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挑戰人口交易：運用前瞻方法分析漠南非洲人口販運問題的未來

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# Challenging Human Trade:

# A Foresight Approach to Understanding the Future of

# Human Trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa and Beyond

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論文提要內容

本論文以迅速發展的撒哈拉以南的非洲地區的跨國販賣人口犯罪及其中的青年族群為研究對象，透過掃瞄檢視近期和逐漸浮現的趨勢和新的問題，除了探討了它對該地區的影響外，更擴大檢視其全球之影響。本研究以因果層次分析法探討各種可能未來情節發展，並發掘出人口販賣的背後驅動力。本研究指出了需要針對跨國販賣人口等犯罪，需要提供一個新的領導典範，讓社會經濟和政治的因素闡述，能更加具有前瞻性。希望本研究能激發後續相關研究，並持續觀察此重要議題。

關鍵字：方案;因果分層分析;新興問題;撒哈拉以南非洲地區;販賣人口

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Abstract:

This thesis puts the transnational crime of human trafficking in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa and its quickly growing youth bulge. By mapping recent and concurrent trends and emerging issues, it explores the implications that it has not only for the region itself but also for the greater global dynamics of the issue. Through Causal Layered Analysis of various alternative future scenarios as well as the identification of the core narrative surrounding the international discourse, it is possible to understand more deeply the forces that underlie trafficking and what change is possible. With the provision of a reconstructed narrative that avoids the current blind spots, this research points out the need for a new leadership paradigm that allows for a more holistic and future-oriented inquiry about socio-economic and political change and what it entails for a transnational crime such as human trafficking. By doing so, this thesis inspires follow-up research and the continuous monitoring and transdisciplinary research of this region's demographic emergence and its possible consequences that have been explored in this inquiry.

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# Chapter 1 - Introduction

## Introduction

As of 2016, the International Labour Organization estimated that 21 million people around the world are victims of forced labor[1]. Meanwhile the number of actual human trafficking victims remains largely unknown due to the underground nature of the crime and reliable data being scarce. The trade in humans, according to the ILO, generates illicit profits of around 150 billion USD each year (ILO 2016), which ranks it one of the most profitable transnational crimes, along with drug trafficking and the trade in firearms. At the same time, reporting on the issue in popular media is rather rare despite a significant increase in the last decade (Gulati, 2010). Only recently, has the ongoing slave trade in Libya caused public outcry as videos emerged of auctions where migrants and refugees were sold as slaves (Al Jazeera, 2017). Thus, while awareness is common, international action against crime networks and affiliated people outside such networks that operate this trade does neither show a promising future of decreasing numbers of victims nor a sufficient understanding of the crime's dynamics.

Globalization and associated developments have made illicit cross-border trade happen faster than ever before. The consequence is an incredibly fast changing environment which requires leaders and legislators to find policy solutions that work locally as well as transregionally. Globalization is also responsible for nations modernizing and becoming more homogenous (Inglehart & Baker, 2010) which, theoretically, would support an international action framework and an increase in collaboration and transparency. The reality is however, that counter trends and rigidity towards change cause more complexity, a higher level of uncertainty and an intertwining of wicked problems that makes combatting human trafficking so difficult. The wide-spread presence of this crime affects individuals as well as whole economies. Some rather unsuspecting stakeholders even profit when, for example, their territory becomes an essential part of the route as either supply-, transit or destination of trafficking victims. This too then, indicates that different interests and priorities of stakeholders, stand in the way of improvement. Efforts by United Nations and other international organizations dedicated to the cause have not long ago shifted towards a human-centered approach. In doing so, human security is deemed to be put first for guaranteeing the

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[1] Forced labour excludes some other forms of human trafficking, as these two terms have their clear distinctions, however, ILO writes on their website that "most situations of slavery or human trafficking are […] covered by ILO's definition of forced labour." (ILO, 2014)

safe-keep of vulnerable people and the prevention of human trafficking spiraling out of control (Gallagher, 2010).

Without a doubt, the urge to understand and react sustainably to this issue requires a multidisciplinary scrutiny of a much broader environment, of drivers, trends and particularly emerging issues. An aging society and a lack of sustainable policies serving towards this problem, terrorism and conflict causing the displacement of people, economic migration and urbanization, as well as automation are just few developments (Shelley, 2010 & Rotberg, 2013) that currently and in the near and far future will drastically reshape the dynamics of human trafficking and potentially organized crime too. With these factors in mind, this thesis will execute a closer look at Sub-Saharan Africa as it stands out as a region that, regarding human trafficking on a transnational level, has not yet sparked enough interest or commotion of international politics and policy-makers. Those in charge appear to not yet have made the connections, and fail to see implications of the regions rise. While this emergence of the continent (though the main focus lies on Sub-Saharan African countries) may mostly be reflected economically if done right, it first and foremost will constitute a rise in population, as Sub-Saharan Africa's birth rate remains the highest rate worldwide (He, Goodkind, Kowal, 2016 & World Bank, 2016). As such, it creates an extremely opposing force to global trends and will challenge best practices in a region that is heavily burdened already. The urgent need for action is illustrated clearly when consulting Graham Molitor's *Emerging Issues Analysis* (Molitor, 2010) for the purpose of timing the problem – it then becomes apparent that the issue is not merely an *emerging* one but already well at the peak of development, which is supported by empirical data and various regional studies that illustrate possible implications that are detailed later on. These implications then, as this thesis will explore, may trickle across borders globally and eventually change the game.

The projections of Sub-Saharan Africa's population growth also become significantly more important when considering other geopolitical conditions – poverty, conflict, ethnic diversity, terrorism, societal and economic disparities, diseases and epidemics etc. – many of which have been put time and again into the context of trafficking, as they are reported to be directly correlated with an increase of the crime (Shelley, 2010). Furthermore, these conditions also contribute to an instable environment in which governance systems are for the most part not supportive of making human security a national priority. Such developments then raise the question as to how governments individually, as well as in the collective context of the African Union and multilateral organizations, will react in order to achieve a demographic dividend and prevent major unemployment or employment in the wrong

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industries. An IMF working paper from 2013 (Fox, Haines, Munoz, Thomas, 2013) shows that a transition of employment in Sub-Saharan Africa is desperately needed - not only for attracting foreign investment and growing economic output but most importantly in order to avoid the growth of the poverty trap, creating an inharmonic society, mass migration, and invoke other events that may unfold and become harmful for the region itself but also for nations globally – particularly in regards to the one-way trade that is human trafficking.

The below table presents a range of emerging issues and trends according to the STEEP-model. Throughout Chapter 1 and 2, it will become more apparent why these have been deemed the most significant for the future of human trafficking in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. A deeper exploration of these factors will follow in Chapter 3.

### Table 1 – Emerging Issues and Trends according to STEEP

|  | Emerging issues and trends |
| --- | --- |
| **Social** | High fertility rate |
|  | Urbanization (econ.) |
|  | Victims become younger |
|  | Aids / HIV |
|  | Unregistered births |
| **Technological** | Spread of mobile services/internet |
|  | Leapfrogging technologies |
|  | Automation (international) |
|  | Robotization / Robots in sex industry (international) |
| **Economic** | Economic growth |
|  | Employment transition |
|  | Growing middle-class & demand for FMCG |
|  | Increasing FDI into SSA (Intra-African, China and India) |
|  | Brain Drain vs. Brain Gain |
| **Environmental** | Climate change & increasing vulnerability to natural disasters |
| **Political** | Refugee Crisis |
|  | Intrastate conflict & terrorism |
|  | Democratization |
|  | Pan-Africanism |
|  | Old Leaders' potential succession in the next decade |

Social trends include the demographic transition due to a high fertility rate, the rapid urbanization that is happening along the economic growth of most of Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the persevering AIDS epidemic (Rotberg, 2013). Globally important then, is the overall trend of low birth rates leading to ageing societies and the slowing down of population growth, even in South Asia. According to the United Nations World Fertility Data Booklet (UN, 2015), "*Global total fertility is projected to decline to 2.4 children per woman by 2030 and 2.2 children per woman by 2050*". At the same time, however, fertility in Africa is projected to only decline to 3.9 by 2030 and 3.1 children per one woman by 2050. This demographic imbalance between SSA and the rest gives rise to the question – how does this affect South-North migration, the regular pattern for economic migration, and might there be a shift to South-South migration? (Goldin, Geoffrey, Balarajan, 2011) Also, does the high number of unregistered births in rural Africa imply a greater shift or disruption than anticipated because of misleading numbers? Technological trends are often thought of as positive developments for societies, as innovation has often created economic growth jobs and has pushed progress of a country (Grosskurth, 2010). Because of such a potentially positive impact, an increasing connectedness of Sub-Saharan Africa through mobile services and internet connection may imply a disruptive change for stakeholders. Is it then possible to leap-frog technologies, advancing much quicker technologically, and eventually catching up so that SSA can create a competitive edge in future-proof industries?

Another issue that is slowly on the rise is the possibility of robots and artificial intelligence entering the sex work market as a disruptive force. Certain signals of such a development have already been seen in Europe (Foundation for Responsible Robotics, 2017). On the other hand, there is the global trend of automation which is receiving a lot of attention and investment as it is deemed to function as a buffer for ageing societies in which the working-age population is decreasing and labor prices are increasing (World Economic Forum, 2016). For Sub-Saharan Africa, where the technology does not exist to the same extent as in the West, it raises the question as to how automation will affect SSA's competitiveness in the coming 20 years. One more important aspect is also how traffickers themselves can and will utilize whatever technology is available and accessible to them. This is an incredibly important consideration as mobile services and internet has already created an additional trafficking channel and added complexity to the issue in the West (Watson, Donovan & Muraszkiewicz, 2015).

Economic trends are also very important as economic factors can make or break success in tackling underlying causes of human trafficking. One key aspect in this regard is

foreign direct investment. China's involvement in this respect has sparked some international attention (Bbaala, 2015) as the West debates about ulterior, neo-imperialist motives that drive this investment. In a political and economic respect then, these developments have to be scrutinized. The purpose for investment is also very relevant for recognizing patterns and indicators of economic development in the region. This is particularly important to take into consideration with regards to Sub-Saharan Africa's desperately needed employment transition (Fox, Haines, Munoz, Thomas, 2013). How and where will jobs be created in the near and far future, and how will the youth-bulge be prepared for this future employment with education and vocational training? In the same respect, African nations may also focus on turning the current short-term issue of brain drain into long-term benefits of brain gain (Goldin, Geoffrey, Balarajan, 2011). With a growing middle-class and a growing demand for fast moving consumer goods, the region may be able to grow intra-African trade all the while tackling one of its major economic problems – unemployment. While the environmental aspect is not always the first one to be associated with human trafficking, natural disasters, often in the context of climate change, can have great impact on the trade in humans. Various studies pointed out connections between such devastating events and an increase in trafficking through triggering push factors such as economic decline, but also the displacement and the separation of children from their parents (Dutta, 2017 & Boria, 2016). This shows that a need exists to consider nations' ability for effective and efficient disaster relief when thinking about policies for the future. And finally, in the political context recent trends indicate the democratization of the region (Radelet, 2010), ascribing more power to the people. Furthermore, the ongoing refugee crisis and its accompanying debate over policies and legislatures too, play an important role for levels of vulnerability, particularly in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, which contributes the largest number of displaced people in relative terms (IDMC, 2013). A shift from inter-state to intra-state conflict implies the decline of large-scale conflict-ridden regions, however, the rise of terrorism makes for a perseverance of a vulnerable and harmful environment. Concomitantly, on a broader spectrum, the development towards a collective and unified Africa with regard to a growing pan-African mindset is one that should also not be underestimated. While it is still emerging and not yet established, such a development could point towards more of a shared African vision as opposed to an individualized one in which the relevance of, and competition among, nation states still perseveres, undermining the potential for economic growth, and a demographic dividend.

## Research Questions and Purpose of Study

The research conducted in this thesis intends to thoroughly explore and provide an answer to two main questions.

*"What are alternative futures of the universal trade in humans with particular respect to Sub-Saharan Africa's demographic transformation and concomitant global developments and drivers of the crime?"*

and

*"How might constantly changing supply-and-demand dynamics necessitate a rethinking of current worldviews and paradigms for achieving human security and an end to human trafficking? And what do the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals and the African Union's Agenda 2063 mean for the latter?"*

The purpose of this study is to explore and understand possible and uncertain shifts as well as the interrelation between them, as these will bring forth unknown implications for issues such as migration, conflict, equality, exploitation, and the general trade in humans. Assumptions and competing theories will be tested. It is the intention to study thoroughly the potential abundance of 'human goods' in Sub-Saharan Africa, concurrently emerging issues and relevant actions for prevention, suppression and punishment of trafficking in persons. This also includes an analysis of potential opportunities and threats in the context of various alternative futures. The reason for this endeavor and this particular focus is SSA's emergence being academically underrated in terms of its meaning for human trafficking and the underlying dynamics that dictate the crime.

This thesis uses futures methodology, as laid out later, in order to map, anticipate, and time the issue at hand – meaning to understand fully its historical and societal context and how it has evolved into what the UN perceives and treats as one of the greatest global challenges of our time (UN, n.d.). According to the six pillars of futures studies (Inayatullah, 2007), this is necessary for the creation of a deeper understanding and a more critical inquiry about factors that, in a multidisciplinary fashion, have remained unexplored. Because current literature on human trafficking is often lacking this broader outlook and is unaware of uncertain events, and neglects the potential of disruptive shifts, futures studies is there to provide the tools for including these in research. By doing so, it creates a more holistic

approach for informing policy-making decisions. Among the results of this thesis then, will be a set of alternative future scenarios and a level analysis of their narratives, that sidestep the conventional academic blind spot and explore implications for transforming the present into a preferred future in which trafficking in humans is no longer a threat to human security.

## Methodology & Chapters

The research conducted for this thesis will be of an exploratory nature delving into and analyzing interconnections of drivers for the purpose of understanding the current trafficking narrative as well as creating alternative futures and a strategic refocus that better fits the current trajectory. Text-based research will be the focus of this thesis, however, empirical qualitative and quantitative data may be used whenever deemed necessary for the sake of contextual comprehension. For the ideal execution of such research, a number of futures methods, all of which are complementary to each other, will be used and loosely aligned with the conceptual framework "Six Pillars of Futures Studies" developed by Sohail Inayatullah (2008).

The two central methods used are *Causal Layered Analysis* and *Scenarios*. These provide the most valuable insight into alternative futures and how the narrative, including underlying systems, worldviews and metaphors need to change in order to arrive at a preferred future. The time frame of these scenarios is set to 20 years from the completion of this thesis, more specifically, to the end of the year 2037. Two main reasons exist for this scope – firstly, the further growth of SSA's working-age population, in direct opposition to ageing societies elsewhere, will take time and should definitely be scrutinized 15-16 years from now, when millions of children more have reached the minimum legal working age, may enter the labor force and will have lowered the average citizen's age dramatically; secondly, the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals that were introduced in 2015 and for the first time ever included human trafficking among the global challenges, is set to expire in 2030 (UN, n.d.) and are deemed as a great landmark for achievements and remaining challenges. It is relevant then, to so see how the resulting scenarios will have played out a couple of years beyond 2030 and what strategic implications this might have for further actions.

Other methods will also be used which function in a complementary fashion to the resulting scenarios and their incasting of CLA. These provide the mapping, anticipating, and timing of the future and as such provide the very fundament for assumptions made later on in said scenario narratives. Using a research framework that is loosely based on Inayatullah's six pillars approach (2008) allows for a seamless alignment of the methodology and provides the

author with enough freedom of creativity – thus, it creates a more dynamic writing style and more comprehensive structure for this thesis. The following is a brief outline of the chapters, as well as a short explanation of the respective methods' contribution to each part of this research.

In Chapter 2, the literature review will consult a number of acknowledged academics and authors, as well as committed international and multilateral organizations from the field or working in the field, in order to build the foundation on which futures methods later will be based upon. It is the intention to demonstrate how the recent history of human trafficking and processes throughout it, have shaped the present and may continue to shape the future. Subsequently, Chapter 3 will use the futures tool *Horizon scanning* in order to map the contemporary environment for newly emerging patterns and already established ones. With help of Graham Molitor's emerging issues analysis, this aggregated knowledge on trends and emerging issues will be visualized and drawn up for synthesizing previous sections so that a more comprehensive understanding of the timing as well as the emergence of issues can be achieved. Along with allowing us to time change, this section is particularly important for long-term forecasting and is vital for the eventual creation of scenarios, as the inclusion of uncertainties and the testing of assumptions plays a significant role.

As a next step, in Chapter 4, scenarios will be created – these alternative images of the future allow us to paint a picture of what human trafficking in 2037 may be like, what futures may hold and also how it would affect the many stakeholders. These scenarios will be based on the assumptions that built upon the mapping, anticipation and timing of the issue through the research conducted in previous chapters. Following each scenario, Sohail Inayatullah's Causal Layered Analysis will be incasted.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the scenario narratives will be discussed and further analyzed by revisiting the aforementioned CLA tables. In this chapter, causal layered analysis will also provide the means to unpack, deconstruct and reconstruct the core narrative of human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa. As with the scenarios, by doing so, we can explore the future more deeply – namely, on the four layers Litany, Systemic, Worldview, and Metaphor – inquiring about what we don't know we know (Inayatullah, 2015). The ultimate goal of this chapter as well the conclusion, is to present strategic implications and a comprehensive conclusion that encourages active vigilance regarding the issue and also inspires to conduct follow-up research in the field. With this finalization, authorities, legislators and other important stakeholders will hopefully rethink current actions accordingly and be able to turn human trafficking into a crime of the past.

# Chapter 2 – Literature Review

## Human Trafficking – A Global Perspective

On February the 5th, 2017, the Huffington Post published an article titled "Sex Trafficking Hype Surrounding The Super Bowl Does More Harm Than Good (Campbell, 2016). The article was posted as a response to the increase in media coverage about the FBI's campaign on tackling human trafficking during one of the world's most watched sports event – the Super Bowl. The essential message of this article expresses criticism toward the FBI and local law enforcement treating the issue of human trafficking shallowly and quickly raising awareness for a potential spike of human trafficking which had however, little empirical foundation. The author cites Bridgette Carr, a Michigan lawyer specialized in the matter, arguing that badly-informed and short-lived campaigns like these convey a wrong picture of the crime which the US is very much affected by all-year-round. The exposure of articles that led up to this Huffington Post piece as well as other reactions to it, illustrate an increase in reporting on the issue of human trafficking, which is also supported by Gulati's 2012 paper (2012). Incipiently a great development, however, such coverage very often neglects the necessity for in-depth, multi-disciplinary inquiry about the systemic workings of the issue (Gulati, 2012). What this increase in awareness campaigns by the FBI and many non-profit organizations does achieve, despite it often being reported on with anecdotal stories rather than empirical data, is a reflection of the severity of the issue as well as the necessity of acceptance of the problem in one's own backyard.

A positive development, if one does not directly attribute it to the concomitant rise of this complex transnational problem, that human trafficking has become. The intensifying of complexity in the last decades was also the reason for more aggressive policy- and legislative action on national and transnational level. Governments around the world started to become more active in protecting the most vulnerable people, as the issue established itself more and more in the international political agenda. The most notorious efforts in this context was UN's Convention on Transnational Organized Crime and its resulting Palermo Protocols in 2000. As an action for prevention, suppression and punishing for the trafficking of persons (Gallagher, 2010), the protocols were only the beginning of a much larger global movement that would bring forth many more agreements and policy-actions towards fighting this transnational crime. Following parts in chapter 2 will touch on the subject of human trafficking more deeply, as it tries to not only explore what is seen on the surface and in media, but also what underlying systemic causes exist that fuel the crime.

**Definitions**

Before delving into some empirical data on the current global state of trafficking, it is important to define what exactly "human trafficking" connotes. This thesis will use the definition according to the UN's Palermo Protocol which also is used in Anne T. Gallagher's book "The International Law of Human Trafficking" (2010), a book that will later provide a foundation for exploring the legal frameworks surrounding the issue. The definition accordingly is:

> The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force, or other forms of coercion, of abduction, or fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or the giving or receiving of payments of 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 or the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (UN General Assembly, 2000)

The act of migrant smuggling too, plays a crucial role in studying human trafficking, as it very often can lead smuggled migrants to become indeed victims of trafficking. The United Nations' Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air defines this term as follows:

> Smuggling of Migrants shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident. (Gallagher, 2015)

Lastly, slavery or *modern day slavery* is a term often mentioned in the context of human trafficking but shall be mostly avoided in this thesis as the issue demands a more universal and encompassing term. Human trafficking fully reflects the complexity of the problem, whereas the use of modern day slavery[2] would represent a more reductionist terminology and could lead to confusion.

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[2] Modern day slavery, as briefly mentioned in a Chapter 1 footnote, is part of the ILO's definition of 'forced labour'.

These definitions are important to take into account when studying human trafficking, as they convey the most essential parts of the crime and illustrate how they are mutually interacting with each other. Comprehending such interactions is a necessity for better understanding the dynamics and the underlying systems. It also enables us to articulate futures not only with the right terminology but also based on a consensus reached among the experts working in the particular field.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the clandestine nature of the trade in humans makes it very difficult to come by reliable data about number of victims, trafficking routes, prosecutions and the like. This also hampers an accurate analysis or identification of trends. The third biennial Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (2016) by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime – short UNODC – provides arguably one of the most insightful and reliable presentation of trends concerning this issue. Because 2016 only marked the third year of this biennial report, studying longer developments through these reports is not possible yet. For the purpose of supporting the data, the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report by the U.S. Department of State will be consulted as well.

**Forms of Human Trafficking**

The crime of human trafficking has many faces and establishes itself in many different ways. Around the world, trafficking victims are exploited for sex work, forced labor in various industries, begging, for becoming child soldiers, for organ removal, for surrogate pregnancies, forced marriages, selling children, the care-taking sector and various more (Shelley, 2012). No matter what the purpose, all victims are stripped off of their human rights and dignity and live under harshest conditions, for the simple prospect of profit and power. While all of these branches of the crime should be part of the discourse, it is also necessary to make distinctions between them. Latest data from the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (UNODC, 2016) shows that the most common form of trafficking globally was for sexual exploitation with a staggering 54% of all detected victims, followed by 38% who were trafficked for forced labor. While these numbers vary greatly from region to region, it is important to acknowledge that trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation decreased and trafficking for labor exploitation increased (from 59% and 32% in 2007 respectively). The report gives only little information about the amount of detected victims from other forms, but it does help to understand that sex work and forced labor, of all the forms, have the highest demand and supply, which also implies the greatest profits flowing from these 'human goods'.

The gender of victims is not surprising when taking this into account. The majority of trafficked persons were women, with 51%, followed by 21% men and a staggering 21% girls. Boys, in 2014, only made up eight percent of trafficking victims. However, the report also showcases trends that may in the long-term, drastically change the gender contingent. An alarmingly fast increase of children, boys and especially girls (from ten percent and three percent respectively in 2004 data) could be detected over the course of 10 years. During the same period, the amount of trafficked women decreased, which peaked at 74% in 2004, while men, much like children, experienced greater vulnerability to being trafficked, rising from an initial 13% in 2004. This data is relatively recent and does not show a longer development of trends, which makes it more difficult to understand dynamics and small disruptions such as this one, between 2011 and 2014.
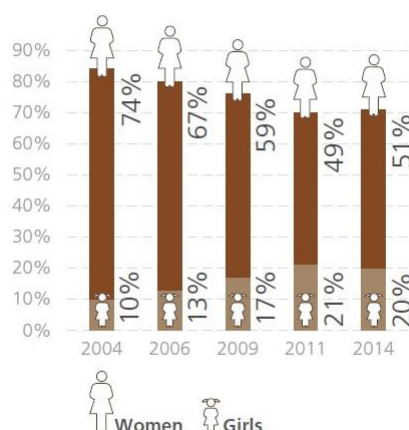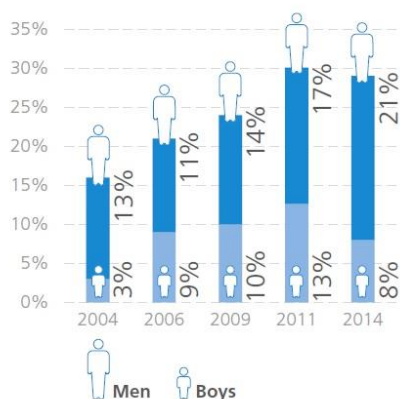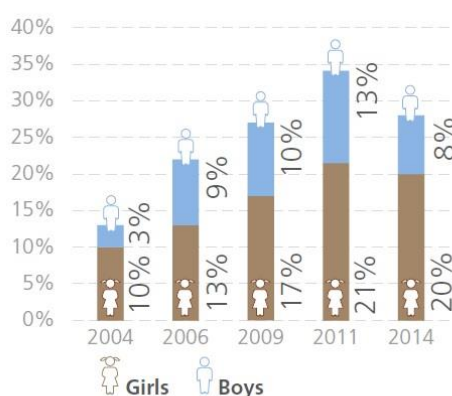


**Figure 1 – Trends in Gender Contingent according to UN Data (UN, 2016)**

During this time period, the graphs show a decline of men, boys and girls being trafficked and the concomitant incline of women victims by 2 percentage points. This change is small and may appear to be insignificant, but it is a disruption that signifies the need for more reliable data, collected consistently and with proper methodologies. The partial absence of data here, or the explanation of it, does not justify the presumption of a reversal of the decade-long trend that was preceding the 2014 results. While the reason for such a change then, remains unclear and can't be determined without doubt, the data that was collected over the past decade and showcased an established trend changing the victim contingent, may be worthwhile for making assumptions about the future of the crime. This of course, as Chapter 4 will show, is only valuable when taking into account disruptions of all magnitudes.

The report also shows what forms of trafficking each type of victim undergoes. In this respect, women and girls (totally accounting for 72%) are trafficked mostly for sexual exploitation, only second to forced labor (20%), while a great majority of men and boys are exploited through forced labor (85,7%). Only a very small portion of boys and men become victims of sexual exploitation (6,8%). Also of great interest is the distance that is covered for the purpose of the human trade. 21% of all detected victims were from a different region and therefore trafficked transnationally. Across borders, for example trafficking to a neighbor country was the second most common dissemination (36%), while the typical trade in humans establishes itself within borders or domestically, with 43%. Trafficking across nations or borders is naturally more complicated and bears many more risks for the offenders, which is certainly one of the major reasons why domestic trafficking is still the most common.

**Drivers of Human Trafficking**

The question for the 'Why?' and the systemic causes and catalysts of human trafficking is a complex one. Causes can vary greatly from region to region. It is necessary to have a complete picture of the trafficking environment and all its levels. Singling out major drivers for this crime is dangerous – it is the interplay of various drivers that better explains why there is supply and demand for the trade in humans. On a macro-level, there are those developments that trickle across globally and go beyond borders and regions, and have the power to disrupt whole societies and cultures, often playing out over a timeframe of several decades. Louise Shelley's book "Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective" (2010) provides a comprehensive analysis of what factors play into the existence and causes of human trafficking in today's world. Shelley writes, "*Globalization, restrictions on movements of*

*labor, economic disparities within countries and worldwide, as well as the rise of international conflicts, have all contributed to the rise of human smuggling*" (2010). In this statement it becomes obvious how a global trend like globalization has greatly contributed to the creation of the latter factors mentioned. Not only do these drivers by itself perpetuate human trafficking, in combination with demographic transitions they also contribute to higher numbers of migrants and refugees domestically as well as cross-nationally. This does not only grow the migrant smuggling industry but, as stated previously, it also creates opportunities for organized crime to intercept and traffic these displaced people. This point is further supported by the 2016 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons which writes about the existence of a correlation between migrant flows and the numbers of detected trafficking victims (UNODC, 2016). From a demand point-of-view, it is important to include the push factor of capitalist economies whose ethos is based in consumption. What this implies is the need for cheap production for the provision of cheap products and services that society demands. In the same vein, a demand for illicit or illegal products and services, as prostitution or sex work is in many countries, creates and is created by a supply of the same.

On a meso-level, there are also a number of general presuppositions that can directly and indirectly be linked to trafficking. Shelley states, "*Lack of employment opportunities, poverty, economic imbalances among regions of the world, corruption, decline of border controls, gender and ethnic discrimination, and political instability and conflict.*" as well as a generally low social status (Okubo & Shelley 2012) increases vulnerability and by doing so function as push factors of the trade in humans. Furthermore, "a *demand for workers, the possibilities of higher standards of living, and the perceptions of many in poor communities that better opportunities exist in larger cities or abroad*" represent some pull factors that make coercion into trafficking easier.

These drivers are rather general and broad reasons for why trafficking exists but they neglect the ones that are of a more regional nature and linked to geopolitical and cultural factors that influence the micro-level. Despite them being connected to and influenced by the previously determined push- and pull factors from both levels, the broader and global elements too may be triggered by certain regional, cultural, traditional values, worldviews and belief systems. This adds another layer of complexity to the issue itself and exemplifies how a deeper understanding of dynamics is key. Trafficking primarily or secondarily based on traditional or cultural beliefs and values, knows many faces too. Examples include forced marriages in many parts of the world or the selling of children in India and China for the purpose of monetary gain or upwards social mobility – which in these respective cultures is

often rooted and deeply embedded in detrimental gender-biased mindsets. In these countries it is also often the case that girls are abandoned after birth as sex-selective abortion has become illegal and prosecuted in recent years (Zhu, Li & Hesketh, 2009). Subsequently, this practice sends many of these young girls directly into the trafficking pool. A lack of social protections for family and women in particular, in times of societies moving away from socialism can also greatly play into the hands of organized crime groups specializing in trading humans, as could be seen in Eastern European nations after the Cold War and can currently be seen in South East Asian countries (Okubo & Shelley, 2012). In other regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, trafficking is much more prevalent for the purpose of recruiting child combatants, since many nations are still experiencing conflict and require recruitment for war, rebellions etc.. As will be explored later in this thesis, conflict-ridden regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, and nations under authoritarian rule, provide a difficult foundation for securing human rights and dignity. One example of an authoritarian regime directly influencing and spurring the growth of human trafficking is the People's Republic of China, which with the break-down and arresting of Falun gong practitioners started a massive organ harvesting of these and other prisoners (European Parliament, 2015).

Thus, drivers of human trafficking are manifold, interrelated and very complex. While global trends and drivers trickle easily across borders and wield impact on the issue, they disrupt societies and cultures along the way. This also creates change on meso- and micro-levels – regional and national. Researching drivers of the trade in humans must not be solely focused on these factors but should also include geopolitical and cultural factors – and how they influence and are influenced by meso- and macro-levels too. This constitutes why a holistic and glo-cal approach is needed in its analysis and eventual fight of the crime – marginalizing drivers and other factors simply fails to acknowledge the multiplicity of the issue, leaves too many questions unanswered and promotes ineffective top-down, one-solution-fits-all approaches.

**Stakeholders**

In order to understand the dynamics of this 'one-way trade', it is important to know who the stakeholders are. Many scholars and experts of the field draw a parallel between the trafficking of persons and business (Shelley, 2012) because it may enable to understand it from a different angle and explore incentives and strategies. Using worldviews and metaphors in the realm of deconstructing a narrative is important exactly for this reason – critical thinking requires a broadening of one's horizon and perspective and making the issue more

accessible through approaching it on different levels (Inayatullah, 2015). However, in causal layered analysis, a method that will be applied in Chapter 4 and 5, the term 'business' is not an ideal worldview that underlies or delineates this crime. Human trafficking can better be understood as a "one-way trade" in which organized crime merely provides the goods to a market without purchasing anything in return. While it resembles business in some ways, this one-way trade takes advantage of a demand, and supplies it disregarding of most stakeholders' interest. Because every trade involves stakeholders, they should be taken into account and studied regarding their power and influence. This is a necessity, since particularly a one-way trade like human trafficking elicits a power disparity in which some stakeholders assert a majority of influence whereas many others are often weakened in their leverage or agency. In this part, it is the intention to give a brief summary of the most important players without delving too deep into their significance for change. Their influence as well as their incentives and interrelation will be explored later on, more specifically in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa.

In this sense, traffickers are the profiteers, the victims the goods, and the families are the disadvantaged. In the same vein, governments, legislators, policy-makers and even law enforcement are stakeholders who oppose the trade and do their best to stop it – allegedly - as some stakeholders do utilize their power to enrich themselves extending the crime network. Finally, the lay person, representing not only the bystander and activist who will most likely stand on the side of the law but also represents the buyers of the goods and in an indirect way, a profiteer of the trade as well. Not because of its semantics, but because of the complex interconnectedness between the stakeholders themselves and their occasional active involvement in the crime, does this metaphor seem so abstruse. When later putting the issue in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, the thesis will explore more deeply the complex array of interconnected players in this one-way trade.

Regardless of how stakeholders engage in human trafficking, the most prominent indicators for positive change is a change in government action – in this regard, a change in policies and laws should reflect the acceptance and upholding of human rights and human dignity that every single person on this planet is de jure entitled to. This is not always the case, so it's important to take a closer look at the most important legal actions as well as frameworks and campaigns against human trafficking, which were taken on an international scale. One important source in this respect is Anne T. Gallagher's book "The International Law of Human Trafficking" (2010), arguably the most comprehensive and complete book, written on legal frameworks surrounding human trafficking to date.

**Actions**

Leading up to 1949, a number of conventions and agreements on the issue of trafficking, often mentioned in the same vein as *white slavery*, have been held and put forth. The 1949 Trafficking Convention – or The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others - arguably marked one of the earliest multilateral legal actions against the modern trade of humans as it brought together the agreements that were made prior to 1949. Its focus lied heavily on punishing those directly or indirectly involved in the trafficking for the purpose of prostitution, while also relating to the provision of services and actions that were deemed to prevent prostitution and the rehabilitation of victims. Prostitution in this convention was handled as the central focus regarding human trafficking which in hindsight illustrates a neglection of other forms of trafficking. Despite criticism stating the convention being outdated, wrongly framed, and underlying a rather abolitionist approach towards the issue of trafficking and prostitution, the Convention has attracted 81 State Parties by the year 2010 (Gallagher, 2010). In the year 1979, 30 years after the 1949 Trafficking Convention, the UN General Assembly took up the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). This bill expanded the definition of 'trafficking' towards a broader and more universal term including other forms of exploitation as well – though this was specifically directed towards the protection of human rights for women only. Furthermore, the treaty itself can now be interpreted more neutrally in terms of prostitution as opposed to its predecessor from 30 years earlier. While the convention does promote a shift towards targeting underlying causes of trafficking, which is also monitored by its committee that goes by the same abbreviation (CEDAW), it lacks the mentioning of specific approaches to do so. 10 years after CEDAW's implementation, in 1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted. The CRC specifically required its State Parties to "*prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form*" (OHCHR, 1989) and therefore goes beyond the generic protection from sexual exploitation. It also aims at the prevention of coercion as well as the provision of appropriate measure for the recovery of victims. According to Gallagher (2010), this convention is very explicit and as such functions as a "*comprehensive framework for the protection of the rights and dignity of children as well as of their empowerment*" (p. 65), monitored and supported by the Committee on the Rights of the Child. In 2000, an Optional Protocol was added which expanded the purposes of trafficking from this time on

including the sale, prostitution and pornographic exploitation of children. As of 2010, 137 State Parties were signed to this protocol.

These three conventions all relate to the International Human Rights Treaty Law. However, human trafficking exceeds a mere human rights perspective, despite it being very central, if not indispensable, to current international strategies. Thus, it is also a matter of transnational crime which with the steady increase of migration, requires attention towards transnational criminal law and its resulting actions too. With this alternative approach towards human trafficking, a much broader legal framework was developed during 2000 Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The result was the Palermo Protocols - three protocols a) to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children; b) against the smuggling of migrants across land, sea and Air; c) against illicit manufacturing and trafficking in firearms, their parts and components and ammunition (UNODC , 2004). This convention became necessary as the end of the century sparked an increase in migration and the illegal practice of smuggling of migrants and a greater focus needed to lie on international cooperation for that matter. Because migrant smuggling and human trafficking, in regards with transnational organized crime, are very much related, these developments demanded an improved definition and framing of the issue. The definitions used in this thesis are taken from these very protocols and are the result of a long, multilateral drafting process in which thoroughness was key, for not creating an ambiguous or confusing concept with legal gray area. Until 2010, 155 nations had ratified the Convention, 137 the Trafficking Protocol and 123 the Migrant Smuggling Protocol, illustrating the strong relevance internationally as the matter has grown more urgent over the last decades. Arguably, such a great resonance was only possible through the inclusion of varying degrees of obligatory and optional instruments that a state party would sign up for. Thus, not all of the proposed instruments are indeed legally binding – a feature of the Palermo protocols that is necessary for a greater number of ratification. This however, does leave room for different interpretations of protocols' prescriptions and soft law instruments and therefore certain gray areas which initially were tried to be avoided.  Gallagher noted that the convention itself defined the term organized crime as

> a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one of more serious crimes or offences … in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit (pp. 74, 2010).

In addition to that it must be mentioned, that the convention as well as the protocols both do not exclude the potential of non-transnational trafficking or trafficking that occurs without the involvement of organized crime. While the trafficking protocols' core obligation is that of criminalizing organized crime, it does require its State Parties to establish jurisdiction which implements all trafficking-related crime in domestic laws. It is the intention to promote taking measures for more effective law enforcement which is said to be one of the prime reasons of ineffective fight against trafficking.

As the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime reflects, migrant smuggling too is relevant to the issue of human trafficking. Goldin, Geoffrey and Meera write, "*when the risk and uncertainty of migration is weighed against the opportunities and benefits it promises*" (p.99, 2011), people decide to move. Such a decision is also amplified by harsh geopolitical circumstances a person might find itself in, meaning that migration can also be involuntary or forced. In either scenario, as a means of transportation many migrants refer to the help of smugglers who facilitate the often illegal immigration process (Shelley, 2010 & Gallagher, 2015). In such a system, traffickers can pose as smugglers, intercept and traffic people into any form of exploitation that may be demanded. Besides the fact that smuggling of migrants generally falls under the category of transnational crime, it is because of this possibility of interception that migrant smuggling also needs to be put in context of human trafficking. Particularly in times of globalization and a refugee-crisis, should this juxtaposition hold some priority in international political agenda.

Because international legal frameworks often can't completely take into account regional dynamics and relations between various countries or regions, regional agreements often enable a more effective legal approach. A more narrowed-down approach that mostly focusses on traffic between a set of countries allows for a better enforcement of actions, while at the same time being founded on geopolitical factors and cultural factors. The European Union being a central focus in regards with the trade in humans is logical, considering its Schengen Convention, the simplicity of travel between countries and its reputation for being on the receiving end of the trafficking supply-chain (UNODC, 2016 & U.S. Department of State, 2016). Policies such as Schengen work economically but do necessitate a closer look at illicit cross-border flows (Schendel & Abraham, 2005). Gallagher's centerpiece of regional legal agreements in her 2010 book, supports such priorities and mostly refers to EU instruments which will later on also be helpful in presenting links and bilateral actions between Africa and Europe. One of the earlier activities in this realm was the EU Framework

Decision on Combating Trafficking in 2002, functioning as a regional addition to the trafficking protocol which was ratified early on by the European Union. It also required all European Union member states to turn its provision into national legislations in two years' time. This framework decision is also deemed as an extended arm of the original trafficking protocol as its requirements are more detailed and regionally relevant – one of the key advantages of regional agreements as mentioned earlier. However, this agreement too, showed some weaknesses in terms of victim protection and regards for victims' rights and dignity, with particular lack of trafficked children. The diversity between states legislation in regards with prostitution laws for example – who is a victim and who is a criminal themselves – contributed greatly to this and showcases an impediment to effective legal frameworks worldwide (Ackerman, 2015). This criticism caused the framework to also take up decisions that provided trafficking victims some way of contributing to the prosecution of traffickers as well as receiving rights and permits for temporary permits or visas. Gallagher states that, while these changes were benevolent in terms of an increased assistance to the victims, they were often criticized for providing too little, considering the severity of the crime. It was not surprising that replacement proposals were then made after trafficking- and prosecution numbers illustrated what a rather wasted effort it had been and how expectations had been unmet. Said issues, with an emphasis on victim protection, their support as well as the prosecution of traffickers, and the prevention and monitoring of trafficking activities, were later addressed in two new proposals that included combating trafficking, sexual abuse and exploitation of children, and were finally adopted in 2010.

## Human Trafficking – A Sub-Saharan African Perspective

Amidst the refugee crisis that currently not only desolates conflict-ridden countries but also plagues the European Union and other nations that are affected by an influx of displaced people, African refugees bound for Europe crossing the Mediterranean Sea has been a very common sight in recent years. The same is true of refugees drowning on the same way, as make-shift boats that are overloaded with people fleeing their country are not able to bring them safely across the sea. The political, economic and societal differences between Sub-Saharan African nations and the Global North are significant, as will be analyzed throughout this and the following chapter. A long history of exploitation under colonial rule as well as the turmoil that the gaining back of independence left behind, has put many SSA nations into highly vulnerable positions - corruption, bad governance, lack of economic development, education, and sustainable public spending are some of the common realities for the region

(Sachs, 2005 & Easterly, 2007). Further, not only are many of these countries highly susceptible to climate change and natural disasters, the African continent is also burdened with diseases and epidemics that have potential to disrupt societies, while major trends are emerging that render the future of Sub-Saharan Africa uncertain (Rotberg, 2013). This creates a set of whole new wicked problems that United Nations, donor countries as well as non-profit organizations such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundations have been fighting for decades (Sachs, 2005). All of these hardships and their consequence for the continent has bonded these poor countries to foreign development aid and made them the critical centerpiece of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and their successor, the Sustainable Development Goals. While these efforts usually address the most common and severe problems of societies, human trafficking has only recently made it onto the list of urging matters with the 2015 introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN, n.d.). An addition that illustrates how the trade in humans is quickly growing more popular on the international political agenda, as its long-term implications remain unknown.

**The Forms of Trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa significantly differs from other regions. The previously introduced Global Report on Trafficking in Persons provides some data, looking at human trafficking in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa. This data lacks a large enough sample size of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa to study (referencing between 5 and 11 nations) in order to confidently identify trends and developments. This is due to a lack of accountability and multilateral collaboration on the issue, reflected in poor legislations and the relatively high number of the region's countries who have not yet ratified the UN's trafficking protocol (U.S. Department of State, 2016). One of the first and major differences between Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions is the fact that the majority of trafficking victims are children. A staggering 64% as compared to 28% globally – boys make up 39% of all detected victims. This makes it the only region worldwide where children are the most vulnerable to the crime, and the second region, after Central Asia and Eastern Europe in which women do not constitute the majority of detected victims. A development was already visible in the 2014 report which illustrated the decline of women being trafficked, whereas girls, boys and adult male victims increased (UNODC 2014). In order to understand this change in contingent, the region-specific forms of trafficking need to be investigated. Among the 5 countries studied in the 2016 report 53% of trafficking victims ended up in forced labor – this includes domestic servitude, as well as labor in the fishing, mining, cocoa and agricultural industry. The second

most common form accounting for 29% of victims, is for sexual exploitation, followed by 18% for other purposes. Other purposes, according to the report, include but are not limited to child combatants, forced marriage, and begging. Only in the Central American and the Caribbean is this category of trafficking more prevalent (27%). Also important to note is that the majority of women and men are trafficked into sexual exploitation and forced labor. Children on the other hand, are victims of forced labor and the recruitment for child combatants. There is however, also a growing trend of sexual exploitation of girls as HIV has shifted the demand from women to younger girls who are less likely of having contracted the disease (Okubo & Shelley, 2012). These numbers provide a good indication of how the region has a differing demand for human trafficking. When putting this into the regional context, assumptions can be made of the influence that post-conflict nations and nations who still are experiencing conflict, have on the issue – particularly for the destination of child soldiers and victims of related purposes. The report doesn't disclose the relative share of each of the 'other purposes' forms of trafficking and it is difficult to identify any trends among them. It is also not known how much sexual exploitation occurs in the context of conflict, war or combat, as opposed to outside of it. This is an important notion as many forms of trafficking - for sexual exploitation, forced labor, domestic servitude etc. - could be part of the purpose of victims categorized as child combatants. Such a distinction needs to be made more clear in future reports.

Interestingly, the identified forms of trafficking that apply to the region, also appear to influence and shape the trafficking route. In 2014, 83% of detected trafficking happened domestically, meaning that victims were usually supplied from rural areas to the urban hubs. Another 15% were trafficked across borders from other SSA countries - mostly short- or medium distance (intraregional). Only for around two percent of victims occurred the trafficking on a long distance, either from East Asia and Pacific or North Africa and the Middle East. [3] Such predominantly short-distance trafficking explains why traffickers themselves were often citizens of the country they were prosecuted in. The report also mentions an increasing number of West-Africans being trafficked to Western and Southern Europe (three percent of detected victims in Europe). This is an important consideration for future monitoring as further developments in Europe's trafficking contingent might enable the

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[3] *"Short-distance trafficking flows see victims trafficked within national borders or between neighboring countries; medium-distance flows are between two countries that do not share a border and with the border of the origin country less than 3,500 kilometers away from the closest border of the destination country; and long-distance flows connect countries in which the border of the origin is farther than 3,500 kilometers away from the closest border of the destination."*(pp. 76, UNODC, 2016)

identification of more precise trafficking routes and thus inform more suitable action against the crime. The same is true of the influx of trafficking victims that Northern Africa as well as the Middle-East are experiencing - a region known for being the destination of victims trafficked into sexual exploitation and forced labor and particularly the underreporting of such crimes. In terms of potential major trafficking hubs, the report also suggests an increasingly important role of South Africa, which acts as a major destination country for trafficking within the continent as well as from overseas. Despite its geographical isolation, this comparably wealthy nation offers infrastructure and conditions that may in the future very well deem as a great catalyst. If the inflow of international human trafficking were to increase, it could mean that South Africa may turn into one of the most important hubs and transition countries in the region. One of the report's conclusions about this specific region is that conflicts, as in the Democratic Repulic of the Congo, as well as the conditions of post-conflict countries, such as Rwanda or Cote d'Ivoire, increase vulnerability and the numbers of trafficking victims. While numerical data about this may not be the most reliable and specific, sub-regional dynamics only vaguely sustained, the intertwined global and regional drivers dictating the crime are supportive of relating human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa to the presence of conflict, dysfunctional justice systems, and bad governance (UNODC, 2016 & U.S. Department of State, 2016).

**Drivers for Trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa**

The systemic causes for trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa are essentially the same. However, this region sets itself apart in respect to the hardships it is facing. Poverty, economic disparities, instable government bodies, discrimination, unclear border controls are everyday realities in many SSA countries. According to Shelley's analysis (2010), the prevalence of a combination of these potentially creates trafficking hotbeds. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre estimated the number of displaced people in Sub-Saharan Africa to be 12.5 million at the end of 2013, which accounts for more than one third worldwide (IDMC, 2013). This is despite the IDMC only having monitored 21 SSA's nations, not even half of the region's countries. Philip Verwimp and Jean-Francois Maystadt, in their 2015 paper for the World Bank Group (Verwimp & Maystadt, 2015), also suggested that refugees originating from that very region make up around 30% of all refugees globally. In Sub-Saharan Africa, a fair number of elements exists which increases these numbers significantly. Economic disparity, as well as many of the push and pull factors on macro- and meso-level identified earlier are very relevant for incentivizing and causing the decision for

such movements on a micro-level. However, arguably the biggest factor which is playing into the issue is conflict. The UNHCR came up with 7 categories of "persons of concern", including refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaces persons (IDP), stateless persons, returned refugees, returned IDPs, and 'others of concern'. (Goldin, Cameron & Balarajan, 2011). UNHCR's website (n.d.) on population statistics summarizes these numbers in detail and illustrates the vulnerability and danger that these people face. When the benefits of moving outweigh the risks of war or terror, displacement and forced migration often result.[4] This is hardship enough – however, it is these defenseless situations that are often used by organized crime networks that can take advantage and interfere for the purpose of trafficking and exploitation. These drivers are also reflected in the forms of trafficking, according to UNODC's report (2016). Conflict situations are usually indicative of armed groups and war lords recruiting child combatants as well as women and girls for domestic servitude and sexual exploitation. As a 2005 report by UNODC suggests, trafficking and crime in general facilitated by such organized crime groups[5], is often exacerbated when countries experience high youth-unemployment (UNODC, 2005).

Aside from push factors driving migration and perpetuating trafficking in the region, there are major differences in pull factors and the way coercion occurs and trafficking is facilitated. As examples from China and India have shown before, the geopolitical sphere and cultural factors need to be examined in order to understand such dynamics. In this respect, practices such as black magic or a greater involvement of extended families that can display a great power disparity in the coercion process, play a much more crucial role than one would anticipate from merely looking at global drivers (Baarda, 2016 & Obayan, 1995). Hence, a greater vulnerability here is induced due to different cultural factors, alternative belief systems, ideologies and religions enabling other ways of persuasion. A logical assumption is that this also affects gender contingents, trafficking routes, victim rescues and prosecution numbers, as will be explored later on in this thesis.

Regarding the overall trafficking for sexual purposes, gender discrimination stands out as one of the biggest drivers. However, gender discrimination only represents a very shallow level of perception as it doesn't show how it establishes itself. Norah Hashim Msuya, in her paper about tradition and culture in Africa, writes:

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[4] The same principle applies to the benefits and risks in terms of economic disparity, discrimination or any of the other push factors that have been mentioned.
[5] According to the UN definition used in the 2000 Convention that was used earlier.

Cultural practices, such as forcing young girls into ritual servitude, Trokosi (slaves to the Gods), Wahaya (fifth wife), Ukuthwala (kidnapping girls for marriage), payments of dowry, male dominance, female genital cutting, witchcraft, and child marriage, perpetuate the crime of human trafficking. (2017)

The vulnerability of young women or girls is further worsened through the pervasiveness of AIDS in many SSA countries. As was mentioned previously, this has caused a shift in demand for sex work, as young girls are often associated with being pure and not having contracted the disease yet – increasing dramatically the numbers of girls being victimized as opposed to women (Okubo & Shelley, 2012). In one of the more extreme establishments of this mindset, often virgins are even believed to cure AIDS - a myth very common in South Africa (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002).

Other scholars recognize a problem with the practice of child fostering in parts of Africa (Manzo, 2005 & Gallagher, 2010). In these cases, parents give away their children to foster homes or extended families for a variety of reasons – debt, monetary gain, obligation to family members, or the hope of providing a better future with educational and vocational training – which constitutes as a pull factor. As such, the ancestral and extended family structure in SSA nations has often been the focus of research and is also mentioned as being one of the drivers of trafficking in UNOCD's Global Report as it also constitutes demand (UNODC, 2016 & U.S. Department of State, 2016, Gallagher, 2010). The Trafficking in Persons Report by the U.S. Department of State also emphasizes regional practices such as "religious apprenticeships" (TIP), or Benin's vidomegon[6] children which again reflect cultural ideologies that are functioning as catalysts for the crime in the Sub-Saharan region. It is because of these differences that coercion needs to be better understood on a local level as it changes the dynamics of trafficking and also increases the difficulty of combatting the crime significantly. The book 'Modern Slavery' (Bales, Trodd & Williamson, 2009) conveys these problems with accounts of first-hand experiences. In one account it is written where due to the practice of hereditary slavery, children get a sense of life-long duty rather than being forced into labor. While this illustrates how sometimes, victims of trafficking don't feel like victims themselves, other times it is blatantly obvious but there is no option to escape. One account Bales, Trodd and Williamson write about in their book is about the practice of voodoo, *juju*,

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[6] Vidomegon children are children who have been given to wealthier families and houses. Oftentimes, these children will be exploited as domestic servers and such.

in Nigeria, which capitalizes on weaknesses and vulnerability in a way that leaves the victims helpless.

> […] After accepting an offer of work in Western Europe, and before leaving Nigeria, women and girls undergo an initial ritual. This can include the marking of their faces and hands, the laying of hands on a juju (statue), and the drinking of blood. Their hair and nail clippings are often placed in a magical pouch that gives the slaveholder control over their soul.

Later, when victims have been trafficked into sex work, the authors write:

> Captors, usually the brothel "madams", threaten the women with death or punishment by the gods for disobedience, and warn that any attempt to escape will awaken a curse on their families. (pp.102)

Such cases, though certainly marginalized in a way that they are very specific to regions, show a deeper level of complexity. Oftentimes, knowledge of such cultural beliefs and practices are not sufficiently included in the decision-making process for actions or even awareness campaigns. This is important not only in that specific region where this belief is common, but it transcends borders and needs to be understood in potential destination countries too.

Significant changes have been achieved throughout the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals, which improved education, health, lowered poverty and tackled many other United Nations' concerns (UN, 2015). Many of these achievements directly and indirectly influence the push and pull-factors that drive human trafficking. While this benevolent development seems promising, it must also be met with a stronger consideration for a new approach – one that includes cultural factors, worldviews and myths which still wield strong influence in many rural and urban parts of Africa.

**Stakeholders**

Stakeholders have been briefly identified in part 1 of this chapter within the realm of a 'one-way trade'. In this part, a more sober approach is chosen to fully explore the influence every stakeholder has, as well as how they are affected and connected to the crime itself in the Sub-Saharan African region. This is crucial as shifting focus to different regions necessitates

an investigation of how the characteristics and influence of stakeholders may change according to the varying forms and drivers of trafficking. The previously identified categories remain the same in this context, however, certain differences in their involvement are explored in more detail.

**The 'Who is Who?' of Human Trafficking**

Traffickers are the profiteers and initiators of action in this issue. The context in which they operate can vary greatly, however, in most literary works on human trafficking, as in the Palermo Protocols themselves, are traffickers often associated with organized crime networks – be they transnational or not (Shelley, 2010). While this provides insight into the structure of the trade itself, it does not shed light onto the networks' background. This highly depends on the forms of trafficking – pimps and brothel owners as well as taxi drivers, and night club owners may also be part of a network that traffics for sexual exploitation. In Sub-Saharan Africa where the 'recruitment of child soldiers' is a common sight, traffickers often belong to, or work for armed groups, rebel groups, terrorist networks, or warlords. The background is not always clear, and neither is the operational procedure of trafficking in networks or when not a network is at play, but single individuals with just one accomplice. In such a case, a couple could facilitate the trafficking for the purpose of domestic servitude for example. In Alissa Ackerman's book "Sex Crimes", Marie Hiquan Zhou writes that common typologies of offenders in sex trafficking lack a broader focus (Zhou, 2015), referencing a study done by Amy Richard (2000) which suggests that specifically in the US *"[....] smaller crime groups, smuggling rings, loosely linked criminal networks, and corrupt individuals [...]"* (Zhou, 2015, p. 92) are more involved in this particular form of trafficking than larger, organized crime networks as defined by the UN protocols. The danger of typologies surrounding human trafficking is also supported by the problem of ambiguous language use in these protocols. As was mentioned earlier, Gallagher writes that incomplete descriptions in legislative drafts can confuse as to what is required and what is not, and as to who is the offender and who is not (2010). Such ambivalence creates legal gray areas that can be exploited. UNODC's Global Report on Trafficking of Persons 2014 also approached a typologisation while generalizing offenders' involvement in the way trafficking occurred. In here, the distance that victims covered during their trafficking process was paired with one out of three types of offender. This is a dangerous juxtaposition as it is spurious and reductionist in its attempt to understand the process, trafficking routes, underlying incentives and the extent to which it happens. Thus, it is important to retain a broad outlook onto the offender's side of trafficking, while also

relating findings with the regional and local conditions which ultimately become the decisive factor for the facilitation of trafficking. Nonetheless, offenders are the instigators of the crime and as such have complete influence on actions and dynamics that surround human trafficking – how, when and why it will happen.

Secondly, the victims are the ones who are suppressed and are essentially treated as goods. Regardless of how victims find themselves in this situation – be it through psychological coercion, being sold out, economic migration etc. – victims are often considered the center point of any action directed towards prevention and the general riddance of the crime. As Gallagher points out, the common approach advised by NGOs, researchers and legislators too, is a human-centered one, where the securing of human rights represents the ultimate goal (2010). The victims' families can often be put in the same category as they too are suffering from loss of a family member, an unknown future of their loved ones, and sometimes even threat of violence directed towards themselves (Shelley, 2010 & Gallagher, 2010). However, in many cases families do not even know of their family members' fate, and even if they do, knowing whereabouts or even knowing how to handle and cope in that situation is difficult if not impossible for people in such a traumatizing situation. Particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa are different cultural factors present that may also prevent any personal strategies for savior being put into action. While this thesis ascribes families with slightly more influence on the issue than victims themselves - as they can take up with law enforcement, mobilize communities, raise awareness and the like - it should again be pointed out that families themselves can often be instigators of trafficking (Andrew & Lawrance, 2012). In the context of Sub-Saharan African cultures, a family's involvement in the eventual trafficking of a child is exacerbated by various push factors and the extended and ancestral family structures. Supported by fear and myths common in parts of Africa, the actual influence of families in respect with the prevention of trafficking or the rescuing of victims is even more reduced.

Governments or political leaders, legislators and policy-makers, all can be categorized within a political frame, but have certain distinctive aspects about them. Governments differ on basis of political systems and foundations. When analyzing data from a great variety of countries in the Trafficking in Persons Report by the U.S. Department of State, a democracy is often more likely to secure the protection of human rights and prevent human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2016), while             authoritarian or totalitarian regimes and dictatorships generally are plagued with more extreme levels of corruption in an environment in which crime and the exploitation of peoples is more common (Bales, Trodd & Williamson,

2009). Nevertheless, government bodies have a strong influence on issues surrounding and affecting their society – actions on national and local level can be founded and dictated by these so that prevention, suppression and prosecution can be more effective. While decisions to take such actions requires good budgeting and governance, it is no guarantee that these actions will bear fruits, as human trafficking is a transnational issue that goes beyond the individual state-action to solve. Thus, in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa again, the focus not only needs to lie on a single nation itself, but the multi-lateral interplay of nations and their steps towards a betterment of the situation transregionally. This naturally increases the need for harmonious relationships between nations and while alliances like the African Union, ECOWAS, and EAC try to achieve an improved cross-border approach, conflict and other factors remain issues that stand in the way. Despite there not being sufficient scientific research done on the issue, the potential of increased economic growth due to direct or indirect links with forced labor should not be ignored as it could incentivize, not adopting any legal instruments against trafficking, when corrupt governments may strike a profit from it. However, this would assume that governments or political leaders actually research such links and react to them accordingly.

Legislators and policy-makers are working as extensions of the government and their influence does not vary much accordingly. However, certain actions may be non-obligatory or non-binding which lowers its possible impact on an issue due to lack of incentive and the resulting non-compliance without any repercussions for offenders. Gallagher's texts present a number of hardships that legislators face in their fight against transnational crime – oftentimes also with implications for other stakeholders (Gallagher, 2010 & 2015). For law enforcement as the executive force of the government and its laws, it is crucial to abide by what is dictated. Often enough however, where corruption is common, law enforcement and local government officials too, can be used as an expansion of the trafficking network as well as enabling the trafficking itself. Thus, the role of these as an extended arm in trafficking should not be underrated, as Bales, Trodd and Williamson show in various cases from around the world in their book "Modern Slavery"(2009). In it, they report about cases in Japan, Russia, India and Thailand where "[…] *lucrative police commands are sold to the highest bidder and the regular payments from slaveholders join the flow of money from other criminals into the pockets of police and government officials* (pp. 60). The book argues that though the severity may differ, both developing countries as well as developed ones of the Global North fall victim to such practices.

The lay person or average person has by itself little power to generate change against such a transnational crime. Numerous NGO's are focusing on raising awareness of the crime and some specialize in training relevant personnel or service workers[7] how to spot potential trafficking victims (Batstone, 2010). While this is a noble cause, even trained law enforcement struggles with detection of victims simply because the signs often are not obvious enough in order to justify closer inspection or the accusation of a person being involved in a crime. Donating to (international) NGOs as well as campaigns and multilateral organizations helps the funding of programs that are designed to combat trafficking, but the public is very much dependent on media for their news intake and human trafficking awareness. The awareness in media has increased over the last decade, which should however, be taken with a grain of salt. As Gulati suggests in his paper (2010), media can be biased and report very partially when following a certain political agenda and inviting uncredited pundits to interviews. What that implies is the need for a lay person to consult more sources in order to be able to make informed decisions that indeed would contribute to the cause. Surprisingly low awareness is being raised to the fact that human trafficking and forced labor are positively correlated with market competitiveness and in many ways affect the consumption price of products and especially services we consume. Because of the demand of cheap products and services, this pull factor also perpetuates trafficking, mostly without the public knowing. Hence it can be said that while the average lay person may not support the crime, by way of consumption however, he or she does fuel its demand (ICAT, 2014).

Lastly there are NGOs, non-profits and multi-lateral organizations who are either by themselves trying to create change or by way of advocacy to governmental bodies. Organizations such as the Human Rights Watch create reports on the issue of human trafficking and often provide case studies that help facilitate counter actions. United Nations takes it a step further and formulates strategies and engages the international community to work against this crime collectively, as has been explored before. Smaller NGOs, on regional levels provide training to service staff, law enforcement and the like, in order to raise awareness and be vigilant to the crime in one's own backyard. The latter usually entertain a bottom-up approach that, if done right, can achieve success on a local level and raise awareness along with it (Batstone, 2010). All in all, NGOs have great potential of creating change by promoting legal actions, by informing the public and raising awareness or executing research and building a foundation for short- and long-term strategies. However,

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[7] E.g. flight attendants, hotel receptionists or any occupation that involves house visits, where one may spot a case of domestic servitude.

while the latter is a fundamental necessity for the implementation of action and legal instruments, Andrew and Lawrance discovered that "*NGOS are increasingly turning to the use of personal testimony to entrench the urgency of the humanitarian crisis*" (p. 11). While some critics may view this as necessary or as a fresh approach, it does shift focus from empirical, quantitative reporting which is just as important, if not more.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that as with the forms of trafficking as well, the stakeholders influence and involvement in the crime too, is very much dependent on the geopolitical and cultural realities countries are facing. Taking these into accounts, it is obvious then, that the conditions that are prevalent in Sub-Saharan Africa have shaped an environment that provides less agency to certain stakeholders, when compared on a global scale. The reasons for this are the same that perpetuate the trafficking in the first place according to Shelley (2010). Such harsh conditions demand an investigation of what actions are being taken, particularly on a political or legislative level.

**Actions taken by SSA and relating to SSA**

It is important to make distinctions between the common global actions proposed by Conventions such as the one against transnational organized crime and regional actions. Regional actions often are more likely to be inclusive of the relevant geopolitical factors, whereas the earlier identified global actions, such as the Palermo Protocols, inspire and work well as a foundation for actions on a more regional level. In Sub-Saharan Africa, most of the trade in humans happens either domestically or within the Sub-Saharan region, usually not exceeding the defining mark of 3500km which would put it in the category of transregional trafficking according to the UNODC (UNODC 2016). While this demands a greater focus on regional, bi- and multilateral instruments within the SSA-region and the African Union, the European Union's involvement with the AU should also be investigated as an increasing transregional trafficking in the future may affect Europe first (Akullo, 2012). This is due to the comparably short distance, Western Europe being a renowned destination region for trafficking victims as well as the concomitant development of the refugee crisis and the potential for other emerging issues. The simplicity and freedom of movement within the Schengen-countries of Europe further increases its attractiveness. A number of papers have already identified developments of trafficking of children as well as migrants from West Africa and beyond, signifying the relevance for more scrutiny and legal actions that address this issue properly (Akullo, 2012 & Allain, 2012).

The UN Convention on Transnational Crime in 2000 also found some positive reception in Africa, however, SSA even until today, has one of the highest numbers of countries that have not yet ratified the convention nor its protocols. UNODC's 2014 report investigated this and came to the conclusion that of the 37 inspected countries, 14 had no or just partial legislation enacted. Coincidentally, the 4 countries which lacked legislation all together and hence were not State Parties to the Palermo Protocols were Republic of Congo, Somalia, South Sudan, Tonga and Uganda – all but Uganda experience a form of conflict (UNODC, 2014 & U.S. Department of State, 2016). Interestingly, the U.S. Department of State ranked these countries as Tier-2-Watch List, Special Case, Tier-3 and Tier-2, respectively, in their 2016 Trafficking in Persons Report. Thus, while the lack of proper legislation should normally constitute a stricter investigation and ranking, the report praises certain efforts that are undertaken in at least two of the countries.

The so-called Cairo Process in 2000, the first Africa-Europe Summit, encouraged a better cooperation for economic development as well as for other affairs such as the securing of human rights. This summit also marked the birth of the African Union (AU). While its agenda didn't specifically include the trafficking of persons, it did bring attention to illicit trade, illicit flows and the issue of migration – an initial starting point for important bilateral cooperation between Africa and Europe, which would later allow for more effective actions (Akullo, 2012). After trafficking first began receiving more attention in Sub-Saharan Africa during the 1990s, one of the earlier major actions took effect between 2002 and 2003, as Akullo writes. The Economic Community of West-African States (ECOWAS) created the 'Initial Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons' (ECOWAS, 2001) as a response to the growing problem of trafficked persons in the preceding years. Strengthened by UNODC's support as well as linking its legal framework to the UN Convention against Transnational Crime and its protocols, ECOWAS achieved to encourage 12 out of its 16 members states to pass laws that officially rendered human trafficking a crime and to actively fight for the eradication of human trafficking. According to Akullo (2012), however, such initiative neglected to address the ability to move freely between borders of ECOWAS member nations, which much like Schengen-countries in Europe further facilitates illicit cross-border flows. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) followed suit with ECOWAS actions directed towards the fight against the crime by adopting a 10 year Strategic Plan of Action on Combating Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children in 2009. 13 out of the 15 member states had adopted legislative action on national level, whereas the remaining two were in a drafting process as of August 2016 (SADC, 2016). These efforts

reflect the increasingly common understanding of the crime's wide-reaching effects on Sub-Saharan African territory and also illustrate the long way that is ahead of them. Hence, while the last decade or two brought forth many laws and instruments, nationally as well as in the scope of such regional alliances, the implementation of laws remains problematic and is still without regulations, standing in the way of progress. As a result of the Cairo Process in 2000 as well as its successional meetings and summits, the European Union and African Union came up with the "Ouagadougou Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children" in 2006. This action plan later led to the start of the African Union Commission Initiative against Trafficking Campaign (AU.COMMIT) implemented in 2009. According to Jean Allain (Allain, 2012), this low-budgeted initiative however, was hardly effective in pushing the issue of trafficking on African nations' agenda. Nor was it effective at preventing the trade, protecting victims and prosecuting offenders which appears to be the case because of its reductionist principles, and its willful belief in macro- and meso level drivers while ignoring the underlying, systemic causes that are complex and manifold in SSA (Lawrance, Roberts, Bales & Sarich, 2012).

The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings was a helpful instrument within Europe, but would not support a more sophisticated and effective African approach. Additional to this, despite many studies on transregional trafficking between the EU and AU having been executed over the years, Akullo writes, "[…] *UNICEF suggest that little is known regarding trafficking in and from Africa, and this prevents the implementation of effective law and policy.*"(pp. 189). An example for another instrument is represented by The Child Soldiers Prevention Act List which is published annually in the Trafficking in Persons Report by the U.S. Department of State. Much like in the report itself, countries that do not meet the requirements specified may become subject to sanctions and restrictions. The effectiveness of such approaches is debated as the Department of State has recently come under attack for being politically influenced but also because the report's primary leverage is said to come from elsewhere, according to the Washington Diplomat, in which Karin Sun (2015) writes, *"Although the State Department does mandate some U.S. financial sanctions against Tier 3 countries — including restrictions on non-trade or humanitarian aid — the report's main source of influence is publicly calling out other countries on their trafficking track records"*. If most of the leverage indeed derives from shaming countries rather than actively punishing them, the foundations on which the U.S. or any government trusts that other countries are pulling their weight in the fight against human trafficking are unsteady, rather optimistic and in need for expansion. Independent of how

much these reports and lists are influenced by political agendas, they do function as important instruments themselves and also provide additional data in a field of research where data is scarce. The effectiveness due to its execution however, remains to be studied and closely monitored.

In Andrew and Lawrance's research on Sub-Saharan African anti-trafficking legislation (Andrew & Lawrance, 2012), results of the US Office for Monitoring and Combating Trafficking in Persons for that region were investigated. In this research the conclusion comprises a typology of trafficking by statute of Sub-Saharan countries and illustrates the general legal climate. Three categories were identified in this paper - A wide net human trafficking model in which countries legislations are existent to the extent of all or most forms of trafficking; a child-centric model in which legislations are directed mainly towards children; and a revalorization model in which a country believes to be able to combat trafficking with existing instruments and without the need for major adjustments. Lastly, 5 of the 49 countries monitored, presented no data. It is obvious that the first model is encompassing a wider spectrum of trafficking and hence comes out as the supposed standard, whereas other models are severely lacking a more holistic approach which is demanding of a paradigm-shift. The authors identified trends within the realm of this typology and came to the conclusion that category one is growing in its number of nations following this wide-net approach. Category two and three on the other hand are deemed transitional stages as recent developments showed a move towards a more holistic strategy of countries which includes trafficking in many more of its forms. According to the interpretation, Andrew and Lawrance write, "*The 'revalidation' group of nations is smaller and continues to diminish in membership*" (pp.23), supporting previous claims of a positive development in terms of legislative strategies. However, the authors also stress the importance of intelligent use of language in drafting new laws, so that there remains no ambivalence in its eventual execution.

**Table 2 – Summary of Legal Actions – Global and Regional**

| Global | Regional |
| --- | --- |
| 1949 Trafficking Convention | Cairo Process – Forming of African Union |
| 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) | Initial Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons (ECOWAS) |
| 2000 Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (incl. Palermo Protocols) | 10-year Strategic Plan of Action on Combatting Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (SADC) |

| 2002 EU Framework Decision on Combatting Trafficking | Ouagadougou Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, especially Women and Children (EU-AU) |
|---|---|
| | African Union Commission Initiative against Trafficking Campaign (AU.COMMIT) |

Andrew and Lawrace's paper breaks down very well the developments global actions as well as those taken in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa over the last decades. From an initially very narrowed focus on sexual exploitation and the wrongful framing of the crime, to broader, more sophisticated and integrated frameworks, instruments and campaigns that intend to keep up with the pace of change. Nonetheless, from an empirical point of view, actions essentially fail as human trafficking perseveres. The current consensus among experts and academics is that a lack of large-scale, transregional collaboration for the purpose of information and data exchange or even collection of it, stands in the way of improvement. A relatively recent engagement by Interpol who launched the first national electronic police information system for West African countries illustrates the realization for the need of this (Interpol, 2015). In general, arrangements and the establishing of binding legal frameworks that are supported by joint criminal investigations are a necessity for a stricter and more effective strategy. Specifically for the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, Jean Allain delivers a brief but comprehensive summary of what is currently constituting the problem of a regional approach, *"Trafficking in human beings at the regional level, within the African context, has yet to be addressed in legal terms; it remains at the level of platitudes not action."*(pp. 159, 2012). While this is partly true, an assumption can be made about the reasons for why actions fail on an institutional level – they lie in the misconception that human trafficking is a national problem and a legal framework is the silver-bullet for the issue. By now it is evident that trafficking goes beyond the nation-state and while a legal framework is indeed a dire necessity, a focus on conjointly addressing underlying push and pull-factors is much more important for creating sustainable change in the eradication of trafficking. As for short-term legal instruments and effective legislatures, the responsible stakeholders globally need to consider to avoid typolgizing the crime and shifting focus away toward a more holistic approach, while preventing the creation of legal gray areas through language ambiguities. Regionally, the tunnel vision for economic growth that ignores potential consequences of free movement of labor in Regional Economic Communities (RECs) such as ECOWAS showcases

the lack of foresight and preparedness for a possibly turbulent future. The complexity of the issue demands more than what current actions are able to provide. A new approach is crucial.

**Summary**

This literature review has shown the complexity of human trafficking and the increasing importance for transdisciplinary inquiry. International human trafficking, as identified by UNODC's report, is subject to constant change as the driving forces of the crime are diverse and very dependent on regional factors and stakeholders' involvement. Having put values and belief systems common in Sub-Saharan Africa into the context of trafficking on the continent as well as in the international sphere, illustrated the need for a deeper understanding of underlying causes and narratives that surround the crime. However, as reliable data and research is scarce and does not inform policy actions very effectively, such an endeavor proves to be increasingly difficult too. This is reflected in the legal frameworks, in actions taken on the international and regional level as well as the incentives that underlie stakeholders' individual and collective action. Thus, while the issue itself has continuously gained more and more attention, and also improved in the way it is more encompassingly addressed, language remains ambiguous, leaving gray areas and the possibility of non-action and deflection. The local acceptance, enforcement and ownership of actions towards the eradication of human trafficking lacks behind. This signifies that more effective measures must be taken, however, such action must be taken in consideration of current trends, emerging issues and the analysis of the core narrative explored in later chapters.

# Chapter 3 – Mapping

## Applying Futures Studies to Map Human Trade

Futures Studies is an action-science that provides methodology which guides practitioners through a range of available research tools and methods, allowing them to explore possible and preferred futures. The distinct feature of futures studies is its holistic and transdisciplinary approach (Bell, 2003) which enables better-informed policy decisions on a wide range of issues. Human Trafficking itself is without a doubt a policy issue that affects previously identified stakeholders on various levels. Not only the urgency of the problem, as explored in Chapter 2, but also the lack of involving Sub-Saharan Africa in the greater context of the future of human trafficking in academic research, necessitates a rethinking of global strategies and policy-actions for which futures studies is greatly equipped. Because futures

thinking generally facilitates a much broader thought-process due to its transdisciplinary and holistic nature, methods from this field of scientific inquiry are argued to not only be appropriate, but deemed a necessity for the purpose of arriving at a conclusive, strategic response to one of the more urgent issues of our time. In this thesis it is the purpose to explore and understand possible and uncertain shifts as well as the interrelation between them, as these will bring forth unknown implications for issues such as migration, conflict, equality, exploitation, and the general trade in humans. The ultimate result then, intends to explore implications for transforming the present into a preferred future in which trafficking in humans is no longer a threat to human security.

The methodology in this thesis, is based on the complementary nature of the two main futures tools that will be used – scenarios and causal layered analysis. The next chapter will briefly introduce them before identifying and reconstructing the core narrative around human trafficking in respect to the region of Sub-Saharan Africa in chapter 5. By doing so, this research opens up the discourse for alternative futures and the creation of more future-proof strategies and policies. However, before being able to do so, trends and emerging issues have to be scrutinized regarding their relevance and future implications for the issue at hand. For this endeavor, horizon scanning is a tool that provides a structured approach towards exploration of institutional changes. These allow us to better understand the dynamics, interrelations and implications.

## Horizon Scanning

Horizon scanning is called the process of accumulating systematically, a wide range of information on the environment surrounding the core issue of a particular research. In a paper for the European Commission and in cooperation with Fraunhofer, TNO and VTT, a comprehensive summary of the essence of this methodology is given:

> Horizon scanning is the systematic outlook to detect early signs of potentially important developments. These can be weak (or early) signals, trends, wild cards or other developments, persistent problems, risks and threats, including matters at the margins of current thinking that challenge past assumptions. Horizon scanning can be completely explorative and open or be a limited search for information in a specific field based on the objectives of the respective projects or tasks. It seeks to determine what is constant, what may change, and what is constantly changing in the time horizon under analysis. A set of criteria is used in the searching and/ or

filtering process. The time horizon can be short-, medium- or long-term. (p. 3, European Commission, 2015)

In order to find out how relevant a trend or issue may become in the future, it is very important for such a research endeavor to be as thorough as possible so that a better understanding of change can be promoted. Because horizon scanning as a futures tool transcends disciplinary boundaries, it is helpful to use a taxonomy, or a knowledge classification system, for structuring identified trends and developments in a comprehensive way. This is important when considering the principles of open systems theory (in the realm of scanning the macro environment). Open systems theory suggests that all systems are in some way connected and related to each other (Lombardo, 2006). This means that change in one system creates change in another system as well. One way of classifying knowledge, which is not exempt from the implications of such a theory, is through the STEEP model, which provides a set of five categories by which the common external environment, or macro environment, is often defined - namely social technological, economic, environmental and political. Other versions of this model also exist, which may include more specialized and narrowed down categories such as demographic, law, ethical and the like (Cadle, Paul & Turner, 2010). These renditions however, do not necessarily add much more value to the horizon scan for this thesis, as demographic and ethical trends can be attributed to the social realm, and law/legal to the political one. By doing so, the intrinsic value of the model is not affected but rendered to the needs of this research, because a taxonomy at this stage, works merely as a starting point for the scan, not as a tool for better textual analysis. A deeper analysis of said findings, also with regard to open systems theory and how factors are connected and interrelated, will follow with the help of emerging issues analysis, scenarios and causal layered analysis, later on. Chapter 1 has already brought forth a table summarizing the emerging issues and trends in the macro environment, relevant to the future development of human trafficking in the SSA region as well as beyond it. The following section then, takes a closer look at each one of these developments and better aligns them with the central research question.

**Social realities**

In population studies, the term replacement rate describes a birth or fertility rate which keeps the population stable by replacing itself. This replacement rate usually is said to lie around 2.1 per woman (Smallwood & Chamberlain, 2005). Smallwood and Chamberlain

explain why it is 2.1 rather than two children per person that logically should be able to replace parents, "*An average of two children will 'replace' all mothers and fathers, but only if the same number of boys as girls are born and all female children survive to the end of reproductive age.*"(p. 9) As has been mentioned previously however, the global norm over the last decade or two has been a stagnation of birth rates. Implications can vary greatly and are focus of many research studies as many countries have reached 'dangerously low' fertility rates which cause countries to experience rapidly aging societies. According to the United Nations World Fertility Data Booklet (2015), "*Global total fertility is projected to decline to 2.4 children per woman by 2030 and 2.2 children per woman by 2050*". At the same time, "*In Africa, fertility is projected to decline to 3.9 children per woman by 2030 and 3.1 children per woman by 2050*". Such a major difference is also illustrated in the below graphic. For the time period 2010-2015, the global total fertility rate was 2.5 children per woman. That number was 4.7 on the African continent.[8]

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[8] For the region of Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, the UN projects total fertility numbers to drop from 5.1 in 2015 to 4.1 in 2030. There is no projection towards the year 2050.

## Fertility has declined but remains high in sub-Saharan Africa
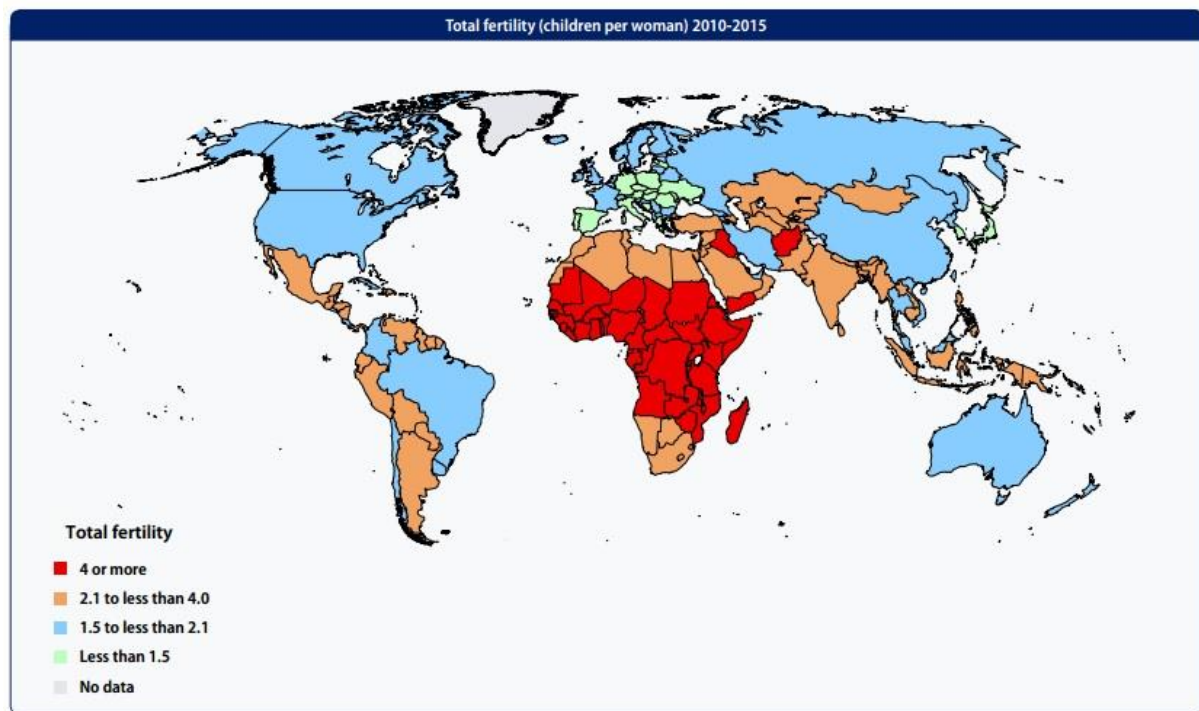


**Figure 2 – Total Fertility according to UN's World Fertility Data Booklet of 2015 (UN, 2015)**

According to the CIA's World Factbook (2016), the ten countries with the highest birth rate globally, all lie in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa, further supporting the severity of the demographic transition.

Birth rates are very dependent on a number of factors. One of the key factors influencing the societal age-contingent is the birth-to-death ratio. In United Nations' World Population Ageing Report from 2015, it is explained how an increasing life expectancy combined with a lower fertility rate and the decrease in infant mortality increases the average age of the population – just as mentioned previously. As for the systemic causes of low fertility rate, OECD published a report in 2011 which suggests it to be correlated with economic development, changing social norms, and financial burdens. More specifically – the preference of career over childbearing amidst the increasing gender equality, the rising costs of living including housing and education in urban areas, and the general postponement of marriage and childbirth in mostly western societies alter total fertility rates (OECD, 2011). In a region such as Sub-Saharan Africa[9] such drivers are currently none-existent on a wider scale. Sub-Saharan African nations often do not experience as much economic growth in total

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[9] And to some extent South Asia, however, populations here are also slowly ageing and are significantly ahead in this regard.

output – at least not in a way that equally benefits a countries citizens - and while poverty and child mortality decreased due to foreign aid and UN's MDGs efforts, these realities still remain in millions of peoples' lives, particularly in rural areas (UN, 2015). Other underlying causes for remaining high fertility rates may be disease, religion, the lack of access to contraception as well as polygamy in some parts of Africa (Rotberg, 2013). On the other hand, nations in the regions who have since decades experienced sustained economic growth and good governance, such as Botswana and Mauritius, have fertility rates that are much lower in comparison – 2.3 and 1.8 per woman respectively – further supporting the correlation (He, Goodkind, Kowal, 2016). While this shows that the previously mentioned incentives and causes for a lower fertility rate are also applicable to SSA, the current reality is much different and projected by United Nations' booklet (2015) to not come anywhere close to the rest of the world over the next decade or two as the pace of declining birth rates here is much slower.

Thus, while the specific implications of such a high birth rate are not completely clear, current data does showcase how Sub-Saharan Africa is developing a huge working-age population, whereas the rest of the world continues to age. These two, very different, demographic transformations then, create a historically unprecedented situation. Depending then, on whether or not SSA can put forward policies and create conditions to utilize such a youth bulge, experts and scholars referenced in this thesis, see both opportunities and threats to this transformation of Sub-Saharan Africa. On one hand, an opportunity for boosting the region and catapulting it onto the international free-trade market, or on the other hand a threat of burdening nations with significant, possibly large-scale consequences that affect not only the continent, but global dynamics too (Rotberg, 2013). In one way or another, it will certainly wield influence on economy, migration, the social fabric of society, flows economically but also in regards to illicit border flows and human trafficking too, as will be explored later.

High fertility rates are also directly affecting population density, the need of future employment and migration, be it domestically or cross-regionally. In policy-making then, it becomes increasingly important to look towards these developments, as a potentially high influx of migrants, whether they are circular migrants or not, can tear on the fabric of society. Many cities' urban planning in the past has created conditions for migrants that are not only suboptimal but creating the narrative of a slumification of Africa (Carmody & Owusu, 2016). Rotberg writes, "*Their social service problems, their overloaded or nonexistent utilities, absent or overwhelmed sewage systems, their high rates of crime, their deficient and potholed roads, and their massive dependence on informal economic pursuits*" (pp. 29, 2013) are all

challenges that Sub-Saharan Africa will continuously have to face with a growing youth-bulge. He also quotes the UN Habitat by stating that by 2030, half of all Sub-Saharan African citizens, around 900 million, will be city dwellers and by 2050, 60% of the population will be living in urban environments – a huge increase from an urbanization rate of 38% in 2015 (Worldbank, 2015). At the same time, migration in Africa is losing its gendered feat as more and more women are beginning to migrate too – migration as a strict male domain is starting to diminish (Potts, 2010). While some of the reasons for moving to the cities have been mentioned earlier, a growing trend is that of youth and women having less and less access to land (Cilliers, Hughes, Moyer, 2011), which further incentivizes the move to the urban hubs, which often promises more economic opportunities. The implications of a young urban population are unclear as they depend on a various number of factors. Grosskurth argues that young and urban people are rather early adopters and often motivated to solve problems, particularly now in the age of technological advancement with the mobile phone and internet in Africa (2010). Inayatullah too, points out digital natives as not only a demographic addition to the current population, but also one that is able to create an "*alternative way of seeing the future*" (Inayatullah, 2016).

Noteworthy in regard with the trend of urbanization is an observation made in a report by the Africa Growth Initiative, in which it is stated that growth of urban hubs has mostly come about naturally and from within these areas, rather than from migration. This phenomenon when birth rates in cities themselves increase urban population is often referred to as 'mushroom cities'. In the long-term however, with migration increasing and higher living standards and prices in the city due to the growth of the economy and the urban areas, it is safe to assume that birth rates in urban environments will decrease, spelling the end of the mushroom cities (Africa Growth Initiative, 2017). Rightfully then, there is a growing concern about the rise of xenophobia due to increased job competition (Elahi & De Beer, 2013), as well as the disenfranchisement and disengagement of the urban youth due to unemployment, discrimination or simply differing political views (Barakatt et al., 2010). Hence, while these developments will influence the region in social terms, its effects on the economy and politics must also not be underestimated – the potential for higher numbers of international and cross-country migration due to a lack of jobs or other push and pull factors might also become reality due to easier movement through regional economic communities allowing such migration.

Another important development for the future of human trafficking is AIDS/HIV and its continuing role in Sub-Saharan Africa, despite, or rather because of, its slow decline in

recent years (UN, 2015 & Nweze et al, 2017). According to Rotberg (2013), half of the world's 34 million people that were living with HIV/AIDS in 2011 were African, which illustrates the severity of issue in the region. Some reports and academic papers have argued that the spread of AIDS has contributed to the current trend of female victims becoming younger. As has been clarified in chapter 2, this is due to the high amount of trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation and the perception of girls being purer, not only in a spiritual and religious sense, but also in terms of diseases (Okubo & Shelley, 2012). While this development is mostly relevant for sex trafficking and does not affect other forms of trafficking, the high relative amount of victims of sexual exploitation is reason for further monitoring the fight against HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In addition to these paramount trends, there are other social realities that the region faces and that directly or indirectly affect strategic action against human trafficking and the systemic eradication of push and pull-factors for the crime. One of which is the issue of unregistered births. It has been stated before in this thesis, that reliable data surrounding human trafficking or migration is often scarce in the SSA region and effective measurement of these is one of the bigger challenges for informing strategic policy-decisions. Adding to that, neither registration of death, nor the registration of births is a common practice in the region. According to UNICEF's latest data, only 46% of children under the age of five are registered, which poses various problems (2016). One issue is that of measuring demographic trends (and also vital statistics), which renders the monitoring of demographic changes inherently difficult when such data is not given. This constitutes a big problem as demographic trends are vital to be understood in order to deeper understand social change and general implications.

Another issue, and more importantly, is that children who are not registered, usually suffer from a lack of social protection and general rights (Adgie, 2017). This not only exacerbates the fight against HIV/AIDS as medication and drugs are more difficult to obtain, but it also impedes on educational progress because they are not allowed to attend school. In regards with the issue of displacement of people, by for example becoming refugees or migrating, unregistered children would face heavy bureaucratic setbacks. In general it can be said that without eligibility to social protection and equal opportunities, unregistered children will remain extremely vulnerable to abuse – opening up possibilities for traffickers, exploitation, and a generally bleak future. Furthermore, as the UNICEF data shows and Mary K. Adgie's states in her paper about invisible children, the lack of registration at birth is directly related to wealth and socio-economic status in society (Adgie, 2017). This correlation

also implies that the practice of registering is much less common in rural parts of Africa, where access to the necessary bureaucratic infrastructure is rare and policies often can't reach the people who are most in need for improvement. Adgie also mentions other reasons that further support this divide in people's likelihood of registration at birth – lack of awareness or knowledge, lack of political will, often centralized registration systems, incomplete legal frameworks, and not sufficient human resources and financial resources are some of the reasons why registration rates are low, particularly in rural Africa (2017). Interestingly, while UNICEF's report on birth registration from 2013 (UNICEF, 2013) states that progress had been made between the period from 2000 to 2010 in which the registration rate in Sub-Saharan Africa increased by seven percentage points from 42% to 49%, the 2016 data that UNICEF provides online paints a picture of decline, citing a 46% registration rate of children under the age of 5 for the region (UNICEF, 2016). Such a development appears to be counterintuitive when considering the opportunities that technology, particularly mobile phones (as shown in Uganda, according to GSMA's 2013 report) provides and that The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child Article 6 as well as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 7 have been intending to improve the issue of birth registration since decades (UNICEF, 2010). Much like unregistered births, which has often been an overlooked issue in regards with human trafficking, intercountry adoption too, has grown to become a major problem further facilitating the trade. While the aforementioned issue of ancestral and extended family structure often works as a driver for human trafficking, the possibility of international adoption of African babies adds an additional channel to the crime, growing the business of international human trafficking, where few people would expect it (ACPF, 2012).

**Technological Realities**

The hardships of Sub-Saharan Africa are also reflected in its use and progressiveness in technology. However, due to the regions' promising economic development, an increase of foreign direct investment as well as the efforts of international and local NGOs in the past decade or two, technological advancement is rising and an array of opportunities is growing because of it (Cilliers et al, 2011 & Grosskurth, 2010). Mobile phones have been the region's main example of how technology has the ability to improve society with such efficacy that a promising future has become more realistic, not only to the African people, but also to outsiders who have potential economic interest in the region. Apps developed by humanitarian NGOs and local start-ups and start-ups funded by donors and investors who

strive for helping SSA out the poverty trap, are changing the technological and social landscape in the region. One example is an App that was developed in Uganda for simplifying and increasing access to birth registration (Grosskurth, 2010 & GSMA, 2013). In the agricultural sector too, mobile phones have changed the buying power of farmers and the use of mobile phone keeps continuing to stimulate social and economic development that may eventually support a changing employment model in the region (Barakatt, 2010 & Grosskurth, 2010). General access to technology has proven time and again that it also supports democratic movements due to its provision of easier mobilization – as could be seen during the Arab Spring in Egypt (Alhindi, Talha & Sulong, 2012). A STT report by Jasper Grosskurth (2010) cites a mobile phone pioneer in the region, Mo Ibrahim, who believes that it is "*impossible to keep a dictatorship in place in a country where mobile penetration had reached a certain threshold. The ability of people to exchange information freely would itself be a democratizing factor*". In 2015, 386 million people had subscriptions to mobile services, 41% of the region's population. This number, according to GSMA (2015) is expected to grow to 518 million with a 49% penetration rate by 2020. With an acceleration of the penetration rate due to declining prices, smartphone adoption is said to jump from 160 million to 540 million in the same period of time, with a doubling of mobile broadband connections (from 24% to 57%). Hence, current trends promise that the near future will show a greater availability and more wide-spread access to said devices and technologies. The rise of internet then is progressing quickly too and reaches more and more citizens in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly as the region continues to urbanize. The exact implications of such a quick increase in access to the internet in the socio-economic and political sphere are unclear, however, as the 2015 GSMA report shows, an acceleration of technological advancement and the rise of a new industry is not improbable, as the mobile industry has already created millions of jobs prior.

Nevertheless, structural issues that slow down progress in Sub-Saharan Africa also need to be taken into consideration. Access to electricity has barely improved as investment for it as well as the construction and maintenance of it has been mostly neglected (Grosskurth, 2010). In the agricultural sector too, technological innovation proves difficult and some of the technologies that were introduced to the region could not realize what they initially promised (Grosskurth, 2010 & Cilliers, 2011). Hence, while the region is moving forwards technologically, more so than ever, certain setbacks and the lack of a certain framework that allows for improvement stands in the way of continued progress and an equal access to future technologies. Easy-to-access and integration of rural communities are the key words that

accompany, or at least should accompany, the realization of technological advancement in the region and constitutes as one of the more challenging priorities in this regard.

In the Global North on the other hand, technological change is progressing much more quickly. One of the more pressing issues here is the advancement of automation and how it will reshape whole industries by replacing human capital with machines and robots (Arntz, Gregory & Zierahn, 2016). This also raises questions of whether or not unemployment will become imminent and what alternative future might become reality – some of the current narratives revolve around universal basic income, the creation of new industries (creative), or the integration of technological automation with human "intervention" (World Economic Forum, 2016 & The Millennium Project, 2015). Thus, while automation keeps advancing and puts pressure on legislative measures, this technological development is not only set to affect these OECD countries. In a global market and globalized world, automation has the potential to disrupt labor markets, the one of low-skilled work in particular, and by doing so, create mass migration and increased urbanization.

A region with an abundance of working-age population, like Sub-Saharan Africa, which is mostly trained and educated for low-skilled jobs, has a great opportunity to become the new factory of the world, but such a scenario would likely not play out in case of automation technology disrupting such a chance too quickly – at least not in the long run, as technology would eventually be cheaper than employing an actual labor force. Hence, the advancement of automation and the trend of it replacing human capital as labor costs keep rising, is an important trend to take into consideration when looking closely at Sub-Saharan Africa's employment model. Furthermore, automation, machines, robotics and their potential in regards with human trafficking can't be neglected. Potential is there for replacing human capital with machines, or replacing low-skilled workers for that matter, who are often the most vulnerable to forced labor and labor exploitation (U.S. Department of State, 2016), implies that it directly diminishes vulnerability and the potential for victimization. Thus, by lowering the demand for low-skilled labor in a region, machines and robotics at the same time lower the need for slavery or labor exploitation. Adding to this, although much more disputed in moral and ethical terms, robotics technology gains more and more attention in terms of how it may help reduce sex trafficking too (Foundation for Responsible Robotics, 2017). While sex dolls have been around for decades, technologically advanced sex robots who are more and more capable of filling the need to a sex buyer may in the not so distant future be able to disrupt the sex trafficking market. (Yeoman & Mars, 2011). Because of the sensitivity of the subject and the out-of-the-box, progressive thinking that proceeds it, such advances are

still heavily disputed, despite signals of such a development already arising around the world (Papenfuss, 2017). Besides reducing the supply of women and girls by introducing an alternative to the traditional product on the sex market, another benefit of this technology is that sexual transmitted diseases have much less of a chance to be spread through use of these robots, as opposed to buying the service from a sex worker particularly from Sub-Saharan Africa. In this region, where high HIV/AIDS numbers have shifted the demand of sex workers from adult women to underage girls (Okubo & Shelley, 2012), the adoption of so-called sex robots would present a great alternative opportunity for not only a healthier lifestyle but also one that supports human rights and gender equality, given that the adoption of such technology could indeed be incentivized.

The way in which general technological advancement in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as technologies outside of it influence the issue of human trafficking happens for a great part indirectly. As mentioned earlier, technological innovations can stimulate social and economic development, empower people and put pressure on authoritarian regimes with bad governance. It connects people and creates more equal opportunities. Many of these factors then are connected to the underlying causes of human trafficking, and once technological progress has accelerated and the region is confidently catching up with other countries in this regard, these underlying causes may be eradicated and the facilitation of human trafficking is made more difficult. However, technologies also influence human trafficking directly and can increase trafficking by adding an additional channel as well. These direct forces can be discovered in all parts of the world, but particularly in developed countries where internet is more accessible and wide-spread and the pace of technological innovation is much higher. Here, according to the TRACE briefing paper which was funded by the European Union (Watson, Donovan & Muraszkiewicz, 2015), some of the key technologies that are used for the facilitation of trafficking are SMS messaging, chat rooms, social networking websites, email, dating sites and the dark web/deep net.

While especially SMS messaging is relevant for the fight against trafficking in SSA, chat rooms, social networking sites and other technologies that are directly supported by the rise of mobile services and internet are gaining more and more momentum too. Wide-spread access to these technologies is not a far-away reality and as such, opens up another channel which enables traffickers and organized crime for the coercion of potential victims. Additional channels such as the deep net become particularly dangerous in urbanized areas with high youth-unemployment, when the transition into illicit work becomes easy. Watson, Donovan and Muraszkiewicz also argue that the internet has introduced society to a new form

of currency such as bitcoin, which can be used as an easy way to conceal profits from illegal trade such as from human trafficking (2015). As Cunningham and Kendall write, the changing face of sex work in regards with the rise of what they refer to as *Prostitution 2.0*, is a movement not only negative for accountability in the industry but also provides easier and cheaper products on a black market with little to no oversight (Cunningham & Kendall, 2011). On the other hand, using such new channels also provides law enforcement with new tactics for baiting and catching traffickers, through for example IP and GPS tracking, use of big data and geo-mapping (2015). Thus, technological progress and the rise of disruptive innovations and services are expected to change the landscape in which traffickers operate, by providing another layer of complexity to this underground trade. Such complexity then needs to be met with effective countermeasures that impedes on expansion of human trafficking, much like companies such as Thorn are doing it in developed countries (Solon & Siddiqui, 2017).

Generally, technological leap-frogging in SSA becomes more feasible as foreign direct investment streams into the region, creating a more attractive economic landscape, particularly with a youth-bulge that may provide much-needed human capital – a scarcity in other parts of the world. At the same time, as the African Growth Initiative (2017) reports, major barriers in technology such as a poor ICT infrastructure, undermine SME expansion in Africa, which in turn illustrates the high interconnectedness between factors in the macro environment. Thus, while technological and economic trends will continue to complement each other, opportunities arise that enable to either directly or indirectly eradicate the systemic causes of human trafficking. On the path towards such a goal, lie several more important economic developments who will shape the future.

**Economic Realities**

The economy plays a crucial role in determining the severance of push and pull factors that facilitate trafficking through making potential victims vulnerable in the first place. That was the result of Chapter 2's literature review in which many of the systemic causes have been explored in their relation to economic factors and the modus operandi. Economically, Sub-Saharan Africa has done well over the course of the last two decades. Many countries experience strong economic growth which promises betterment and an increasingly attractive environment for foreign direct investment, as particularly North Africa, China and India have shown (Ebner, 2015 & African Development Bank 2011). Thus, while only few nations experience economic hardship, the majority is on a good path – however, this can't be seen as

a panacea for poverty and other ills of the countries. Important to consider is also the development that Makhtar Diop points out (Africa Growth Initiative, 2017) writing,

"*With economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa falling in 2016 to 1.5 percent—its lowest level in over two decades—pundits have been quick to point out that Africa is no longer rising.*" (p. 19). This recent decline certainly demands for more scrutiny and analysis of the current economic environment, however, it does not take away from the fact that Sub-Saharan Africa seems to have taken a path that has led to a more sustained growth over the past decades, albeit not very diversified. Nonetheless, no country is spared from threats either. One particular challenge results from SSA's youth bulge – employment. One of the continent's greatest obstacles towards a preferred future is the question of how to create jobs for the hundreds of millions of working-age people that are projected to be looking for jobs by 2037, in order to not create an instable society and vulnerability to trafficking too (McKinsey 2012). As a reaction to this challenge, experts and academics have researched threats and strategic options and came to the conclusion that Sub-Saharan Africa currently does not have a sustainable and future-proof employment model (Fox et al, 2013 & Gyimah-Brempong, 2013). This means that the vast majority of the 49 countries in the region will have to explore what industries are booming and relevant in the future, analyze what sectors employ the majority of people currently and what contributes most to GDP growth in order to initiate a transition of employment. Fox et al (2013) provide great insight into the issue of SSA's employment model and what it means for the future. They write that the agriculture industry still employs the majority of people, while output from the manufacturing industry, which potentially could raise GDP at greater levels, remains low.

The structure of employment here is inefficient in improving GDP and reflects a lack of jobs and a lack of education for jobs. In Fox's paper for the International Monetary Fund, but also in other research studies done by McKinsey (2012) or for the African Growth Initiative (Gyimah-Brempong, 2013), an employment transition is strongly recommended in order to effectively utilize the existing working-age population which only continues to grow. According to Fox et al. then, it is necessary to shift employment from the agricultural sector to the industrial- and the service sector, and from informal employment to formal employment under state-run or privately-run enterprises. Such a shift is difficult to achieve however, as policies need to address the high unemployment rate[10] and future urban youth unemployment

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[10] Data of unemployment among Sub-Saharan African countries is difficult to get by, as many papers show greatly varying numbers from 3% to over 25%. This is due to lacking collection methodology as well as a general lack of reporting. Thus, a real understanding of the employment situation is difficult to achieve and analysis therefore needs to take this into account.

which pushes people into informal family or household enterprises - which are coincidentally often a reason for high birth rates (Bongaarts & Casterline, 2013) - or back into agricultural work. Policies also need to consider the lack of education and vocational training for the skills that will be needed in the future economy, as well as the high fertility rate which will raise SSA's total population from around 800mio to 2billion by 2050 – 70% of which, are said to be in the working-age demographic (World Bank, 2016). A development that again, illustrates the need for an urgent transition of employment as to not create an environment for social unrest and mass-migration. Authors like Rotberg (2013) and researchers such as Gyimah-Brempong and Kimenyi (2013) have suggested that particularly urban areas might be affected by social uproars as they attract migrants, while potentially not providing enough jobs. A resulting youth-unemployment then, can create an unstable environment in which the threshold to crime and political dissatisfaction is very low. Hence, while urbanization and migration already play into traffickers hands, urban chaos will only exacerbate vulnerability.

One opportunity for diversifying SSA's economy and employment numbers arises due to Africa's growing middle-class. Because of the youth bulge and the continuing economic growth, the region will be in demand of more consumer goods in the future, growing potential SSA's own FMCG industry (fast moving consumer goods), which might provide hundreds of thousands of jobs across the region. (Deloitte, 2014). But Sub-Saharan Africa is not only dependent on its own inner workings and progress. In times of a strong and unparalleled demographic transition, foreign direct investment too will play a crucial role. Whether or not SSA can achieve its employment transition might be highly dependent on North-South or South-South capital. In this regard then, China's growing investment in the region is a promising trend and one to monitor closely. Compared to some of its main competitors in terms of investment into SSA – such as India, US as well as North Africa - China's capital flow is increasing at a much faster pace and sparks skepticism around the international community. Various experts are attributing ulterior motives and interest of China in main African resources. For one, China's FDI is imbalanced and most of it flows to very few countries, many of which are known to be rich in natural resources (African Development Bank, 2011). Data from 2009 shows that "*while China obtained $ 100 million from exports of goods to 38 African countries, it spent the same amount on imports from only 23 African countries*" (Bbala, 2015).

Another reason for these accusations stems from other capital inflows- human capital. Large aid flows to African countries have mostly been tied. This has led to many social and humanitarian projects whose aim it is to provide better public services to the people, being

contracted by the Chinese, technically undermining African economic development and the creation of jobs and just fueling Chinese economy (Wang, 2007). Other accusations of foul-play by China include that of employing mostly Chinese citizens for their labor-intensive jobs – which a survey by Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong (2015) has proven to be inaccurate -, as well as the expansion of Chinese ideology and soft power through introducing Confucius institutes to the region (Kragelund, 2014). It appears, the dominantly skeptical view of the Global North is not providing a fair insight into China's motives. Based on natural common ground by having been colonized by imperialists in the past, Sino-African relations can be traced back all the way to 1955 at the Bandung Conference (Pollock, 2007). China's personal interest in the region also springs from its own demographic decline due to an ageing society and the threat of India surpassing China economically (Cilliers, Hughes, Moyer, 2011). Its exploration and communicated trust in the future potential of the region adds to its growing investment and China's competitive edge. Furthermore, as a consequence of Africa's usual trade partners asking for general market access and deals having been perceived as one-sided in the past, China has become a very attractive alternative to other investors since it is less-demanding in terms of "*trade structures, governance or market liberalizations*" (Bbaala, 2015 & African Development Bank, 2011). Hence, while China's engagement in the region is academically disputed, future trade agreements and policies will determine whether a race to the bottom with a neo-imperialist approach proves to be true or a win-win situation will be created in which Sino-African relations will become stronger than ever and wide-spread economic growth will benefit both parties.

One more important factor in this regard is the trust between donors or investors and the receiving party. While China appears to be a more attractive alternative to the West, the skeptical criticism of China's possible ulterior motives seem to not have been ignored by SSA countries (Elahi & De Beer, 2013). Intra-African trade as opposed to North-South trade or general international trade and investment, are more appreciated among African countries, simply because of Africa's general wariness of foreign financial aid (Sachs, 2005). Such intra-continental cooperation implies a decrease of the countries' dependency on foreign aid and investment and keeps money within eyesight. Be it neighboring countries or not, the flows stay within the continent and push domestic economies (UNCTAD, 2013). Not only does the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) established in 2017, intend to increase intra-African trade, this development is also reflected in the incline of sovereign bonds that are handed out by African banks which have quickly become a popular alternative to official development assistance (Amadou, 2015). Thus, the rise of intra-Africa trade, including between Northern

Africa and SSA, needs to be monitored as well, in order to understand possible shifts in policies that may become more protectionist and further pushing independence from the West, and possibly from China in the far future too.

Another issue that is closely related to economic opportunities and particularly relevant to the future of Africa, is that of education – and more specifically, the apparently pervasive problem of brain drain (Goldin, Geoffrey & Balarajan, 2011). Brain drain implies the out-migration of domestically or internationally highly trained and educated locals of the SSA region towards developed countries. Increased brain drain is often perceived as negative as the country of origin of the human capital benefits little or nothing from it, however, Rotberg (2013) writes that in many regions and particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, this is not necessarily the case. Remittances from migrants who left the region for a more developed country, argues Rotberg, not only cover the costs of the training they initially experienced, but they also may add up to constitute a large amount of a country's GDP – such as the extreme example of Lesotho shows, in which remittances account for 28% of the national GDP (Goldin, Geoffrey, Balarajan, 2011). In agreement with out-migration not necessarily being negative, Goldin explains the phenomenon of brain drain being due to high unemployment rates in the developing country which often pushes people to migrate. He also argues that brain drain may actually be a benevolent development in a medium- and long-term timeframe, citing an observation made by Oded Stark who asserts:

> Without the prospect of migration, people generally underinvest in their education because the opportunities for putting it to use and the relative competition for jobs may not require much schooling. However, knowledge of the opportunity to migrate to a developed economy where wages are higher for skilled labor leads people to pursue more advanced education (pp.181, Goldin, Geoffrey & Balarajan, 2011).

According to this logic and economic thinking then, developing countries gain higher numbers of graduates the more brain drain they experience, or at least where the awareness of the opportunity to out-migrate is high. Such a phenomenon, often referred to as brain gain, could then very well be reality in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, though data to support such a claim is difficult to come by. Brain drain, Brain gain and migration are also important key words in the political sphere and a talking-point when discussing pan-Africanism. The African identity behind this concept will be explored in the political part of this chapter.

**Environmental Realities**

Environmental developments affect the region of Sub-Saharan Africa unproportionally strong. Not only have technological innovations so far failed at improving productivity and the safe-keep of the agricultural sector, but the region is also very vulnerable to climate change, which in turn also increases the vulnerability to diseases. As Serdeczny et al. (2015) argue, draughts, flash floods, rising sea-levels and other disastrous events such as the spread of infectious diseases are projected to become more and more common in the future if policy change, technological innovation as well as better access to health care and disaster relief are not sufficiently provided. Environmental realities however, do not influence human trafficking directly and are therefore secondary concerns in this regard. The way by which it does affect the issue is that the mentioned possible developments may exacerbate migration (and even urbanization) from rural and affected areas of Africa and therefore allows for time windows of vulnerability in which organized crime can act. The Africa Growth Initiative report mentioned earlier also argues that climate change can fuel conflict and even war (Africa Growth Initiative, 2017), citing former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon who stated that *"water scarcity from changed rainfall patterns"* (p. 84) may have contributed to the conflict in Darfur. Policy-action is also needed in order to not worsen the environmental degradation by inviting foreign direct investment that exploits unsustainable regulations in terms of their environmental impact in the long-run (African Development Bank, 2011). This also showcases how important short-term emergency solutions are for the sake of improving disaster-relief and for avoiding chain-reactions due to environmental catastrophes.

**Political Realities**

The political landscape in Sub-Saharan Africa has long been a factor that negatively influenced countries' chances at global competitiveness and economic growth. Bad governance, authoritarian regimes and dictatorships with a lack of democracy in the region often stood in the way of attracting foreign talent and investment (Sachs, 2005 & Collier 2008). Furthermore, many nations experienced conflicts and terrorism which attributed to this negative connotation. Even post-conflict nations struggle to make ends meet and move away from their dark past. Bad governance is particularly dangerous when trying to create a safe environment, because, as Okubo and Shelley argue, there is little political will to combat trafficking and provide human security when an authoritarian regime focuses and spends all of its resources on the goal of remaining in power (2012). However, in regards with the issue

of HIV/AIDS they also mention that *"[...] international political pressure concerning the spread of AIDS [...] may motivate some of these foreign governments to address the issue of human trafficking"* (pp. 144, Okubo & Shelley). When looking back at the data of the UN Global Report in Trafficking, the trend in victims becoming younger has already established itself, supported by various other references sources in this thesis too. What this illustrates then is that international political pressure has not had as much positive influence on the trade in humans, but rather shifted practices and supply in order to provide a better product to the buyer (sexual exploitation). This again, shows how difficult a political and accountable terrain Sub-Saharan Africa is in respect to human trafficking, despite the overarching political trend pointing towards a democratization of the region.

Although a positive development in which democracies continue to increase in numbers, they often lack a complete and ideal implementation (Radelet, 2010). In their 2017 report on African futures, Arould and Strazzari (2017) write "[…] *the Economist Intelligence Unit does not class any country in Sub-Saharan Africa as a full democracy and Polity IV classifies 61% of countries in Africa as 'anocracies' (these are political systems combining democratic and authoritarian traits and practices).* Furthermore, they make an important consideration for the future political environment by pointing out the importance of age of the current long-standing rulers. According to their report "*10 out of the 14 current long-standing rulers are aged between 65 and 92 years. It is therefore likely that most of them will step down or pass away over the coming decade.*" (p.14, Arnould, & Strazzari, 2017). This can initially be seen as a positive development as younger leaders may be more likely to embrace democratic governance, however, the authors of the report express their concern over the lack of constitutional provisions on succession or the general missing of succession plans, which implies the possibility of increased conflict or even collapse. Countries that are particularly susceptible in this regard, are Cameroon, Chad, the DRC and the Republic of Congo. Concomitantly, the regional political concern is focused on failing states and how to avoid an expansion of them as for border-nations to stay unaffected by their conflict. According to Barakatt et al (2010), one incentive for such an overwhelming political movement in the region is the African Governance Index which has sparked some action towards fairer government systems through the identification of best practices and blacklisting of countries who fail at good governance. Because political improvement, particularly in authoritarian regimes, often takes a lot of time to gain momentum, certain countries such as DRC Congo and Sudan and Somalia remain hotbeds for war (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Conflict and terrorism are strong factors that influence the future of governance and human trafficking.

As has been mentioned in chapter 1 and 2, conflict feeds on people's vulnerability – for the recruitment of child soldiers and sexual exploitation – but likewise increases the vulnerability by creating incentives for migration. In recent decades, conflict itself in the continent has shifted from interstate to conflict within states (intrastate), most of which are caused by political tensions or for the claim of natural resources (Cilliers and Schünemann, 2013). While this trend does imply an overall decrease of conflict in the region, the remaining altercations in said countries very well have the potential of trickling across borders and affecting, particularly those neighboring countries. Many socio-economic and geopolitical factors add to the possibility of arising conflict – among them are societal and technological trends that have been identified earlier. One possibility may be due to the growing youth population in urban areas and their access to information and quick mobilization through mobile technology in their attempt to express political dissatisfaction. Naturally, the same technology can be used by rebel forces and warlords which enables them to propelling a nation-state or beyond, into conflict. The displacement of people, be it as a result of such conflict or economic disparities, is another issue of great concern in the region and must not be neglected when considering social and economic policies that are aiming at improving the livelihoods of SSA's population (Goldin, Geoffrey, Balarajan, 2011). The implications of displacement have been previously explored and put in the context of human trafficking too.

One issue that has been emerging ever since the independence movement after the colonization is that of an African mindset shift from nation-state to a more inclusive and integrated pan-African worldview. This concept has initially been manifested in the Organization for African Unity in 1963 and in the African Union since 2000 (Cilliers, Hughes, Moyer, 2011) and its development can be seen with the aforementioned rise of regional economic communities such as ECOWAS, EAC, SADC, COMESA as well as the continental union, the African Union. In this pan-African realm, the push is for collaboration between nations in order to fuel economic growth and better welfare to its people, as well as to create healthier conditions in general, and strategies that focus on eliminating the hardships felt by the member states (Rotberg, 2013). Pan-Africanism still remains largely a political concept as there are structural weights that hold back movement towards an actual full implementation of an integrated Sub-Saharan Africa. As Barakatt et al (2010) argues, some of the reasons are cultural, such as the large ethnic diversity or nation-state identities being very robust to change. Others are more practical such as conflict and the high economic divide between countries and their potential.

As more of these economic alliances show up in today's Africa, better approaches are being formed, but intra-African trade still remains low in comparison, as Cilliers' report shows (2011). The lack of infrastructure or the imbalanced demand for import-goods as well as the supply of export-goods are merely two of the reasons why that is the case. Furthermore, while unifying SSA in such a way is said to theoretically spur mid-term and long-term economic growth and an improvement of SSA's competitiveness on a global scale, it also neglects long-term effects that are not yet fully explored – such as the impact of a borderless SSA region on migration, migrant smuggling, UNICEF's persons of concern (Rotberg, 2013), human trafficking, and general transnational organized crime and illicit flows. Because of this lack of knowledge in this regard, it becomes a necessity to monitor the pan-African movement closely.

If Sub-Saharan Africa indeed becomes borderless, much like the Schengen area, the implications for the trade of humans may range from insignificant to disastrous while trickling through other institutional levels – social, economic and political. On the one hand, free movement of labor, in theory, has the power to reduce vulnerability and lower human trafficking numbers simply because of increased agency and people's reduced willingness to choose illegal ways of migration (migrant smuggling), which often is where traffickers intercept (Holmes, 2013). On the other hand, an important consideration is the academic debate on the actual experiences of free movement of labor regions such as the Schengen area, and whether or not it has been beneficial, particularly with regards to human trafficking. Open borders in a unified Africa would put more pressure on security as border flows become difficult to monitor and migration a daily reality without much control. In order to understand possible implications, one naturally needs to include the regional factors that may very strongly affect society and economy – e.g. migration due to economic opportunities, out-migration due to conflict, a possibly even stronger urbanization rate and the potential slumification due to lacking public services, as discussed before.

When looking at the Schengen area as a case study, it provides insight into the potential consequences a unified Africa could face. Bogdanyi and Lewis in their 2008 technical paper argue that the Schengen Agreement has had negative impacts on this issue in the member countries. Because movement within the area was unrestricted, EU law enforcement efforts were mostly directed towards securing external borders, intending to avoid the influx of illegal migrants into the Schengen area (Bogdanyi, 2008). It is easy to understand how unrestricted movement and the focus on external threats neglects internal border flows, which is particularly dangerous in regions of great economic disparity (Shelley,

2010) – migration and trafficking from Eastern European nations such as Moldova or Ukraine to the Western European Netherlands or Germany proves the complexity of this issue (Wylie & McRedmond, 2010). Such disparities also exist in Sub-Saharan Africa but arriving at accurate projections of possible consequences for such illicit flows through RECs is difficult due to the lack of data.

In addition to that, there are wars and conflicts, environmental disasters, unemployment and generally, a wide array of push factors that imply an possibly out-of-control flow of migrants in case of a borderless Africa. A set of strong policies would need to be in effect that would inhibit the potential chaos. In addition to that, as Norbert Kersting wrote (2009), the rise of a new, banal nationalism, while supporting the perseverance of xenophobia in Sub-Saharan Africa pushes against the movement towards pan-Africanism and national multi-culturalism. In anticipation of a potential migration problem and a seemingly growing national identity, many of the middle- to high-income countries may already reason to not agree to terms of open borders and a unified Africa. A question that results from these developments is how the opposing movement towards pan-Africanism and a possible rise of xenophobia and cultural protectionism may affect each other in the future regarding their respective progress and influence on other levels – particularly in regards to the so-called African Renaissance (African Union Commission, 2015).

**Sustainable Development Goals & Agenda 2063**

In 2015, United Nations introduced the 2030 agenda for *transforming our world*, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – 17 goals that succeeded the previous Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), tackling some of the greatest hardships faced by humanity at the respective time (Transforming our world, n.d.). As the successor agenda, its Sustainable Development Goals have been developed with an arguably broader outlook on issues and for the first time ever, implicitly included three goals that directly support the fight against human trafficking. Previously, two of the eight Millennium Development Goals, while not mentioning the crime specifically, had however, already targeted underlying systemic causes of the crime.

> Target 1.B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people.
> Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015 (UN, 2015)

In these two particular MDGs, the eventual results were overall positive but insufficient. While the low youth-employment numbers do imply great achievements in education (students stay in school longer), the last 25 years showed the global employment merely sinking from 62% to 60%. SSA in this category, accounts for the most vulnerable region. In terms of gender disparity, more progress had been achieved, particularly in regards with vulnerable work. In the 25 years since 1991, women working in a vulnerable environment decreased by 13%, while men's vulnerable work was reduced by 9% until 2015 (UN, 2015). These two MDGs stood out because of their relevance for central issue of this thesis, hence, it is now important to put them in contrast to the three, by the UN as relevant defined Sustainable Development Goals. When doing so, it becomes clear that the two sets of goals may semantically differ – the essential value and vision however, was already existent 15 years ago. This is at least true of two of the three SDGs, namely SDG 5 and 8 (gender equality & economic growth). SDG 16, which focusses on access to justice, did not have any similar equivalent in its predecessor-goals. This raises the question as to how different SDGs are from MDGs and whether or not the prospects for positive results are higher. By tackling gender equality and fighting discrimination against the most vulnerable groups of victims in trafficking, by promoting sustainable economic growth with decent work for all and closing economic disparity, as well as providing more inclusive legal frameworks that also aims to reduce corruption by pushing for more accountability on all institutional levels (UN, n.d.), the three SDGs focus on direct and indirect push and pull factors of the crime. Three more SDGs deserve to be mentioned with respect to their potential impact on the trade of humans. One very relevant goal is to end all forms of poverty (SDG 1). This is due to poverty being one of the major factors that makes people vulnerable and drives them into desperation, turning them into easy prey for traffickers, as has been mentioned in Chapter 2. Inequality too (SDG 10), is a key factor for vulnerability. A lack of minimum wage and the discrimination against certain groups, be it because of gender, religion, or ethnicity, inequality keeps pointing crosshairs at vulnerable people in society, making them more visible for traffickers making it easier to coerce and oppress them into exploitative work. Lastly, ensuring inclusive and quality education (SDG 4) is certainly among the biggest contributors for implementing positive change. Particularly the equal opportunity and access to education is important and does not only mean a proper training of a growing population, but also the preparation of them for bad practices and education on the dangers of migration or certain industries.

In the same vein as the UN's agenda to transform the world, the African Union in 2013, rolled out its own vision and set of aspirations which are however, strictly targeted at the continent itself (African Union Commission, 2015). While the grand vision of this agenda may differ from that of the SDGs, many of the goals and aspirations overlap. In fact, Agenda 2063 also includes specifically human trafficking as one of the issues that need to be eradicated, though its apparent understanding of the crime according to the first ten-year implementation plan, seems rather incomplete (African Union Commission, 2015). In Chapter 5, the two agendas will be discussed more closely in regards to their effect and their meaning for the fight against human trafficking.

**Summary**

Following the STEEP structure, it was possible to identify and relate institutional trends to the issue of human trafficking regionally as well as globally. Social realities paint a picture of a growing youth bulge with continuing high numbers of unregistered births in most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa as well as the problems of a fast-paced urbanization for which public services are provided too sparsely. In addition to that, HIV/AIDS further complicates the trade of humans by already in present times shifting supply and demand regionally. These social trends create many challenges. Challenges that if not met with strategic policies, create vulnerability through youth-unemployment, migration and the lack of rights and social protection. Technology promises some opportunities. However, while mobile phone/internet use and leap-frog technologies may promise a better future with job creation and ways to fight trafficking more effectively, it also adds complexity and new channels to the trade. In the economic realm, Sub-Saharan Africa experiences great change with increasing FDI, growing intra-African trade, and a growing middle-class as well. In order to utilize these opportunities and further expand the regions global competitiveness and their independence from aid however, SSA is required to change their employment model – an issue that is paramount for future growth opportunities. A concern for vulnerability caused by environmental disasters should also be put central in the fight against human trafficking. Lastly, none of these developments are exempt from the impact that the political landscape in Sub-Saharan Africa has. While the number of democracies is growing, best practices in good governance need still be incentivized and solutions to the current intrastate violence and wars ought to be found. With a tendency towards regional integration, Sub-Saharan Africa is slowly developing an

alternative worldview in which Africa the continent stands more unified, but not all implications of free movement of labor are yet explored.

As one of the major multilateral action-plans against human trafficking, UN's 2030 agenda with its Sustainable Development Goals appear to have broaden the outlook on global challenges as opposed to its predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals. However, the eventual effectiveness of these goals remains subject to speculation since their distinguishing features in the fight against factors that systemically cause human trafficking are mostly of a semantical nature and will have to prove itself in terms of its local and regional implementation and how much of a difference it can in fact make. The African Union's Agenda 2063 too, will support this fight, though its inclusion in the agenda may be questionable due to its shallow understanding and thus, leaves room for improvement.

To conclude, in the current narrative of a quickly changing SSA, the regions faces a great number of threats and opportunities. The complexity of coping with these strategic issues requires a deeper analysis of ongoing developments and the creation of a new narrative which engages strategy and policy-actions that better integrate opportunities and threats for creating not only a preferred future but also a feasible one. In the following chapter, before scenarios and causal layered analysis are used for engaging in critical thinking and eventually informing such undertakings, this section will utilize emerging issues analysis to create a better and integrated understanding of the identified emerging issues, trends and their interrelation.

# Chapter 4 – Anticipating, Deepening and Creating Alternatives

## Implementation of Emerging Issues Analysis

The horizon scan done according to the STEEP-model has brought forth significant knowledge on trends and emerging issues relevant to the core questions of this thesis. In order to make sense of this data that Chapter 3 so far has aggregated, it is necessary to synthesize the knowledge gained from this scan. Graham Molitor's emerging issues analysis is a method that allows not only to do that, but also to frame and better understand the timing of certain issues and trends (Molitor, 2010). This method's application will also enable to recognize the relevant patterns and interrelations, so that scenarios can later be created based on assumptions that have been derived from this part. Molitor's *Vanguard for Change* (Molitor, 2003) assumes the universe to be patterned, probabilistic and following waves of change. Based on this, emerging issues analysis' visualized model follows the common s-curve not only explaining the stages of change but also communicating in a comprehensive manner, the time-frame of change. While there are many ways of labelling the graph, this curve identifies 4 significant points at which new stages of development are reached.

The first point on below's graph illustrates the time around which emerging issues can be identified. Between this and the next point, the direction of issues can't be known and while emergence is possible, its actual realization can't be stated with confidence. Further up the graph, the issue starts to receive attention from academia and becomes subject to explorative research in which the issue can be framed in the context that is relevant to the research purpose. Inspired by Molitor's Vanguard of Change, this stage also represents the critical point of no return. By the time an issue has reached point three on the graph, it turns into a trend that is quickly maturing and gaining mainstream media attention until it finally reaches the very peak of the curve indicating the concrete establishment of a trend before its relevance starts to decline shortly after.
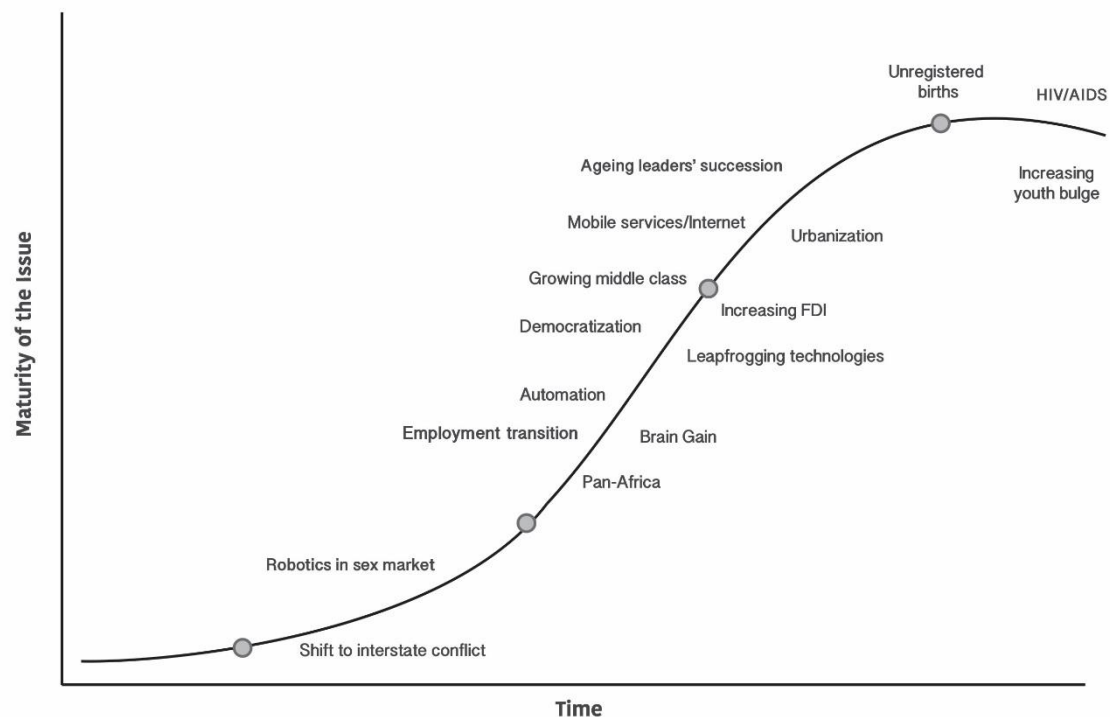
**Figure 3 – Emerging Issues Analysis - Graph**

Fig.3 illustrates some important and surprising points when relating data on trends and emerging issues from the scan to the time-frame of the scenarios that will be created for the year 2037. The graph shows an aggregation of trends at the very top. These three developments are well-established trends and well-known by larger stakeholders but they also need to be distinguished from each other. The increasing youth-bulge as well as the spread of HIV/AIDS are trends who have already peaked. According to Molitor, this can be interpreted in various ways – the climax may be defined as the highest "*number of articles or quantity on an issue*", or "*number of persons involved in championing an idea*", "*number of organizations, persons, resources committed to the cause*" or simply the highest development or growth/spread of the issue itself (Molitor, 2003). No matter the labelling of the peak, these trends have passed the point of satiation and no further growth is expected. When revisiting this chapter's horizon scan, this appears logical – while the birth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa is still much higher than in other regions of the world, total fertility rates are decreasing and projected to level out in the far future (UN, 2015). The spread of HIV/AIDS too, has seen a major decrease in recent decades due to combined efforts of the multilateral organizations such as the United Nations, IMF, Worldbank as well as other (I)NGOs helping the cause (Sachs, 2005 & UN, 2015 & Nweze et al, 2017 ). While another spike, or increase, of both of

these trends is not impossible, the probability of it is rather low. Very close to these two trends that already find themselves on the downward slope of the graph, are "urbanization" and "unregistered births". Unregistered births, as already stated, is a very intransparent issue where data is often inconclusive or contradicting other sources. Given the increasing attention by UNICEF and other organizations committed to improving registration, as well as mobile phone technology and internet being used to explore new possibilities of eliminating this problem, the issue itself may have peaked in its growth development. An increasing number of unregistered children, along with the slowly but steadily declining birth rate is unlikely when efforts and opportunities continue to be expanded (UNICEF, 2017).

Further down on the graph, one trend that has been discussed before, is likely to become reality due to its high level of maturity – the potential succession of old leaders in various countries (Arnould & Strazzari, 2017). Almost on the same level, urbanization has been identified as a trend entering the mainstream with a quick maturation. This is because urbanization itself in Sub-Saharan Africa is relatively new when compared on a global scale. Thus, while the region remains mostly rural for the moment, urban population is projected to grow quickly (Rotberg, 2013 & Worldbank, 2015). A similarly quick emerging trend is also the use and spread of mobile phone and internet technology. Other issues that are rather on the verge of rapid maturation are a growing middle-class, the increase in foreign direct investment by China, India and North Africa, as well as democratization and the possibility of leapfrogging technologies.

Following along the graph towards its beginning, we next encounter issues who have developed passed the critical point of no return which can be interpreted as the threshold between an emerging issue whose future development is not completely clear and visible, and an emerging trend whose development can be projected with some accuracy. Among these issues are "brain gain" as well as the "employment transition" and "automation". Automation could certainly be labelled as rapidly maturing in the West, or at the very least on the verge of doing so. However, the reason for this development being so far down the graph is the fact that all issues need to be aligned to not only the time-frame of scenarios later on (20 years), but also to the specific situation of Sub-Saharan Africa, or how the region is being influenced by external (international) developments and change in the macro environment. Hence, while opportunities for automation are quickly developing in OECD countries, the effects on SSA have neither been measured nor very much been scrutinized yet. Because they are also heavily dependent on foreign investment and governance and policies, the extent and direction of this issues emergence in SSA remains unclear. As for the employment transition, in order for it to

create formal wage jobs that produce sustainable economic growth and benefit society, the right policies and educational approach need to be in place. According to experts (Fox et al, 2013 & Gyimah-Brempong, 2013), that is not the case, which is the reason for the rapid pace of the demographic transition and growing of the youth bulge exceeding the pace of adapting to such needs in order to create a benevolent educational and professional environment. A shift in employment is anticipated by the same experts referenced prior in this thesis, and the development is projected to continue, however, there can't yet be a talk of a regional mainstreaming of this phenomenon, as legislative actions and reforms of education systems as well as the creation of future-robust jobs take time.

Lastly, the s-curve recognizes three emerging issues, only one of which has so far passed the point of no return. Pan-Africa, or a unified Africa, is that issue. With the aforementioned establishing of RECs under the agenda of the African Union that pushes for regional integration, an even more connected African continent may be well on its way towards becoming reality. This is particularly important to monitor with the AU rolling out its 2063 agenda (African Union Commission, 2015) An emerging issue that is related to the rise of a unified Africa, though it might also develop completely independent from it, is the potential shift from intrastate conflict to interstate conflict due to lack of borders, migration, ethnic diversity and xenophobia, or merely contrasting ideologies (Elahi & De Beer, 2013 & Barakatt et al., 2010 & Goldin, Geoffrey, Balarajan, 2011). Because whether or not this issue will eventually emerge is unknown, it was placed further back on the graph as opposed to a unified Africa. Finally, robotics and artificial intelligence coming into practice in the sex work industry has been identified in the previous chapter, as an emerging issue in the West. There, its emergence could likely be positioned higher on the graph as the adoption of such technology might indeed not be met with much cultural or ethical factors of resistance (Yeoman & Mars, 2011). In Sub-Saharan Africa, on the other hand, suggesting a similar projection or a similar rate of adoption for the coming 20 years is unlikely exactly for the reason of cultural differences to the West and society's unpreparedness for such extraordinary solutions (Papenfuss, 2017).

## Creating Scenarios and Incasting Causal Layered Analysis

Now that the important trends and emerging issues have been identified and scrutinized, it is time to utilize the assumptions that can be made, and proceed with the two major tools that help creating a pathway to a better future. *Scenarios*, or *Scenario Planning*, is one of the oldest and most-renowned methods used in the field of futures studies. This tool is

particularly focusing on creating alternative futures and opening one's eyes to new possibilities, trailing "*the logic of the human brain*" (Hines & Bishop, 2007). Scenarios, much like metaphors that are used in causal layered analysis, are images that contain stories. Stories that convey emotions and explain its content in a complete manner. If we accord credibility to Rolf Jensen's book "The Dream Society" (2001), narratives connect to emotions, which have become a key value to how people are going about in their daily lives. In the realm of business, scenarios are used to fuel strategic conversation and to open "*windows for the mind*" (p.123, Saliba, 2009) - windows that illustrate alternative futures and a way for agency to win over predeterminism. A neurobiological theory by Dr. William Calvin (2001) seems to support this statement. It claims, that thinking of futures and telling stories about it, is hard-wired into the human brain. Though creating scenarios is a naturally given skill according to Calvin's theory, Peter Schwartz argues that it is usually not being very helpful as people are doing it mostly unconsciously (Schwartz, 1996). However, he further explains that it does enable individuals and small businesses to develop their gut feeling and to cover all the important bases in their particular environment that demands decision-making where uncertainties are high and visions often lack depth. Thus, when futures consciousness can be aligned with the skill of creating scenarios, these images of the future contain the power to bring in emotions that are usually suspended in the rather rational process of strategic conversation and decision-making – and by doing so, builds visions and prepares better for the future. Lastly, this method is also often complemented by other tools and empirical research that allows for scenarios to explore a wide array of possibilities, as is seen in the application of these methods in this chapter. There are many ways that scenarios can be created. For the purposes of this thesis, it has been chosen to base the three main narratives on assumptions of the future of human trafficking, because these have been explored in-depth in earlier chapters. In addition to this, these scenarios will be explored more deeply when incasting CLA, so that a more thorough discussion can later be had.

CLA, or causal layered analysis, is a tool developed by Sohail Inayatullah which provides a framework for looking deeper into the narratives and apply critical thinking, where conservative ways of inquiries usually prevail. Inayatullah's method utilizes an empirical, interpretative and post-structuralist approach to policy-making, in that it integrates the scientific edge, with culture, class, and meaning by critically and vertically inquiring about the different layers through which change is understood (Inayatullah, 2004). In causal layered analysis, Inayatullah identifies four layers – Litany, System, Worldview and Myth/Metaphor. The Litany level illustrates the common knowledge based on empirical grounds concerning a

certain issue. The narrative on this level is mass-targeted, easily understood, mostly quantitative in its scientific nature and can be understood as "*evidence of reality*", as Inayatullah explains it (2004) – an important fundament for layered analysis. The systemic level on the other hand, intends to interpret the litany and explain the systemic causes behind the first layer. The analysis in this second layer requires some form of scientific rigor and analytic competence. These two levels are, where change is consciously seen and felt first as these usually don't require a critical thinking approach and therefore can reach a broader mass. By going deeper than just with such a two-level analysis, it enables the practitioner to deconstruct the narrative and illustrate how pervasive metaphors and myths feed into our worldviews that eventually dictate actions on institutional levels. Metaphors here, are stories that convey visual images, affecting the practitioner and reader differently from the strictly rational way of thought. It also shows how systemic causes create the narrative that is often being told on a shallow litany level where often numbers and anecdotes are the dominating narrative, with little respect for the underlying levels of influence (Inayatullah, 2015). This analysis creates a more holistic understanding of how change is perceived and how new change, or alternative futures, can be explored and eventually created by reconstructing such important narratives. Thus, while scenarios will enable to explore and understand possible shifts of the crime, CLA will provide the tool for enabling the rethinking of contemporary strategic action towards human trafficking in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa.

## Scenario 1 - The Long Road

This scenario illustrates a future in which trafficking from Sub-Saharan Africa has internationalized. Over a long period of time, underlying systemic causes and policies have created an environment in which organized crime networks saw more profit and new emerging markets for trafficking elsewhere. While initial long-distance trafficking, not only within the African continent, but also towards West Europe, North Africa and other regions of the world has been identified decades ago, a lack of effective policies in SSA as well as abroad enabled the emergence of new major drivers for an exacerbation of such a development. One of the major push-factors here was the lack of employment opportunities for the youth bulge in most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Whereas some resource-rich or democratic countries who had been on a more stable path, could transition into a more sustainable model and provide a social safety net without growing economic disparity within the respective country, the majority was lacking approaches to reform education and the

investment in industries where future generations could generate GDP growth and advance the economy and grow as a society.

Another disruptive factor that played a role in this growing disparity was technology. The digitalization of manufacturing and technologies of 3D-printing undermined the potential growth of low-paying jobs in the manufacturing sector which eventually inhibited the creation of jobs (Demissie 2015). Naturally, with a larger workforce than both, India and China (Arnould & Strazzari, 2017), the high youth unemployment and a *slumification* that resulted from urbanization in form of rural-urban as well as urban-urban migration and bad urban planning, caused not only higher likelihood of pandemics but also disenfranchisement and tensions around the more important economic hubs in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Bloody conflicts still continue in a handful of nations such as Somalia, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of the Congo affecting the political landscape and discrimination against ethnic minorities surrounding these conflict-ridden areas, which forces the relocation of millions of people. This has also negatively influenced talks on regional integration as conflict is a major obstacle towards a stable, cross-border economy. The discontent among the public that was particularly felt in the cities, was met with trafficking networks providing the illusion of a secure way into wealth by looking particularly towards the Global North, where the care-taking sector in ageing societies looked like a particularly promising opportunity for women, whereas men looked rather to North Africa and the Middle East.

Through the increasing connectedness of Sub-Saharan Africa, trafficking networks also began to exploit sex workers for new practices that are high in demand, such as *webcamming*. Though safer, it remains harmful to the victim psychologically. Webcam girls also are not limited to this remote kind of work, but are usually forced to interact physically with customers in brothels as well. Coercion, or advertising too, for opportunities abroad as well as within the region often occurs online nowadays, which is easy to access for potential victims and easy to remain hidden for traffickers themselves. Major trafficking hubs in SSA that eventually, not only provide the junction into Europe but also North Africa and the Middle East, can be found in West Africa (to North Africa and Europe), East Africa (usually to North Africa and Middle-East) and benefitted from regional economic communities as citizens of participating countries can easily travel to the supposed gateway into their new life. In these hubs then, for international migration, migrant smugglers and brokers that often turn out to be working for organized crime networks, initiate the journey and traffic non-suspecting victims into exploitative work – an escape option that is perceived as very attractive by particularly unregistered citizens. Broker agencies in this scenario usually use

debt bondage and cooperation with organized crime for exploiting victims. As mentioned before in this scenario, the most prevalent destination region for victims of transcontinental trafficking is Western Europe where a rising ageing population increased the demand for low-skilled jobs. The majority of victims would be exploited either in the care-taking sector through debt bondage or more commonly for sex work, as African women are seen not only as "wild", but also as "oversexed" (Peterson & Runyan, 1999, p. 138) and thus, concerns for spread of diseases among buyers are insignificant, much like it is the case with sex workers from Eastern Europe. In the destination regions North Africa and Middle-East on the other hand, forced labor in the service sector and mostly in labor-heavy industries such as construction, have seen the main demand for trafficking victims (Malit & Naufal, n.d.). Sexual exploitation too, is not an uncommon sight here.

Medium-distance trafficking has also increased in numbers, as border controls has become less strict and corruption remains a systemic problem within regional economic communities where trade and freedom of movement is encouraged for the sake of economic growth. In order to gain human and financial capital, the Partnership for Migration, Mobility and Employment (PMME) successfully promoted the enhancement of circular migration, unfortunately, at the costs of gender inequality, forced labor and worsening working conditions in general because hiring regulations in low-skilled jobs are oftentimes not enforced and create possibility for abuse (Goldin, Geoffrey, Balarajan, 2011). The PMME's dedication to also fight human trafficking largely ignored the systemic connectedness of factors facilitating the crime. Destination countries and particularly urban hubs where most victims would fall victim to their fate have over the past decade shown a growing xenophobic and cultural protectionist stance towards immigrants and people of differing ethnicities. The overall trend of international trafficking originating from Africa has in recent years found recognition in the EU, so that the issue was finally addressed as fear for another migration crisis grew larger. This resulted in more severe border security around the Schengen area and immigration and repatriation laws becoming stricter towards displaced people as well as economic migrants from the SSA region and North Africa.

As for trafficking within the region of Sub-Saharan Africa, the high urbanization rate has quickly turned first-tier cities into multi-ethnic melting pots that fuel instability and discrimination. This development, in some parts of SSA, gave rise to increasing numbers of recruited youth combatants who, not only because of unemployment or underemployment, but also because of their dissatisfaction with ethnic minorities competing for the same resources and jobs, are now more vulnerable to being recruited in the cities as well. In countries with

such diplomatic developments, foreign direct investment has stalled, leaving these nations dependent on their intra-African trade partners, further widening the gap between countries of the region. These conditions paired with the failure to transition into a more formal employment model as well as the slumification of many African cities has led to the regional exploitation of  too - for begging, portering, street hawking and even increased petty theft. The lack of leapfrogging technologies also resulted in the labor-heavy industries such as the fishing, mining and cocoa industries to remain relatively unproductive as a rise in productivity was not possible. Implications for this were naturally that trafficking for the reason of forced labor in these industries remains strong still, and until technology can be transferred, and higher productivity can be achieved, the number of victims here is not expected to decline either.

**What challenges remain?**

Labor-heavy industries, migrant smuggling, slumification, terrorism and child soldier recruitment.

<div align="center">

**Table 3 – The Long-Road Scenario**

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| Litany | Trafficking numbers up, SSA as major supply region; transregional and transcontinental trafficking on the rise; immigrants to EU, MENA increased, causing stricter border controls; disenfranchisement of youth; discrimination of minorities and continuing intrastate conflicts causes displacement; new forms/channels of trafficking: webcamming/broker (debt bondage); stalling FDI in many nations |
|---|---|
| Systemic | Lack of jobs and social welfare; slumification; xenophobia in urban SSA; gangification and terrorism; conflicts; easy smuggling through RECs to trafficking hubs/migrant smuggling hubs; connectedness of SSA through internet |
| Worldview | Economy needs labor supply<br><br>Globalization as a problem and as a solution<br><br>Leadership is dead in SSA<br><br>Human security only for the rich |
| Myth/ Metaphor | I am because I want to be like them. |

## Scenario 2 - Borderless

The borderless scenario describes a future in which a full integration of the African continent into a pan-African economic zone has been achieved. The pace of a development

towards a unified Africa increased enormously in the last decade, in which the African Union heavily encouraged the creation of free movement of labor among African citizens. Intra-African trade benefitted largely from this, however, it also has had dramatic effects on human trafficking which due to this geopolitical shift, developed similar ills as could be seen in the sex-trafficking market in Europe, where due to economic disparities throughout the Schengen area and some of its bordering countries, trafficking from low-income countries to high-income countries increased (Bogdanyi, 2008 & Shelley, 2010). In Sub-Saharan Africa, the preexisting conditions and hardships have over the last decades created or, let persevere, an instable environment that eventually disrupted the economist pundit's predictions of SSA's rise to participation on the global market by also creating some of the largest movements of out-migration in modern history. This was largely due to people from nations prone to conflict and where conflict was not resolved, being displaced or voluntarily emigrated from said conflict zones. Not only did this increase movements of masses towards economically secure countries such as South Africa, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso but it also resulted in even more severe domestic and cross-border migration and urbanization rates.

In this scenario, traffickers can't exploit the vulnerability that comes from the will of people to migrate through posing as smugglers or brokers and intercepting them the same way any longer, trafficking victims into some of the most commonly seen forms of human trafficking – which still remains sex work, forced labor, begging, and for the recruitment as child combatants. In this contingent of forms however, the number of sex trafficking victims has caught up with forced labor, while "other forms" have risen concomitantly due to the increase of begging and the perseverance of conflict and terrorism and the need for combatants. It should be noted however, that a distinction between sexual exploitation as sex trafficking and sexual exploitation under the premise of forced labor and domestic servitude has still not been made by authorities or any stakeholder group who is active in the fight against trafficking.

The coercion process has become more complex as the unification provided citizens with more freedom and agency. Hence, while organized crime networks still lure vulnerable people with promises of jobs, they now do so more aggressively and direct – kidnapping or abductions in the realm of such promises is not an uncommon sight. Concomitant with rise of cities, xenophobia too was imminent due to an increased diversity of ethnicities, now living together more densely. This increased tension and pushed many people into more extreme religious or ideological beliefs, creating vulnerability and susceptibility for terrorist groups, rebel groups and warlords which don't shy away from turning to cities in their quest for

recruitment. Further intolerance towards migrants was prompted, as they were often blamed for rising numbers of HIV/AIDS infections in cities. Discrimination in urban hubs peaked as the middle-class grew and society became more stratified, creating new dynamics of trafficking. This has recently caught the attention of academia – according to various research studies then, a rising middle-class is positively correlated with a higher demand for servitude and sex work, whereas the demand often lies on young boys and girls from an ethnic minority background. If not specific to ethnicity, a tendency of low-class to high-class trafficking has also been found to be on the rise. Another concerning issue that is emerging is that of trafficking elderly people into farm work and begging in urban hubs. The sentiment and respect once felt for the elderly is on the verge of becoming a tradition of the past. A new political landscape and the rise of connectedness and more sophisticated technologies has driven an intergenerational divide and dissociation (National Research Council, 2006). In this respect, human rights activists are now pointing out the emergence of a new slave trade that is based on perceived superiority over other Africans due to differing ethnic or ideological beliefs as well as, based on the generally increasing level of social stratification in Sub-Saharan Africa's urban hubs. Another type of victim that is most vulnerable, are unregistered citizens. Mobile services and the internet have achieved a great increase in the registration rate in most countries, but few remain where registration of children still remains between 60% and 70%. This naturally, makes unregistered children and people in general, an easy target for discrimination and traffickers too, posing as, or working with, migrant smugglers.

The economic benefits that came with a borderless continent then, caused a spur in economic growth but ignored the underlying consequences such development might have on income disparity and therefore a harmonious society. Depending on a countries democratic advancements and economic competitiveness and the demands of the trafficking market, cross-border and longer-distance trafficking has become more profitable and viable for organized crime. Economically weak countries would become supply countries with sources of victims while very few victims found their destination here. Resulting from such developments was an incline of medium-distance trafficking victims along with a small increase in long-distance as well, which however, stayed within the African continent. Two major factors benefitted the fight against trafficking overseas and avoiding the emergence of new destination markets – The sex trafficking market in West Europe was disrupted by the rise of sex robots on the market. The campaigning and growing acceptance of the technology by customers, although certainly still not the first choice of buyers, raised awareness of its benefits, the biggest of which is the low risk of getting sexual transmitted diseases. Because of

this awareness, buyers on the sex market have become vary of safety precautions so that African women who were once perceived as wild and exotic, have now become a health concern and not attractive for buying sex. Coincidentally, this also decreased the market value of sex workers from East Europe. A second factor that played into the decline of trafficking overseas was the economic surge of Sub-Saharan Africa through initially intra-African trade, which provided urgently needed jobs in rising industries and reduced the relevance of the push-factor of economic migration towards a more promising Global North. Brain drain therefore, faded away as a concern from economists' radar.

Because of the rise of Sub-Saharan Africa economically, FDI continues to flow into the region. These investments however, are often imbalanced, disadvantaging the nations that have less resources and face more hardships. Technological leapfrogging, while possible, has not had the positive impact economists hoped for in this scenario. One reason for this is the fact, that the greatest investing regions are North Africa and China – the latter's investment often being one-sided, to nations known for their resources and general economic potential. According to experts, what this means for the future of the African continent, is that in order to reach its full potential of growth and a fast transfer of technology and greater global economic participation, the continent needs to take back control over its migration, so that an even and fair economic landscape can be created that attracts foreign investment and builds trust among the people with a more diversified portfolio of nations.

**What challenges remain?**

Border security, economic disparity, gender equality, legal frameworks and better conjoint operations on illicit border flows

**Table 4 – Borderless Scenario**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Litany** | Unified Africa sees rising economy and strong urbanization; slums; trafficking numbers highest ever; shift in forms of trafficking appear on researcher's data; more sex trafficking, more begging, less heavy labor industry trafficking; intergenerational- and ethnic trafficking on the rise as well as social stratification issues and possibly new, intra-African slave trade |
| **Systemic** | Use of pan-Africanism as silver-bullet to economic problems, while discounting corruption and freedom of movement issues = easy trafficking; middle-class rise brought economic disparity = enslavement and discrimination of minorities (incl. elderly); xenophobia |
| **Worldview** | NIMBYism<br><br>Economy > the people<br><br>Capitalistic anocracies<br><br>Africa requires young and urban leadership<br><br>Elbow-society |
| **Myth/ Metaphor** | I desire, therefore I am |

## Scenario 3 - Preferred Future (From NGO/Multilateral Organization-perspective)

Scenario number three depicts a future in which the African Union along with its Agenda 2063, and the use of UN's Sustainable Development Goals as guidelines, successfully is tackling human trafficking. The succession of mostly old rulers over the course of the last decade by younger rulers has brought fresh wind to the region (Arnould & Strazzari, 2017). These successors often seemed to adhere to the trend of a growing pan-African mindset but as they now emerge also as spiritual leaders or even prophets, they not only stand for a more democratic approach and what the majority of people – the young people – wants, but also recognize officially, the issues of human trafficking and other ills in the region. Also, first included in the Sustainable Development Goals, these issues have been added to the national, regional and local agenda priorities. Due to this and the more progressive stance, the encouragement of establishing legal frameworks to improve human security in the face of the trade in humans, the large majority of SSA countries have now signed the Palermo Protocols and its 2000 Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and successfully drafted action plans and policies that are indeed being enforced on many levels. Some nations that were particularly plagued with hardships and bad governance however, remain far from solving their trafficking problems. Thus, while the new political landscape as well as the regional integration in form of regional economic communities improved an overall

collaborative, conjoint approach towards fighting organized crime and illicit border flows, these troubled countries continue to be inactive in the fight and deflect responsibilities. Early on in this endeavor of working unified against the crime, was the priority of setting up cross-border agencies that would cooperate for establishing a reliable and save way to measure the crime in order to being able to numerically pinpoint the problems of human trafficking in the region and react accordingly with regulations to prevent and suppress the crime as well as to protect and rehabilitate victims of it. In the same vein, a collective move towards cracking down on corruption in local governments and law enforcement as well as the training and educating of the latter, has helped to not only increase the number of identified victims, but also the number of convictions made under the new legislations.

Certainly, by utilizing SDGs as global guidelines and the Agenda 2063 as a continental one, and diversifying not only higher education majors but also economies with help of continuing FDI from North Africa as well as India, China and the European Union to the relevant industries, more steps could be taken towards eradicating push and pull factors that facilitate trafficking. Because these are underlying causes of trafficking and are usually very heavily ingrained in society, the path towards a complete eradication of human trafficking remains a long one. Thus, while poverty could overall be reduced, economic disparity still affects millions of disadvantaged citizens in the region. On the other hand, Uganda, as a posterchild with its high amount of women in parliament, in combination with an increasing number of women on the move to the cities competing for jobs, has inspired an increase of gender equality across Sub-Saharan Africa and is slowly changing the economic and political gender-landscape. This was necessary for creating stability in an increasingly large democratic environment in which people can quickly and easily mobilize through the use of mobile technology and internet. One pilot program initiated by ECOWAS and supervised by the African Union further demonstrates positive changes in gender equity and women's rights. In small regions throughout the regional economic community and its member states, prostitution has not only been temporarily legalized, but also heavily regulated, in order to see potential impacts on sex crimes, crimes against women and children as well as its impact on sex tourism and culture too. Furthermore, this scrutinizes how empowerment of women in this profession helps to provide better access to medical treatments and to what extent the profession of the pimp, or trafficker, is being affected by such laws and the strict regulation of it. However, deeply rooted regional and cultural factors that further drive trafficking continue to be difficult to change. Nevertheless, experts believe that with targeted, future-oriented education as well as further economic growth, wealth and urbanization, these

may eventually diminish to an extent when they constitute only a small factor in the heartland of SSA – the heartland here, being regions where the social fabric is changing only slowly – often rural and impoverished parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Due to this heavy and collaborative targeting of the crime, traffickers are naturally attempting to diversify their ways of coercion and exploitation. The connectedness of Sub-Saharan African people has given rise to the internet and mobile phone Apps as a new channel for human trafficking in which cybersex has become more common. As bitcoin is now also in Sub-Saharan Africa being used more and more to conceal the illegal transactions made in this business, the internet has become a potential platform for buying services that are of an exploitative nature. However, law enforcement and an increasing amount of NGOs and other non-profit initiatives that are funded by official development aid, are quickly closing windows of opportunities for organized crime here, using the internet for baiting traffickers and initiating sting operations, rendering this new platform less attractive and more risky by the day.

The overarching form of trafficking in this scenario still lies with forced labor, while "Other forms of trafficking" according to the United Nations' definition of the term, has surpassed sex-trafficking in SSA as the aforementioned spike in women's rights and gender equality is fighting gender-based vulnerability. Forced labor remaining the number one concern and market in trafficking is due to the consistent high demand of labor not only in mining, fishing and on cocoa plants, but also in manufacturing and construction, where initial migrants from many different parts of SSA have come to pursue a wealthier life but eventually have become bonded to labor. Domestic servitude falls into this category of trafficking too, and arguably constitutes a large portion of victims. While automation and leapfrog technologies have so far, for the most part improved productivity in the agricultural sector, its impact in other sectors and industries is quickly starting to change the landscape, and the demand of forced labor too. Efforts are currently focusses on industries with the highest economic output, such as oil, cocoa and mining, and more recently manufacturing. The mining and fishing industries in particularly, have recently achieved major milestones with new technology increasing productivity, where technologies such as drones could deal with infrastructural problems (Bello-Schünemann et al. 2017). With a continuation of such developments, these automatable industries might dampen the demand for forced labor.

Another example of the potentially disruptive forces of technology is now being implemented cross-regionally after initially having been piloted under the supervision of the European Union and AU. The goal of this endeavor is to eventually completely automate

broker services for employment cross-regionally as well as cross-continentally. The African Union is confident in this investment as adoption through African citizens is already spreading quickly, most likely due to the increased security, transparency and accountability that is provided through this service. In the future, more time and focus on policies that support the transfer of technology may push for eradicating the drivers of human trafficking. In other parts, the service industry has grown dramatically with the rise of SSA's middle-class. In general, fewer non-wage, informal jobs are chosen as countries have democratically worked on providing better social services to its citizens, creating a safety net for its people while at the same time incentivizing effective and well-targeted employment and participation in the economy's heavy output sectors. Signs for the region's quick industrial transition and a promising future of less dependency and more economic diversity which will continue to eradicate drivers of human trafficking and provide more human security to its people.

**What challenges remain?**

Ownership of goals and visions by all nations, unregistered births, online trafficking channel, economic disparity, discriminatory behavior towards minorities based on cultural, religious beliefs, conflict/terrorism, natural disasters.
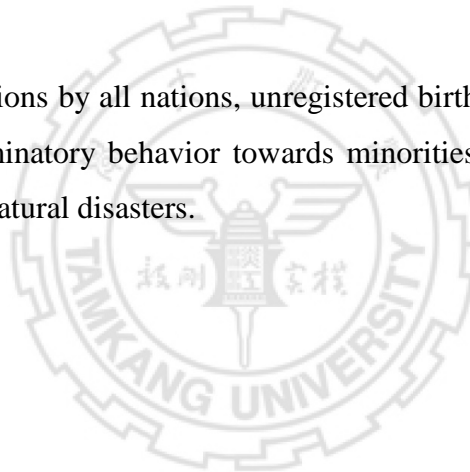
**Table 5 – Preferred Future Scenario**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Litany** | Trafficking and displacement of people low; out-migration/economic migration and brain drain resolved; SSA rises to catch up with the Global North; tendencies towards gender equality and human rights as national priorities across the region |
| **Systemic** | Region-wide conjoint operations to fight & enforce law on trafficking; climb out of poverty; employment transition and diversification with future-proof industries (for now) achieved; education focuses on diversifying; little to no conflict (intrastate); crack-down on corruption in local governments and law enforcement; succession of old rulers by younger rulers and further rise of democratization |
| **Worldview** | Economy is for the people<br>Transnational problems need transnational solutions<br>Root-cause leadership / SDGs (localized) – bottom-up<br>Ubuntu as a social philosophy |
| **Myth/ Metaphor** | I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am |

# Chapter 5 – Analysis and Discussion

In this chapter, the intention is to have a closer look at what the futures methods provided us with. The previous part has already analyzed the situation surrounding human trafficking and also interpreted the underlying narrative in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa. At this stage, a discussion is necessary, over what is to learn from possible implications that the scenarios illustrated, and how the story can be changed for the sake of effectively working towards the eradication of human trafficking in the region. From the analysis as well as the reviewing of alternative futures and the in-depth literature review, it is possible to derive the core narrative of this thesis. This will eventually enable deep-learning from current approaches towards this issue and provide the constructive rethinking of the same, so that stakeholders can have a better understanding of the dynamics of the crime and create more effective follow-up research, strategies and action plans that lead to a preferred future.

## Scenario Narratives

Three alternative future scenarios have been created based on text-based research and a scan of the macro environment. While it is necessary to recognize the diversity of these scenarios, it also needs to be acknowledged that there are converging parts, similarities or common realities in all three of these futures. The incast of CLA in the previous part enables to better understand the narrative of each future and comprehensively summarizes it.

Scenario 1 – the Long-Road tells a story of Sub-Saharan Africa looking elsewhere as the region itself has turned into a toxic environment without prospects for its own people. The dominant metaphor here is "I am because I want to be like them". In this desperate attempt to make this move away from Sub-Saharan Africa and even fit into the new world that they are pushed and pulled into, people meet their fate of vulnerability, eventual exploitation and an unclear, mostly dark future. On a worldview level, it can be said that policy-making and governance has failed in seeing the mutual dependence of economy and people, while the latter need to be provided with security and a feeling of integration that enables a harmonious society. Leadership in SSA unfortunately could not establish the transition of employment and creation of jobs. The massive unemployment and underemployment thus, spurred vulnerability and anger among citizens who not only turn against minorities and targets of usual discrimination, but they also turn against their own roots and lose their African link and connection to their home. The litany itself already gives away that this scenario is not a desired one for most stakeholders. It is rather a disowned future - a possible future that has

been pushed away and ignored by decision-makers and leaders for long enough to have turned into reality (Inayatullah, 2015). One that tells of a paradigm shift in which the cultural and socio-economic environment has put traffickers and organized crime in the position of power over the future African diaspora.

In scenario 2 – Borderless, illustrates a future in which a top-down approach caused Sub-Saharan Africa to sacrifice its values and belief systems for the sake of a more Western-rationalist view, in which the mantra goes according to "I desire, therefore I am" – one that very much reminds of Descartes' "I think, therefore I am", but adds a capitalistic component to the story. By creating a borderless pan-Africa, the continent has lost touch with its multitude of cultural identities effectively being forced into one. This sort of cultural globalization on a regional level was inherently un-African. The reasoning behind such a paradigmatic, progressive shift is a worldview that continues to incentivize trickle-down economics and problem-solving through top-down approaches with a silver-bullet mindset. Here, the economic well-being has been put over the well-being of people, while the stakeholders in power convinced themselves that it is indeed meant for the people, but neglecting obvious cultural and societal obstacles that stand in the way of betterment. As free movement of labor and the prioritizing of economic growth intended to establish a competitive edge for the global free-market and solving other ills incidentally as they come up - similar to what the Schengen treaty did in Europe - the complete integration and unification of the continent merely gave agency to the people, who in fact, were most in need of leadership. People were led into a used future – one that may have succeeded elsewhere but does not fit into the local context of Sub-Saharan Africa (Inayatullah, 2015). The pan-African vision is a leader-induced, shared vision on paper, but it is not the shared vision of the people.

Finally, scenario 3 – the preferred future, as seen from the point of view of NGOs and multilateral organization that are dedicated to the fight against human trafficking, shows a different Sub-Saharan Africa. In this scenario, the story depicts a sharing-culture with humanity at its core – sharing not only of resources and positive developments, but also the sharing of problems and challenges, creating a more collective and holistic mindset for the approach towards a better and preferred future. The leading metaphor here relates to the South African philosophy of Ubuntu, which dictates a community-centered and humanistic way of living that can best be captured in Desmond Tutu's quote "I am because we are; since we are, therefore I am" (Ngunjiri, 2016). On the worldview level, it is not about a causality dilemma along the chicken and egg narrative – here, the story plays out as the acceptance of the fact that the economy is for the people, implying the mutual dependency and complementation of

the two. However, as opposed to the borderless scenario, where labor supply is also recognized as a necessity, the fundamental difference lies in the bottom-up approach and empowerment of people with a collective sense of sharing as the maxim of one's actions. As opposed to Western philosophies, Ubuntu as a social philosophy here, is intrinsically African and suits local cultural believes. In such a future, trust and equality are premises for a functioning society where every stakeholder works jointly towards the same end and dividing factors are bridged democratically and respectfully.

Additionally, it is necessary to state that, except for the preferred future scenario metaphor, metaphors of these three alternative futures are not intrinsically African. They all follow a deductive reasoning pattern which is not to resemble what society in the respective scenario is like. These metaphors have been chosen, as their underlying narrative illustrates the difference between each and conveys the better understanding of changing paradigms that are going to be explored more deeply in the following parts.

**Stakeholders**

It is also of importance to scrutinize how the position of stakeholders has changed in these alternative futures. When analyzing the perpetrators throughout the three different narratives, it becomes clear, that their relevance as well as influence and perception varies greatly.

**Table 6 – Summary of Stakeholder Position per Scenario**

| | S(1) Long-Road | S(2) Borderless | S(3) Preferred |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Traffickers** | Migrant smugglers and ticket to paradise; in charge; rather organized actors than single actors | Slave traders (who take advantage of the demand by middle-class and urban hubs), aggressors/abductors, thugs, "divider" of a people | Prey on weakest/easy prey (natural disasters or conflict/terrorist-affected people; Suppliers of a dyeing product |
| **Victims** | Disconnected from own culture and bonds | Free but targeted, no real leadership or direction besides the narrative of the "African dream" in the urban hubs, where life is flourishing | Empowered legally and through cultural change (beliefs and ethics) |
| **Families** | Disconnected and left alone/marginalized | Free but targeted; often displaced as well | Empowered |
| **Governments, political leaders, policy-makers and legislators** | Lack of leadership, due to lack of foresight and the pressing need for reforming education, employment and growing sustainably | Wrong, non-African leadership; no deep thinking; top-down solutions for bottom-up issues/problems | More holistic leadership; empowerment through human-centered approach that recognizes geopolitical and socio-cultural factors |
| **NGOs, multi-lateral organizations** | Unclear data; Advocacy groups under pressure; increasing importance of awareness campaigns due to intercontinental trafficking | Measuring of trafficking is nearly impossible due to open borders; data remains scarce and unreliable; importance/power of NGOs and multilateral organizations rather low | Are heard when advocating; provides reliable data, creates benchmarks and proposes goals and solutions |

Traffickers in the Long-Road scenario, as has often been projected throughout the literature review, operate more and more as an organized group than an individual player. Long-distance travel requires an elongation of the supply chain, as the level of complexity is increasing. Even with new forms of trafficking through means of technology, such as

webcamming, organized crime has become the main operational model for facilitating trafficking in this scenario. The future that depicts a borderless Africa, however, changes the story for traffickers – here, they perceive themselves and are perceived as such by other stakeholders, as modern-day slave traders. They take advantage of the demand that middle-class and urbanization have created, and are more intrusive than ever - mostly due to the freedom of labor inhibiting the smuggling and trafficking. Here they are seen as "divider" of a people. This is due to their practice of trafficking and enslaving people according to social class, age or minority, reinforcing the divide between the people of Africa who live borderless and yet densely together. In the preferred scenario however, traffickers have merely become suppliers of a dyeing product and as a reaction to such a shift, prey on the few weak and vulnerable left-over victims that natural disasters and conflict or terrorism provide them with. Demand in other markets of human trafficking are disappearing quickly, which increases the traffickers' need for diversification, new channels, or a whole restructuring of their trade, if they are to survive in this illegal industry.

Victims of the crime change a lot throughout the three scenarios too. In the Long-Road, victims have become disconnected from their own culture so much that their only prospects for a preferred future appears to lie across the sea. Here, the pain and desperation that is felt among the people outweighs the risk of migrating. In the second scenario, without borders, victims appear to be able to enjoy much more freedom. That freedom however, comes without real leadership and leaves the African people in an elbow-society where the benefits of the freedom of labor do not come to fruition, neither for business nor for the people themselves, as they start to adapt to a capitalistic worldview which does not result in the benefits or even the opportunities that capitalism normally promises. In the preferred scenario, a human-centered approach, focusing on local and regional problem-solving was fundamental for the empowerment of people through legal and educative means that were inspired by the 2030 agenda and its SDGs as well as the African Union's Agenda 2063. This not only prepared society for change but actively created it. Families of the victims experience similar changes as the victims themselves in the respective scenarios.

The hardships that these victims and their families have to go through and the changes that have occurred leading to these 2037 scenarios, are very visibly reflected in the way that leadership by governments and their extensions (legislators and policy-makers) is practiced. The systemic problems on the institutional level in scenario 1 was the lack of foresight which inhibited leaders from providing social welfare, reforming education and the employment model, causing a socio-economic disaster trickling into all parts of African life. The intentions

in the Borderless scenario were good but foreign - they neglected deeper analysis of consequences which resulted in unmet goals and the loss of control and trust. In scenario 3, on the other hand, the approach was more complete and did not so much follow top down power structures. Here, human was put in the center and decisions were made around the priority of providing security from the local and regional level up, while staying true to the culture and the teaching of new values.

In the world of advocacy and campaigning, NGOs and multilateral organizations are increasingly being pressured in scenario 1 and 2. This is due to the increasing numbers cross-continental and cross-border trafficking while not being able to provide reliable data on the same, as no effective methodology for measurement has been put in place that can handle this level of complexity. Thus, while they are wildly criticized in the Long-Road scenario, and losing the credibility and power in the Borderless scenario, in the preferred future a working cross-border measurement methodology is in place, which supports very effectively the fight against human trafficking by creating solid strategies based on empirical data and benchmarks.

## The Core Narrative

The three scenarios have opened up the dialogue for alternative futures and possible outcomes of the future of human trafficking in the realm of Sub-Saharan Africa. These provide foresight that is needed for not only envisioning a real preferred future but also give strategic implications that need to be considered at any given time in the fight against human trafficking. Together with the in-depth literature review from chapter 2 and 3, these alternative futures also showcase overlapping and recurring patterns in the discourse that allow the identification of the core narrative of this thesis and thus, the issue of human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this part, it is the intention to use CLA to deconstruct and analyze the various levels of this narrative.

**Table 7 – CLA of Core Narrative**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Litany** | Human security; no vulnerability; no human trafficking |
| | Integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent[11] |
| **System** | Gender equality; sustained economic growth; access to justice and legal frameworks; reduced poverty, inequality and improved education |
| | Three pillars: Politically united, good governance, people (women & youth)-driven (African Union Commission, 2015) |
| **Worldview** | Pan-Africanism – unification is destiny |
| | Ethos of Sustainable Development Goals/Agenda 2063; global challenges vs. continental challenges |
| | Humans can change the world |
| | Combination of classical, visionary and organic leadership paradigms (Clark & Murray, 2012) |
| **Myth/ Metaphor** | "We are one" (The United States of Africa) |

On the litany-level, the discourse revolves around the assurance of human security. As a means of achieving a world in which there is no vulnerability to a crime such as human trafficking, the ultimate vision is one in which trafficking is fully eradicated. As chapter 2 and 3 have already illustrated, governments, policy-makers and legislators as well as (I)NGOs have adopted such a human-centered approach, with the key premise being the protection of human rights and achievement of human security. The African Union's vision on the litany-level is an integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent (African Union Commission, 2015)

The systemic layer explores how the litany is affected and, as the litany here mentions a specific end state, also how this state ought to be achieved. On this level, the main focus lies on push and pull-factors that facilitate the crime and on specific visions that ensure that these factors, or drivers, will become an issue of the past. The suggestion and implication here then is, that with a gradual movement towards achieving these goals, human trafficking can be effectively fought through removing underlying causes and thus, supply and demand. Fundamental pillars from which such an achievement can be realized are political unity, good governance and development driven by the people.

On a worldview-level, this translates into the ethos of the aforementioned Sustainable Development Goals. This global agenda with its shared set of goals focusing on drivers in the system-layer, shapes the core narrative as one that is collective, global and of highest priority.

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[11] According to the Agenda 2063 vision.

The SDGs concomitantly function as values for positive change and incentivize global action to put an end to human trafficking and other ills in the world. In this worldview the power to change lies within the people and it is the core belief that humans can change the world. In addition to this global agenda, Agenda 2063 is one that focuses on the development of the continent and on challenges it faces here. The continentally-shared aspirations of this agenda are not only acknowledged and supported by the 2030 agenda of the United Nations, they also overlap in many ways with SDGs and as such, can inspire in a complementary fashion, the end of human trafficking. Pan-Africanism is at the very core of this worldview which is also reflected on the aforementioned second and first layer - not only as the dominant political and economic worldview, but also as believed to set off the so-called *African Renaissance*. As will later be explored in more detail, the manner of leadership in this narrative follows a combination of the classical, visionary and the organic model.

The worldview is better understood through a layer four analysis. The metaphor here is "We are one". This metaphor refers to the African continent and all its people being unified and work conjointly together for "*an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena.*" (African Union Commission, 2015). This narrative of an African renaissance under pan-Africa, doesn't imply that every country and every African is the same, however, it does encourage the acknowledgement and acceptance of each other. It is possible to add to this metaphor "the United States of Africa"[12] which would refer to the capitalistic and ambitious goal of global market participation and the escape from marginalization from the same. Such a metaphor then, details the underlying driving forces that are mostly of a political and economic nature, while according to the agenda's vision, it indeed is people-driven, implying that people are standing behind the very same vision.

**Criticism towards this narrative**

UN's agenda for transforming the world as well as the agenda of the African Union, both have their particular challenges. In this part, the focus lies on few, select criticisms that are particularly inhibiting for progress towards a trafficking-free Sub-Saharan Africa and therefore, need to be addressed so that the core narrative can be reconstructed into one that is more complete. In general, the goals and visions identified in these agendas are benevolent and have gained a lot of support from the international community. The Sustainable Development Goals have been deemed much more inclusive now, following a more bottom-

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[12] This metaphor only refers to the United States of America in regards to its capitalistic leadership and worldview.

up approach as opposed to its predecessor goals (Sengupta, 2016). The way in which these goals ought to be achieved is through the localization of SDGs. The Global Taskforce of Local and Regional Governments (2016) made a comprehensive report on how to successfully localize the 2030 agenda. According to this report, some of the essential aspects of implementation are the raising of awareness of the SDGs on a community level, local ownership of the goals, decentralization of government as well as a prioritization of actions and the continuous monitoring and evaluation of indicators of change. While this new approach will likely prove to be more inclusive than previous MDGs, the same can't be said about the Agenda 2063. In their paper on the African Union's agenda, DeGhetto, Gray and Kiggundu write

> African citizens must have a high school education or higher in order for their views and opinions to be captured by the Agenda 2063 stakeholders' questionnaire. This policy excludes many Africans, especially in rural areas and urban favelas where completing high school is not the norm. This exclusion may constitute more that 50% of the population in designated groups such as rural youths, women, and people in isolated, remote, and underserviced parts of the continent"(p. 99, 2016),

questioning the real inclusiveness and bottom-up nature of the agenda. While certainly something that needs to be addressed in further adaptations of Agenda 2063, the mutual complementation of the two agendas does enable improvement and may compensate for shortcomings of either one. Important is however, to avoid drafting action plans that are counterintuitive to this symbiotic relationship, and instead exploit the benevolent visions and frameworks that have been created in this realm. One example of a divergence between the two agendas' approach is constituted by the strategy of funding. Whereas the African agenda looks towards financing its own development, the Sustainable Development Goals' localization intends to elicit international funding for regions and countries that are in particular need of such (African Union Commission, 2015 & Global Task Force for Local and Regional Governments, 2016). When looking at the depth of consideration for human trafficking and the way of eradicating this crime, it becomes apparent that the 2030 agenda pursuits a much broader and all-encompassing approach informed by a better understanding of the issue. In the Commissions' first ten-year implementation plan, it reads "*Since the guns would have been silenced and primary and secondary education will be compulsory, child*

*labour exploitation, marriages, trafficking and soldiering would not be seen or experienced by children born after 2023*"(p. 46, 2015) , illustrating an incomplete comprehension of trafficking dynamics. Other ambitions of the agenda are high and convey a vision that is bordering on the edge of feasibility. The cornerstone of Agenda 2063 however, is its high regards for pan-Africanism or, a united Africa. As mentioned in the worldview previously, according to the African Union Commission and their surveying of African people, a united Africa is the Africa that is needed in order to set off the African renaissance. When revisiting earlier chapters and the possible consequences of a large-scale integration, such a core belief gives the impression of it being mostly rooted in economic and political aspirations that promise sustained development of the continent and its eventual rise to become a global player. The problem that arises from such a rather rational and capitalistic, yet African and Afro-optimist worldview, is that it creates tunnel-vision. The narrative puts a unification central (African Union Commission, 2015) and thus, makes believe that Agenda 2063's core vision is a panacea for the continent's problems. According to this mindset, when challenges are overcome, prosperity will trickle through to all nations and levels. In reality, while a unification of Africa would not necessarily have as many negative impacts on trafficking and other challenges as previous chapters have so far implied, such blindness to other aspects and factors is dangerous. Because the concept is a rather political and economic one, and little is explored in terms of implications for society, there is a major lack of ownership when it comes to the aspirations of the agenda. DeGhetto, Gray and Kiggundu argue that treating Africa as a single unit of analysis can be dangerous as the Agenda 2063 is interpreted differently throughout the continent's nations and inspire different change on different levels and regions. This is why the current core metaphor "We are one" is not one that should be taken as a foundation for moving towards a desired future, as it ignores the differences among nations and further neglects the prioritization of some of them over others regarding emerging issues and general challenges. While this is addressed in the SDG-agenda, the core message of the African one is different and undermines a more holistic approach. According to DeGhetto et al., the diversity of the region might further "[…] *complicate the design, implementation, and even monitoring and evaluation of the Agenda 2063 plan of action"*. This diversity and the regions' remaining challenges too, do not imply disastrous effects for the continent or Sub-Saharan Africa per se, however, it illustrates the degree of complexity which requires a broader analysis of socio-economic factors. If indeed, a unification is imminent, the logistics of the crime of human trafficking must be understood prior to that, so that effective policy measures can be taken towards controlling border flows. If this is ignored,

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chances are high that organized crime can and will exploit the freedom that pan-Africa would provide.

Lastly, the real importance of UN's agenda and Agenda 2063 lies in their implementation on the local and regional level, as both intend to be bottom-up. Implementation is key to success and can only be effective if leadership allows for it. However, the question of leadership is mostly ignored in both agendas. The mentioning of transformative leadership being needed, does not suffice in times of complex problems, emerging issues and the conceptualization of agendas for a more sustainable world. As the current core narrative revolves around two agendas with a set of globally-shared and continentally-shared visions, leadership must be rethought so that action plans can be effectively followed through with. A more in-depth exploration of the dominant leadership paradigm follows in the next section, where causal layered analysis will be used to reconstruct such narrative into an improved one that, based on this research's findings, is more appropriate and effective in moving towards a truly desired future.

## The Reconstructed Core Narrative

**Table 8 – CLA of reconstructed Core Narrative**

| Litany | Human security; no vulnerability; no human trafficking<br>Inclusive, prosperous and peaceful |
|---|---|
| Systemic | (I)SDGs - Gender equality; sustained economic growth; access to justice and legal frameworks; reduced poverty, inequality and improved education<br>Three pillars: Good governance, empowerment of communities and research and monitoring of the relevant ills across the region of SSA<br>Acknowledging and analysis of emerging issues - local and regional challenges that have potential to go global |
| Worldview | Ubuntu as a leadership & social philosophy (organic)<br>Humans together can change the world<br>Alignment of ethos of SDGs/Agenda 2063; global challenges and continental challenges |
| Myth/Metaphor | "I am because we are; since we are, I can be" |

Because layer three and four dictate the systemic and litany layers and how change is being driven, the reconstruction of a new story begins on the metaphor-level. Through analyzing the core narrative and using the criticism of experts, it became possible to determine where the narrative had to change exactly, and thus, formulate a new one. From the

current core narrative "We are one", the core metaphor of the path towards a truly desired future becomes "I am because we are; since we are, I can be". This metaphor shifts the story from one where power structures seem to remain, global and continental challenges are not completely aligned and one that lacks a needed discourse on effective leadership, to one where power is more fairly distributed and leadership is central to the achievement of the visions – one of co-dependence and reciprocity within a local context, where ownership of challenges is taken throughout all, individual, communal and institutional levels. In order to achieve a better understanding of this narrative, it is important to realize that the metaphor is a quote, rooted in the essential principles of Ubuntu, an African, social and leadership philosophy (Ngunjiri, 2016).

This philosophy has been previously mentioned as part of the preferred scenario and its relation to the metaphor there too. In that scenario, while the majority of the SDGs are relevant to Sub-Saharan Africa, they do not feel like the people and communities were integrated in its creation. At the same time, Agenda 2063, despite being more African in its origin, also could not incentivize large-scale ownership, as economic and political disparities were too strong for bridging the gap. Thus, while the implementation of Agenda 2063 and the localization of SDGs increased the overall success of fighting human trafficking, many nations remain left out as the agendas either felt foreign or constituted a different meaning and priority there. This leaves the possibility of local and regional agendas of authoritarian regimes and anocracies undermining the two main visions by UN and the AU, resulting in blame-shifting and deflection - developed countries can point to developing countries and vice versa, for justifying lack of action or lack of effectiveness of action, inhibiting action plans actually being implemented or coming to fruition. The major underlying reason for the previously preferred scenario not being the most desired future, is that Ubuntu is merely practiced as a social philosophy to live by, by the people, but the implementation of Ubuntu principles in leadership is not internalized and therefore non-existent. This rather Western feeling to leadership then, may realize some positive change, as it has done it the preferred scenario, but for a more effective approach to change that truly improves the situation from the community-level up and not marginalizing any nations, a more African-style leadership needs to be applied – Ubuntu. This means that both, social and leadership dynamics are supported by the same principles.

The philosophy, while often said to originate from South Africa, plays a significant role across all Bantu people and is therefore a very common and well-known one in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa (Khomba, 2011). As the metaphor has already suggested, the essence

of its principles is best understood through the African proverb that Desmond Tutu translated into "*A person is a person through other people*" (Tutu, 2011). In his assessment of the Ubuntu philosophy for his PhD-thesis, James Khomba writes: "*Practising the Ubuntu philosophy unlocks the capacity of an African culture in which individuals express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, humanity and mutuality in the interests of building and maintaining communities with justice and communalities*" (p.129, 2011). Here, the humanist nature of Ubuntu is highlighted and shows how people, when they work together in harmony and according to the very pillars of Ubuntu, positive change can be achieved. Khomba goes on and writes:

> The Ubuntu philosophy believes in group solidarity, which is central to the survival of African communities. […]An African is not a rugged individual, but a person living within a community. In a hostile environment, it is only through such community solidarity that hunger, isolation, deprivation, poverty and any emerging challenges can be survived, because of the community's brotherly and sisterly concern, cooperation, care, and sharing."(p.128, 129).

Not only does this further confirm the community-centered approach of the philosophy, it also disparages the effectiveness of top-down ideologies in terms of their benefits for the people themselves. According to Ubuntu then, communities and the solidarity between people are the seed for change. In futures studies terms, this could also be interpreted as the seed for creation of preferred futures. Thus, while pan-Africanism, or the unification of the African continent, and the resulting African renaissance are the main worldview and vision in the old narrative, the new one suggests the non-inclusion of such. Central here, becomes a new leadership paradigm, which with the help of the two agendas, a better alignment of their ethos and visions and a complete and holistic translation into action, will more effectively fight human trafficking and other ills. The reason for the necessity of alignment and utilization of the complementary nature of the two is the fact that SDGs by themselves may by some nations be merely viewed as 'imported' goals (Persson & Nilsson, 2015) that are non-African and therefore create the possibility of competing agendas gaining momentum and a growing divergence between nations. Contrary to the non-inclusion earlier mentioned, Ubuntu does in fact support pan-Africanism. According to Ncube, "*Ubuntu recognizes the genuine otherness of all people*" (2010), which expresses the acceptance of diversity, other ethnicities, languages and even cultures and belief systems. While for Ubuntu

as a worldview or a way of life, the community is central, in a unified Africa, such an acceptance is also key for a harmonious society. Although the African renaissance may appear as an elitist vision that was created with little consideration for the majority of people of Africa, as has been established earlier, and forced onto them from top-down power structures, according to some authors, Ubuntu philosophy supports and enables a move towards, at least a similar vision to that of an uprising of Africa – "*At the heart of the African Renaissance beats the pulse of ubuntu*" (p. 48, Kessel, 2001). Hence, Ubuntu indeed is supportive of the pan-African mindset, however, there is a significant difference between the role of pan-Africanism in the current core narrative and the role of it in this reconstructed one. In the old story, pan-Africanism is seen and perceived as an ultimate state within a desired future. A vision that has been previously identified as being based on economic and political interests, but not social or cultural ones. The reconstructed core narrative on the other hand, puts central, the leadership and social philosophy of Ubuntu in order to create a preferred future that is indeed open to pan-Africanism, but doesn't treat its potential emergence and effect as deterministically as it has been in the previous story, where it is seen as the silver bullet. The reason for Ubuntu needing to play such a central role is not only because of its 'African' and benevolent traits, it is because it represents the missing link, not only between the two agendas, but also between the agendas and the people themselves. After all, Ubuntu supports the bottom-up, community-driven change that truly puts people first. In this worldview, the belief still remains that humans, or more accurate, communities and humans together can change the world. Essential is, that the worldview moves from pan-Africanism in which the people are connected based on political and economic relations and interests and through power structures that might result in a used future – to one where communities and solidarity become the glue of society based on cultural values and the acceptance of one another.

For approaching a challenge such as human trafficking then, Ubuntu as a social and leadership philosophy is one that from the core and through its values and principles has the power to give guidance to the African people and collaborate from within, as a community, and eventually eradicate human trafficking. Such organic leadership supports an integration and alignment of the African and the global agenda which has the advantage of creating a more holistic vision in which not only responsibilities can be shared, but also the resources needed for them, while incentivizing action as part of the African way of life. As guidance for achieving a future that is positive and bright, this narrative of reciprocity and co-dependence

on a community-level shall remain the underlying driver that will inform decision-making on the systems layer and create positive change on the litany level.

Thus, while the central focus of reconstruction of the narrative was on the worldview-level, changes on the systemic one will become visible too. However, both agendas and their respective goals and aspirations are not tentative and now rely completely on the implementation by the member states who subscribed to them. This once again, illustrates the importance of Ubuntu leadership. In table eight, in order to distinguish the old core narrative and the reconstructed one from each other, the new SDGs have been rebranded into (I)SDGs, emphasizing the need for inclusiveness and the localization of the goals through leadership on a regional and local level. One that pushes ownership of these goals as they have intrinsic value for communities' future. As for the African Agenda 2063's core vision, which in the old narrative was revolving around political unification, good governance, and people (women & youth)-driven, the systemic drivers of change have become slightly different as well. The three major pillars identified for this layer are good governance, empowerment of communities and research and monitoring of the relevant ills across the region of SSA. Reasons for these particular pillars culminated throughout the deeper exploration of human trafficking dynamics in previous chapters. Good governance in addition with leadership, as previously stated, is essential for successful guidance and implementation of visions. While the previous focus in the core narrative also identified this as an important pillar, the emphasis here lies also on the sort of leadership that is enabling, as will be discussed later on. Furthermore, the empowerment of communities, as prescribed by the Ubuntu worldview, much like the localization of SDGs, demands decentralization of governance and actions rooting from the community-level – bottom up instead of top-down. Such an approach is more inclusive of local and regional factors and can tackle issues as they are emerging and before they trickle across and eventually turn into challenges on a national or transnational level. And finally, essential is the continuous monitoring and research of the environment as well as the change that is achieved, through key performance indicators that factor in the community level and relate them with corresponding indicators on the national and global level. This requires more diligent and ambitious efforts in conjoint research and data accumulation. With sufficient and reliable empirical data, either local advocacy groups or governments can provide reports on the status quo of hardships felt on the local and regional level. This information does not only provide the essentials for a path towards a truly desired future, but it would also enable to identify and analyze possible emerging issues and trends that may

become global – thus, practicing foresight in a so-far multidisciplinarily, underexplored field of crime.

The litany layer in this reconstructed CLA does not change as the eradication of human trafficking still remains central. The difference between table seven and table eight then, lies mostly in the third and fourth layer. The transcending of the metaphor throughout the layers which illustrate the community-centered approach with inclusive, global and African, sets of visions and the consideration for local and regional values has created a systemic layer that can improve action for the achievement of the litany "headlines". In these headlines, human security is high, vulnerability low and the crime of human trafficking fading away.

## Rethinking leadership – The need for a new paradigm

In the discourse about leadership, Clark and Murray identify four major leadership paradigms – classical, transactional, visionary and organic (2012). These paradigms can be situated in personhood, position or the process, and have a certain focus and a manner in which leadership is practiced. When trying to fit Ubuntu as a leadership philosophy into one of these typologies, it most suits the organic paradigm. Clark and Murray also argue that the organic way of leadership, in which leadership is perceived as a process rather than practiced through position or a person, may be the future of leadership as it continues to grow in importance. An organic leadership emphasizes relationships, participation and a shared collective responsibility and it is where reciprocity and interactions are the major focal points. This very much correlates with the ideas and principles of Ubuntu. Such organic leadership then, say Clark and Murray, shifts the underlying question about "who leads" to "how leadership is practiced" instead. They further argue that "*Sustainable improvement can not be achieved by a single leader*" and a "*Collective and ethical nature of this leadership assures checks and balances in the leadership process.*" The latter is an important aspect in a political environment where democracy is a relatively new concept of governance, such as Sub-Saharan Africa.

Lisa Ncube's assessment of Ubuntu as a transformative leadership philosophy points out many important aspects of it that positively distinguishes itself from the Western leadership paradigm. She writes,

[…]Ubuntu invokes traditional cultures. Scholars of leadership now recognize the importance of including traditional cultural perspectives of leadership. Although

Ubuntu is more than a cultural practice of the Bantu people, as a leadership philosophy it balances the past (by learning from it), the present (by examining immediate and pressing concerns), and the future (by providing a vision) (2010),

illustrating how such a leadership approach might be particularly important for diverse regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa. It also emphasizes the inclusion of futures thinking in its principles. Not only does Ncube suggest that openness towards diversity and the integration of indigenous perspectives are key parts of this philosophy, she also explains why the Western paradigm should not always be seen as a universal solution to great challenges by stating that "*Not all knowledge resides in the north, to be transferred to the south as necessary; there is richness in cross-cultural fertilization.*" On the one hand, Sustainable Development Goals can be seen as Western approaches through Western leadership, despite localization of global problems. On the other hand, Agenda 2063 conveys a narrative of pan-Africanism that is not completely rooted in the peoples' visions, but reflects a rather imported and capitalistic mindset with focus on economy and politics as the panacea for the continent. In the realm of Ubuntu leadership, Ncube explains the process as one where

Leaders search for opportunities to initiate change through people. Rather than being forced on people, change comes through a process of openness and transparency; people come to accept change. Decisions to change come by consensus rather than polling, and there is circularity in the decision-making process (2010).

This quote coincides with the reconstructed core narrative in the way that it proposes change from within. What is meant here, is change from within the community, and therefore based on African values and belief systems, rather than based on the responsibility that is created by a leadership paradigm that does not support the openness towards diversified cultures, their empowerment and local participation.

It is also helpful to consider leadership in terms of management in the professional world, as Ichak Kalderon Adizes does in an article written for the Huffington Post (2017). Here, he uses a metaphor for leadership when referring to the quest of finding translations of the verb "to manage", arguing it is a one-way flow of energy and often resembles the handling of cars or horses. Adizes' "I am leader and you are hereby led"-narrative shows the power structures often present in leadership when it is situated in personhood or position. With such

hierarchies in place, visions are often biased towards benefitting those at the top and can't function effectively from bottom-up. Moving away from such a paradigm and embracing the process-driven one changes the narrative and the metaphor becomes invalid – exactly the point of what Adizes also argues, needs to happen.

When revisiting the creation and supposed implementation of the two agendas and how they inspire change, it becomes evident that leadership is not only for the most part left out of the discourse but also incoherent. It has been established earlier that both agendas intend to approach the global and continental issues from the bottom-up as opposed to top-down, despite the African Union Commission having neglected a large part of the continent's citizens during the creation of its agenda's aspirations. The UN's agenda to transform the world on the other hand, has proven to be indeed much more inclusive of regional and local developments, particularly considering the range of these global challenges. Overall then, it appears that in the current core narrative, the two agendas combine the shared sense of collective responsibility from the organic paradigm, with the classical power and authority model, and a possibly over-ambitious, transformative, visionary leadership. For the aforementioned reasons of not taking the business-as-usual path and leading through power and personhood, it is essential to move to a wholly organic leadership model which fully supports Ubuntu as a way of life and guidance towards creating a desired future. Clark and Murray argue that, when structuring leadership according to a collectivist mentality, it encourages teamwork and a noncompetitive environment. A competitive environment, as could be seen in two of the three scenarios, affects the people on the local level in a way that is counterintuitive to the way of life dictated by Ubuntu. The collective has to become more important than the individual leader or a small elitist collective at the top. This is necessary for creating a climate in which positive change can be accelerated and said change will reflect the value of the African people.

When taking a closer look at the path that leads from the core narrative towards the reconstructed narrative and desired future, the transitional stage in-between is one that paints a picture of conflicts and opportunities. Thus, while the current narrative may well tend to create a used future, much like scenario 2 in which an un-African and non-inclusive vision illustrates the inevitable change that is needed, moving towards the reconstruction and creation of a story that is indeed desired, requires short- and mid-term conflicts to be reframed and overcome. Conflicts that have been a recurring pattern in this thesis and that are evidently standing in the way of achieving a world according to Ubuntu as a social and leadership philosophy are top-down vs. bottom-up, authoritarian vs. democratic, centralized power vs.

decentralized power, global vs. African and more specific in terms of leadership - position and personhood vs. process-driven or the question of 'who leads' to 'how is leadership practiced'. These conflicts then, give rise to strategies that are not as evolved as, and committed to the longer-term concept of Ubuntu leadership, but represent important steps that may be taken as a result of current resource capacities and compromises between stakeholders.

One possible strategy that could be seen rising then, might be the decentralization of power, meaning the empowerment of local governments, with the actual leadership and vision remaining in personhood at the top. Change here, is neither imposed on the people, nor is it initiated through openness, but it is incentivized – a middle-way that intends to harmonize the process of leadership so that existing governance through the sort of anocracies that have been identified earlier in this thesis, does not need to be completely sacrificed, and leaders consequently stay in power. With such a strategy, no actual paradigm shift would occur in leadership and the model would continue to be of a classical nature, while also showcasing transformative and organic features in it. What such a short- or mid-term strategy may also include is a more intense focus on regional economic communities (REC's) as a more localized approach – following the ways of the UN's agenda and its SDGs. Rather than pushing for transforming the continent, leadership encourages more of the same – a strategy that is grounded in the realization that change is inevitable, but underestimates the extent to which change is needed.

Another strategy that is possible, is that of reframing pan-Africanism as a societal concept first. This implies the push for the acceptance of otherness and society and its diversity of people to come together for the collective achievement of prosperity through utilizing economic opportunities and political unity that supports an African renaissance.

Furthermore, rather than SDGs and the Agenda 2063 working alongside each other on all levels, their visions and their implementation can be divided through specifying their respective sphere of influence. In this strategy, Agenda 2063 (with a reconstructed and more inclusive implementation plan than its first edition) can incentivize change and actions on the local and regional level, defying problems of ownership, while SDGs can be utilized on the cross-regional or continental level, working as an inspiration for Agenda 2063 as well as a benchmark tool on the global level.

Finally, one more strategy, as could be seen a version of in the preferred scenario already, Ubuntu as a way of life and social philosophy can be utilized by leaders at the top for creating an empowerment through people themselves. At the same time, this strategy can be used to give the illusion of political empowerment through the teaching of Ubuntu principles,

while actual leadership remains the same. As beneficial as such a strategy and the supposed harmonizing of society could be for the stakeholders that are truly in charge, it also may backfire if governments and leaders do not align their leadership with the principles of Ubuntu and refer to the rather conservative way of exerting power over a quickly growing, young population. This shows how change remains to be inevitable, even in a scenario that has been labeled a preferred one in this thesis.

With the conflicts presented, it is possible to reframe the issue when understanding that Ubuntu, if implemented properly as a social and leadership philosophy, is able to succeed in whatever stakeholder's visions by starting locally and expanding positive change towards regional, national and global levels eventually. Thus, rather than being conflicted about the way and direction that power is exerted, it needs to be made clear how Ubuntu answers that question by stating that, for the end result, it is irrelevant, given the new leadership paradigm is internalized. If the desired end state according to the Agenda 2063, meaning of the leaders and top 50% of Africa's population  is to be integrated, prosperous, peaceful and a global player – such a vision will become reality naturally from Ubuntu leadership, if, in fact, that is what benefits all the people most. As the current Agenda 2063 however, does exclude a majority of the continents citizen, it can be expected that short- and mid-term strategies have to eventually give way to the commitment to a greater shared vision and corresponding long-term strategy that is inclusive and will in its own way create an African renaissance that is not rooted in ideological thinking, but a co-dependent, shared and collective approach towards a desired future.

**Emerging issues – The need for vigilance and anticipatory inquiry**

Aside from the importance of leadership, other lessons can be learned from this research too. It has become evident throughout this thesis that the lack of in-depth scientific inquiry with help of futures methodology has been largely inexistent in regards with human trafficking and the demographic emergence of Sub-Saharan Africa. The importance and complexity of this issues and this thesis' main research questions demand a multidisciplinary inquiry and exploration of emerging issues which has not been done so far. Even though reports such as Trafficking in Persons by the U.S. Department of State (2016) as well as the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (2016) approach the problem according to its impact and possible prevention, and intends to create empirical data globally, their partially incomplete data sets are insufficient for understanding possible long-term trends and disruptive changes. The Global Report on Trafficking in Persons explored emerging issues

and trends per region but fails to analyze it in the greater context of the crime as well as what alternative futures can result from them (2016). A mere identification of such emerging issues and trends is not enough for informing long-term solutions. A continuous scanning of the macro-environment and its analysis of implications for specific regions according to their local and region-specific context as well as what that means in the greater international context, is a necessity. Neither the United Nations' nor the African Union's agenda include important future-related key words or their synonyms and terms of equivalent meaning – disruption, uncertain, probable, anticipate and even vision (outside of the agendas' own particular one) are not being used in a manner that is conducive of holistic futures thinking.

The inclusion of emerging issues analysis is particularly important when considering that every global challenge or continental challenge identified in the two agendas once started out with a small signal that was not easily identifiable. If futures tools such as EIA can be applied in order to scan for these signals, time them and further analyze and anticipate their emergence, then emerging global challenges or the trickling across of challenges can be prevented or redirected (Molitor, 2003 & 2010). Furthermore, the emergence of issues that are often on the fringes of scientific inquiry is important due to their unpredictability (Schwartz, 1996). As explained before, the path of emerging issues is unclear until certain maturity is achieved. A useful example from this thesis, which better showcases the relevance of such a practice, has been the rise of robotics in the sex market. In this particular example, the emergence of the issue is dependent on the level of development of a country as well as its cultural and historical background. Signs of the use of sex robots are becoming more and more common in the European sphere (Foundation for Responsible Robotics, 2017), where wide-spread adoption of such a technology is still perceived as unlikely or far away. However, the movement of this technology is progressively climbing up the s-curve of emerging issues analysis, where the potential of its more regular use can completely disrupt the sex industry and therefore sex trafficking (Yeoman & Mars, 2011). In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand, such a technology is mostly unknown and not a native phenomenon or issue – the technology would have to be transferred from the Global North, or time would have to show whether or not SSA would delve into the same technological exploration like developed countries in the West currently do. The reasons for slower adoption are plentiful – because of lacking technological advancement, economic hardships or simply the cultural belief systems and values that are much more closed up towards such novel and fringe ideas (Papenfuss, 2017). Thus, because such an emerging issue could potentially have a large and disruptive impact on the Western sex trafficking market, it doesn't necessarily need to

develop that way. Futures studies and particularly scenarios as a tool, argue that alternative futures with such a consideration must be made in order to be better prepared – for a future that has the technology, a future that doesn't have the technology, a future in which the technology is abused by traffickers, an integrated future that shows a middle way, and many other futures (Schwartz, 1996 & Inayatullah, 2008). Most importantly, these futures need to be brought into the context of trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the assumption in this thesis of the technology not entering the African market, its possible emergence in the West does imply significant changes for policies and legislations in SSA, as well as the supply and demand of international trafficking. The Borderless scenario provided a look into such a future.

The stakeholder's interests are another aspect to be considered regarding the eventual implementation of continental or global agendas. If the most powerful stakeholder in terms of action against human trafficking, the government, can't be persuaded that human trafficking indeed is a threat to the nations' people and therefore government itself, best practice and good leadership will give way for other plans that undermine the two that were analyzed in this thesis. Current goals are mostly non-obligatory and besides the consequences of their non-action themselves, real punishment is inexistent (Pogge, n.d.). This has deep implications as competing agendas are often not in the prime interest of people, and do not support a sustainable future  due to creating disowned or used futures – such futures then can imply the continuation of lacking legal frameworks, hardships, exploitation and the possible affection of bordering countries. This also illustrates how a strict focus on soft laws and non-legally binding protocols for the creation of legal frameworks uses wrong and incomplete key performance indicators, because the underlying drivers of this are diverse and also dependent on the ownership of the agendas through good governance and effective leadership – a much broader and more encompassing perspective is needed, particularly with regards to research such as the Trafficking in Persons report (2016).


**Summary & Additional Considerations**

In this summary, it is the intention to aggregate the knowledge in form of key points gained from the analysis as well as to provide some specific ideas and issues that demand more attention. These are a direct result from the evaluation of data and text-based research throughout this thesis and merely intend to broaden the discourse and inspire action and further research, as the scope of this thesis did not allow for deeper exploration of possible solutions. It is therefore encouraged to utilize this research in order to conduct follow-up

research as well as to continuously track identified issues of importance, mentioned in this summary and prior.

The three scenarios presented a range of alternative futures in which human trafficking follows a path that has thus far been unexplored. From narratives of traffickers being in charge, over the renaissance of a slave trade to a narrative where traffickers face a dying market and the crime is virtually moving towards its resolution, the stories illustrate merely three alternatives that are possible. Their particular significance over other possible narratives lies in the fact that they are derived from assumptions based on a thorough literature review, horizon scan, as well as being inclusive of historical awareness and currently emerging issues and trends with an in-depth comprehension of the crime in the local, regional, national as well as transnational context. The discussion and analysis of them enabled to see what the underlying worldviews are and thus, where to begin when rethinking solutions. Furthermore, through the revisitation of all previous chapters and the discussion of possible scenarios, the core narrative could be identified. This core narrative represents the current paradigm and way of thinking surrounding the crime of human trafficking in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa. The lessons learned from deconstructing this narrative and analyzing its four layers through causal layered analysis, were that issues that are holding back the most effective approach towards eradication, are situated in the worldview and metaphor layer. Not only does the narrative lack the very important aspect of an effective leadership paradigm, what that would look like and how it can be achieved, it also showcases how the core belief of pan-Africanism as a solution points towards the creation of a used future, rather than a desired one – an imported future based on the capitalistic mindset of leaders, their focus on "*representing a dynamic force in the international arena*" (African Union Commission, 2015) – meaning to stop being marginalized on the global free-market and how this vision will help achieving other designated goals of the agenda. In the reconstructed core narrative, which better informs the current discourse, such tunnel-vision is being replaced with a broader, more holistic approach through focusing on an organic leadership paradigm. Rather than putting central the unification of the African continent, in this preferred narrative, leadership that is not situated in personhood or position, but is rather process-driven is the key driving factor for a positive end state – which may or may not include the integration of Africa. The emphasis on relationships, participation and a shared collective responsibility is here crucial for linking the global and continental agenda of the UN and the African Union Commission and translate it into effective action that is truly driven through communities' empowerment and their reciprocity and solidarity among themselves. It is important that Ubuntu is not only practiced

as a social philosophy but is internalized in leadership as well, so that the most effective manner is chosen through which a truly preferred future can be achieved.

Separate from the discourse over leadership, but not less important, is the significance of identifying and analyzing emerging issues. The discussion in this chapter illustrated how the neglecting of signals of change and the lack of transdisciplinary scientific inquiry has allowed for potential issues to remain unexplored while emerging slowly on the fringes of usual scopes of research. Such blind spots are dangerous and are the reason why this exploratory research has been so important – not only for initiating the discourse on more complex futures in human trafficking, but also to criticize old-fashioned ways of scientific inquiry that ignore the benefits of futures thinking and tools.

The overall take-away is that current agendas and solutions are indeed beneficial for the fight against human trafficking, but are very much dependent on their implementation through the right leadership on local and regional level first and foremost. It is paramount to not follow a business-as-usual approach as it is conducive to the blindness towards emerging issues and the multiplicity and complexity of this transnational crime, so that in the long-term future it might enable an environment for traffickers and their trade to flourish. For Sub-Saharan Africa, the rethinking of trafficking on the worldview level was a necessity in order to better understand how to tackle systemic drivers and achieve a future in which there is no vulnerability, but human security.

Seeing as how central the pan-African mindset is in in the current discourse around the vision of an African renaissance, one issue that has been touched on in the scenarios too, is that of xenophobia. Due to the diversity of the region and the unification being mostly driven by political and economic interests, it is obvious how the social and cultural aspect of this is unexplored. The possible development, or rise of xenophobia is particularly relevant when considering the urbanization rate in many parts of the region. A primary focus of policy-making then, has to lie on social issues such as this. Furthermore, because of the aforementioned typologization of the crime, mentioned in the Global Report of Trafficking in Persons (2016), it is now particularly relevant to look out for variations or diversification of the common trafficking offenders. As two scenario have shown the potential of terrorism networks and warlords turning to cities for recruitment, smaller splinter groups that are much more mobilized and thus, can easier recruit in urban hubs, need to be monitored (Shelley, 2010).

A recurring issue throughout this thesis, has played the need for conjoint action. Mostly mentioned in regards with research and monitoring, but cross-border, cross-regional

and even transregional collaboration on the legislative and jurisdiction level too, is essential for an effective eradication of human trafficking. This also needs to include the regulation and actual enforcement of laws. A lack of cooperation on these levels is counterproductive in tackling a transnational crime. It creates a sort of NIMBYism (Not-in-my-backyard) and undermines accountability and a sense of responsibility through the possibility of deflection. Current discourse already is very inclusive of legal frameworks and the securing of borders as necessities for this endeavor. However, as the scenarios have shown the potential of international and long-distance trafficking increasing, the need for better repatriation laws and better action frameworks that allow the riddance of legal gray areas is a must. The European Union and African Union have been a good example of partnership in the fight against the crime, but this thesis argues, such undertakings must be extended at least towards the MENA region as well. Earlier mentioned problems with laws and definitions of the crime are problematic and need to follow a more universal approach, so that gray areas can be avoided (Shelley, 2010 & Gallagher, 2010).

When considering rising forms of trafficking or the diversification of trafficking, the research conducted for this thesis has discovered at least one more form that may become relevant in the future but has so far not been mentioned or received only little attention and therefore is taken into consideration in this part. The issue of *in-house trafficking[13]* and its potential to grow a diversified trafficking model is the point in question and needs to be addressed in further research. While in-house trafficking is not a common term in the field of human trafficking, this thesis uses it to describe a future in which baby farming turns into a new trafficking model in which expecting mothers are held and supply their newborns that are born and raised in these so-called baby farms (Huntley, S. 2013). Such farms are particularly prevalent in Nigeria where pregnancy out of wedlock, poor regulations of orphanages, and infertility among other reasons, work as key drivers of this form of trafficking (Onuoha, 2014). According to Huntley, baby farming describes "*criminal activities in Nigeria involving restriction of a person's movement against such person's will, forced impregnations, sale of babies and illegal adoptions*" (p.10, 2013). It is thus of interest, to better understand how such a new form of trafficking could potentially disrupt society and the supply and demand dynamics of the crime itself. Should scenario 2, the borderless scenario become reality – one in which a new form of slave trade is being born, demand might require these slaves to be *customized*, trained and obedient for either combat, domestic servitude, sex work

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[13] In-house trafficking is a fictitious word that refers to the practice of baby-farming and the potential result in a future where slaves or trafficking victims, for any purpose or form, are 'created' *in-house*, meaning – born, raised and trained for exploitation.

(webcamming e.g.) or any other form of trafficking and thus, may be found through the baby farms. While such a scenario still remains on the fringes of the imagination, the pervasive existence of baby farms and the aforementioned slave trade in Libya (Al Jazeera, 2017) are signs of a potential emergence. A further possibility of diversification of a trafficking model and the emergence of the previous baby farms is presented by international adoption. Considering the quick demographic rise, the potential for abandonment may increase and put children into either orphanages or adoption – both, being rather easily intercepted by traffickers (ACPF, 2012).

Lastly, it needs to be understood that even trends that have peaked and are in decline, need to be continuously monitored in order to anticipate potential disruption. While the likelihood of unregistered births or the AIDS rate increasing is low, developments can always swing both ways and turn out disruptive. A quick urbanization rate as well as the *slumification* of cities is one example of how AIDS could potentially reemerge into national agendas as primary concerns. Furthermore, this may also very much increase xenophobia and undermine the principles of Ubuntu. Thus, whether it is trends that are past their peak or issues that are not yet established as certain developments, constant research and analysis allows for better anticipation, preparedness and a deeper exploration of possible futures.

What this analysis and discussion has shown is that the achievement of positive change is often rooted in deeper levels of understanding. The worldview and the stories that underlie the more shallow layers are crucial to be understood, so that change can better be incentivized and leaders are informed more effectively.

# Chapter 6 – Conclusion

This thesis intended to thoroughly explore the implications that Sub-Saharan Africa's demographic transition will have on the future of human trafficking. It has been comprehensively laid out, how the complexity of the crime is exacerbated by new trends and developments that are driven by factors on the macro-, meso- and micro-level. It has also been established that current ways of data accumulation insufficiently inform policy-making and strategic actions against the crime, as potential cross-border and cross-regional conjoint actions are struggling to defy corruption and lack of accountability. However, the thesis also illustrated that human trafficking has been gaining significant attention on national and international political agendas. This was not only reflected in action and legal frameworks becoming more common, but also through the specific inclusion of human trafficking in the UN's 2030 agenda to transform the world, as well as the African Union's Agenda 2063.

Using horizon scanning enabled the identification of the most relevant trends and emerging issues which were then put into the regional context and fed into scenarios. With help of three alternative futures and causal layered analysis, it was possible to create stories of possible developments, analyze them and criticize narratives that are not helpful in the fight against the crime. Furthermore, it was possible to determine the core narrative and reconstruct it for the purpose of rethinking human trafficking dynamics and approaches as well as for creating a truly desired future. While the restructuring of preferred future narratives was a central contribution itself, another big part of what this thesis was able to provide, is how to more effectively get there. Rather than committing to worldviews that nurture one solution fits all-mindsets and top-down approaches with little intrinsic African values in it, this research suggested that a new leadership paradigm is key to success – one which is driven by the social and leadership philosophy of Ubuntu – and by doing so, encourages best practices in governance, empowers communities and incentivizes conjoint research and monitoring for the future of the crime.

Arguably the most valuable and essential input for the issue of human trafficking was the simple broadening of discourse by arguing that Sub-Saharan Africa's demographic shift should not be merely seen as a regional issue, but one that has potential to disrupt and also be disrupted by, Western dynamics of the trade in humans. This transdisciplinary inquiry was made possible through the use of futures methodology which has been an intrinsic part of this thesis. This action-science and more holistic way of scientific inquiry, allowed for the anticipation of emerging issues and their possible implications on the individual, communal and institutional level. In retrospect then, this thesis does not only serve as a cautionary

warning for unsupportive worldviews and actions based on incomplete data and comprehension of this crime, but also as an inspiration for follow-up research that intends to further explore, explain and monitor developments in this sphere. This thesis has been discussing that the need for this is significant as stakeholders, and leaders in particular, need reliable data and research for being informed on the severity of human trafficking. This would allow for incentives to rise for best practices and the emphasis being on the people rather than economy or political ideologies with power structures that often just create used and disowned futures.

As with any research there were obvious limitations to this thesis too, which however, have been repeatedly addressed, and suggestions for improvement were made in order for future research to not come across similar hardships. Furthermore, this thesis encourages to conduct follow-up research that focusses not only on what specific actions need to be taken in the Sub-Saharan African realm, but also what Ubuntu leadership in practice needs to look like and how it can actively translate the suggestions of this thesis into the creation of preferred futures that are indeed driven from the bottom-up and do not marginalize a big portion of citizens. In the view of the analysis of this thesis, it has been argued that the worldview of the core narrative needs to change and that strategic action also reflects that on the systemic level. Further research then, must be conducted on how to incentivize this change and how to effectively align global and continental agendas without compromising ownership on the community level. In conclusion it needs to be stated, that only with combined efforts on regional and transnational level, and new, organic leadership that is supportive of a decentralization of power, can human trafficking be completely eradicated.

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