

Of bogus hunters, queenpins and mules: the varied roles of women in transnational organized crime in Southern Africa

Annette Hübschle

MPIFG Journal Article

Annette Hübschle: Of Bogus Hunters, Queenpins and Mules: The Varied Roles of Women in Transnational Organized Crime in Southern Africa. In: Trends in Organized Crime 17(1-2), 31-51 (2014). Springer
The original publication is available at the publisher's web site: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12117-013-9202-8>

The MPIFG Journal Articles series features articles by MPIFG researchers and visiting scholars published in peer-reviewed journals. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIFG) Cologne | www.mpifg.de

Published online: 8 June 2013

© Springer Science+Business Media New York 2013

Abstract Organized crime scholars have paid scant attention to gender and stereotyped roles of women in the commission of organized crime activities. Traditionally, organized crime is seen as a form of criminality perpetrated by men only. Women are usually portrayed as victims of organized crime or as “mean girls”, girlfriends, wives, lovers of brides of notorious gangsters and mobsters. In the southern African context, little historical or comparative data is available on the role of women in organized crime. Existing data is basic and proceeds on the assumption of gender-neutrality or the implied male composition of organized crime groups. The link of women to organized crime is one of suffering and exploitation. However, in reality women fulfill varied roles and functions within transnational organized crime networks in the region. In some instances, they are the foot soldiers of drug and human trafficking syndicates. Sometimes they are the intermediaries or powerful matriarchs at the apex of transnational organized crime networks. Reliant on empirical findings undertaken for a regional 3-year project on organized crime trends in southern Africa, this paper will examine the dynamism of the role of women in organized crime in the region and argues that women play a multifaceted role with implications for themselves, their families, society and organized crime. Gender mainstreaming within scholarly literature and policy research is in nascent stages, this paper pleads for a more gender-sensitive approach to organized crime analysis.

Keywords Women and transnational organized crime · Organized crime · Illegal markets · Human trafficking · Drug markets · Rhino poaching

Contribution to the Special Issue of Trends in Organized Crime: Women and Transnational Crime

A. Hübschle (✉)

Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies,
Cologne, Germany
e-mail: anh@mpifg.de

A. Hübschle
e-mail: annette.huebschle@gmail.com

Introduction

The role of women in transnational organized crime has come under the spotlight in recent years. Whereas women used to be portrayed as victims of crime rather than perpetrators, recent scholarly articles allude either to changing dynamics or to stereotyped misconceptions about women's involvement in crime. Gender nonetheless remains the most influential determinant of criminality, even more so than a person's socio-economic, educational or employment status.

In the following paper, I will provide a short literature review with a special focus on theories of organized crime and their depiction of women as victims or perpetrators. Thereafter a short history of organized crime in southern Africa is provided and the role of women in southern African society is contextualized. The empirical section will discuss the role, presence and activities of women in transnational organized human trafficking, drug and rhino poaching operations in southern Africa. The three case studies draw on the findings of a 12-country research project on organized crime trends in Southern Africa¹ and ongoing research activities by the author. The project, amongst other research questions, looked into the structure and composition of organized crime groups in the region.

Definition and conceptualization of organized crime in Southern Africa

Globally, the concept of organized crime is highly contested and it is used indiscriminately to denote actor constellations or organized criminal activities. Consensus-building on an internationally agreed definition of organized crime proved an onerous task at the 1999 and 2000 meetings of the UN Ad-Hoc Committee meetings in Vienna. In the end, state parties compromised and opted for a definition of an organized crime group and called for the criminalization of participation in such a group within the ambit of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (United Nations General Assembly 15 November 2000).

Turning to the Southern African scenario, different organized crime markets are believed to have evolved during the late 1970s and 1980s (Gastrow 2001).² While smuggling of goods across national boundaries may have existed as long as the boundaries themselves have existed, Southern African police agencies efforts to curb the activities of criminal networks are as recent as the 1990s (Wannenberg and Irish-Qhobosheane 2007). The concept is thus relatively new, though as controversial as elsewhere in the world. Early attempts relied on depictions of mafia-type hierarchical criminal organizations, which existed outside the formal economy (Hübschle 2011). An underlying preconception was that organized crime was attributable to criminal

¹ Fieldwork was undertaken in the following Southern African countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) collaborated with the sub-regional policing body, the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO). At the time of the project inception, Madagascar and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were not SARPCCO members and were hence not included during data collection.

² Wannenberg and Irish-Qhobosheane found evidence that some South African organized crime groups were already active in the 1950s and possibly earlier (Wannenberg and Irish-Qhobosheane 2007: 181).

groups of foreign origin only, who exploited local conditions to their benefit. What this preconception ignored was the key role of locals in criminal networks (Wannenberg and Irish-Qhobosheane 2007). Moreover, the assumption that organized criminals originate from the clandestine criminal underworld was equally problematic because it omitted the fact that politicians, law enforcement agents, government officials and businesspersons facilitate illegal market exchanges and collaborate with organized crime networks. Corruption was identified as a key strategy by organized crime to undermine government, law enforcement and the formal economy. Lack of engagement with the interface between criminal and legal actors points to a bias found in many definitions of organized crime which fail to acknowledge that it is rarely the case that organized crime represents “a conspiracy of professional gangsters preying on a passive upper world” (Standing 2006: 78).

In the case of Southern Africa, all states have either signed or ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Convention)³ over the past fifteen years, although most of them have yet to define the concept for internal policy and law enforcement purposes. The heads of criminal investigation departments of SARPCCO (Southern African Police Chiefs Cooperating Organization) member states and the research team came together during the inaugural meeting of the aforementioned research project and agreed on a working definition derived from the Palermo Convention for the purposes of data collection. The definition emphasized four key elements: the number of participants, their common purpose, the repetitive nature of the criminal activities concerned and the existence of a profit motive. It became common parlance at all briefings and meetings conducted for the project. Based on this working definition, research and analysis undertaken by the project team, SARPCCO’s Legal Sub-Committee presented a definition of organized crime devised for the Southern African region at the SARPCCO AGM in 2010, which was adopted by regional chiefs of police. For the purposes of this article the same working definition will be employed. Thus, organized crime

- “Is committed by two or more perpetrators, who are aware of each other’s existence and general role, and who are acting in concert
- Is serious
- Is committed repeatedly and
- The crimes are motivated by the pursuit of material and financial gain.” (Hübschle 2010: 9)

Literature review

“Criminology and the sociology of deviance must become more than the study of men and crime if it is to play any significant part in the development of our understanding of crime, law and the criminal process and play any role in the transformation of existing social practices.” (Smart 1976: 185)

³ Because it opened for signature to state parties in Palermo in 2000, the convention is also known as the Palermo Convention. The shortened version will be used in the remainder of the paper.

Criminology has long been criticized for its overt gender bias towards men. For one, crime perpetrated by women or girls was virtually overlooked and female victimization was ignored until the 1970s. Secondly, historical theorizing in criminology was based on male delinquency and crime. Scant attention was paid to the importance of gender in the social construction of relations of domination, power and inequality between women and men (Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2013: 3). One notable exception to this generalization was prostitution, which due to its links to sexuality became academically fashionable and easily marketable during the 1970s.

Aside from a few books (cited in Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2013), women and girls did not feature in the history of criminology. Published in 1975, Freda Adler's book *Sisters in Crime* was a game-changer. Her controversial 'liberation theory' suggested that 'the darker side' of women's liberation had led to a "social revolution in which women are closing many of the gaps, social and criminal, that have separated them from men" (Adler 1975: 30). Some applied her female criminality arguments "to campaign for the social benefits of women remaining in the home and away from the "shady aspect of liberation" that was freeing women to "plunge exuberantly into the formerly all-male quarters of the working world"(Beare 2010: 9).

Other scholars directed their scholarship at critiquing Adler. The proposed causal relationship between an increase in female offending and women liberation was condemned. Moreover, her methodological approach was criticized for creating "statistical illusions caused by the smallness of the base" (Smart 1976). Women were portrayed as a homogenous group in Adler's theory. In reality, however, different segments of the female population experienced different degrees of 'liberation' or none at all. Thus, white middle class women were the most likely beneficiaries of liberation and should have been the most likely candidates for entry into the male domain of crime (Beare 2010: 10). Early feminist scholarship was criticized because black women were noticeably absent from its analysis. Marcia Rice argues, for example, that feminists failed to recognize that traditional macho-centric criminology was constructed on both racist and sexist ideologies, thus rendering feminist work ethnocentric (Rice 1990). Nonetheless, Adler's predictions and interpretations were far reaching and traveled well beyond the US. She packaged her findings into a working paper for a major United Nations conference. Upon receiving a UN mandate to edit a collection of eleven studies from selected countries around the world, she published '*The incidence of Female Criminality in the Contemporary World*' in 1980. The book is seen as an attempt to generalize Adler's interpretation of the American situation to female criminality elsewhere in the world (Miller 1983: 61–62).

Once criminology was exposed as "the criminology of men", some writers sought to remedy the gender bias by appropriating existing criminological theories and "inserting" women (Heidensohn and Gelsthorpe 2007: 383), while others such as Smart argued that criminology and feminism were at irreconcilable loggerheads (Smart 1990). Steffensmeier connected women's economic inequality and poverty to economic crimes with which women are mostly charged such as fraud, shoplifting and theft (Steffensmeier 1980). Chapman looked at the arrest data contained in the FBI's *Uniform Crime Report* and identified possible biasing effects of differential treatment by race and class. Based on empirical analysis, she suggested that the female criminal in the US was young and belonged to a minority group. Her analysis revealed gaps in the criminal justice system and the inadequacy of rehabilitative programs available to women (Chapman 1980). Researchers since Adler have demonstrated the complexity of determining the drivers of

female criminality, accurate statistics and a clear analysis of cause and effect (Beare 2010: 9). Recent international and national statistics from around the globe portray female offenders as poor, marginalized women who are often victims of abuse themselves, who commit a small proportion of crime compared to their male counterparts (Beare 2010: 27).

Women and the mafia

By the mid-1990s, Italian academics began to investigate the role of women within the Mafia and thus their role within organized crime. The literature suggests that most women enter organized crime through a relationship with a man who is actively involved such as a father, husband, brother, partner or a friend. Women in the mafia appear to step up and take a more active role once that male relationship is on the run, imprisoned or dies (Beare 2010: 36). Fiandaca's edited collection of essays on women in the mafia attempts to map the role of women in mafias in selected countries over a 20-year period (Fiandaca 2007). Dino et al. (2007) looked at the representation of mafia women and their roles in selected newspapers from 1980 to 2001. While early research on the role of women in the mafia seems to suggest a passive or supportive role, some scholars suggest a more nuanced approach (Dino 2007; Savona and Natoli 2007; Siebert 2007; Allum 2007).

Siebert, for example, investigates the role of women and their relationships in various types of mafia-style criminal organizations. She questions the traditional depiction of women's apprehension to use violence and suggests an approach that links female criminality to the history and local context of criminal organizations (Siebert 2007: 19). With regards to the central question of power, researchers should problematize how women and men lived experiences differ with regards to the ability to exercise power and recognize it in others (Siebert 2007: 22). While there have been massive societal changes affecting women's emancipation in Italy (and globally), she is doubtful as to whether women would be able to assume effective leadership within mafia organizations beyond a temporary mandate. Despite the modern democratic context, male dominance remains a reality in many sectors of society including the mafia: "We are dealing with a historic dominance that has settled and structured itself on both the symbolic as well as the material plane and regards all of us, women and men" (Siebert 2007: 39). Siebert's contribution is the significance attributed to the historical context, ethnical composition and organizational structure. She alludes to path dependencies of criminal organizations. Change in the composition or structure of such organizations is precipitated by immediacy and necessity such as law enforcement clampdowns or competition. The forces of modernization (such as emancipation of women) are unlikely to make an immediate or lasting impact on organizations anchored in tradition and history.

Allum distinguishes between Sicilian Mafia women and Camorra women. The former are perceived as loyal and subordinate women "who do not interfere with their husbands' criminal projects or decisions", while the latter take a much more proactive stance by getting involved and being aware of their men's activities (Allum 2007: 9). In line with Adler's liberation theory, she suggests that the Camorra women's emergence from invisibility occurred in three stages: from women as part of the support system via women defending their men to women becoming criminals themselves. She argues that Camorra women benefitted from changes in civil society, a different social-cultural

upbringing and a flexible non-hierarchical structure within the organization (Allum 2007: 10). While Allum's stages of women's involvement in the Mafia are useful theoretical constructs, active engagement in Mafia groups is unlikely to proceed in a linear fashion and some women may fall into several categories at the same time.

Pizzini-Gambetta questions the overall premise of greater and more pivotal involvement of women in mafia groups. She argues that women are still denied formal entry into most mafia groups and even if they could be admitted "they are hardly granted such privilege" (Pizzini-Gambetta 2008: 351). She contends that the number of women indicted for mafia crimes remains statistically insignificant and the only way to reach the conclusion that women had acquired pivotal roles in the mafia was "to minimize the importance of membership by adopting an extrinsic perspective and identify the boundary of the underground group with that of the network that becomes apparent through judicial investigations" (Pizzini-Gambetta 2008: 351). Moreover, she regards the identification of mafia groups with organized crime as problematic. According to her, mafia groups are a specific case of organized crime. A Mafiosi's reputation rests on the preparedness to use violence to enforce contracts, whereas an organized criminal's status relates to the position within the supply chain—such as access to supply, transport and distribution. Her own research in Italy showed that women played an important role in the family unit. The woman's role within the mafia was to support their men emotionally and domestically and take care of the children. The notion of 'la famiglia' carries great significance within Italian society in general and the mafia in particular (Pizzini-Gambetta 1999). Pizzini-Gambetta believes that women are likely to play a more significant operational role in organized crime networks where the individual's standing is not linked to "maintaining and accruing the intimidation capital of the group and ultimately one's reputation for violence that is not indifferent to gender" (Pizzini-Gambetta 2008: 352). The suggestion that the structure of organized crime groups, the social-cultural anchoring and area of engagement (such as enforcing contracts by way of violence) may be linked to how and where women feature in organized crime warrants further investigation. Noteworthy is that women are also executing acts of violence on behalf of mafia and organized crime groups.

When looking into specific organized crime markets, the role of women differs in terms of status, level of responsibility and whether they feature at all. Zhang's paper on the sex industry in Tijuana found that only a small percentage (16 %) of sex trade facilitators ("pimps") were women. They had learned the trade through practice and progressed to operating their own businesses. While street-based pimps and bouncers were almost always men, high-end escort services were often managed by women (Zhang 2011: 514). Schwartz and Steffensmeier (2008) observe that women tend to be underrepresented in lucrative or financially rewarding illegal markets such as racketeering, gambling and robberies. Varese claims however that women are more actively involved in top decision making than previously thought. While they do not use violence directly, they perform 'behind the scenes' management functions. This may include discussing the enforcement of contracts by means of violence or corruption, punishment, discipline and maintaining of internal order and financial management and accounting (Cited by Beare 2010).

Beare concurs with the observation that women are likely to play a more pivotal role in organized crime networks rather than in hierarchical mafia-type groups. She

provides a set of non-gender specific skills and characteristics useful for active participation in transnational organized crime. Job requirements might include:

- “A degree of ‘professionalism’ in terms of planning, scheduling;
- The personal attributes/demeanor that instills confidence and trust;
- A financial base for ongoing investment in criminal enterprises;
- Literacy and some familiarity with international laws, policies, practices;
- Access to international networks, contacts at source and destination country;
- The ability to travel and access to passports, bank accounts, credit cards;
- A risk-taking attitude that balances the lucrative gains against the dangers; and
- A knowledge of accounting—or access to accountants and lawyers” (Beare 2010: 30).

African women and transnational organized crime

There is a lacuna in the literature on the role of African women in transnational organized crime. A notable exception is their prominent role in human trafficking networks as described in Siegel and de Blank’s article (Siegel and de Blank 2010) and elsewhere (UNODC 2009, 2010). Investigations have revealed that African madams are active in many cities in the Global North. An Al Jazeera report, for example, found that close to 10,000 Nigerian madams were active in Italy, controlling 2–3 girls each. These madams are key to transnational trafficking operations, which often are linked to other organized crime activities such as drug trafficking (Ruhfus 2012). Based on data collected from 89 court files in Dutch courts in 2006–2007, Siegel and de Blank analyzed the role, tasks and activities of women in human trafficking networks. In light of their independence, tasks and the extent of equality in relationships with male traffickers, they developed three categories: supporters, partners-in-crime and madams. The majority of cases fell into the category of supporters. These women had an independent position from men: they worked together but the relationship was one-sided. Female perpetrators were often forced by men to perform specific tasks (Siegel and de Blank 2010: 436–440). Women in the ‘partners-in-crime’ category voluntarily took up human trafficking together with their partners (spouse, boyfriend or business partner). The role of women ranged from an equal division of labour and profit to a managing role where men are used only to enforce contracts by way of violence (Siegel and de Blank 2010: 442). ‘Madams’ lead criminal organizations and plan their activities by giving orders to subordinates, coordinating human trafficking, managing sex workers and controlling finances. Madam-led networks can vary from a small group to a sizeable, internationally operating organization. A remarkable finding was that African women took up these positions in the Dutch case. Some had been sex workers or even continued to prostitute themselves. They emulate the image of a regular successful businesswoman. Interestingly, men fulfill varied roles in ‘madam’-run human trafficking networks such as recruiters, guides, messengers, debt-collectors and money couriers (Siegel and de Blank 2010: 443–444). Unlike the Italian mafia women who took over once their male partners were incapacitated, these African women took initiative by planning, making contacts and performing certain tasks within their networks themselves (Siegel and de Blank 2010: 446).

The existing literature provides analytical constructs such as the level of responsibility, different roles and evolving participation, complicity and culpability of women in organized crime. Scholars disagree on whether women are pushed into active roles by virtue of a close family member or friend being incapacitated, women actively joining or even managing organized crime groups on their own terms. Another area of disagreement pertains to the type of roles women take on in organized crime group. Are women “front-of—house”—active or do they fulfill “behind the scenes”—supporting roles? One stream of arguments suggests that the social-cultural and historical context may influence women’s ability to take on lasting leadership roles. Others argue that women are more likely to take on positions of power in organized crime networks where the organizational structure is more fluid and flexible, allowing for female advancement. Empirical data suggests that women may also be linked to specific criminal activities, such as recruitment in human trafficking.

Questions arising from the literature and of importance to the empirical investigation are as follows:

- Are there distinct evolutionary stages of women’s participation in organized crime?
- Are there specific roles women take up in organized crime?
- How are women recruited into organized crime?
- Is there a link between the structure of organized crime groups and female roles?
- Is there a link between economic deprivation and women’s participation in organized crime?
- Is there a link between women’s emancipation and participation in organized crime?

A dynamic ensemble: observations from the field

The empirical data was collected for a regional research project on organized crime trends in southern Africa between 2008 and 2011, an earlier project on human trafficking trends in five southern African countries from 2007 to 2008⁴ and ongoing research into the illegal wildlife trade. This author fulfilled a dual role: as research coordinator she coordinated data collection,⁵ implemented the methodology and verified findings, while also conducting fieldwork. Undertaken in partnership with the regional policing body, SARPCCO, the project envisaged a rigorous process of mapping organized crime, which had not been systematically performed at a sub-regional level. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were to be used. Research across all countries was conducted utilizing the same criteria and methods. The research approach relied on a combination of country-specific field research, regional profiling and the overall coordination of research activities. The research questions dealt with the nature, structure and extent of organized crime in the region. The

⁴ The five-country project examined trends, the profile of victims and perpetrators and the role of organized crime networks in human trafficking in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

⁵ Four field researchers and several research assistants worked on the project.

following research questions had a bearing on the role of women in transnational organized crime:

- Who comprised these groups and how were they structured?
- To what extent are the activities of organized criminal groups transnational, and what links exist with individuals or groups from other countries?

Data were collected from a wide range of sources of both a formal and informal nature. Expert interviews were conducted with law enforcement, criminal justice experts and relevant NGOs and community based organizations (CBOs). Sources also included imprisoned criminals, members of gangs and organized crime networks. Court hearings and secondary sources such as media reports were considered. The analysis of police statistics and customs data also formed a key activity in the data-gathering phase. As a means to supplement rudimentary official crime data, ad hoc surveys and focus groups were conducted within some constituencies. Expert working groups and seminars were organized to discuss, verify and triangulate findings. Finally, information was also gathered from other (informal) sources such as taxi drivers, sex workers, informal traders, drug users, nightclub staff and travellers (Hübschle and Van der Spuy 2012).

While the research objective did not explicitly look at the role of women in transnational organized crime, nonetheless important empirical insights on the role of women in the transnational trafficking in persons, drugs and endangered wildlife in southern Africa were gleaned during data collection and will be discussed in the following. It should be noted that little historical or comparative data exists on the role of women in transnational organized crime networks in southern Africa. Existing data is basic and proceeds on the assumption of gender-neutrality or the implied male composition of organized crime groups. The role of women and girls in urban gangs in the Western Cape region of South Africa is well documented in scholarly research (Standing 2006; Hübschle 2010–2011), ongoing applied policy research⁶ and the media (Rawoot; Anonymous).

Reverse roles: of madams and victims in human trafficking operations

Empirical studies have documented how women recruit women into human trafficking rings. Since victims are often recruited by means of deception, traffickers need to gain the trust of potential victims. In the case of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, female nationals of the same country as the female victim are frequently used. The victim's trust is not only needed during the recruitment process but also during transfer and at the destination to reduce the risk of escape (UNODC 2010: 39–40). Researchers, agency analysts and advocacy groups have made outlandish claims about the nature and extent of the global problem of human trafficking with little

⁶ The Institute for Security Studies is currently engaged in a 3-year project that examines criminal governance in Sub-Saharan urban centers. The project seeks to answer, amongst other research questions, how women propagate, benefit from and/or become disempowered by criminal networks.

empirical backing. Scholarly articles and research reports often focus on sex trafficking at the expense of other forms of trafficking in persons.

Research data from Southern Africa showed that labour trafficking constituted a far greater concern than sex trafficking. The movement of people across the region and beyond is a common phenomenon deeply rooted in ancestral and cultural traditions of African peoples. Increasingly socio-economic factors have led to mostly younger people from poorer countries in Africa seeking ‘greener pastures’ in the economic powerhouse of South Africa. A considerable amount of time was spent investigating the nature of the sex industry in the different geographies and whether human trafficking was an element of it. A few isolated cases of sex trafficking were detected in southern Africa. The research found that women were actively involved in the recruitment and transfer process. For the purposes of this section, Siegel and de Blank’s taxonomy of supporters, partners-in-crime and madams in human trafficking will be used (Siegel and de Blank 2010). Child and labour trafficking will also be considered.

Supporters

In a few instances, family members (such as aunts, sisters or female relatives) acted in supportive roles by facilitating recruitment of their relatives.⁷ The research identified two cases where young women travelled to European cities (Reykjavik and London) on their own. They had been offered lucrative jobs by recruitment agencies in their home countries. As it turned out, transnational organized crime networks ran these bogus recruitment agencies. Both women and men acted as recruiters. When the successful job applicants arrived at their final destination, they were forced to work as prostitutes in nightclubs.⁸ The research also came across the case of a 14-year old orphan in Zimbabwe, who was offered a lucrative modeling contract in South Africa at a small-town beauty pageant. A sordid story of sexual exploitation and the filming of sexual acts ensued. She was ‘rescued’ and reunited with her guardians. Three months after her reintegration, the girl vanished again. Her guardians established that she had started recruiting girls from her own community.⁹

Focus group discussions with sex workers in Namibia revealed that fishermen aboard fishing vessels off the Namibian coast had recruited sex workers to smuggle drugs from the vessels to the Namibian mainland. It was unclear whether the women travelled voluntarily.¹⁰ Research data submitted from field researchers in South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia indicated that some female victims of sex trafficking were also recruited to smuggle drugs.¹¹ The section on drug mules will discuss the role of women in drug smuggling operations in more detail.

⁷ The research project on human trafficking trends in southern Africa included three case studies, which described recruitment aided and abetted by family members.

⁸ Interview with the trafficked women in Windhoek, Namibia (2007).

⁹ Interview with guardians, law enforcement and the International Organization for Migration, Harare, Zimbabwe (2007–2008).

¹⁰ Focus group with sex workers in Walvis Bay, Namibia (2009).

¹¹ Unpublished research data collected for the regional project on organized crime trends.

Corrupt law enforcement and judicial officials facilitated illegal adoptions, cross border transfers and fraudulent papers.¹² Both women and men were found to be collaborating with human traffickers when the money was right.

Partners-in-crime

In several cases of child trafficking in Lesotho, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia, older women were involved in both the recruitment and transfer process. The rationale was that an old woman travelling with a group of children across national borders was less likely to obtain attention from law enforcement agents. Grandmothers are the backbone of many African rural communities as the young people often leave for greener pastures in the big cities. While used as a decoy to hide the illegal activity from law enforcement, these older women played a crucial role in the overall recruitment and transfer process. The women were respected by fellow organized crime groups and commanded some authority.¹³ The research also profiled cases of couples involved in the trafficking of children across borders. Other couples were involved in the operation of brothels, where trafficked women and children were sexually exploited. Several cases investigated by the South African Police Service in KwaZulu-Natal¹⁴ found women who recruited, trained and administered drugs (predominantly crack-cocaine) to victims of trafficking in brothels.¹⁵ In these instances, women were on equal footing with their male partners.

Madams and bosses

Evidence of the ‘madam’ role was found involving the infamous Aldina dos Santos, a case that gained notoriety in the South African media.¹⁶ The Mozambican national was arrested in Pretoria, South Africa in 2008 after holding three underage girls at a brothel in that city. She lured the girls to what they were told was the ‘land of golden opportunities’ with the promise of work in her hair salon in Pretoria. Kept against their will, the girls were made to watch pornographic movies, forced into prostitution and Dos Santos pocketed their income.¹⁷ A South African woman was also found at the apex of a transnational organ trafficking network, which abducted and killed children for the purposes of organ trafficking.¹⁸

¹² Interviews with law enforcement, border and customs officials, victims of trafficking and NGOs in Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe (2007–2011).

¹³ Interviews with trafficking victims, law enforcement officials and NGOs in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and Zambia (2007–2011).

¹⁴ KwaZulu Natal is a province of South Africa.

¹⁵ Interview with law enforcement official in Durban, South Africa (2012)

¹⁶ See in the City Press <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/sa-sends-clear-message-to-human-traffickers-20110720/> (accessed 6 April 2013) or <https://ccarht.wordpress.com/tag/adina-dos-santos/> (accessed 6 April 2013).

¹⁷ Based on research report submitted by Salomão Mungoi (2010).

¹⁸ Interview with law enforcement officials and health practitioners in Pretoria, South Africa (2011).

“Victims”

Interestingly, the research revealed a high incidence of male victims of trafficking in Southern Africa. 801 cases of trafficking for labour exploitation were identified during the initial 5-country project. Seven hundred eight four of these cases involved the movement of Asian men to Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, where they worked in exploitative conditions in factories, small businesses and on agricultural farms. In a notorious case of labour exploitation, a woman acting on behalf of large Malaysian textile conglomerate recruited 484 Bangladeshi men who ended up working at a textile factory¹⁹ in the Namibian capital Windhoek.²⁰

Mules, growers and cooks

Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed the proliferation of organised crime networks involved in the international drug trade over the past decade. Cannabis is grown, smuggled and traded across the subcontinent, of which the majority is destined for the lucrative markets of northern America and Europe. Authorities in South Africa have noted some success in dismantling drug laboratories in urban centres, but acknowledge that synthetic drug producers have diversified and house their operations in mobile laboratories or have moved to neighbouring countries. While West Africa remains the major African transshipment port for cocaine consignments from South America to northern American and European markets, displacement to Southern Africa is happening on an increasing basis. East Africa, on the other hand, has become a port of entry and transshipment for the opiate trade from the Golden Triangle. Since the northern markets are largely oversupplied and saturated, drug networks have been expanding their illicit operations to new markets. This has led to an upsurge of the levels of ‘hard drug’ consumption including heroin, cocaine, methamphetamines and amphetamines in Sub-Saharan Africa. There equally has been a steady increase of consumption levels of cannabis and other natural stimulants such as the herbal drug Khat across the continent.

Transnational drug trafficking networks are firmly entrenched in the local drug milieu. Locals run domestic distribution of cannabis and some harder drugs, while both local and foreign intermediaries ensure the smooth distribution and transshipment of both soft and hard drugs to regional and international markets. Corruption of police, airport security, customs officials and some politicians ensures that the majority of consignments pass undetected across borders. Networks employ dealers to distribute the drugs effectively. Drug related violence has been growing steadily in recent years. Hundreds of drug couriers from the region have been caught and are serving lengthy sentences in penitentiary facilities across the world. Data collected revealed varied roles of women in drug trafficking networks. These included cannabis growers, “cooks” (who produce designer drugs in laboratories), dealers, traffickers and mules, coordinators and go-betweens (“middlemen”), money launderers,

¹⁹ The factory closed down in 2008.

²⁰ Based on interviews with labour experts in Windhoek, Namibia (2007–2008) and research reports submitted by John Grobler.

‘queenpins’ (as opposed to kingpins). The different roles will be described in more detail below.²¹

Drug mules

A drug mule or courier is typically someone who smuggles an illicit drug across a national border for transnational drug networks. In the Southern African case, a mule is often an unemployed, financially desperate woman, who might not have travelled much before, especially not abroad. To circumvent and escape the detection of mules by law enforcement, organized crime has switched from using men to using women, from Europeans to Africans and from young people to the elderly. The payment that mules receive is typically small when compared with the overall profits to be made from drug smuggling. Methods of smuggling include hiding the goods in a vehicle, luggage or clothes, or strapping them to one’s body, or using one’s body as a container. The latter method is preferred for the trafficking of heroin and cocaine and sometimes for ecstasy. Drug mules swallow latex balloons or special pellets filled with the illicit drugs, and recover them when nature calls. It is a common, but medically dangerous way of smuggling small amounts of drugs: a mule may die if a packet bursts or leaks. A mule may carry from a few grams up to 10 kg on their person and up to 2 kg if the drug is swallowed. On other occasions, the drug mule is not aware that he or she is carrying drugs, as their bags are pre-packed and presented to them only at the airport. Mules receive around US \$2,000 if they carry drugs unbeknown to them. Flight tickets, visas, accommodation and subsistence costs are also met. The payment may go up to US \$5,000 if the mule is aware of carrying drugs.²²

Particularly worrying about this trend is what South American authorities have termed ‘dead cows for piranhas’. A large percentage of mules are earmarked never to complete a successful drug transaction. Instead, they serve as the ‘dead meat’ that detracts attention from drug smuggling professionals at international borders. A member of the drug network tips off law enforcement about an expected drug delivery by a mule. While law enforcement captures and arrests the mule, another person or persons carrying much larger quantities of drugs pass through undetected. Drug mules have little or no knowledge of the big players within the network. Local henchmen and women recruit them. Upon arrival in the destination country, they are required to call an intermediary or to await further instructions. Transnational networks tend to use ‘blind’ associates. Neither side knows the identity or whereabouts of the other; all they know is the location of pick-up points. Arresting a mule thus seldom leads law enforcement to the source or curbs the supply of the drug. Mules are pawns in the international drug trade, easily replaced by others who are vulnerable due to their socio-economic conditions or drug addictions (Hübschle 2010: 28–29). Interviews with law enforcement officials and former drug mules in southern Africa

²¹ Based on intelligence reports and interviews conducted with law enforcement officials, drug dealers, academics and the UNODC across southern Africa (2006–2013).

²² Figures are derived from interviews with drug mules, family and friends of drug mules, law enforcement officials and intelligence reports (2011).

showed that mostly young women were lured into transporting drugs because of their own drug addictions or romantic links to drug dealers.²³

Drug traffickers

While drug mules are the “fall guys” of drug trafficking networks, professionals in the global transportation business play a crucial role. Crewmembers of regional and international airlines have been transporting large volumes of drugs on regional and international flights. In some instances, cabin attendants were romantically involved with members of drug syndicates and “did favours”. Security regulations governing airport staff were less stringent until a recent spate of drug busts involving flights to, from or through major airports in southern Africa. Syndicates capitalize on collusion from someone within the airline, the customs authority and airport security. Security personnel also assist by outlining techniques of hiding drugs or how to bypass security checks.²⁴

Growers and cooks

Women play both supporting and managerial roles when it comes to cannabis plantations. The cultivation of cannabis is common across most rural areas in the southern African region. Older women head many rural households (grandmothers, widows, aunts and female relatives)²⁵ as many adults seek employment in urban centers or have succumbed to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. These peasant farmers eke out a meager living in the outlying rural areas by growing cannabis. Cash crops such as maize or wheat are less profitable. Moreover, consecutive el Niño droughts and expensive seeds, machinery and fertilizers used for the conventional farming of cash crops have made the shift to cannabis cultivation even more attractive. Cannabis grows like “weed”, even in arid and mountainous regions of Southern Africa. These growers find secret places in the mountains or deep in the bush, which they reach by donkey, horse or on foot. The cannabis season runs from December/January to March/April. Farmers harvest their yield at the end of the season and transport it from the fields to storage facilities in the village. Agents, both women and men, known to the villagers engage in the transportation of the drug. They act as go-betweens connecting the villagers to the South African market. The agents purchase the cannabis from the villagers and transport it to strategic locations, either using animals or four-wheel drive vehicles. The agents, together with their accomplices, then smuggle the cannabis to urban centers in South Africa.²⁶

²³ The section is based on interviews with drug mules, parents and family of drug mules, law enforcement officials and airport security staff in Kempton Park, Pretoria, George and Johannesburg, South Africa (2008–2011).

²⁴ Interviews with airport staff at Oliver Tambo International Airport in Kempton Park, South Africa (2009).

²⁵ An excellent profile of an old grandmother who grows “Swazi gold” (cannabis from Swaziland) near Pigg's Peak in Swaziland was published in the *New York Times* by Lydia Polygreen (2012).

²⁶ Based on unpublished research reports detailing cannabis smuggling in Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa submitted by Jackson Madzima and the author's own interviews with cannabis smugglers and law enforcement officials in southern Africa (2008–2011).

Women are also involved as “cooks” of designer drugs predominantly in South Africa and Mozambique, where such drugs are produced with imported precursor chemicals. Either these women have a university qualification in chemistry or a pharmacology-related field or, they assist and support other cooks.²⁷

Dealers

Women act as low-level dealers, intermediaries or partners-in-crime in drug dealing. Low-level dealers have their own network of regular and opportunistic users. Addicts, who can no longer afford their addiction, get co-opted as low-level dealers or mules. Some women partner up with their life-partners or male relatives. They undertake house visits to deliver drugs or meet with prospective clients in public places such as nightclubs, street corners or parks.²⁸

Queenpins

In some closely-knit communities, drug operations are a family affair. A man usually heads the drug business; however, if incapacitated through death, prison or ill-health then the matriarch takes over. This involves operational and financial management of local distribution networks with links to transnational networks. There have also been instances, where women hold powerful positions within transnational networks (“queenpins”). The case of the former wife of a high-ranking government official in South Africa has received much attention. Sheryl Cwele was found guilty of conspiring with a Nigerian national in recruiting two drug mules and received a 20-year prison sentence. She was believed to be a central player in a transnational drug trafficking network. The pair had used new media to recruit two women as cocaine couriers. One of the recruits, Tessa Beetge, was arrested after 10 kg of cocaine were found in her luggage in Brazil in 2008.²⁹ Cwele had offered the divorcée with two young daughters a job by text message, followed by a trail of emails and mobile phone communications and lastly a personal encounter. While it is unusual for “queenpins” to recruit couriers themselves, Cwele and her partner Nabolisa were running the South African distribution of the transnational drugs network. It would appear that Cwele acted careless and thought she was untouchable due to her marriage to the South African Minister of State Security.³⁰ Cwele herself held a high-ranking position as director of health services at a local municipality in KwaZulu-Natal. Her husband divorced her after the conviction.³¹

²⁷ Interview with law enforcement official in the drug unit at the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations, Pretoria, South Africa (2011).

²⁸ Interviews with drug dealers and law enforcement officials across the region and observations at ‘hotspots’ (2008–2011)

²⁹ Charmaine Moss, the other recruit, became suspicious and pulled out after an initial meeting with Cwele’s business partner. Cwele had offered to send her on an overseas assignment for 2 weeks, all expenses paid and a paycheck of US \$ 2,900. Her assignment was to travel to Turkey and return to South Africa delivering a package to the business partner (Underhill 2012).

³⁰ Siyabonga Cwele was in charge of the state intelligence apparatus in South Africa at the time and has remained in that position since the conviction of his ex-wife.

³¹ Interviews with law enforcement officials and family members of Beetge (2009–2010).

Rhinoceros poaching: more than posing for photos?

Global legal trade in wildlife (excluding fish and timber) is worth between US \$ 22.8 billion and US \$ 25 billion per annum. Illegal trade is estimated to be around one-third of the legal trade, which would set it around US \$ 8 billion annually (Global Financial Integrity 2011). The global illicit trade is diverse, ranging from live animals and plants to a vast array of wildlife products, including food products, exotic leather goods, wooden musical instruments, timber, tourist curios and medicines. Levels of exploitation of some animal and plant species are high and the trade together with other factors, such as habitat loss, is capable of heavily depleting their populations and even bringing some species close to extinction. The most obvious effects of trade are reflected in global biodiversity. The number of African elephants plummeted from 1.2 million in the 1970s to less than 500,000 today. India's tiger population has halved from about 3,600 in 2002 to 1,400 in 2008. Ninety percent of the global rhino population has been wiped out by illegal trafficking since 1970, leaving 28,564 today (CITES Secretariat 2013).

Sub-Saharan Africa is a hub for illegal supply markets in elephant ivory, rhino horn, lion bone, wild cats, abalone, pangolin and other endangered plant and animal species. Regional weaknesses in the area of law enforcement, border and customs control, corruptibility of private and public actors and well-established transnational criminal networks are blamed for the burgeoning trade in illegal animal and plant species (Global Financial Integrity 2011; UNODC 2010). It is suggested that the high price paid for endangered animal products has led to the immense growth of illegal market exchanges. The assumption is that the rarer the animal or plant species, the higher the price (Endangered Wildlife Trust 2011). A diverse assortment of actors is involved in these illegal markets including small opportunistic gangs of poachers, highly organized networks with extensive transnational links and high-tech equipment, individuals and associations who are professionally involved with endangered species such as game rangers, veterinarians, game farmers, law enforcement and security agents, government and embassy officials. Women are featuring within the ranks of harvesting, smuggling and distribution networks.

Harvesters and professionals

As integral members of local farming, fishing and village communities, women and girls hunt, harvest or entrap wildlife in opportunistic poaching operations (Hübschle 2010–2011).³² They are also found in professional poaching operations in important functional roles. These roles include professional hunters, drivers, safari operators, helicopter pilots, veterinarians, game rangers, smugglers, corrupt gate-keepers including law enforcement, customs and nature conservations officials and money launderers. In the notorious Groenewald case which is due to be heard before the South African courts in 2013, Sarette Groenewald together with her husband and nine others allegedly ran an international rhino poaching and smuggling syndicate.

³² It should be noted that poaching should not be confused with hunting for food. Sustainable hunting of wildlife forms parts of survival strategies of many African communities, while unsustainable poaching of endangered wildlife is the exception.

The South African Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations arrested the syndicate in 2011 for illegally hunting and dealing in rhino horn, dehorning rhinos, racketeering, money laundering, fraud and intimidation. Amongst the syndicate members were professional hunters, veterinarians, a pilot and farm labourers (Rademeyer 2012a: 127). As her husband's business partner, Sariette Groenewald is alleged to have run the day-to-day administrative and logistical affairs of a bogus safari company *Out of Africa Adventurous Tours*. She was listed as the director of a closed corporation, which owns a helicopter. Helicopters are often used during poaching operations. Mariza Toet, the wife of veterinarian Karel Toet, was also a member of the Groenewald syndicate and appeared to have provided administrative support. It is alleged that she falsified her husband's drug registry, which provides information about the use of scheduled drugs such as M-99.³³ M-99 and its generic formulation are used in "chemical poaching" incidents,³⁴ during which poachers dart rhinos and dehorn them while they are anesthetized.³⁵

Bogus hunters

Harvesting networks found legal loopholes in obtaining highly valued rhinoceros horn in South Africa by way of a trophy hunting scheme sanctioned under CITES stipulations (United Nations Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora). Under that scheme, a person is allowed to hunt one white rhino for trophy purposes per year (Ayling 2012: 6). Swaziland, Namibia and South Africa are the only countries in the world that allow this sport. Rhinoceros horn can be legally imported as "personal hunting trophies" and may not be sold nor traded.

A Thai business entrepreneur was arrested in July 2011 as the alleged kingpin accused of sourcing rhino horn for export via "pseudo hunts". Chumlong Lemtongthai hired sex workers and strippers to pose as hunters in order to obtain multiple hunting permits from the South African government.

Some of the young women worked in the Gauteng³⁶ sex industry. They were paid US \$ 625 each to take a holiday in the bush. They were required to provide their passports to the organized crime group. Copies would be emailed to an intermediary, who would apply for hunting permits on their behalf. Then they would be taken to a game farm and had to pose for photographs next to the carcasses of recently killed rhinos with a rifle in hand (Rademeyer 2012b). The women were on "holiday", while professional hunters carried out bogus rhino hunts. The resultant trophies were "exported" to the Thai homes of the women. The case was heard before South African courts in November 2012 (Ayling 2012:6; Milliken and Shaw 2012: 98). Lemongthai pleaded guilty to 52 of the 79 charges he was facing and became the most senior figure in a wildlife trafficking ring ever convicted in South Africa. In a controversial move, charges against other alleged members of the syndicate were

³³ The powerful anesthetic is used to immobilize large mammals.

³⁴ Interview with wildlife veterinarian in Pretoria, South Africa (2013).

³⁵ Interviews with investigators, wildlife veterinarians and suppliers of M-99 in South Africa (2013).

³⁶ Province of South Africa.

withdrawn.³⁷ No charges were brought against the Thai sex workers. The women acted in a supporting role in this case.

Discussion

Research data indicated varying and significant roles of women in the selected cases. While there were only a few cases of ‘madams’ or leadership positions identified during data collection, varied roles and functions were observed. The literature on the role of women in human trafficking networks suggests that women play important functional roles in the recruitment, transfer and management of other women when it comes to trafficking of women and girls for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Women also played important functional roles in illegal drug markets and rhino poaching syndicates.

Data in all three case studies intimate that women fulfilled leadership and management positions within transnational organized crime networks. Beare’s suggested job attributes that render women suitable candidates for positions within organized crime networks such as planning, accounting and scheduling skills, financial security and access to international networks (Beare 2010: 30) were identified in the Southern African case of the ‘queenpins’, madams and women at mid- and senior management level of transnational organized crime networks. Women at the apex of syndicates distinguished themselves through personal and professional attributes. In the case of human trafficking, recruiters, transporters or madams may have been prostitutes themselves or they had skills sets such as instilling trust and confidence when crossing international borders or personal networks that allowed unhindered passage or no law enforcement attention in countries of origin, transfer or destination. ‘Queenpins’ operating in illegal drug markets needed no intimidation capital but steadfast skills such as networking, administrative and financial skills and a ‘go-getter’ attitude. It would appear that it was not a case of ‘who you are’ but of ‘whom you know’ and how you apply your skills to benefit you.

Women who play a supportive role would be recruited or end up in transnational organized crime by virtue of circumstances such as socio-economic status, addictions, romantic involvement or familial relationships with organized criminals. The same applies to the ‘fall guys’ of transnational drug networks. In the cases investigated, there was a link between socio-economic status and recruitment into transnational organized crime networks. This was particularly visible in illegal drug markets, where growers (the example of grandmothers in rural areas) and drug mules moved into illicit activities on the basis of needing to eke out a living with limited alternate income streams available. Both men and women were “victims” and “perpetrators” in human trafficking networks. The gendered distinction between women and girls as “victims” and men as perpetrators is pronounced in the public discourse on human trafficking in Southern Africa. Empirical data suggests that a more nuanced approach is in order.

³⁷ The case against one of his accomplices, the game farmer Marnus Steyl, was re-opened in December 2012. Steyl allegedly supplied rhinos to the Vietnamese syndicate. He has been charged with 29 counts of fraud relating to the acquisition of hunting permits for alleged pseudo-hunts (Rademeyer 2013).

While mafia-type hierarchically structured forms of organized crime were not found, network types seemed to partially rely on close familial or romantic links. Instead of passive collusion, active support, functional roles or partnerships were prevalent. Close familial or romantic ties assured secrecy and trust amongst inner network members. However, due to the network structure different participants (or functional roles) are easily replaced. Once someone is incapacitated, another person steps up and takes over. In some instances, such as the recruitment of women as sex slaves or drug mules, the gender of the recruiter appears to matter. Women appear to trust members of their own gender more readily.

The status and emancipation of women in Southern African society differs—while equal rights are constitutionally enshrined, they yet have to trickle down to all sectors of society. Women and men are increasingly migrating to big urban centers, where they escape from their socio-cultural background, socio-economic destitution and history. In many instances, assimilation or integration within one's own cultural group occurs. Noteworthy was that none of the networks were overall ethnically defined. Smaller groups within the greater network maybe spatially or ethnically defined such as the growers in drug networks or the poachers in rhino poaching syndicates. No female hunters or rangers were identified in rhino poaching syndicates. This may be linked to the smallness of the sample. However, one of the Thai strippers recruited as a bogus hunter said that the rifles were heavy and she had difficulties lifting hers (Rademeyer 2012b). This suggests that some classical roles such as those of the hunter may be gender-specific. Female wildlife veterinarians, on the other hand, were complicit in several incidents of chemical poaching.

The study represents a snapshot of women's roles and participation in transnational organized crime. Little historical data is available on organized forms of crime in southern Africa, the present case studies could not be used to identify distinct evolutionary stages of women's involvement as suggested in Allum's article. Women feature in other organized crime activities such as diamond and minerals trafficking, racketeering, cybercrime and counterfeit goods smuggling. The present case studies were chosen due to known involvement and participation of women. The paper must be considered exploratory, as more research and analysis is required to gain an understanding of the nature and scope of women's offending within transnational organized crime in southern Africa.

Concluding remarks

In the absence of historical data on the role of women in transnational organized crime networks in southern Africa, this paper should be considered an exploratory overview of the current status quo. Historical data implies no roles or limited supporting roles of women in organized crime. The case studies showed that women feature in supporting, managerial and decision-making positions. In some instances, women are self-made criminals; in other cases, they slip into these roles due to the death, sickness or incarceration of a male relative or partner. Gender mainstreaming within scholarly literature and policy research is in nascent stages, this paper pleads for a more gender-sensitive approach to organized crime analysis. Criminal justice

and social initiatives should pay more attention to the dynamism and multifaceted roles of women in organized crime in the region.

References

- Adler F (1975) *Sisters in crime*. McGraw Hill, New York
- Allum F (2007) Doing it for themselves or standing in for their men? Women in the Neapolitan Camorra (1950–2003). In: Fiandaca G (ed) *Women and the mafia*. Springer, New York, pp 9–17
- Anonymous, Girl gangs terrorise Cape Flats. In: *news24*, 13 April 2012. <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Girl-gangs-terrorise-Cape-Flats-20120413>
- Ayling J (2012) What sustains wildlife crime? Rhino horn trading and the resilience of criminal networks Available for download at: <http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ir/tec/publications/>
- Beare M (2010) *Women and organized crime*. Department of public Safety, Canada, <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection.../PS4-106-2010-eng.pdf>
- Chapman JR (1980) *Economic realities and the female offender*. Lexington Books, Lexington
- Chesney-Lind M, Pasko L (2013) *The female offender: girls, women and crime*. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks
- CITES Secretariat (2013) *Rhinoceroses*, Sixteenth meeting of the Conference of Parties, Bangkok, Thailand: CITES Secretariat
- Dino A (2007) Symbolic domination and active power: female roles in criminal organizations. In: Fiandaca G (ed) *Women and the mafia*. Springer, New York, pp 67–86
- Dino A et al (2007) Female visibility in the mafia world: press review 1980 to 2001. In: Fiandaca G (ed) *Women and the mafia*. Springer, New York, pp 107–136
- Endangered Wildlife Trust (2011) Perspectives on dehorning and legalised trade in rhino horn as tools to combat rhino poaching. Paper presented at onference on Perspectives on dehorning and legalised trade in rhino horn as tools to combat rhino poaching, The South African Mint Company, Gateway, Centurion, South Africa, 1–3 March 2011
- Fiandaca G (2007) *Women and the mafia: female roles in organized crime*. Springer, New York
- Gastrow P (2001) *Organized crime in the SADC region: police perception*. Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria
- Global Financial Integrity (2011) *Transnational crime in the developing world*. Research report. Global Financial Integrity, Washington, <http://transcrime.gfintegrity.org/>
- Heidensohn F, Gelsthorpe L (2007) Gender and crime. In: Maguire M, Morgan R, Reiner R (eds) *The Oxford handbook of criminology*. Oxford University Press, New York, pp 341–380
- Hübschle A (2010–2011) *Research into organized crime in Southern Africa. Organized crime and money laundering programme*. Institute for Security Studies, Cape Town
- Hübschle A (2010) *Organised crime in Southern Africa*, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa., 2010: *organised crime in Southern Africa*. Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa
- Hübschle A (2011) From theory to practice: exploring the organised crime-terror in Nexus in Sub-Saharan Africa. In: *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5, pp 81–95. <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/157/html>
- Hübschle A, Van der Spuy E (2012) Organized crime and law enforcement in Southern Africa: the challenges confronting research. In: *SADC Law Journal* 2
- Miller EM (1983) International trends in the study of female criminality: an essay review. *Crime Law Soc Chang* 7:59–70
- Milliken T, Shaw J (2012) The South Africa–Viet Nam rhino horn trade nexus: a deadly combination of institutional lapses, corrupt wildlife industry professionals and Asian crime syndicates. TRAFFIC, Johannesburg
- Pizzini-Gambetta V (1999) Gender norms in the Sicilian mafia, 1945–86. In: Arnot ML, Osborne C (eds) *Gender and crime in modern Europe*. ULC Press, London, pp 257–276
- Pizzini-Gambetta V (2008) Women and the mafia: a methodology minefield. *Glob Crim* 9:348–353
- Polygreen L (2012) Grandmas grow gold in Swaziland. In: *New York Times*, 15 August 2012. https://http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/15/world/africa/grandmothers-grow-marijuana-in-swaziland-to-support-families.html?_r=0
- Rademeyer J (2012a) *Killing for profit: exposing the illegal rhino horn trade*. Zebra Press, Cape Town

- Rademeyer J (2012b) Rhino butchers caught on film. In: Mail & Guardian, 9 November 2012. <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-11-08-rhino-butchers-caught-on-film>
- Rademeyer J (2013) Marnus Steyl to face new charges over alleged rhino “pseudo-hunts”. Killing for Profit. Johannesburg, South Africa: Julian Rademeyer. <http://killingforprofit.com/2012/12/04/marnus-steyl-to-face-new-charges-over-alleged-rhino-pseudo-hunts/> (6 April 2013)
- Rawoot I Tales of a female gangster girl. In: Mail and guardian. 17 May 2012. <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-17-tales-of-a-female-gangster-girl>
- Rice M (1990) Challenging orthodoxies in feminist theory: a black feminist critique. In: Gelsthorpe L, Morris J (eds) *Feminist perspectives in criminology*. Open University Press, Buckingham
- Ruhfus J (2012) The Nigerian connection. People and power, Al Jazeera. <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2011/08/201189141348631784.html> (11 October 2012)
- Savona E, Natoli G (2007) Women and other mafia-type criminal organizations. In: Fiandaca G (ed) *Women and the mafia*. Springer, New York, pp 103–106
- Schwartz J, Steffensmeier D (2008) The nature of female offending: patterns and explanation. In: Zaplin RT (ed) *Female offenders: critical perspectives and effective interventions*. Jones and Bartlette, Boston, pp 43–75
- Siebert R (2007) Mafia women: the affirmation of a female pseudo-subject. the case of the ‘Ndrangheta. In: Fiandaca G (ed) *Women and the mafia*. Springer, New York, pp 19–45
- Siegel D, de Blank S (2010) Women who traffic women: the role of women in human trafficking networks —Dutch cases. In: *Global Crime* 11, 436–447
- Smart C (1976) *Women, crime and criminology*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London
- Smart C (1990) Feminist approaches to criminology. In: Gelsthorpe L, Morris J (eds) *Feminist perspectives in criminology*. Open University Press, Buckingham
- Standing A (2006) *Organised crime: a study from the Cape Flats*. Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria
- Steffensmeier DJ (1980) Sex differences in patterns of adult crime, 1965–77: a review and assessment. In: *Social Forces* 58, 1080–1108. <http://sf.oxfordjournals.org/content/58/4/1080.abstract>
- Underhill G (2012) Emails sealed Sheryl Cwele’s fate. In: Mail and guardian. 5 October 2012. <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-10-05-00-emails-sealed-sheryl-cweles-fate>
- United Nations General Assembly, 15 November 2000: United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Adopted by General Assembly resolution 55/25, United Nations. <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/#Fulltext>
- UNODC (2009) *Transnational trafficking and the rule of law in West Africa: a threat assessment*. Policy Analysis and Research Branch, Vienna
- UNODC (2010) *The globalization of crime: a transnational organized crime threat assessment*. UNODC, Vienna
- Wannenberg G, Irish-Qhobosheane J (2007) Threats to stability: an overview of some of the issues affecting organized crime in South Africa. In: Irish-Qhobosheane J (ed) *Gentlemen or villains, thugs or heroes? The social economy of organized crime in South Africa*. South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, pp 179–210
- Zhang S (2011) Woman pullers: pimping and sex trafficking in a Mexican Border City. *Crime Law Soc Chang* 56:509–528