise in the number of women selling sex. However, what do the sex workers themselves think about the amount of women working in the streets? All sex workers did see a rise in the amount of ladies working in the industry. However, most sex workers claimed that these new faces were not working in the streets, but that during the World Cup most sex workers were working in the clubs, especially in Long street. The manager of the NGO Justice Acts explains:

'The outdoor industry has almost disappeared, it is completely different from how it was two weeks ago and I think that the police presence is so strong over the World Cup time, that there is no outdoor sex industry right now. At least in down town Cape Town area. At Longstreet you used to see girls all the time, but not during this period. In Cape Town for the first time the police forces are following the law.'

(Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

During the World Cup the police was highly present. According to the sex workers there were much more cops in town than before the World Cup and they admitted that they were afraid of the police. Most sex workers did not work from the streets anymore because they were scared that the police would chase them away or that the police would lock them up. For that reason there were no girls in the streets according to Cherrie (Interview June 28, 2010). Another sex worker explains:

'I am a little bit scared you know, because they do pick up the people and lock you up. The police and they treat you very badly also. Actually you cannot even work in Longstreet because there is lot of police and you are scared that they chase you and lock you up. So now I have to go inside the clubs and sell my body from inside the club, trying to get some men..' (Interview Candy, June 30, 2010)

Not only the sex workers saw less sex workers in the streets, also the organisation Not for Sale saw a huge decrease in street prostitution over WC time which they would accredit to visible policing (email correspondence Not for Sale, September 6, 2010). This trend has been observed when participating in a drive through town with Not for Sale on July 10, 2010. In four areas where usually a lot of sex workers stand to sell their services, we have seen barely any girl. While in Koeberg Road normally more than twenty girls were waiting for clients, at the night before the World Cup final only three girls have been counted in this street. The same counts for Main Road in Wijnberg and Voortrekker Road where only a few girls have been seen, while normally these streets are famous for picking up girls. We noticed a police car driving very slowly through the street, because of this the sex workers did not stand still while waiting for clients, but were walking up and down the street and hiding behind walls. It looked like their behaviour was a consequence of the police patrolling; they were afraid to be arrested by the police (Drive through town with Not for Sale, July 11, 2010).

The director of Justice Acts noticed that during the World Cup period the sex industry was –due to the high level of police presence - much more hidden than before the tournament started. She stated that during the World Cup: *'things are happening even more behind closed brothel doors'* (Interview

Justice Acts, June 22, 2010). According to her there was an increase of brothels in Cape Town during the World Cup:

'So from what I understand from some of our contacts at the National Prosecution Authority (NPA), they stopped giving out the B&B licenses for Bed & Breakfasts, they started nicknaming them Bed & Brothels. They have said that it is happening in residential areas, people are cashing on in the sex trade here and there has just been a massive increase in the numbers of brothels.'

(Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

Next to notifications of the NPA, also die Burger described the increase of brothels:

'Tog kan 'n toename van die misdryf in die Wes-Kaap gesien word in die sowat 200 nuwe onwettige bordele wat onlangs in die sakesentrum in Kaapstad oopgemaak het.' (Die Burger, May 25, 2010, p. 8)

Also the Vice Squad has seen a decrease of sex workers in the streets during the World Cup, which has been published in an interview with councilor Mr. Smith of the Vice Squad in the Atlantic Sun:

'Mr. Smith said there are fewer prostitutes standing on the streets but there has been an increase in brothels particularly in the Table View, Bellville and Boston areas.'

(Atlantic Sun, June 10, 2010, p. 1)

Hence, it can be assumed that due to police presence during the World Cup, the outdoor sex industry diminished, while the indoor industry; the amount of brothels and sex workers working in clubs and bars, increased.

Foreign faces

It has been made clear that there has been a slight increase of new faces in Cape Town's sex industry during the World Cup. An interesting related issue is the amount of foreign sex workers among these new faces. Although it is impossible to give an exact amount of how many foreign sex workers were active during the World Cup, it is still interesting to discuss what sex workers, NGO's, media and the Vice Squad have said about this issue.

The most plausible number of the increase of foreign sex workers has been given by the Vice Squad. According to the Vice Squad the percentage that is foreign increased in the last 3 months before the start of the tournament from 6 % to 11 % (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010). The Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) expected to see a slight increase of sex workers from other neighbouring African countries, because, the representative of SWEAT said: *'once again*

there is the notion of people that they can make more money' (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010). The representative of SWEAT did not expect a lot of sex workers from Europe to find their way to the South African sex industry; according to her the benefits of making money would not balance the costs of their flights and accommodation (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010).

In accordance with the Vice Squad, in Johannesburg foreign faces have been noticed in the run up to the World Cup by the news paper Pretoria News:

'Some new arrivals from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other neighbouring states have been spotted lining up along Johannesburg's streets, but nowhere near the tens of thousands of prostitutes predicted by some officials last year. Abikanile says that she is one of a dozen who have hitchhiked down from Malawi in hopes of making money from players and fans.' (Business Report – Pretoria News, May 21, 2010, p.6)

Also sex workers in Cape Town have seen a slight increase of foreign women. Although most sex workers did not always know from what countries the foreign women were, they were sure that they came from other African countries like Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Angola, Tanzania and other Eastern and Western countries. According to most sex workers, these foreign women came only for the World Cup and were working in the touristy areas like Longstreet and the Waterfront (Interview Lola, June 30, 2010). Also Priscilla (Interview July 28, 2010) was sure that these women were not here before the World Cup, but only came to South Africa to earn money during the tournament. Tommy explained:

'You only see them, they come out around 11 or 12 PM, when the fan parks and the stadiums are finished, everybody is going clubbing and then they take their clientele'. (Interview Tommy, June 30, 2010)

Four sex workers explained that the reason why they did not earn a lot of money was because of foreign women taking their clients. For example Candy thought that the foreign sex workers were making life more difficult for South African sex workers during the World Cup:

'I think they are taking our clients away, they are very selfish, and they take our piece of bread out of our mouth.' (Interview Candy, June 30, 2010)

From the statements of the sex workers it seemed like sex workers felt a high degree of competition for clients during the World Cup. Hence, it is not surprising that one sex worker noticed that sometimes the girls were fighting over the men (Interview Cindy, June 30, 2010). One of the oldest sex workers made clear that it was the job of local sex workers to tell foreign sex workers that they should not charge their clients the same price like they did back home. In this way, local sex workers

tried to make sure that the price would not go down (Interview Suzy, July 7, 2010). The attitude of the local sex workers towards foreign sex workers during the World Cup were negative, however according to two sex workers business would go back to usual after the World Cup; they were sure that after the World Cup these foreign sex workers were going to leave (Interview Suzy, July 7, 2010, Interview Cherrie, July 28, 2010).

Concluding remarks

Despite the fact that journalists and experts did not know if there would be an increase of sex workers during the World Cup, the media published estimations of a strong increase of the sex industry during the tournament. The reason for this discrepancy might be the motivation to earn money by selling newspapers which speculate instead of spreading the truth. The NGO's believed that there would be an increase of new faces in the industry shortly before and during the World Cup. Several reasons for this expected trend have been made explicit: the sex industry would move to host cities, sex workers would make themselves more visible, girls and women from the outline areas who lost their jobs would come to the city to find work in the sex industry, and easy access when mothers and sisters are working as sex worker already. That the NGO's were not totally mistaken about this slight increase becomes clear from data from the Vice Squad. Before the World Cup started the Vice Squad noticed a steady increase of women they had never profiled before. A relation between the World Cup and the sex industry has been observed by the Vice Squad since women and girls on the street wanted to leave the industry but only after the tournament had come to an end. Sex workers saw an increase of sex workers, however due to police presence a decrease of street prostitution has been witnessed. In consequence a lot of new and local sex workers were working from the clubs instead of the streets and the numbers of brothels increased just before and during the World Cup. Considering the amount of foreign faces during the World Cup, the Vice Squad has seen an increase from 6 % to 11 % in the last 3 months before the start of the tournament. Regrettably, also sex workers have seen a slight increase of foreign sex workers; this led to a high level of competition for clients among sex workers.

The general conclusion about the increase of sex workers during the World Cup is that NGO's, local authorities, the media and sex workers have seen an increase of women working in the industry, but the exponential, alarming numbers that have been predicted failed to occur.

3.1.2 Human Trafficking prior and during the World Cup

In this paragraph the focus lies on human trafficking in relation to the World Cup. Firstly, the dark side of the World Cup will be discussed by explaining why it was likely that human trafficking would happen during this mega event according to several NGO's. Furthermore, signs of this trend which have been noticed by several NGO's will be made clear. After that the sensationalizing of this dark side of the World Cup will be made clear. Finally, it will be shown that cases of human trafficking prior and during the World Cup have been found.

Dark side of the World Cup

'Human trafficking may be the 'dark side' of World Cup celebrations, said Minister for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities Noluthano Mayende-Sibiya yesterday.
'We are very concerned as government about the challenge of human trafficking, particularly of women and children for various forms of exploitation.' (Sunday Tribune, May 23, 2010, p. 13)

With a worldwide increase of attention for the 2010 World Cup celebrations last year, the attention for the 'dark side' of the World Cup has been on the rise as well. It has not only been the government that worried about the expected exponential amount of women that could be trafficked before and during the World Cup as has been discussed in the newspapers. Also NGO's have focused on these alarming numbers and made sure that South African citizens were more aware of human trafficking. All NGO's that have been interviewed did undertake campaigns to raise awareness about human trafficking. The actions that have been undertaken will be discussed in more detail in the next paragraph. Of course, representatives of the NGO's did have an opinion about human trafficking in relation to the World Cup, a few have explained why it was likely that human trafficking would happen during the World Cup and some have even seen signs of this trend.

The director of Molo Songololo gave an overview of reasons why it was likely that girls and women would be trafficked during the World Cup. According to Molo Songololo the event had such a nature that it created certain conditions that could possibly put girls and women at risk and increase the vulnerability to abuse, to exploitation and to trafficking. The first of these inventoried conditions was the magnitude of the event and the expected economic gain: *'everybody wants to be involved, you can make a piece of cake'* (Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010). The director of Molo Songololo explained that regardless of the World Cup there are a lot of international crime groups operating in South Africa; Bolivians, Bulgarians, Nigerians, and the Chinese mafia are all in the country to make money. The magnitude of the event might have caused a rise of even more crime groups in South Africa willing to traffick women and girls for economic purposes. Secondly, Molo

Songololo claims that the South African context is very different from Germany; in Germany prostitution is legal, in South Africa it is illegal. Hence, the ones who want to make a piece of cake out of prostitution during the World Cup have to work behind closed doors. That is a challenge that the organisation has to face as well (Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010). A third reason why it was likely that human trafficking during the World Cup would occur has to do with the South African borders:

'We know that a lot people will come to the country. There are 42 teams, there will be the players, the officials, the government representatives, the business people, the FIFA representatives, local soccer unions. And all the others that they will bring along. So to make life easier for the foreigners, the government has assigned that people are ensured to go and watch the games and don't have that much trouble to enter the country, so they are relaxing the visa laws, so that is another respond we have, right. Because it provides opportunities for those people who have intentions to traffic people and to smuggle people across the borders.' (Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010)

The organisation Concerned Parents of Missing Children (CPMC) was also concerned about South Africa's border posts. The founder of this organisation stated that the border posts were not secure; South Africa is water locked and the borders are very porous. Hence, in his opinion it would be easy for criminals accompanied with trafficking victims to enter the country, furthermore they will have easy access to women and girls in South Africa as well (Interview CPMC, June 9, 2010).

Molo Songololo has mainly given reasons why it was likely human trafficking would occur during and before the mega event, other NGO's claim that they have seen signs of human trafficking just before and during the tournament. The director of the organisation STOP Trafficking of People was very clear about what was happening in South Africa just before the World Cup in relation to human trafficking:

'There is a sinister huge big black spider and spiders that are moving into South Africa before the World Cup to make mega bugs.' (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010)

According to her there were signs of this everywhere. One of the signs was an increase of job advertisements in newspapers, which are counter trafficking organisations' biggest enemy. These advertisements ask for masseuses or secretary with a salary of 10,000 ZAR a month. When a girl is in her final year and comes from a poor family and earns 2000 ZAR a month, it is easy for her to fall in this trick, because what the girls actually have to do is looking after guys, lap dancing and sex work. The director of STOP Trafficking of People believes that these advertisements are tricks to get young

girls, and leads to trafficking of the girls.

Also the Concerned Parents of Missing Children (CPMC) witnessed signs of this sinister huge big black spider in South Africa. CPMC had seen a slight increase of cases of abductions or possible cases of abduction. According to the founder of CPMC it has started to get worse just before and during the World Cup. He believes that there are criminal activities going on that people are not aware of; men are hanging around schools and dark places, and in the field where they know that people have to walk alone. He got a phone call on the morning of the interview:

'Even this morning still, my friend phoned me and his wife was on her way to work, normally she walks from house to the bus stop. And then somebody pulled up next to her and they wanted to pull her in the car. That is abduction. And last week there was a 14 year old girl who was nearly abducted at school. It is a reality, people have to wake up, it is here.' (Interview CPMC, June 9, 2010)

The director of STOP Trafficking of People worried about this issue as well and had seen an increase of girls getting lost, according to her the newspapers were full with articles about children and girls that went missing before the World Cup (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010). The director of Molo Songololo shared these concerns, especially with regard to the school holidays that will take place during the time period of the event. He explained that 86 percent of South African children are in the set of poverty, which means that in most of these households, the parents can't even afford to pay someone to look after their children or pay for extra supervision. So what will happen is that children will ordinarily be left unattended and will not be supervised for longer periods of time than usual. Hence, they become an easy target for people with trafficking intentions (Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010).

Another sign of possible human trafficking during the World Cup was given by the director of the organisation Justice Acts. At the day of the interview the director had just heard that all safe houses in the Western Cape were full, while a week before the interview took place she had been in a meeting with the department of social development in which was said that there were enough safe houses for during the World Cup:

'The safe houses, you know it is not ideal, but we can get through the World Cup time. So we thought ok, and then we got contacts from our colleague from Not for Sale that she wanted to place a woman in a safe house, but they were all full. So even the department of social development does not know, on one end they are freaking out, the number will high and then a week later they say no we are fine and a day later our colleague calls us

that all the safe houses are full. So there has been a really bad miscommunication.'

(Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

According to the director of Justice Acts there has been an increase of the amount of busts in brothels prior and during the World Cup:

'What I have noticed as well is that there has been an increased amount of busts in brothels, where they are trying to find human trafficking victims. I have never seen so many busts and riots against brothels in this nation before. They are rating brothels and getting girls out. Two weeks ago 25 girls were taken out of a brothel, and a number of them was supposed to be trafficked victims, a number were there by their own choice. We never had busts in South Africa, they are very rare.'

(Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

From her colleagues from the Vice Squad she understood that the brothels were packed with new faces, especially foreign faces. According to the directors of Justice Acts and Not for Sale there has been an exponential increase in Chinese girls in our area (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010, Drive through town with Not for Sale, July 10, 2010). Both organisations had requests if they could provide Chinese translators for the Vice Squad:

'When you talk to them [the victims] they tell you that they only have been here for a few weeks or months, a lot of them are brand new arrivals, so that is a sign that they are here for the World Cup.' (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

Both Justice Acts and Not for Sale see the fact that the safe houses were full and the increase of brand new foreign faces in brothels as potential signs of an increase in human trafficking because of the World Cup (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010, Interview Justice Acts, June 22). What is interesting to note here is that there might be a relation between the amount of busts in brothels and the packed safe houses. The increase of busts in brothels might have led to the discovery of more vulnerable women and girls who had to be placed in safe houses. In consequence, the safe houses became packed.

In contrast, the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy taskforce (SWEAT) did not see any signs of an increase in human trafficking prior to the event. The representative of SWEAT explained that not that many tourists were expected and hence in her opinion it would not be lucrative enough for traffickers to traffic women into the country and therefore the influx of trafficked women would not be that high (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010).

What becomes clear is that the above discussed NGO's have seen several signs of human

trafficking during the World Cup. However, not all NGO's share the same opinion about what was happening during the event regarding the issue of human trafficking. The NGO Activist network against the exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) does not really have an opinion at all. This organisation is responsible for the anti human trafficking hot line which has been set up by the International Organisation for Migration and several NGO's that are part of the Counter Trafficking Coalition in the Western Cape. According to the representative of Anex CDW it was still too premature to make conclusions or judgments whether there was a significant increase of human trafficking at the time of the interview (Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010). The representative of Anex CDW thought that human trafficking during the tournament was definitely a cause for concern, but she said that to a certain extent there has been an exaggeration about the numbers:

'We get an occasional call at night, but it is not running of the hook. We still have not had calls from around a fan park or stadium. It is unlikely there because there are so many security measures there.' (Interview ANEX, June 23, 2010)

The director of Justice Acts also wonders where all the expected trafficked women were:

'The media said that there would be 40.000 women trafficked into the country, I am like: where are they?' (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

The Activist network against the exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) and Justice Acts think there has been an exaggeration about the number of trafficked girls that would enter the country, nevertheless, most NGO's, including Justice Acts have seen reasons for an increase in human trafficking or have encountered several signs of human trafficking during the World Cup.

Sensationalizing

This exaggeration of the amount of trafficked girls during the World Cup has been loathed by experts. The representative of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) explained that there is no empirical evidence to back these claims up: *'Because we do not have statistical data we don't know where we are dealing with, it is difficult.'* (Interview IOM, May 20, 2010). At the seminar organized by the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) it also became clear that experts actually do not know much about what was going to happen. Two newspapers published about this seminar:

'Chandre Gould, an ISS researcher said the reported figure of 40,000 sex workers being trafficked into South Africa was false. That number has no basis in fact.'
(Pretoria News, May 26, 2010, p. 8)

*'Gould said nobody knew 'how big the problem of human trafficking is in the country.'
But she cautioned: 'We don't know what is going to happen, we have to wait and see.'*
(Sowetan, May 26, 2010, p. 15)

Gould's reasoning is in line with other academics who study human trafficking in general. As Salt (2000) has noted: 'the enormous interest and concern for trafficking and human smuggling in governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, in the media and popular opinion, is running ahead of theoretical understanding and factual evidence'.

According to Chandré Gould it is important to focus on what we really know about this issue. The only research about this issue has been conducted during the World Cup 2006 in Germany, where the trafficking boom during the event was unfounded. In consequence, the experts said it is a myth that human trafficking will shoot up during the World Cup. It seems that the knowledge about the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry with regard to human trafficking can be described as a grey zone. Subsequently, the general message at the seminar was that the human trafficking issue should not be sensationalized, because 'we' simply do not know what was going to happen (Seminar Institute for Security Studies, May 24, 2010). This came also to the fore in the interview with the representative of the International Organisation of Migration (IOM):

*'We do not want to sensationalize things. The way forward is to work together with
NGO's and the government on awareness raising and what to do when you come
across a victim of trafficking.'* (Interview IOM, May 20, 2010)

Hence, according to the interviewed experts it is more important to focus on awareness raising and what has to be done when a trafficking victim has been found, than sensationalizing the myth about an increase of human trafficking during the tournament. It seems that this subject has been sensationalized by the media in such a way that attention has been taken away from the victims of trafficking. This has been observed by other academics as well. Milivoječić & Pickering (2008) quoted an article issued in the run up to the World Cup 2006 in Germany to show the amount of attention on the dark side of the World Cup:

*'With all the negative coverage, once could be forgiven for thinking that Germany
is a country of human-trafficking pimps and shackled prostitutes.'*
(Spiegel Online, May 26, 2010)

Also, Berman (2010) explains that the alarm - created by the media - over trafficking in innocent, violated, girls is accompanied by a concomitant anxiety about being overrun by dark, menacing,

foreign criminals who threaten 'our' families, 'our' homes, indeed, 'our' way of life. It would seem that trafficking in women has become a site marked by phantasmatic fears of foreigners, immigrants, criminals, terrorists and globalization, so much so that it is often difficult to disentangle these fears from actual concern over the fate of trafficked women themselves.

Chandré Gould explained the media hype about human trafficking during the World Cup. She believed that the media loves numbers and loves to speculate and sensationalize (Seminar Institute for Security Studies, May 24, 2010). This corresponds with findings of other academics. Berman (2010) argues in his article 'Bio politics and trafficked women' that the media love to lead with topics related to women and sexuality, especially when constructed as a simple narrative of good and evil. The same view has been ventilated by the interviewed journalists. They explained that speculating and sensationalizing is simply how it works for news papers, although they have nothing to base these speculations on:

'News papers want to create the hype, they want to create the atmosphere. It does not matter, the facts, they want to create the vibe.. to sell the news papers.. But it is just speculation. So it is all coming up.. but I have not come across anything solid like a research.' (Interview Journalist 1, May 27, 2010)

According to the same journalist it is exactly this lack of solid facts that made the media speculate:

'The media is fumbling in the dark and therefore all these speculations come up. We need more resources The more you have in diversity of authorities, the less the speculation. The more sources the better, so then we can actually balance the story. At the moment there is a monopoly of a few organisations who say something.'
(Interview Journalist 1, May 27, 2010)

It is clear that the grey zone that surrounds the World Cup and its effects on the sex industry leads to uncertainty and hence to speculations. However, it is not only the lack of solid facts that made newspapers sensationalize, another journalist explained that other reasons for speculation about human trafficking during the event are a lack of experience, and financial problems of newspapers. (Journalist 2, May 28, 2010).

Cases of human trafficking?

In the interviews with experts, journalists and three NGO's it turned out that the number of trafficked women was exaggerated by the media. However, a contrasting sound comes from a victim of human trafficking. This girl has been trafficked about a year ago from Johannesburg to Cape Town where she had to work as a sex worker under pressure of a Nigerian man. She was recently saved by

the organisation Victory Outreach and willing to explain about her idea of the relation between the World Cup and human trafficking:

'The traffickers all think about money . They are filling their bank accounts, you do not work for yourself, you buy drugs from them because you are addicted. They treat you like they own you. We are brainwashed because of the drugs. The girls are brought from other places in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique. The Nigerians all know each other. They even steal from one another. They make sure that we are continuously trafficked. And now with the World Cup coming up they think they have better opportunities to make money. They never have enough girls. We shared two bedrooms with 5 or 6 girls. They needed more girls for the World Cup and then they just call each other. They already have their private houses to keep the girls. They expected prostitution to be legalized. Those guys are serious about making money, they do not care about lives.' (Interview Linda, June 1, 2010)

Linda believed that there were many more girls out there in Cape Town who are smuggled, addicted to drugs and forced to do this work. She explained that weeks before the World Cup was coming up she saw new girls in the apartment almost every day. Therefore, she was sure that there has been an increase inhuman trafficking prior to the World Cup (Interview Linda, June 1, 2010).

All interviewed sex workers were aware of girls in the streets being forced to work as a sex worker. All sex workers said that these girls were addicted to drugs and several sex workers mentioned that suspicious men were driving up and down the streets to make sure 'their' girls were at work. However, none of the sex workers witnessed an increase of girls that were forced to work in the sex industry prior or during the World Cup. Hence, the sex workers that have been interviewed did not see a rise in human trafficking during the tournament.

In the interview with the spokesperson of Vice Squad it turned out that it is very hard to find out if a girl is a victim of trafficking. This is partly the case because in South Africa there is a lack of a human trafficking act. According to the Vice Squad human trafficking just came on the radar in South Africa and therefore it was only recently that the government started working on a human trafficking act. This means that when possible victims of human trafficking have been found, it is hard to make a case against the trafficker, there is no investigation or follow up and often the victim is sent back to where she originally came from. In consequence, it is hard to find out if girls that have all signs of being trafficked are indeed victims of human trafficking (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010). Despite this difficulty, prior and during the tournament there have been women found who did have symptoms of being a human trafficking victim. The spokesperson of the Vice Squad explained that there were girls found in brothels who did not have any paperwork, or girls that were brought to

Cape Town to work in a restaurant and later found out that they had to work as sex workers. Three days before the World Cup started The Cape Times published an article about one of these girls who has been saved by the Vice Squad:

'She came to Cape Town from Klerksdorp a week ago after being promised work as a baby sitter. Instead, the 18-year-old found herself at a Table View brothel, where she was told she would have to service her first client free to pay back her airline ticket. She was rescued from the brothel on Saturday night during a joint operation by the City of Cape Town's Vice Squad and the Table View police.' (Cape Times, June 8, 2010)

Next to this girl who was found in Table View, there were more girls found with similar signs of human trafficking. The director of Molo Songololo explained that it is hard to identify victims of human trafficking:

'They are hard to identify, they do not walk around like: hello I am a victim of trafficking. Sometimes people do not identify /feel like victims themselves, while they clearly are. We are trying to convince them to go to the police' (Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010).

Also the director of Justice Acts made clear that it is very hard to get quantitative information regarding the amount of human trafficking cases. She mentioned that the police forces were not well trained in recognizing human trafficking, even when they see it. Since the start of the World Cup however, Justice Acts had trained several police forces to recognize this type of crime (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010).

Although it is hard to recognize a victim of human trafficking, the director of Not for Sale South Africa has seen a slight increase of victims. She has made a report of encountered possible victims of human trafficking in the months April/May/June, which has been given to the Department of Social Development during the World Cup (Email correspondence Not for Sale, September 6, 2010). On this list are 24 possible sex trafficking victims ranging in age from 8 till 25:

- *4 girls uncovered by police, 1 had been lured by a boyfriend, 1 had been offered a job, 2 had come for prostitution. All four were being exploited and made to work for no pay.*
- *6 more uncovered under similar circumstances. Seemed that quite a few girls are working under force and had been originally brought by their 'boyfriends' to Cape Town.*
- *1 underage girl trafficked across the border at the age of 12. Was being prostituted.*
- *4 boys allegedly removed from their community and were being kept in a house and used for prostitution.*

- *1 underage girl trafficked twice for the purpose of sexual exploitation, approached social services for help, did not receive what she needed. Found her own way to a place of safety.*
- *1 woman came from Northern Cape to work, allegedly was mistreated and sexually exploited. Is now in a shelter.*
- *1 girl was found on the streets making claims she had come with her boyfriend and a friend to Cape Town for the World Cup and was now forced into prostitution. She was turned away from the Saartjie Baartman Center and other shelters because they were 'overflowing'. Ended up being arrested for a drug related crime.*
- *5 women allegedly trafficked from China to South Africa, neighbour reached out for help, before police were involved women were, according to a security guard, moved to a new brothel.*
- *1 girl encountered on the streets had originally been a trafficking victim, but at 22 was supposedly too old for the traffickers, and turned out on the streets, continued in prostitution to sustain herself, and wanted out of prostitution.*

It should be noted that this list does not include those found months before the actual World Cup. None of these cases can be confirmed as trafficking cases because of the lack of legislation and the majority of the victims were out of the situation when they told their stories making further follow up and conviction difficult (Email correspondence Not for Sale, September 6, 2010). Furthermore in the interview the director of Not for Sale said it was even more difficult to find out if someone has been trafficked because of the World Cup, unless they specifically say that they were. She wondered what kind of criteria South Africa is going to use to determine if someone is trafficked: *'It is a grey zone'* (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010).

It is hard to say if this slight increase of possible human trafficking victims in the time period of the tournament was a consequence of the World Cup. One should note here that this slight increase might have been identified simply because of the heightened awareness in the country and active policing. Nevertheless it could indeed be possible that more victims have been identified because traffickers took them to South Africa especially for the World Cup to serve the male visitors during the tournament (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010, Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010).

Concluding Remarks

In the run up to the World Cup both the government and NGO's worried about an increase in human trafficking in South Africa. According to Molo Songololo the event had indeed such a nature that it created certain conditions that could possibly put girls and women at risk and increase the vulnerability to abuse, to exploitation and to trafficking. Several NGO's did not only see reasons for

human trafficking during the tournament, they also witnessed possible signs of women being trafficked in or into the country; suspicious job advertisements in newspapers, increase of cases of abductions, brothels packed with new faces, and packed safe houses. In contrast, several NGO's made clear that at the time of interviewing it was too premature to conclude if human trafficking was on the rise during the event, they believed that there was an exaggeration about the number of trafficked girls that would enter the country, nevertheless, most NGO's, have seen reasons for an increase in human trafficking or have encountered several signs of human trafficking during the World Cup.

The interviewed experts and other academics did not see any empirical evidence to back these claims up. They claimed that it is a myth that human trafficking will shoot up during the World Cup, because no one knew what was going to happen. Hence, according to the experts human trafficking should not be sensationalized. Although newspapers had indeed nothing to base their claims on, they did report about human trafficking being on the rise. Interviews with journalists showed that this was simply how it worked for newspapers, they did want to sensationalize the issue of human trafficking during the World Cup, to create the hype and the atmosphere. In this way, they were hoping to sell more newspapers. Another reason why they sensationalized this issue was simply the fact that they were fumbling in the dark; newspaper did not have any solid reports to base their claims on, and in consequence newspapers started speculating.

Although numbers in the media have been exaggerated, the trafficked girl, the Vice Squad and the director of Not for Sale showed that human trafficking is real and that it does happen. However, is difficult to say if the slight increase was related to awareness raising and more active policing or if it is specific to the World Cup. To find out if there has been a serious increase of cases, one should look back at how many cases have been reported a year ago and compare that to the World Cup time period. Unfortunately this is beyond of the scope of this study. What one should understand is that although the hype of the expected 40.000 trafficked women failed to occur, human trafficking is real, it happened prior and during the World Cup; people are used and abused and exploited for the purpose of making money. The country urgently needs a human trafficking act, which is expected to be in place soon.

3.1.3 Amount of clients during the World Cup

In this third paragraph the results of the topic 'amount of clients for sex workers' will be discussed. In this paragraph it will become clear how the World Cup affected the businesses of the sex workers. The sex workers that will be described have – as far as I am aware of – not been trafficked for the purpose of the World Cup. Gradually, the next subtopics will be discussed: the rise of clients, money, reasons for fewer clients and the general feeling of sex workers about the World Cup.

Rise of clients?

As has been discussed before, in the last few months before the World Cup started there has been a rise in newspapers publishing about sex workers. Next to the expectations about the increase of women in the sex industry during the World Cup. The media also wrote about sex workers expecting to uplift their businesses during the World Cup. For example, the Daily sun wrote:

'Sex workers wish that they could have a bit of the Cup pie' (Daily sun, May 21, 2010, p. 8)

While newspapers pointed to high expectations of sex workers with regard to the World Cup, both NGO's and experts did not have knowledge about what was going to happen. In the ten interviews that have been held with NGO's and experts, only two representatives were able to clear up the assumptions made by the media. The main reason why the other eight NGO's and experts did not want to clear the matter up is because they did not want to speculate about the numbers of potential clients flowing into South Africa. Only the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) and Molo Songololo were able to explain about the assumptions of the media.

The Sex Worker and Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) tempered the expectations published in the media in the interview that took place before the World Cup started. According to the representative of SWEAT, when people think about the World Cup people think about all the people that come to watch the games:

'So when one looks at the statistics, South Africa is expecting I think a third of foreign visitors compared to what Germany got. You know, South Africa is far and you cannot compare it to Germany. Germany is Europe, there are transport systems, where people can jump on the train, go watch a game and come back, whilst people have to fly to South Africa and also the exchange rate, when people come here with the euro, the pound or the dollar it is favourable, but it is still more expensive than to go to Germany.'

(Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010).

The representative of the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce continued with the fact that also in Germany there were not as many clients as expected. Because a lot of football fans went to their families or friends. The NGO does not believe that the amount of visitors will lead to an increase of clients for the sex industry, but the representative said:

'What we might get to see is people entering in the sex industry or people making themselves more visible in the sex industry, so they attract foreign visitors' (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

While the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce thought the demand for sexual services was not going to be booming, the director of Molo Songololo gave a reasonable explanation why the demand for sexual services would increase:

'You are going to have people from all over the world, with different cultural attitudes and social norms. So it is the magnitude, it is a male dominated event. And it is very normal when people are away from home, they do things differently sometimes. They party harder, they do whatever, they want to have experiences, right? And that is normal, when people are not in their home town. So that could also increase the demand for services, sexual services. And the people I am talking about are not only foreigners; most of them will be South African. When South Africans will come, they go to another city; they will also be in the party mood.'

(Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010)

The director of Molo Songololo believed that people were going to be in the party mood during the World Cup, which would lead to a demand for sexual services. This is in contrast to what the representative of SWEAT stated; the demand for sexual services would not increase. Probably the best source to find out if there was a rise in clients for sex workers is to look at what the sex workers themselves answered during the interviews to the question: do you see a rise in clients?

From the interviews it becomes clear that seven out of ten sex workers answered 'no' to this question. The predominant answer among these sex workers was that business was 'boring' during the World Cup period:

'Oh my Good God. For me, when the World Cup was there, I thought money in my head.. dollars.. But during the World Cup as I went out for clients, I never got a single client.. I met a Brazilian guy.. but he just wanted to be friends, no business nothing. I sat on the Waterfront for a whole day on the Sunday, just to look for a foreigner. But no money nothing. I still got my old regular, local clients that paid me money.'

(Interview Cherrie, July 28, 2010)

'Ohh the World Cup was very lovely, but it was boring that time, the clients were not there.'

(Interview Lola, July 28, 2010)

None of these seven sex workers has seen foreign clients, they did not see more clients in general and some even complained that they had fewer clients than before the World Cup:

'Noooo it is bad, worse than before.. This World Cup shame..'

(Interview Pamela, June 30, 2010)

Hence, most sex workers were disappointed about the expected businesses during the World Cup. Also newspapers published about disappointed sex workers:

'Sekswerkers in die Kaap wat gehoop het om baie geld uit sokkertoeriste te maak, is bekaf nadat sake in die eerste week van die Wêreldbeker-toernooi in die bedryf swak begin het.' (Die Burger, June 17, 2010)

The sex workers gave several reasons for the fact that they saw a decline in clients and did not see many foreign clients, which will be discussed in the next subsections.

Two sex workers said they had a few more clients comparing to the amount of clients when the World Cup did not take place. It is interesting to note that these two sex workers are both male. Both male sex workers used the same approach towards clients. First they estimated if the potential client was gay and then they made sure they entertained the potential client the entire night. Both sex workers said that in this way they were able to do business with these clients at the end of the night. Only one lady said she definitely had seen more clients because of the World Cup.

Money

As stated above the sex workers did not get as many clients as they had dreamt of. The representative of the NGO STOP Trafficking of People was already sure of this before the World Cup even started. She said that she expected that the sex workers would be disappointed; they would not get as many clients as anticipated and in consequence made less money than expected (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010). Since the sex workers did expect much more clients during the World Cup period, nine of them have been trying to work more often. The one who did not work more often chose to only see her regular clients because she believed that was safer. Five sex workers worked in a different area than they normally did; in touristy areas and the fan park. One sex worker explained that she thought that it depended on the areas where you work during the World Cup if you make a lot of money (Interview Priscilla July 28, 2010).

Although the sex workers tried to earn more money by working more often and working in different areas than they usually did, only one of them could say that she made a huge profit during the World Cup:

'I am working more and earn more. I got changed my hair, I could pay my rent in advance. I can also go to restaurants now, just to take a break from sex work. Like last Saturday, there was a guy who wanted a quickie, so he paid me 80 rand and gave me money to go for lunch after we did business.' (Interview Suzy, July 7, 2010)

The other sex workers however, were disappointed about the amount of money they were able to make:

'My aim was to make more money during the World Cup, but it never happened. And even people on the side of the road did not make money, only the big shops and hotels. The local people did not make money.' (Interview Cherrie, July 28, 2010)

Cherrie explained that as a sex worker you should never name your price (Interview Cherrie, July 28, 2010). The sex workers who did see foreign clients asked first how much the client was able to pay. The sex workers asked for more money from foreign clients than they usually ask from local clients. Most sex workers raised their prices with 100 ZAR (10 euro) for foreign clients, although not many sex workers were able to ask or make that extra amount of money.

Next to questions about the increase of sex workers' income during the World Cup, a question about how the sex workers saw a change in their business has been asked. Seven sex workers explained that their businesses either went down or stayed the same during the World Cup period:

'Before the World Cup I was earning a lot of money, but this World Cup is bad for me, I won't lie to you.' (Interview Cindy, June 30, 2010)

'My business has really going down during the World Cup.'
(Interview Nancy, June 30, 2010)

After the World Cup had started the media did not pretend that there was a booming sex industry because of the World Cup, but published on these disappointing businesses:

'Verskeie Kaapse sekswerkers met wie Die Burger vandeeweek gepraat het, het nog nie een 'n sent uit 'n sokkertoeris gemaak nie en moet staatmaak op hul gereelde plaaslike klante.' (Die Burger, June 17, 2010)

'It is a sex workers dream: boozed-up football fans with their pockets stuffed with foreign currency looking to celebrate their team's win or ease their defeat. Before the World Cup started it was reported that sex workers would be flocking to South Africa to cash in on the hordes of fans ready to spend euro's, pounds and dollars on football and sex. But reports from within the industry differ on how lucrative recent trade has been.' (Mail & Guardian, July 2, 2010, p. 10)

Reasons for fewer clients

In the interviews several reasons have been given for the fact that sex workers did see a decrease in clients and did not see foreign clients. The main reasons for this are – according to the sex workers - police presence, the fear of getting HIV/aids infected and robberies. These reasons will be discussed now.

Firstly, as has been mentioned in the first paragraph; during the World Cup the police was highly present. According to the sex workers there were much more cops in town than before the World Cup, they were everywhere:

‘There are too many cops, walking up and down, day and night. In Longstreet, in town, in Greenpoint, in Seapoint there are cops everywhere and they know us, you see’ (Interview Nancy, June 30, 2010)

Also a sex worker in the newspaper Die Burger expressed her displeasure about the police presence:

‘Linda, (43) ‘n Stellenbossse ma met vyf, het gese sy wens die sokker wil nou verby wees. Volgens haar is die polisie nou ‘erger as ooit’ om die strate skoon te hou van prostitutie. ‘(die Burger, June 17)

The spokesperson of Cape Town’s Vice Squad confirmed this police presence and stated that the cops have been quite busy during the World Cup (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010). The spokesperson explained that what the Vice Squad basically does is to ensure that Cape Town deals with the issue of prostitution. They use a law enforcement approach, but they combine it with a social intervention. This social intervention is to ensure the reintegration of prostitutes into their communities (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010).

Before the World Cup started, eighteen prostitutes were already arrested:

‘The crackdown has already started: 18 prostitutes were already arrested along the main road through Belville, Goodwood and Parow on Friday night. This week the squad plans to focus on the city’s other notorious red light areas, such as Main Road in Claremont and Kenilworth, Koeberg Road, Wetton, Somerset West and Kuils River.’ (Article Cape Argus, n.d. shown by representative of SWEAT during interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

The spokesperson of the Vice Squad believes that the operations of this special force combated the ambitions of sex workers to make a lot of money. However he said, some might have been slipped through, they might have made some more money, because they might have seen more clients or raise their prices (Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010).

The sex workers experienced the operations of the Vice Squad; all of them complained about the

amount of cops and there businesses being affected by that. The sex workers were almost unable to accomplish their work:

'Even if you start talking to a foreign guy or approach them, the cops come; „what are you doing here, where do you go?’’ And this foreign guy said it was all fine, ‘I am talking to her’, but the cops said you do not know her. Yes, and then they put me in the van, they let me sleep over in the police station. They just put you in jail for a whole week, for what?’
(Interview Nancy, June 30, 2010)

'I am also a little bit scared you know, because they do pick up the people and lock you up. The police, they treat you very badly also. Actually you cannot even work in Longstreet because there is lot of police and you are scared that they chase you and lock you up. So now I have to go inside the clubs and sell my body from inside the clubs. Trying to get some men.' (Interview Candy, 30, 2010)

'You have to be careful for the cops, because they throw you out of the car and your client drives away and then you lose him.' (Interview Lola, June 28, 2010)

Therefore one sex workers said that she was just going to wait until the World Cup was over. She believed that also the clients were - due to the police presence - afraid to approach the sex workers during the World Cup period (Interview Nancy, June 30, 2010). According to another sex worker, who has been interviewed after the World Cup all the clients were back as soon as the World Cup was over (Interview Priscilla, July 28, 2010).

The second reason why sex workers did see fewer clients than they expected has not been given by the sex workers that have been interviewed in this study. However, a sex worker that has been interviewed by Pretoria News came up with a very simple possible second reason why sex workers were bored during the World Cup:

'People see us as breeders of Aids, and that kills the business for us.'
(Pretoria News, May 21, 2010, p. 6)

This lady might have made a good point here, since host cities hand out booklets in which they warn visitors for Aids:

'World Cup tourists are being advised not to sleep around – and to use a condom if they do. These are some of the safety tips the City of Johannesburg is giving foreign visitors in a 10-page booklet to be handed out at fan parks and stadiums. 80.000 booklets distributed. To avoid sexually transmitted diseases, the booklet says: 'sex with different people is not encouraged and can be dangerous. If you are involved in prostitution or are sexually active, always use protection: 'Be a man at home and away: use a condom.'

(The Times, June 2, 2010, p. 4)

Furthermore, officials have warned for a spread of the virus during the World Cup 2010:

'The situation in South Africa is of more concern, because of the high levels of HIV-infection. Officials fear that rampant unprotected sex could lead to a more aggressive spread of the virus.' (Destination Man, May 01, 2010, p. 20)

Hence, the scourge of Aids might have been a powerful deterrent for football fans to stay away from sex workers. However, the manager of Not for Sale South Africa explained that during the World Cup clients with so many different nationalities were going to have unprotected sex. According to her this will happen simply because the organisation knows that guys want unprotected sex, they are open about it. She said that some are even looking for girls with HIV, just for the thrill. The World Cup could thus be very dangerous for the sex industry (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010).

For an expert of the Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI) however, this whole Aids fuzz does not sound very grounded. There are huge numbers going on, but they have been unfounded until now. She wondered where these rumours come from and she thinks it is quite irresponsible to report this (Interview RSVI June 1, 2010).

A third reason why the clients might have stayed away during the World Cup is the fear for being robbed by sex workers, however only one sex worker mentioned this fear among potential clients:

'No, you don't get them Because most of the foreigners are scared to be robbed by us or by our pimps/boyfriends.' (Interview Cindy, June 30, 2010)

Also the newspaper the Daily Sun spoke with sex workers that wanted a piece of the cup pie and got an answer that is in line with the sex worker that have been interviewed in this study:

'Now they complain that foreigners will be scared off by fear of crime and there will be no World Cup Bonanza.' (Daily Sun, May 21, 2010, p. 8)

However, it is not only clients who are afraid of sex workers robbing them. Also sex workers themselves are scared of violence. Two sex workers discussed the fact that they heard stories of other sex workers being beaten up by foreign clients.

General feeling of sex workers about the World Cup

The last question in the topic list for the sex workers was about the general feeling of the sex workers about the World Cup. The answers to this question were very opposing. Before the World Cup all interviewed sex workers hoped to uplift their businesses. After the World Cup all sex workers, except for one, enjoyed the World Cup and they were happy that the World Cup took place in their country:

‘Ohh the World Cup was nice, it was fun!’ (Interview Priscilla, July 28, 2010)

Nevertheless, some were glad that the World Cup took place in South Africa, but realized that their businesses suffered from this mega event:

‘I am very very happy that the World Cup is in South Africa, but for my work it is not good’
(Interview Pamela, June 30, 2010)

‘Yes and no, yes that it happened in South Africa, and no to the foreign clients, which I did not get.’ (Interview Cherrie, July 28, 2010)

A third view about the experience of the World Cup in general came from the three sex workers that experienced an increase in clients and income during the World Cup. Of course, they were very happy with the mega event taking place in their city. They were able to buy new shoes, clothes etc. Furthermore they saw the World Cup as an opportunity to save money:

‘Yes I am very happy, I am making more money and I can save it. If I make 500 ZAR I put it away.’ (Interview Candy, June 30, 2010)

‘I think it is good [that the world cup is taking place here], we are making more money. Because when the World Cup is gone and I do not see enough clients during the night, at least I can go sleep and buy food from all the money that I put away during the World Cup.’
(Interview Candy, June 30, 2010)

Concluding remarks

It turns out that both experts and NGO’s were hesitant of estimating what will happen with the amount of clients of sex workers when a huge global sport event takes place. Most experts and NGO’s were afraid to speculate if football fans will find their way to sex workers. Only the NGO’s

Molo Songololo and SWEAT were able to comment on speculations in the media. The first believed that people would be in the party mood which would lead to a demand for sexual services. While the latter thought that the demand for sexual services would not increase since there will be less foreign visitors than expected. However, according to SWEAT, girls and women might have made themselves more visible in the sex industry.

When focusing on the sex workers, the majority said they did not see a rise in clients. Although sex workers tried to earn more money by working more often and working in different areas than they usually did, only one of them could say that she made a huge profit during the World Cup. The greater part of the sex workers saw their income going down during the World Cup.

After the World Cup started several publishers of newspapers realized that the sex industry boom failed to appear and hence published about disappointing business for sex workers instead of instigate the expected sex industry boom.

In the gathered data three reasons for the disappointing businesses of sex workers can be found. Firstly, according to the sex workers the police presence was too high, because of this it was almost impossible for them to accomplish their work; either they were arrested or chased away. Secondly, Aids can be a possible reason why sex workers saw fewer clients; because of attention of the media, Aids might have worked as a powerful deterrent to keep clients away from the sex workers. A third possible reason might have been - according to predominantly the media - the fear among football fans of being robbed by sex workers.

Finally the general feeling of sex workers about the World Cup is despite the decrease in businesses and income not very negative. The majority of the sex workers are happy that the World Cup took place in their country. A few have seen the World Cup period as an opportunity to save money. Nevertheless, most sex workers complained that the World Cup has not been good for their businesses.

3.2 Macro level: Effects on the political climate

In this second paragraph the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry that occurred on the macro level will be defined. After analyzing the data it turned out that the World Cup had two effects on the sex industry that are related to the political climate in Cape Town. The first is the cranking up of the debate about the decriminalization of the sex industry. The second effect is the rise in campaigns and actions to fight human trafficking that have been set up in Cape Town. These two effects will be discussed now.

3.2.1 Debate decriminalization of sex work

This paragraph gives insights in the debate about decriminalization of sex work which has been cranked up because of the World Cup. Firstly, the reasons why this debate has been cranked up will be discussed. After that both sides of the debate will be made clear. Finally the parties that take a central position in the debate will be discussed.

The debate about decriminalization of sex work

The first political effect of the World Cup is the cranking up of a huge debate about decriminalization of sex work. During the interviews it turned out that the World Cup has been used by several parties (NGO's, experts and the Vice Squad) to ventilate their opinions within this debate. The World Cup was an opportunity for these parties to make more people aware of their points of view:

'In the past months we have had quite a lot of support, of a number of funders who are also speaking about decriminalization, about what makes sense for the South African context.' (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

'The first time officials spoke about legalizing sex work was in '96, which was not an option. But now the commissioner of the police suggested that they should legalize it, also for the World Cup. The World Cup is an opportunity that is utilized to start addressing the problem again. This might stop when the World Cup is over.' (Interview Straatwerk, May 12, 2010)

Another reason why decriminalization of sex work has caught the public eye is because there have been proposals to decriminalize sex work ahead of the World Cup or only for the time period of the World Cup:

'Former National Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi mooted the idea of decriminalizing prostitution ahead of the World Cup as a way of preventing the spread of HIV. More than two-thirds of South Africans rejected the call, claiming that prostitution is immoral, makes human trafficking easier and goes hand in hand with other social ills like drug dealing and petty crime.' (Fairlady, May 1, 2010, p. 62)

Also the idea to decriminalize sex work during the World Cup has been rejected:

'We can't have a Bafana republic that creates laws for an event for one month, says Mazibuko, the head of the World Cup team for Johannesburg'
(Pretoria News, May 21, 2010, p. 6)

Because the debate about decriminalization of sex work is an effect of the World Cup and the fact that this study took place amongst this huge debate, it is important to elaborate on this effect on the political climate. Therefore, by means of an analysis of the interviews a sketch of the voices within this debate will be given in this paragraph.

Now that the debate about decriminalization came up, newspapers like to write even more about sex work. A journalist explained:

'The debate about decriminalizing sex work is controversial. The media loves controversial issues. It sells better because the debate is fuel for juicy stories.'

(Interview Journalist 1, May 27, 2010).

However, attempts are made by the country's government to change the legal status of sex work in 2011:

'The South African Law reform commission will present options for a new legal framework in 2011. While cautious about making laws based on moral opinions, options include total, partial or non-criminalization, or regulation.'

(Fairlady, May 1, 2010, p. 62)

The objects of the South African Law Reform Commission are to do research with reference to all branches of the law in order to make recommendations to Government for the development, improvement, modernization or reform of the law.²¹ The NGO Straatwerk explained that NGO's were able to send their views on the new legal framework to the Law Reform Commission who would take these views into account when advising the Government about decriminalization or legalization of sex work (Interview Straatwerk, May 12, 2010). During the interviews most NGO's that work with sex workers or that are focused on human trafficking explained without hesitation their positions in the debate.

Pro decriminalization of sex work

The magazine Fair lady described the general view of organisations that are pro decriminalization:

'If the sex-work industry were to be regulated, the implication is that abuse, exploitation and trafficking would be minimized, health checks would prevent the spread of HIV, and sex work would be protected by labour laws, as well taxed.'

(Fairlady, May 1, 2010, p. 62)

²¹ Derived from South African Law Reform Commission, November 19, 2010

In the sample of the NGO's it is exclusively the organisation Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) that is pro decriminalization. SWEAT is one of the biggest players in Cape Town that advocates for the decriminalization of sex work. The opinion of SWEAT is that criminalization forces sex work underground, hampering sex workers' ability to organize themselves in any significant way to fight for their rights. Hence, due to the protection of labour laws sex workers would be empowered (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010).

During the seminar organized by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) it became clear that both researchers; Chandré Gould senior researcher at the ISS, and Marlise Richter from the University of Wits Watersrand are pro decriminalization. According to the latter decriminalization of sex work will make sex workers safer and it will give police the opportunity to deal with real crime (Seminar Institute for Security Studies, May 24, 2010). Especially in relation to the World Cup Richter advocated for decriminalization. She believes that the FIFA World Cup presented a strategic opportunity for South Africa to respond to challenges posed by the sex industry in a strategic and rights-based way (Richter et al., 2010). According to Richter et al. (2010) public health goals and available evidence suggest that sex work is best approached in a context where it is decriminalised and where sex workers are empowered, not victimised or persecuted. In her opinion, a sensible South African response to sex work in the context of a global celebration of soccer could inspire long term progressive changes to its legal framework and encourage the rest of southern Africa to follow suit (Richer et al., 2010). Gould (2008) states in her study, 'Selling sex in Cape Town' that her research shows that women turn to sex as a means to support themselves financially. Furthermore, her research shows that criminalisation of the industry creates the conditions in which exploitation and abuse can flourish (Gould, 2008). She also states that decriminalizing sex work would make it easier to provide sex workers with condoms and make it easier for sex workers to turn down clients who refuse to use condoms which will have a positive effect on the spread of aids (Gould, 2008). Also Richter et al. (2010) believe that attention to improving sex worker access to the health and social services will do more to prevent HIV transmission than misguided attempts to legislate sex work out of existence.

With this reasoning Gould and Richter fall in the camp of the liberal feminists, who argue that sex is a job and can be a form of self-determination for women (Prasad, 1999). Prasad (1999) explains that the liberal feminists promote a positive view of prostitution, according to them the autonomy and freedom felt by sex workers is a justification for this positive view.

Furthermore, the representative of the Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI) is pro decriminalization. She thinks sex workers need labour rights and she thinks in this way it is easier to regulate the industry. In her opinion there is a big difference between South Africa and European countries; there is so much poverty and a lot of

young people who are in desperate need for survival in South Africa. When someone among these people chooses to be a sex worker his or her rights should be legal and clear (Interview SVRI, June 1, 2010). However, it should be mentioned that this is her personal view, which cannot be seen as the opinion of SVRI.

Against decriminalization of sex work

As has been made clear above only one NGO was pro decriminalization, three other organisations that have been interviewed are clearly against it; STOP Trafficking of People, Justice (ACTs) Alliance of Christians against Trafficking and Straatwerk. The general view of those who are against decriminalization reads:

'Decriminalized prostitution legitimizes the entire sex industry including brothel keeping, pimps and criminal syndicates that exploit women and children. Research shows that decriminalization does not break the long-established links between prostitution and organized crime, and has failed to improve the lives of women trapped in prostitution in nations that have adopted the policy. Significantly it is not the legal status of prostitution that harms the women but the prostitution itself. Decriminalization is a gift to pimps, traffickers and crime syndicates that prey on women.' (Cape Argus, June 1, 2010, written by Errol Naidoo, director of the Family Policy Institute, Rev Peter Langerman, chairman of the Consultation of Christian Churches; Corinne Sandenbergh, director of Stop Trafficking of People).

The director of STOP Trafficking of People explained that people who believe sex work should be decriminalized think that women and girls choose to be sex workers:

'But it is never one's choice of vacation. I have never met a little girl to this day, walking around with a black skirt and black stockings saying: 'I am going to be a prostitute'. No, she wants to be a princess, or a teacher, or a mummy, but not a prostitute.' (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010)

According to the director of STOP Trafficking of People one cannot call sex work a job; she described a sex worker as a fish on a hook that is bleeding; when a girl lies on her back, she is vulnerable, she has no guarantee that she will get out there alive, mutilated, HIV or pregnant. She understood that it is easy money and that it keeps the bread and butter on the table, but what happens is that a girl doing this work is so stripped of her identity and dignity, that all she thinks is that all she is worth doing is sex work (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010). One journalist who was

clearly against decriminalization of sex work took this anti decriminalization opinion even one step further:

'SWEAT acts like decriminalization would empower women and that it is sex workers own choice to become sex workers, but it is not. You have to remember that SWEAT would not exist without sex workers.' (Interview Journalist 2, May 28, 2010)

Also Errol Naidoo, director of the Family Policy Institute with which STOP Trafficking of People has connections, claimed that sex work is not a job like any other job:

'Pro-prostitution groups typically romanticize prostitution, vilify law enforcement officials and remain silent about the criminals who prey on vulnerable women and children. This strategy is calculated to advance the erroneous concept that prostitution is work, just like any other vocation. But how many bank executives, salespeople, secretaries and so on are controlled by pimps and crime syndicates? The overwhelming majority of prostitutes are addicted to drugs and linked to organized crime. As a result those lobbying for decriminalization are in reality presenting pimps, crime syndicates and traffickers with the best gift possible – a legitimate environment in which to ply their evil trade.' (Cape Argus, June 10, 2010, p. 18)

The director of STOP Trafficking of People explained that the organisation Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) wants to help the prostitutes staying prostitutes and becoming legal, while STOP want them to get out of prostitution and help them becoming a dignified person. They should have a chance to get another job, and need to be trained and skilled (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010). The perspective of this organisation is mainly based on the Christian religion, which plays an important role within this organisation:

'We have a huge heart for these girls. We don't want them to be legal prostitutes, we want them to be daughters with of destiny with a plan and a purpose and a dream that god has for them. You know we are a Christian group, you saw us praying this morning, very passionate.. some were crying for the lost and the broken. These are the women that are working with me.. they love the prostitutes.' (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010)

Next to STOP Trafficking of People, also the - on faith based - NGO Straatwerk is against decriminalization. During the interview the spokesperson of Straatwerk made clear that the organisation is for criminalization as it is right now:

'We basically are against decriminalization because of the socioeconomic status of women in South Africa: there is loads of brokenness and sexual abuse, when it is legalized it will somehow just be encouraged, and we need to keep that from happening. When it would be legalized, people will even more easy get trapped into it. Even if you make the choice yourself.' (Interview Straatwerk, May 12, 2010)

Also the NGO Justice Alliance of Christians against Trafficking (Justice Acts) does not agree with those who are pro decriminalization. In an interview with the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) Tonya Stanfield, the director of Justice Acts explained that she heard the arguments for legalization before, but remains convinced the underground sex trade would grow exponentially under such a system:

*'How can you decriminalize an industry that is interlaced with organized crime and drug addiction?' Stanfield said. 'How Can you bring some sort of order to that and police that in a way that sex workers are free to be sex workers and have the rights of all workers, when the people they are working for don't care a lick about human rights?'*²²

Not only NGO's are against decriminalization, also the Vice Squad opposes decriminalization of sex work. The Vice Squad rather prefers to reintegrate the women back into their communities than decriminalize prostitution. The spokesperson of the Vice Squad explained:

'What we see is that it is something that is not in any way positive to the society. The girls that we have spoken to is a real small percentage that really enjoy what they are doing. So how can you tell me it is profitable for them what they are doing.'
(Interview Vice Squad, June 25, 2010)

It is clear that the NGO's and the Vice Squad are not only against decriminalization, they believe that all prostitution is deviant and an act of sexual violence; a form of abuse against women (Jeffreys, 1995, 1997). Hence, they fall in the camp of the radical feminists and Marxists feminist approaches. The radical feminists and Marxists feminists are against prostitution and see it as essentially wrong; any exchange of services for money is an entrance into a relation of subordination; according to them sex work is a specific instance of the more general exploitation of the worker (Zatz, 1997).

What is striking in this debate is that the NGO's that are against decriminalization are all faith based organisations and disciples of the Christian church, while the non faith based organisation - the

²² Derived from the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network, June 7, 2010

Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce – is pro decriminalization. Next to these opposite groups, there is a third group of NGO's that has a voice within this debate.

NGO's in the centre of the debate

There are two non faith based organisations based in Cape Town that have noticed the contrasting views between religious organisations and non-religious organisations. Firstly, the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) sees a clear line between Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce versus the other NGO's:

'They both have very opposing views instead of seeing. But the one sees it as people are doing this job out of free will, it is their income, so they should be able to do this. While on the other hand other NGO's think that everything related to prostitution should be eliminated.' (Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010)

The director of the second NGO that is taking a central position in this debate - Not for Sale - explained that the way Christian based organisation look at this debate has to do with their religion. She explained that she understood both sides of the debate. However, when asking what her opinion is about decriminalizing sex work she shared her thoughts about underage prostitution:

'Underage prostitution is my main concern, it is insane in South Africa. Because I have seen firsthand that prostitution is out of control in South Africa. So when making the sex industry bigger and stronger, it does not get rid of underage prostitution. It is so hard to do anything about, it is organized crime, they do not know what they get tricked into. Now the police are doing their best to monitoring it and trying to control it, but when it is legal and increases, we don't have the police anymore. So who is going to monitor the industry then? That are my issues with it.' (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010)

Hence she stated that because she has seen so many girls been deceived into prostitution, she does not think legalization is going to help. Nevertheless, according to her it is a confusing debate. She is sad about the fact that it has become the Christian organisations on one side and the other 'evil' organisations on the other (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010). Also the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) is disappointed about the division among NGO's in Cape Town:

'Unfortunately, the thing is that we are all fighting for the same thing; to stop human trafficking.' (Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010)

The director of Not for Sale explained that the whole vision of Not for Sale is to work together, because all parties agree on that human trafficking is bad and that we have to fight it. However, she said that working together is the most difficult issue in South Africa; people should and need to start talking: *'fighting about decriminalization does not get us anywhere'* (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010).

Concluding remarks

As an effect of the World Cup, the debate about decriminalization of sex work has been cranked up. In this debate it comes to the fore that two opposite views are supported by several NGO's: NGO's that are pro decriminalization and NGO's that are against it. It seems that the way NGO's look upon sex work, underlies the opposing views about decriminalization. The Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce sees sex work as a job and hence thinks that sex work should be decriminalized in order to empower sex workers. In contrast the NGO STOP Trafficking of people thinks that sex work is not a job like any other vocation and that girls working as a sex workers should be trained and skilled for proper jobs. These views bear resemblance to the two opposite feminist approaches about how to understand sex work, which have been discussed in the introduction. The visions of the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce resemble with the ideas of liberal feminist and sex radical feminists, who argue that sex is a job, much like any other, and can be a form of self-determination for women. The autonomy and freedom reported as being felt by some sex workers are cited as one justification for promoting a more positive view of prostitution (Prasad, 1999). The sex radical approach is also pro-prostitution (Zatz, 1997). In contrast, the views of STOP Trafficking of People, Justice Acts and Straatwerk fall in the other camp; the radical feminist and Marxist feminist approaches. These approaches are against prostitution, viewing it as essentially wrong. The radical feminist perspective on sex work is that it is about coercion and sexual subordination. In this view all prostitution is deviant – an act of sexual violence; a form of abuse against women (Jeffreys, 1995, 1997).

Hence, the stance of a NGO in the decriminalization debate is related to the stance towards sex work in general. In Cape town it seems that the general stance towards sex work in general and hence the stance towards decriminalization of sex work is rooted in religion. Therefore there is a division between religious and non religious NGO's in the decriminalization debate. Both parties have used the World Cup to raise awareness and gain attention for their views. The NGO's Not for Sale and the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers took a more neutral stance in this debate and state that NGO's need to start working together; they should not only look at the issues they do not agree on, but should focus on things they do agree on. Which is, in relation to the World Cup the fight against human trafficking.

3.2.2 Actions & Campaigns

In this last paragraph the increase of campaigns that focused on human trafficking will be discussed. Firstly the increase and the effect of these campaigns will be discussed. After that the nature of the campaigns will be defined. Subsequently the help lines that have been set up by several NGO's will be discussed and finally the reactions of the campaigns in relation to the resource allocation by the state will be made explicit.

Increase of Campaigns

Next to the cranking up of a debate about decriminalization of sex work, a second political effect of the World Cup has come to the fore in the interviews; an increase of the amount of actions and campaigns that have been undertaken by NGO's in Cape Town prior and during the World Cup.

In the interviews it turned out that a lot of organisations in Cape Town have used the World Cup as a springboard to set up campaigns and raise awareness about human trafficking. Several NGO's used the hype created by the media about human trafficking during the World Cup.

'We knew those numbers would never come in, but we thought let us use this hype to gain attention and raise awareness about prostitution and human trafficking.'

(Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

Also the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) used the mega event to put sex workers on the agenda and in the run up to the World Cup the organisation was busy figuring out how to use the first World Cup in Africa for the greater good, with which - as we have seen in the previous paragraph - they mean decriminalization of sex work (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010). However, both STOP Trafficking of People and SWEAT explained that the awareness raising campaigns are not just set up for the World Cup, because both sex work and human trafficking will be going on after the World Cup (Interview STOP Trafficking of People, May 18, 2010, Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010). Therefore, one of SWEAT's expressions in the build up to the World Cup was '2010 and beyond'; whatever solutions came up prior or during the World Cup, it had to be sustainable (Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010).

According to Justice Acts and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) the awareness raising campaigns prior and during the tournament had an effect:

'The World Cup has seriously woken up this country including our government that human trafficking is happening in South Africa.' (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

The spokesperson of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) stated that the World Cup has brought the topic of human trafficking into the open and the public became more and more aware. According to her the tournament has put human trafficking on the agenda. She hoped that this is going to be sustained;

'For us it is not about the World Cup. Whatever that has been done now, needs to be sustainable. The WC is definitely something that we can utilize for that purpose.'

(Interview IOM, May 20, 2010)

Nature of Campaigns

During the interviews it turned out that a lot of NGO's set up campaigns in relation to the World Cup and that these NGO's were very anxious to explain their campaigns. To get insights in the amount of work that has been done by NGO's and to show that several campaigns overlap each other, I will give an overview of the campaigns and actions that have been undertaken by them.

Firstly, Straatwerk ran and is still running a project called 'Valuable to Jezus'. The vision of this campaign is to see Jesus conquering sexual abuse, prostitution and pornography through the church and his name by focused prayer and compelled action. The representative of Straatwerk explained that with the World Cup coming up, Straatwerk believed that it was time to come together all over South Africa in abolishing sexual of women and children by living the vision of the campaign; to warn children in the name of Jezus against abuse, prostitution and pornography, to assist those who have been abused or those who are involved in prostitution and to bring them the hope of healing of Jezus (Interview Straatwerk, May 12, 2010). Furthermore, the teams of Straatwerk that used to reach out to sex workers in the streets before the World Cup, planned to reach out during the World Cup more often. When I left after the interview, I saw the receptionists making promotion material, in order to be sure to have enough material when Straatwerk's teams were going to reach out to the ladies in the streets.

Secondly, Not for Sale created an awareness campaign:

'We produce flyers and posters to create awareness and promoting the whole stop slavery. But of course it goes on after the WC.' (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010).

One of the flyers produced by Not for Sale for the awareness campaign; focusing on the huge amounts of money that traffickers make:



Source: Not for Sale

Next to this campaign, Not for Sale wanted to make sure that there was enough place for victims. Hence, a lot of their work is focused on placement for victims (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010).

Thirdly, Justice Acts has – in cooperation with the IOM – been running a campaign called Traffick Proof. Traffick Proof is a prevention program. Plenty of posters with an image of the same girl asking for help, were distributed in the city of Cape Town:



Source: IOM

Justice Acts believed that communities needed to mobilize themselves to protect themselves from human trafficking (Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010). Therefore, they have been working on the empowerment of communities:

'We selected 5 cities to work in, we have been training community groups, police, social workers, schools, churches the basics of Counter trafficking; what can the average people do? We empower people to help in the fight against trafficking. We also do prostitution outreach, we feel like we have to be working with the girls out there and give them alternatives to get out of the streets.'

(Interview Justice Acts, June 22, 2010)

Fourth, the Concerned Parents for Missing Children (CPMC) set up a holiday program for school kids. South African school kids were on holiday during the period of the World Cup. In order to make sure that these kids would be in a safe place while their parents were at work, their parents could take them to a holiday program organized by the Concerned Parents for Missing Children (Interview CPMC, June 9, 2010). Next to this, the organisation also guided and assisted the Cape Town police, the Cape Town stadium and the FIFA FANFEST in finding lost children as fast as possible (Interview CPMC, June 9, 2010).

Fifth, the NGO STOP Trafficking of People (STOP) participated in projects that just have been discussed and are set up by Straatwerk: 'Valuable to Jezus' and Justice Acts and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM): 'Traffick Proof'. Next to these projects STOP Trafficking of People also supported the campaign CARE, which has been set up by Eric Naidoo, the director of the Family Police Institute. The newspaper the Randburg Sun informed South Africans about this project:

'Project Care focuses on utilizing assistance and expertise of diverse people and organisations to do the following:

- Create an awareness of human trafficking.*
- The establishment of new and the support of existing safe houses.*
- Ministry to and rehabilitation of sexually exploited women and children.'*

(Randburg Sun May 7, 2010, p. 9)

Next to the participation in these projects, STOP Trafficking of People focused on the demand side in the sex industry. They are very client orientated; according to STOP Trafficking of People when a man sleeps around, a family falls apart, something of trusts falls apart. The NGO believes that when the demand can be removed, sex workers are not needed anymore, hence the removing of the demand has become their goal. Just before the mega event started they organized a seminar which learned people that outreach to women in the streets to focus on the clients, to talk to them and help them with their problems (Interview STOP, May 18, 2010, MST Project Training Seminar June 9, 2010).

Finally, the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy and Task Force had a complete different way of

anticipating on the World Cup. They organized programs that trained sex workers how to deal with the media and that they would sign proper consent forms:

'What happened in Johannesburg is that a sex worker did an interview for a television program, and a week later her face was on the TV, and her family called her: 'we did not know you are working on the streets'. And she did not have any legal recourse.'

(Interview SWEAT, May 11, 2010)

In this way SWEAT tried to protect sex workers from exploitation by the media, while at the same time raising awareness for sex workers.

Helpline

Next to the above described campaigns, during the World Cup a helpline has been set up to assist girls and women working in the sex industry, but also victims of human trafficking or people that want to report a case of trafficking. After several interviews it turned out that three different help lines had been set up by different organisations.

Firstly, a helpline has been set up by the International Organisation for Migration's Southern African Counter-Trafficking Assistance Program (SACTAP). This helpline has been run by the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW). During the World Cup the helpline operated for twenty four hours, while normally it is a eight AM till ten PM service. The International Organisation for Migration and the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) worked closely together; Anex CDW received the call and mapped the victim. Consequently the IOM assisted in victim assistance, put them in a safe place and started to assess the needs of the victims (Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010, Interview IOM, May 20, 2010).

Secondly, the Salvation Army opened a helpline during the World Cup. The biggest differences with the helpline of the International Organisation for Migration is that the Salvation Army had funding to run it in seven different languages. Furthermore, the safe houses that were used by the Salvation Army were not connected to the International Organisation for Migration, which has orders of the government to assist victims of human trafficking (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010). The Salvation Army used the following flyer to gain attention for their helpline:



Source: Salvation Army

Thirdly, the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Task Force set up a helpline, which was only meant for sex workers:

'The national toll-free helpline was established in response to a request for such services from sex workers. It offers a confidential counselling service staffed by peer counsellors trained to provide advice and information on issues commonly affecting sex workers, such as sexual health, human rights abuses, employment conditions and emotional issues.' (Citizen, July 6, 2010, p. 8)

The fact that there were three help lines operating during the World Cup time was very striking, but what was even more striking was that during the interviews it turned out that most NGO's did not even know that there were three help lines running for the time period of the tournament.

The director of Not for Sale explained that more than one helpline did not make things simpler, but even more complicated:

'Prior to the World Cup the IOM helpline is only open from 8-10 PM. So when I have a victim of trafficking at 10 PM at night, I won't call the Salvation Army helpline because I don't know if they have the connections to the right shelters.' (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010)

She wondered why they did not combine all their resources and make one helpline. She believed that they could make that one helpline even better:

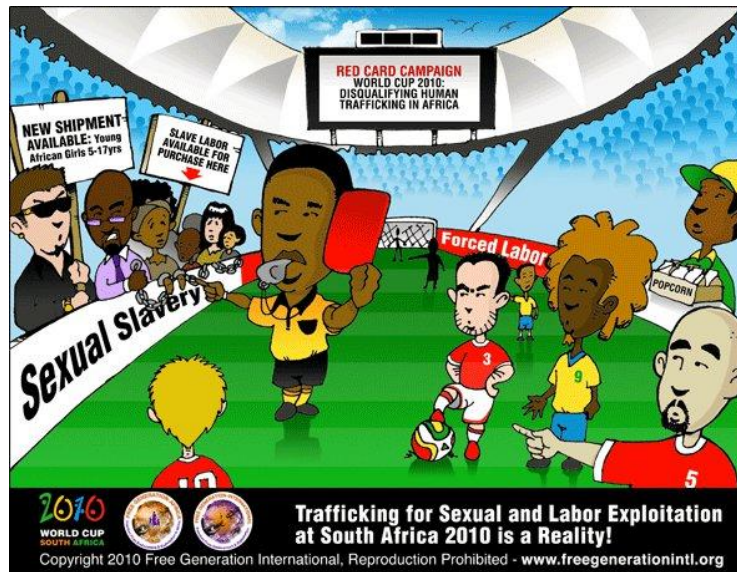
'And if they just all work together, I could have just called one hotline. I know, it is crazy. I understand that people want to have some control over what happens, and it is very hard to work together, but that is the problem; they are just not working together.' (Interview Not for Sale, May 19, 2010)

The director of Molo Songololo agrees with Not for Sale, he believed that the NGO's in Cape Town were busy with their own campaigns, but that it is important to know what everyone is doing and where everyone stands, so that we can bring it together (Interview Molo Songololo, May 14, 2010).

The flyers below show once more that the nature of campaigns were sometimes similar. Although some NGO's have started working together, the same kind of flyers printed by different organisations and institutes have been spread among the people in Cape Town.



Source: IOM



Source: Free Generation International

Resource allocation

As has been described above a lot of campaigns to fight human trafficking with regard to the World Cup have been set up, and sometimes the same actions – like the help lines – have been undertaken by different organisations. Next to the point of critique that has been raised by Not for Sale and Molo Songololo that NGO's should start working together, another point of critique with regard to the campaigns has come to the fore during the interviews. According to experts the NGO's have used the improbable numbers that have been spread by the media to gain attention (Seminar Institute for Security Studies, May 24, 2010). The spokesperson of the Activist network against the exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW) agrees and explained:

'What some NGO's have done is a couple of months before the event, you got pamphlets, posters saying there are going to be 20.000 women to be trafficked, there are visitors coming in that are going to prey on our women and our children and our young girls. While they have good intentions to raise awareness about the crime, it is the manner in which it's done that can also have a very negative effect. It should be responsible. They are raising more awareness about this big issue, but maybe they are putting more fuel on the fire. From our perspective you should be very responsible, in terms of we saying it is a problem, but let's not over exaggerate things.' (Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010)

Exaggeration of this issue is according to the representative of the Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI) dangerous with regard to resource allocation. She had a problem with the fact that massive amounts of money have been pushed into campaigns because of speculation (Interview SVRI, June 1, 2010). In consequence, NGO's themselves

and the government are allocating resources to this problem, while the problem might be strongly overestimated:

'I mean we need basic service delivery for victims of rape, for sex workers, there is a lot of things that need to be put many into as well. And I think we need to be fair in about how we are distributing our resources. I think that what we should do, and not getting a hype in which money is pushed in and leaving out the rest.' (Interview SVRI, June 1, 2010)

As has been discussed in chapter one an academic debate is going on about this issue. Dottridge (2003) argues that some human rights activists argue that exaggeration is not a major problem, as long as attention ends up being given to whatever abuses are occurring. According to Dottridge (2003) these actors fail to recognize that an inaccurate estimate of the problem is likely to result in a remedy that is equally inappropriate. In Dottridge (2003) opinion this is a naive approach; the damage that can be done by misrepresenting the scale of a problem is ignored. Also Tyldum & Brunovskis (2005) argue that overestimated and thus inadequate data might result in descriptions that have little to do with reality. Furthermore, Tyldum & Brunovskis (2005) state that overestimating the extent of a phenomenon can have equally negative consequences as underestimating it. Furthermore, exaggerating the impact of a problem can also lead to donor fatigue, where potential donors end up overwhelmed by the problem, assuming it cannot be solved in any conceivable way. Acknowledging that a problem can be severe, but not involving a very large number of persons, may open up for other, and better, policies (Tyldum, 2010).

Focusing on the 'overestimation view' in this study; the spokesperson of the Activist network against the exploitation of Child Domestic Workers tried to moderate this view. She explained that every victim is one too much. Furthermore, she stated that one should be grateful as well because the NGO's are doing the majority of the work, in terms of victim assistance, shelters, going out to communities. Given the fact that there are limited services from the government, the NGO's are doing the bulk of the ground work (Interview Anex CDW, June 23, 2010).

Nevertheless, a journalist who has been interviewed explained clearly what one should learn from the campaigns during the World Cup: when resources are allocated by the state for problems which are blown up, you take resources away from other important things. We should prevent that from happening by working together (Interview Journalist 2, May 28, 2010).

Concluding remarks

The FIFA World Cup 2010 has led to an increase of the number of campaigns to fight human trafficking set up by NGO's in Cape Town. Due to these campaigns awareness about human trafficking has increased and the issue has been put on the agenda. However, most campaigns set up

by different NGO's had the same character and three more or less similar help lines to report human trafficking or abuse have been set up. Next to overlapping actions, most NGO's have used the hype created by the media to gain more attention. However, this hype has been exaggerated and therefore several experts have warned for a negative resource allocation of the state. It is important to learn from the campaigns that were built on blown up media expectations. It should not happen again that resources are allocated by the state or NGO for problems which have been exaggerated because this will take resources away from other important things. Organisations should realize that cooperation between the organisations will make sure negative resource allocation will not happen again.

3.3 Summarizing remarks

In this paragraph summarizing remarks of the results of this study will be made. The results of this study have shown that the World Cup did have an impact on the sex industry. The three effects that have been observed on the ground have been witnessed against a background of two effects on a macro level.

On the macro level it turned out that due to the World Cup, the debate about decriminalization of sex work has been cranked up. In this debate it comes to the fore that two opposite views are supported by several NGO's. Both parties have used the World Cup to raise awareness and gain attention for their opinions. The NGO's Not for Sale and the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers took a more neutral stance in this debate and state that NGO's need to start working together; they should not only look at the issues they do not agree on, but should focus on things they do agree on. Which is, in relation to the World Cup the fight against human trafficking. Next to using the World Cup as a springboard for the expression of the stances in the debate about decriminalisation, the World Cup has also been used to raise awareness to fight human trafficking; the global event has led to an increase of the number of campaigns to fight human trafficking set up by NGO's in Cape Town. Due to these campaigns the issue has been put on the agenda. However, the campaigns that have been set up overlap each other and have the same character. An example of this is the fact that three more or less similar help lines to report human trafficking have been set up. Furthermore, the NGO's have used the hype created by the media to gain more attention for this issue. However, this hype has been exaggerated and therefore several experts have warned for a negative resource allocation of the state. What we learn from this is that it should not happen again that resources are allocated by the state or NGO for problems which have been exaggerated because this will take resources away from other important things. The advice for NGO's is to cooperate which might make sure negative resource allocation will not happen again. It is important to keep

these effects on the macro level in mind when making summarizing remarks with respect to the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry on the micro level.

The general conclusion about the increase of sex workers during the World Cup is that NGO's, local authorities, the media and sex workers have seen an increase of women working in the industry, but the exponential, alarming numbers that have been predicted by the media failed to occur. Experts have warned for this exaggeration by the media before the World Cup started. The same counts for the second effect on the micro level; human trafficking. Although numbers in the media have been exaggerated, the trafficked girl, the Vice Squad and the director of Not for Sale showed that human trafficking is real and that it does happen.

What is striking is that the slight increase of the amount of women working in the sex industry coincident with a decrease of street prostitution. Because of high police presence and the campaigns that have been set up as explained on the macro level, a lot of new and local sex workers were working from the clubs instead of the streets and the numbers of brothels increased just before and during the World Cup. Considering the amount of foreign faces during the World Cup, both the Vice Squad and sex workers have seen a slight increase of foreign sex workers prior and during the World Cup.

Despite high expectations created by the media, sex workers did not see a rise in clients and the majority did see their income decrease during the World Cup. The study has pointed to three reasons for the disappointing businesses of sex workers. Firstly, according to the sex workers the police presence was too high, because of this it was almost impossible for them to accomplish their work; either they were arrested or chased away. Secondly, Aids can be a possible reason why sex workers saw fewer clients; because of attention of the media, Aids might have worked as a powerful deterrent to keep clients away from the sex workers. A third possible reason might have been – according to predominantly the media – the fear among football fans of being robbed by sex workers. In spite of the decrease in businesses and income, sex workers do not only have negative feelings towards the World Cup. The majority of the sex workers are happy that the World Cup took place in their country. A few have seen the World Cup period as an opportunity to save money. Nevertheless, most sex workers complained that the World Cup has not been good for their businesses.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Overview of the thesis

This thesis started off with the observation of Roche (2006) that understanding globalisation processes and dynamics, and thus the potential for 'global society', is one of the greatest social scientific challenges of our period. In the 19th and 20th centuries the biggest political challenge was the development of the nation state. For the 21st century however, the development of a global level of social organisation through processes of globalisation is the dominant sociological reality and political challenge (Roche, 2006). In the 19th and 20th centuries the most important process was the building of a strong nation, in which sports took a central role; nations started to compete in a global game, which came to expression in global sport events (Maguire, 1999, Roche, 2006). Roche (2006) explains that nowadays, the social roles, and hence the potential social legacies, of global sport events, need to be seen in relation to the contemporary realities of globalisation and global society building. As discussed in the introduction Giulianotti & Robertson (2004) argued that it is in particular football and hence the FIFA World Cup, that constitutes one of the most dynamic, sociologically illuminating domains of globalisation.

In the introduction it has been explained that short term mega-events have long-term consequences for the hosting nations and are associated with the creation of infrastructure and facilities (Roche, 1994). Furthermore, Roche (1994) explains that it is assumed that mega events have long-term positive consequences in terms of inward investments, industrial relocation, and tourism. In consequence, it is often claimed by event organisers and city leaders that a mega event helps to address the economic and cultural needs and rights of local citizens, regardless of whether the citizens have actually been consulted about or involved in their production (Roche, 1994).

As discussed in the first chapter, politicians either ignore or hide negative impacts of a global event (Hall & Hodges, 1996). Nevertheless, in the last decennium the media has been focusing on one negative effect of the FIFA World Cup; the media assumed that the World Cup would have large consequences for the host society's sex industry. Regarding the large flow of tourists during the World Cup period, the media has been focusing on the World Cup as a billion dollar event that would attract criminals to make a lot of money. The media had assumed that most tourists would be male and therefore the media believed that the demand to sex would increase. Hence, the media has been spreading its ideas about the effects of the World Cup on the host society's sex industry (Molo Songololo, 2008). Next to the media, also the NGO Molo Songololo expected that the World Cup would lead to a demand for more women working in South Africa's sex industry. To meet this demand criminals believe that it is necessary that more women work in the sex industry during the event. Therefore, criminals would traffick girls from remote and poor areas to the host cities of the

World Cup to work in the sex industry for the time period of the mega event. This practice can be seen as the shadow side of the World Cup (Molo Songolo, 2008). We have also seen that Craggs et al. (2006) indicate that the assumption that football and sex belong together and predict an unprecedented boom in sex tourism. In South Africa, similar sentiments were expressed before the World Cup by NGOs and politicians in the anticipation and expectation of mass tourism at its best during the World Cup period (Bird & Donaldson, 2009).

However, as has been shown in the introduction, these predictions are in contrast to previous research. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) there exists no data that shows that a huge sport event has an impact on the sex industry (Hennig *et al*, 2007). Moreover, according to a research of the IOM the expected rise in human trafficking during the World Cup 2006 in Germany was unrealistic and unfounded (Hennig *et al.*, 2007). Yet, for the most recent FIFA World Cup 2010 that took place in South Africa the same negative claims have been made by the media.

Since there has not been many studies on the relation and consequences of a mega sport event on the sex industry, and the fact that human trafficking is often overestimated, the above described contrasts raised the question what was really happening within the sex industry when a global-event takes place. Did the high number of male tourists indeed lead to effects on the sex industry of the host society? More importantly, as discussed it was not only the media that had an opinion about this shadow effect; there are more voices that should be heard. What is the opinion of experts about this shadow effect? What do people working in or related to the sex industry think about the effects of a FIFA World Cup on the sex industry? What happens during the World Cup according to sex workers themselves? What has been the voice of the media and what has been observed by the local authorities during the latest World Cup? In other words, there was a need to make an inventory of what happens with a host society's sex industry when a World Cup takes place.

This explorative and mainly empirical research aimed to clarify these questions and hence the consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry in South Africa from several perspectives in order to narrow the knowledge gap about the relation and effects of mega sport events and the sex industry. The focus of this research has been on different perspectives of several groups; NGO's, journalists, experts, local authorities, and sex workers about the effects of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry in order to give a voice to every group and sketch the different perspectives. To grasp this plurality of voices a polyvocal approach has been used. This mode of research privileges all these competing voices at work (Mattingly, 1991). The central question posed was:

What is the effect of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry from a polyvocal perspective including voices of NGO's, experts, journalists, local authorities and sex workers themselves?

As described in chapter two, to answer this research question a polyphonic driven mode of research has been used. This qualitative method privileged all these competing voices at work and captured a more nuanced understanding of competing perspectives about the effects of the World Cup for South Africa's sex industry. Several methods to gather data have been used; a literature study on academic papers and articles, participant observation and in depth interviews. Next to the examination of existing academic literature, during the fieldwork period 79 newspaper articles have been collected that discuss the sex industry in relation to the World Cup. The largest share of the empirical data however, has been gathered by means of in-depth interviews with members of the several groups taken into account in this study about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry.

In chapter three the results have been presented. As discussed, five effects occurred on two different levels. Firstly, on the macro level, the World Cup has been used by several NGO's as a springboard for the expression of the stances in the debate about decriminalisation, in consequence the debate about decriminalization of sex work has been cranked up. Both parties have used the World Cup to raise awareness and gain attention for their opinions. The NGO's Not for Sale and the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers took a more neutral stance in this debate and state that NGO's need to start working together; they should not only look at the issues they do not agree on, but should focus on things they do agree on. Which is, in relation to the World Cup the fight against human trafficking. Secondly on the macro level we have seen that the World Cup has also been used to raise awareness to fight human trafficking; the global event has led to an increase of the number of campaigns to fight human trafficking set up by NGO's in Cape Town. Due to these campaigns the issue has been put on the agenda. However, the campaigns that have been set up overlap each other and have the same character. An example of this is the fact that three more or less similar help lines to report human trafficking have been set up. Furthermore, the NGO's have used the hype created by the media to gain more attention for this issue. However, this hype has been exaggerated and therefore several experts have warned for a negative resource allocation of the state.

On the micro level, the general conclusion about the increase of sex workers during the World Cup is that NGO's, local authorities, the media and sex workers have seen an increase of women working in the industry, but the exponential, alarming numbers that have been predicted by the media failed to occur. Also the second effect on the micro level; the predictions about the amount of

women and girls that would be trafficked prior and during the World Cup failed to occur. Although numbers in the media have been exaggerated, the trafficked girl, the Vice Squad and the director of the NGO Not for Sale showed that human trafficking is real and that it does happen, also prior and during the World Cup. It can also be concluded that the slight increase of the amount of women working in the sex industry coincident with a decrease of street prostitution. Because of high police presence a lot of new and local sex workers were working from the clubs instead of the streets and the numbers of brothels increased just before and during the World Cup. Considering the amount of foreign faces during the World Cup, both the Vice Squad and sex workers have seen a slight increase of foreign sex workers prior and during the World Cup.

A third conclusion of the last effect on the micro level is that sex workers did not see a rise in clients. Furthermore, the majority did see their income decrease during the World Cup. The study has pointed to three reasons for this trend. Firstly, according to the sex workers the police presence was too high, because of this it was almost impossible for them to accomplish their work; either they were arrested or chased away. Secondly, Aids can be a possible reason why sex workers saw fewer clients; because of attention of the media, Aids might have worked as a powerful deterrent to keep clients away from the sex workers. A third possible reason might have been - according to predominantly the media - the fear among football fans of being robbed by sex workers. In general however it can be concluded that despite the decrease in businesses and income, sex workers do not only have negative feelings about the World Cup. A few have seen the World Cup period as an opportunity to save money. The majority of the sex workers are happy that the World Cup took place in South Africa.

4.2 What have we learned?

This explorative and extensive study is the only of its kind in gaining insights in the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry from several perspectives. It should be noted that the case of the World Cup in South Africa is of course a specific case with a specific context. This research is a case study and it does not mean that the outcome of this study counts for every World Cup in every country.

Contrary to expectations of the media and several NGO's the human trafficking boom during the World Cup failed to occur. This first outcome corresponds with the findings of the research conducted by Hennig *et al.* (2007) for the IOM during the FIFA World Cup 2006 in Germany. The next outcomes of this study however, have – due to a lack of studies on this issue – not been demonstrated by other scholars, and hence can be viewed as innovative. Focusing on the amount of women working in the industry, only a slight increase of new and foreign women has been witnessed by the several parties. In respect of this slight increase of the amount of women working in the sex

industry another unexpected striking trend has been observed by several parties; a decrease of street prostitution. Due to high police presence in Cape Town and the campaigns that have been set up (as explained on the macro level), a lot of sex workers decided to work from clubs and bars instead of the streets. In relation to this trend, the numbers of brothels increased just before and during the World Cup. Furthermore, contrary to expectations that the amount of clients for sex workers would increase, the amount of clients for sex workers went down and hence their income decreased as well.

In respect of the human trafficking boom that was unfounded, one should understand that although the hype of the expected 40.000 trafficked women failed to occur, human trafficking is real, as we have seen it happened prior and during the World Cup; people are used and abused and exploited for the purpose of making money.

It is important to note that the victims of human trafficking that have been found during the World Cup should be viewed with additional consideration of the effects that occurred on the macro level; i.e. increased human trafficking campaigns prior and during the tournament. Therefore it is unclear if the human trafficking cases that have been found are specific to the World Cup or if the cases are related to awareness raising and more active policing by among others, the Vice Squad.

In general this study shows that the hypes created prior to the World Cup about the rise of human trafficking, women in the sex industry and the rise of clients because of the World Cup have been unfounded. Although the World Cup certainly has had consequences for the sex industry, the expectations of the impact on the sex industry have been exaggerated. This exaggeration has mobilised resources as we have seen on the macro level from among others NGO's, but also the state. In this way resources are allocated for a problem which have been exaggerated and this takes resources away from other important things.

What we learn from the outcome of this study is that the expectations of the impact of a World Cup on the sex industry and hence the negative image and sphere which has been created around the World Cup in relation to the sex industry are only partly grounded. Hence, the outcome of this research calls for clear-headedness with regard to effects on the sex industry when a World Cup takes place. One should look at facts instead of listening to rumours with regard to this issue. Clear-headedness is necessary to make sure that overestimations of the impact of the World Cup will be diminished in the run up to the next FIFA World Cup in Brazil. When one critically looks at the effects on the sex industry, less (un)necessary resources will be allocated. Furthermore, it is impossible to deliver social services and respond to an exaggerated number of 40,000 expected trafficking victims. Clear-headedness might make sure that better basic services can be delivered for the real amount of victims of human trafficking. Moreover, levelheadedness will probably ensure that less women get the idea of becoming a sex worker during a mega event.

When focusing on the media; it is clear that the air bell of negative effects created by the media led to a grey zone of uncertainty and sensation with regard to the impact of the World Cup on South Africa's sex industry. This fear has only blew up the rumours about this issue and created unrest, which led to the consequences that have been discussed above. It is important that the media reflects critically on its share in this air bell.

Next to lessons for society, lessons have been learned on the scientific level. The outcome of this study contributes to a knowledge gap with regard to the effects of mega events on a host society's sex industry. This study is next to the research of the International Organisation for Migration the only research that focuses specifically on the FIFA World Cup and the consequences for the sex industry. The outcome of this study shows that a World Cup has not such a big impact on a host society's sex industry as expected. Furthermore, this study does not only focus on the effects of the World Cup but is more extensive and gives insights in the details of what happens with the sex industry of a host city on a macro *and* micro level when a FIFA World Cup takes place.

Moreover this study does not only show clear insights in the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry but does also contribute to the debate about pros and cons of a World Cup for a host society. As discussed in the introduction, Gruneau (2002) explains that local politicians often only focus on the interests of the middle-class consumers, developers and property owners. In so doing, sectional interests are treated as *the* general interests, while class and community divisions regarding the support and enjoyment of spectacular urban entertainments are ignored. Rowe (1995) argued that local politicians claim that the hosting of a mega event has positive impacts on the labour market, visiting tourists, additional spending in the community, the social condition of the host community and of course, media coverage. Hall & Hodges (2006) however, argue that negative impacts are either ignored or hidden under the table by event organisers, local politicians and city leaders. This study shows that the negative expectations about the impact of the World Cup on the sex industry cannot be ignored. A mega event, like the World Cup does – although the increase of sex workers is not based on quantitative data – has an impact on the sex industry of a host city. Although this study does not provide significant numbers of girls and women trafficked for the purpose of the World Cup; victims of human trafficking that could be related to the World Cup have been found. As said before, every victim is one too many. Hence, the outcome of this study feeds the debate about the social impact of mega events on a host society.

Another contribution has been made to the debate about the magnitude of mega events. In the introduction, Maurice Roche's definition has been used to understand mega events: mega events are 'large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance' (Roche, 2000 : 1). Roberts (2004) explains that

mega events are 'discontinuous', out of the ordinary, international and big in composition. In this debate, Rowe (2003) argues that 'Megs' have the ability to transmit promotional messages to billions of people via television and other developments in telecommunications: the whole world is watching the same thing at the same time (Rowe, 2003). In relation to this, Van Houtum's explanation of this strategic focusing on and the sensual exhibition of countries and cities for exploitation purposes as a 'topoporno' has been quoted. Van Houtum (2010) argues that every time a mega event like the World Cup is hosted by a certain nation or city, the final outcome is the creation of a selective hyper reality, a romantic fiction of the local reality. As has been described, the development of internet as a way of communicating imageries, symbols and narratives, has stimulated the development of such topoporno (Van Houtum & Van Dam, 2002). Here, it does not matter what is real, as long as the desire has been waked (Van Houtum, 2010). In other words, when a mega event takes place everything in that place blows up and gains attention. One of the conclusions of this study has been the blow-up of the focus of the media on the sex industry in relation the World Cup. It seems that this magnification of the sex industry during the World Cup has become part of the 'topoporno' that mega events deal with. The exaggerated expectations of the media have become a hyper reality, with – as we have seen – negative consequences for resource allocation; the shadow side of the blow-up of a mega event.

Furthermore, also the use of the methodology in this study makes a contribution to new insights on the scientific level. As explained it is hard to study the sex industry; this kind of industry is illegal and consists out of criminal activities, in consequence one cannot grasp every detail of the industry. Sex workers who are central in this industry are often described as a 'hidden population'; it is hard to get access to them and hence it is difficult to study them. In short, the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry were hard to study. In order to get insight in the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry I chose to throw light upon the sex industry from several perspectives by using a polyvocal driven mode of research. 'Polyvocality' is a textual strategy that looks for a multiplicity of voices. In this study polyvocality has not been used as a textual strategy for which it is mainly used, but as a research methodology. In order to gather data from several perspectives, this study needed voices of several groups; experts, journalists, sex workers, local authorities, and NGO's. Hence, the polyvocal method to gather data for this study has let several voices of different groups speak; by using polyvocality in this way it is possible to let several voices from different perspectives speak. When one adds all these voices and hence the data that has been gathered among the several groups together one is able to get insights in the sex industry. In this way it is possible to obtain information about issues that are hardly accessible. Hence, this study shows that with a polyvocal strategy, research can be done on criminal and 'hidden' issues. Besides, the researcher lets the voices of several groups speak by interviewing members of these groups; in this way the researcher is able

to explore his field of interest. As a result, this polyvocal method is also an useful tool for qualitative explorative studies.

4.3 Recommendations

Throughout this thesis, several new insights have been gained in relation to the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry of the host society. On the basis of these insights, several recommendations can be formulated for future host societies of the FIFA World Cup and future research.

For future host societies of the World Cup it is important that all parties; journalist, NGO's, local authorities, experts and sex workers do not start exaggerating the impact of the event on the sex industry again. This study has shown that sensationalising the issue does not lead us anywhere. Especially journalists should not start the hype about a human trafficking boom – as has been predicted now for the 2006 and 2010 World Cup – again. It is advisable for NGO's in the next host societies that they cooperate with each other which might make sure negative resource allocation will not happen again. NGO's take a large share of responsibility when it comes to campaigns and actions, however these campaigns should be grounded on facts and accomplished in a responsible way. Regardless of the question if women should be working in the sex industry in general, sex workers should not expect to make a lot of money when a mega event takes place in their country.

Next to clear-headedness of these parties in future host societies, the government of the host country should make sure that a human trafficking law is in place. As we have seen this was not the case in South Africa. This means that traffickers cannot be prosecuted yet for their criminal activities. This has two consequences; firstly it makes it easier for them to traffick girls. Secondly victims of human trafficking find it hard to testify against their traffickers. This means that the zone between being trafficked and smuggled remains grey, in consequence victims of human trafficking miss social services that should help them dealing with their trauma.

On the scientific level, recommendations can be made as well. Since this study has been explorative, several new insights have come to the fore in relation to the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry. Hence, several recommendations can be made for future research. Firstly, to better understand the relation between the World Cup and specifically human trafficking it is advisable to study the cases of human trafficking prior, after and during the World Cup and compare these findings to the cases that have been found a year prior or after the World Cup. In this way quantitative numbers about the relation between the World Cup and human trafficking can be obtained.

Secondly, the sample of sex workers has unfortunately been very minimal in this study. To get more insights how the World Cup affects sex workers' lives on the micro level, an extensive longitudinal study in which only sex workers would be followed, prior, during and after the World

Cup should be accomplished. In this manner more generalizing statements about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry can be made.

Finally, a last recommendation on the scientific level can be made with regard to a perspective of a party which has been ignored in this study. That is, the perspective of World Cup spectators. In this study assumptions are made by sex workers why the amounts of clients decreased during the World Cup have been. For future research it would be interesting to grasp the opinion of clients and football fans about visiting sex workers during the World Cup as an additional perspective which might offer new and interesting insights.

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Summary

In the contemporary period one of the greatest social scientific challenges is understanding globalisation processes and dynamics, and thus the potential for 'global society'. The development of a global level of social organisation through processes of globalisation is one of the dominant sociological realities and political challenges of our times and of the 21st century, just as the development of the nation-state level was the dominant reality for the 19th and 20th centuries (Roche, 2006). Among other things, in the process of building a strong nation, sports became important; nations started to compete in a global game, which came to expression in global sport events (Maguire, 1999, Roche, 2006). In the contemporary period, the social roles, and hence the potential social legacies, of global sport events, need to be seen in relation to the contemporary realities of globalisation and global society building (Roche, 2006). It is in particular football and hence the Football World Cup, that constitutes one of the most dynamic, sociologically illuminating domains of globalisation (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004).

In the last decennium a discrepancy related to the Football World Cup has come to the fore; several scholars have pointed to benefits for the host country when a global event such as the Football World Cup takes place; hosting a global event would attract tourists, money flows and other long term advantages. However, predominantly the media has neglected these benefits and created the assumption that a Football World Cup has negative effects for the host country.

The FIFA World Cup 2010 has been hosted by South Africa. The media in South Africa and in the rest of the world predicted that the World Cup would have large consequences for South Africa's sex industry. Among other things, the media expected a rise in human trafficking during the World Cup. However, these predictions are in contrast to previous research. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) there exists no data that shows that a huge sport event has an impact on the sex industry. Moreover, according to a research of the IOM the expected rise in human trafficking during the World Cup 2006 in Germany was unrealistic and unfounded (Hennig et al., 2007). Since there has not been many research on the relation between and consequences of a large global sport event on the sex industry, these contrasts asked for more insights into what happened with South Africa's sex industry during the World Cup. This explanatory research aimed to clarify the consequences of the World Cup on the sex industry in South Africa from not only the perspective of the media, but also from other perspectives; Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's), experts, local authorities and sex workers themselves. In this way this study made a contribution to narrowing the knowledge gap about the relation and effects of mega sport events and the sex industry. The central question posed was:

What is the effect of the FIFA World Cup 2010 on South Africa's sex industry from a polyvocal perspective including voices of NGO's, experts, journalists, local authorities and sex workers themselves?

To answer this research question a polyphonic driven mode of research has been used. This qualitative method privileged all these competing voices at work and captured a more nuanced understanding of competing perspectives about the effects of the World Cup for South Africa's sex industry. Several methods to gather data have been used; a literature study, participant observation and in depth interviews. Next to the examination of existing literature, during the fieldwork period 79 newspaper articles have been collected that discuss the sex industry in relation to the World Cup. The largest share of the empirical data however, has been gathered by means of in-depth interviews with members of the several groups taken into account in this study about the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry.

This study has shown that five effects of the World Cup on the sex industry have occurred on two different levels. Firstly, on the macro level, the World Cup has been used by several NGO's as a springboard for the expression of the stances in the debate about decriminalisation, in consequence the debate about decriminalization of sex work has been cranked up. Both pro- and contra parties have used the World Cup to raise awareness and gain attention for their opinions. The NGO's Not for Sale and the Activist Network against the Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers took a more neutral stance in this debate and state that NGO's need to start working together; they should not only look at the issues they do not agree on, but should focus on things they do agree on. Secondly, on the macro level the World Cup has also been used to raise awareness to fight human trafficking; the global event has led to an increase of the number of campaigns to fight human trafficking set up by NGO's in Cape Town. Due to these campaigns the issue has been put on the agenda. However, the campaigns that have been set up overlap each other and have the same character. Furthermore, the NGO's have used the hype created by the media to gain more attention for this issue. However, this hype has been exaggerated and therefore several experts have warned for a negative resource allocation of the state.

On the micro level, this study has shown that contrary to expectations of the media the human trafficking boom during the World Cup failed to occur. The same counts for the second effect on the micro level; the amount of women working in the industry; only a slight increase of new and foreign women has been witnessed by the several parties. In respect of this slight increase of the amount of women working in the sex industry another unexpected striking trend has been observed by several parties; a decrease of street prostitution. Due to high police presence in Cape Town and the campaigns that have been set up (as explained on the macro level), a lot of sex workers decided to

work from clubs and bars instead of the streets. In relation to this trend, the numbers of brothels increased just before and during the World Cup. The third effect on the micro level which was contrary to expectations that the amount of clients for sex workers would increase, the amount of clients for sex workers went down and hence their income decreased as well.

In respect of the human trafficking boom that was unfounded, one should understand that although the hype of the expected 40.000 trafficked women failed to occur, human trafficking is real, as we have seen it happened prior and during the World Cup; people are used and abused and exploited for the purpose of making money.

In general this study shows that the hypes created prior to the World Cup about the rise of human trafficking, women in the sex industry and the rise of clients because of the World Cup have been unfounded. Although the World Cup certainly has had consequences for the sex industry, the expectations of the impact on the sex industry have been exaggerated. This exaggeration has mobilised resources from among others NGO's, but also the state. In this way resources are allocated for a problem which have been exaggerated and this takes resources away from other important things.

It can be concluded that the expectations of the impact of a World Cup on the sex industry and hence the negative image and sphere which has been created around the World Cup in relation to the sex industry are only partly grounded. Hence, the outcome of this study calls for clear-headedness with regard to effects on the sex industry when a World Cup takes place. One should look at facts instead of listening to rumours with regard to this issue. Clear-headedness is necessary to make sure that overestimations of the impact of the World Cup will be diminished in the run up to the next FIFA World Cups. When one critically looks at the effects on the sex industry, less unnecessary resources will be allocated. Furthermore, it is impossible to deliver social services and respond to an exaggerated number of 40,000 expected trafficking victims. Clear-headedness might make sure that better basic services can be delivered for the real amount of victims of human trafficking. Moreover, levelheadedness will probably ensure that less women get the idea of becoming a sex worker during a mega event.

Next to new societal insights, the use of the methodology in this study makes a contribution to new insights on the scientific level. This study shows that with a polyvocal strategy research can be done on criminal and 'hidden' issues. By using polyvocality as a research methodology and not as a text strategy for which it is mainly used, it is possible to let several voices from different perspectives speak and in this way it is possible to obtain information about issues that are hardly accessible. Furthermore, this study contributes to the debate about the pros and cons of mega events for a host society and the debate about the magnitude of mega events.

Appendix I Topic list representatives of NGO's, local authorities and experts

Topic list NGO's/ local authorities/ experts

- Impact/effects
 - Do you believe the World Cup has an effect on South Africa's sex industry?
 - What are the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry in your opinion?
 - On what do you base these effects?
 - How would you describe the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry?
 - How is the sex industry during the world cup organized according to you?
 - Who are the players in this field according to you?
- Causes
 - What are the causes of these effects according to you?
- Solutions
 - Are there actions undertaken to decrease the impact of the World Cup?
 - Are there actions undertaken by your organisation?
 - What is the vision of your organisation regarding the World Cup?
 - What are you trying to reach/ambitions?
 - What do you think could be possible solutions to decrease the impact of the World Cup on the sex industry? (To combat the effects you just mentioned)

Appendix II Topic list for journalists

Topic list Journalists

- Context
 - About what subjects do you write?
 - For which newspaper(s) do you write?
 - When did you start writing about this subject?

- Impact/effects
 - Do you believe the World Cup has an effect on South Africa's sex industry?
 - What are the effects of the World Cup on the sex industry in your opinion?
 - On what do you base these effects?
 - So how would you describe the relation between the World Cup and the sex industry?
 - How is the sex industry during the world cup organized according to you?
 - Who are the players in this field according to you?

- Causes
 - What are the causes of these effects according to you?

- Solutions
 - What do you think of the solutions that are undertaken by civil society organisations and the government?

Appendix III Topic list for sex workers

Topic List Sex workers

- Context
 - When did you start your job?
 - Why did you start your job?
 - How often do you work? (Every day?)
 - In what area do you work?

- Differences before World Cup & during World Cup
 - Are you going to work more often/Did you work more often during the World Cup?
 - Do you see a rise in clients?
 - Do you see a rise in foreign clients? (From what countries?)
 - Do you have the idea that there are more women working in the industry?
 - Where do these women come from?(Are they forced to work during the World Cup?)
 - Are you going to ask more money?
 - Are you working in another area than before the World Cup?

- Consequences/effects
 - Do you think that the World Cup has an effect on South Africa's sex industry?
 - What are these effects of the World Cup on the sex industry according to you? Has the business changed?

Appendix IV Overview Interviews

NGO's

Name	Date	Time	Location
Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT)	11-5-2010	11.00 AM	Cape Town
Straatwerk	12-5-2010	15.00 PM	Cape Town
Molo Songololo	14-5-2010	14.00 PM	Cape Town
STOP Trafficking of People	18-5-2010	11.00 AM	Stellenbosch
Not for sale	19-5-2010	11.00 AM	Muizenberg (CT)
Concerned Parents of Missing Children (CPMC)	09-6-2010	13.00 PM	Cape Town
Justice Alliance of Christians Against Trafficking Acts (Justice ACTs)	22-6-2010	18.30 PM	Cape Town
Activist network against the exploitation of Child Domestic Workers (Anex CDW)	23-6-2010	10.00 AM	Cape Town

Experts

International Organization for Migration (IOM)	20-5-2010	11.00 AM	Cape Town
Sexual Violence Research Institute Gender & Health Research Unit Medical Research Council (SVRI)	01-06-2010	10.00 AM	Cape Town

Sex workers

Linda	01-06-2010	15.00 PM	Cape Town
Candy	30-06-2010	13.00 PM	Cape Town
Cindy	30-06-2010	13.30 PM	Cape Town
Pamela	30-06-2010	14.00 PM	Cape Town
Tommy	30-06-2010	14.30 PM	Cape Town
Nancy	30-06-2010	15.00 PM	Cape Town
Suzy	07-07-2010	15.00 PM	Cape Town
Cherrie	28-07-2010	14.00 PM	Cape Town
Lola	28-07-2010	14.30 PM	Cape Town
Stephanie	28-07-2010	15.00 PM	Cape Town
Priscilla	28-07-2010	15.30 PM	Cape Town

Media/journalists

Journalist 1	27-05-2010	11.00 AM	Cape Town
Journalist 2	28-05-2010	10.30 AM	Cape Town
Journalist 3	02-06-2010	11.00 AM	Cape Town

Local authorities

Vice Squad	25-6-2010	11.00 AM	Cape Town
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Appendix V Consent form sex workers

Consent form

- The interview will be kept anonymous. The interviewer will make all places and names anonymous in transcription.
- Nobody will ever get hold of the personal details. (If you like, you can make up a name)
- Everything you talk about in this interview will be treated strictly confidential. No one has access to the entire interview.
- The interviewee will get a copy of the research sum-up if requested. (In this case: leave your email-address)
- You should only talk about what you feel comfortable with and like to share. If there is a question you do not want to answer, just mention that or move on with something else.
- You can ask any question about the research project, which you want to know.

Date:

Signature Interviewee:

Signature Interviewer: