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FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND COMMUNICATION

DISSERTATION TOPIC

**A Content Analysis of Literary Evidence of Slave Trade in Zimbabwe Focusing
on Zimbabwean Women's Trafficking to Kuwait.**

By

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**A dissertation submitted to the Department of English and Communication,
Midlands State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Bachelor of Arts English and Communication Honours Degree.**

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APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read this research document, approved it for submission and marking as it conforms to the English and Communication Department requirements.

Supervisor's signature.....Date.....

Co-Supervisor's signature.....Date.....

DECLARATION

I declare that **A Content Analysis of Literary Evidence of Slave Trade in Zimbabwe Focusing on Zimbabwean Women’s Trafficking to Kuwait** is my own work and it has not been submitted before for any other Degree or examination at any other University. I declare that all references used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references in the reference list.

Norma Tsopo

(R137994W)

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this dissertation to my late father – Thomas Tsopo, my hard working mother, Rosina Manjeya, for her unconditional and enthusiastic support for my success, as well as my sisters who have always given me unconditional support to achieve my dreams.

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I do not owe the success of this study to my own cleverness or hard work. I am indebted to many more people than there is space here to acknowledge. But chiefly, I would not have done anything without God's grace. I am also greatly indebted to supervisor Mr. M. Zimunya for his patient nudge and insightful guidance through every stage of this investigation. I also acknowledge many debts to MSU Zvishavane campus staff for supporting my academic growth which underline by ability to successfully carry out this research. My mother, Rosina Manjeya, has been my pillar of strength and inspiration in everything I do, no less this investigation.

ABSTRACT

The research is an investigation into the existence of trade in slaves in Zimbabwe in this era. The research will focus on the topical issue of trafficking of hundreds of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait as evidence of the continued existence of the practice which has been abolished for more than a millennium now. To clearly prove its case the study will investigate the issue by segmenting the practice into the three universally accepted elements that would constitute the existence of slavery which are – the act of owning someone; the methods of making someone one; and the purpose of enslaving someone. It will also make strong reference to historical accounts of slavery which will form the bedrock of slavery literature for reference against which the Zimbabwean accounts will be tested. Other proven present day accounts of slavery and trade in persons will be used to validate modern-day slavery practices. The study will take the form of a content analysis of literary accounts of slavery and slave trade from the antebellum era into present day accounts and media reports of accounts of trafficking of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait.

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The overarching motive behind this study is to stimulate interest in the inhumane practice of turning fellow human beings into merchandise that is then sold off for sacrifice at the altar of greed and profit. In the study, the researcher will interrogate the nature of the trade in persons at the height of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (15th-19th centuries), its present day form and what manifestation it has taken in Zimbabwe with the trafficking of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait as a possible example of what could be happening elsewhere across the world. It is not hoped that the research would be exhaustive but would offer sufficient evidence and insight into the phenomenon to excite and inform further investigations into the institution.

1.2 BACKGROUND

Although slavery may have been outlawed and condemned as morally reprehensible since the days of Abolitionist movements in the nineteenth century, nearly two centuries later, there are people who appear to be in exploitative and inhuman conditions reminiscent of the period of the slave trade and slavery. While the bulk of such people are not officially classified as slaves, they have all the markers of being other people's economic assets. Reports of an elaborate human trafficking syndicate that moved hundreds of women from Zimbabwe to Kuwait where they were subjected to various forms of servitude appear to suggest that the practice might have outlived abolition and may even be present in a country that hardly acknowledges its existence, thus warranting a close examination. And, given how far the United Nations and other rights bodies have gone in championing human rights across the world and over the decades, this situation surely raises many more questions regarding mankind's propensity to regress from the highest civilization to the lowest form of oppression of fellow human beings.

Although, slavery might have been officially declared illegal globally and hardly ever been recognized in many countries there is widespread literary evidence that it is still being practiced even in Zimbabwe, a country noted for its proud record of championing freedom. In fact, it appears to be a tacitly acceptable enterprise throughout history with its economic incentives now benefitting even the global economy which appears to have developed an addiction for forced labour (Smith, 2013).

Also this study is an effort to contribute with some information and to shed light on what we can call “modern slavery”, focusing on the trafficking of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait. Zimbabwe has been made particularly vulnerable due to the collapse of political and economic systems which appears to have given courage to existing criminal organizations to fill the vacuum and thrive without significant opposition (Hughes, 2000). The collapse of these systems is also considered as a big push factor for people to migrate out of their home country and, therefore, rendering them easy prey to slave traffickers at home and abroad (Fredric Kapp in Williams, 1943).

This study also hopes to challenge Zimbabweans and local communities to introspect as they might be participating or colluding in slavery related activities unawares. The study can also act as an awareness platform to expose the characteristics of slavery and modern day forms of the practice. The study can also help victims and communities to work together in a campaign to end the exploitative practice. One also hopes to assist policy makers to identify the salient forms of modern day slavery and craft legislations, policies and a plan of action to combat the vice.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Slavery is an institution that Zimbabwe does not recognize as existing within its borders as evidenced by its absolute lack of visibility in the local media and absence of literature on its practice. The majority of its citizenry, including this researcher before a preliminary study of the practice, considers it as a historical reality that died with abolition and which they don't recognize in its current form or in its new identity as human trafficking. This research is therefore going to

prove that slavery outlived abolition and that even Zimbabweans are being sold off as slaves in a multi-billion dollar global industry.

1.4 DEFINITION KEY TERMS

Slavery - For the purposes of the study slavery is defined as the ownership of one person by another (McGough, 2013).

Slave - A slave is consequentially defined as a person held in bondage to another, or someone who is the property of another (Meltzer, 1983).

Exploitation - For the purposes of this study, the term exploitation is used as the overarching theme that characterizes all forms of human trafficking, i.e. slavery, forced labour, bonded labour, child labour, forced prostitution, economic exploitation, and so on.

Human trafficking - Human trafficking is a term that has since the 1990s been widely used to describe the act of holding a person in forced service — the very definition of slavery (McGough, 2013). Although it appears to imply that trafficking victims are moved across borders this study will acknowledge that victims can also be held in their own homes. There is generally consensus that human trafficking is modern day slavery (U.S. Department of State, 2012) and is defined as

“[...] 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, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs”. (Palermo Protocol, 2002).

Historical fiction - Historical fiction is a narrative by contemporary authors set in a historical period beyond the experiences of the readership it is targeted (Gangi, 2004) while Galda, Sipe, Liang, and Cullian (2014) opine it as comprising of “imaginative narratives deliberately grounded in the facts of our past”.

Theoretical framework – A theoretical framework is a group of interconnected concepts that helps in shaping and guiding a research.

1.5 SCOPE OF STUDY

The study will look at literary evidence of slavery in Zimbabwe, a nation that was established in 1980 - more than a millennium after the abolition of the infamous transatlantic slavery in Britain, the principal slave trading nation, in 1833 and 1865 in the United States of America. The study seeks to briefly acknowledge that the practice has existed since bible times – through the 15th to 19th century transatlantic slave period into the present day and, therefore has not spared Zimbabwe in spite of it never making headline news. This is critical in proving that no one knows when exactly slavery started but that it has been an acceptable enterprise that suffered bad press with graphic details emerging particularly during the 18th century mass transatlantic slavery period triggering anti-slavery crusades in Europe and America and the enacting of legislations beyond which, however, the practice appears to have remerged, survived and even thrived including locally.

The investigation will principally focus on the trafficking of local girls and women to Kuwait post 2010 as a continuation of slave trade and will draw comparisons with 18th century transatlantic slavery accounts as told by 20th century historical fiction authors. The study will describe globally accepted state of being enslaved through the use two historical fiction novels – *Roots* and *Book of Negroes* and two modern-era slavery testimonials. The core of local texts will be a selection of five articles from five different news outlets on the trafficking of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait while the changing contexts of slavery will be provided by at least three research papers and surveys to complete the catalogue of primary texts to be used. All the core texts are available although continuous research on secondary texts will continue until completion of the study.

1.6 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- This study seeks to establish and prove that “modern slavery” exists in Zimbabwe, Kuwait and other countries.

- It will also seek to explain how the age-old practice did not end with abolition but is even getting worse in the modern day era.
- It also hopes to prove how exploitation of fellow human beings to generate profits has been such a major incentive to perpetrate slavery to the extent that governments seem either unable or unwilling to stop the practice entirely as they are deeply imbedded in business practices.
- Explore the role of economic coercion in modern day consensual exploitation/slavery.
- It is an attempt to expose the ill-treatment of fellow human beings with the hope of action being taken to restoring their dignity.
- It will seek to provide a detailed analysis of the modern day forms of slavery and how and why some of them remain hidden from public view.
- To connect the issues of slavery to other issues that local community cares about such as immigration, education, poverty and child abuse among others.
- To explore how multinational companies and governments may be benefitting from human exploitation and how this maybe stifling efforts to end slavery in its entire variant forms entirely.
- Interrogate how communities could be unknowingly participating in or aiding modern era slavery.
- Investigate the factors that have sustained slavery and continue to support it in spite of all the legislation to end it.
- To interrogate how labour legislations could be facilitating the exploitation of human beings without acknowledging their worth as more than just economic tools.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION

- The national outcry that was triggered with news of hundreds of local women having been trafficked to Kuwait where they were subjected to slave-like treatment triggered my interest in exploring this subject.
- Links between rampant human trafficking and modern day slavery appear to be an overlooked issue.
- A prevalent trend by western multinational companies in setting up their manufacturing industries in developing countries with questionable labour practices that violate fundamental rights of workers as enshrined in the International Labour Organisation conventions.
- Personal encounters with people whose liberty are so limited to such an extent that they even feel like their lives belong to others.
- Media reports of the growing challenges of human trafficking, sex slaves, bonded labour and inhumane working conditions across the globe have motivated the researcher to dedicate time to exploring these dehumanizing practices.
- Last, but not least, one observes with moral outrage the management of minor orphans by extended families across the country which is often reminiscent of child trafficking for economic exploitation under the guise of affording them shelter, food, education and guardianship.

1.8 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Delimitations are defined by Bryant (2004) as factors that prevent a research finding from being generalized as true across all people, times and places. And every research has its own fair share of delimitations. The main delimitation of this study is firstly that historical accounts of antebellum

slavery are mainly based on historical fiction novels. Secondly, the authors of these historical fiction accounts were African American authors writing about the degrading experiences of their own race. To balance this, the researcher has included a research by a white British scholar who wrote and published before the two works of historical fiction were published.

Limitations beyond the control of this research are the limited amount of literature of slavery or slave trade in Zimbabwe which limits insight into the full extent of the practice of trade in persons. This dearth in scholarly literature has left the researcher to rely on media reports with all their biases and editorial slants. To limit their influence on the study the researcher has had to make use of five credible newspaper reports to balance the objectivity of their accounts.

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This study is significant for many reasons, among which are:

Beyond satisfying the researcher's academic requirements in her pursuit of an English and Communication Honours Degree, the study is a vital first step in her contribution to the body of knowledge as she begins to give back to an educational system from which she had been consuming for two decades. *Anti-slavery activists, human rights defenders, policy makers and general populace* can also benefit from this study as it brings together hidden facts of the murky criminal world of modern day slavery as it exposes the impact it has on individuals, how victims are recruited, captured or enticed and for what modern day slaves are used. This is hoped to inform efforts to end the practice and identify victims from wherever they maybe as well as help would-be victims to be wary of the snares human traffickers use.

To future analysts, this research is conceivably going to enlighten their understanding of the otherwise hidden illegal institution and give them a firm foothold in either understanding the subject better or launching their own investigations.

1.10 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study will be guided by a number of theories including Marxism, rational choice, demand, economic and constitutive theories in the process of exploring the subject modern day slavery through reports of Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait.

The *Marxist Theory* will help to frame the context in which slave trafficking occurs. *Marxism* is itself based on Karl Marx's belief that groups within a social system are constantly in conflict with one another over power according to class, giving birth to a social structure like capitalism (Brooks, 2011). Capitalism, Marx argues, in turn promotes human greed and considers money and power as most important in society which leads people to take desperate measures to achieve status and compete in society, even if it violates the rights of others. It is no wonder that human beings are then objectified and sold and purchased like property, to be owned and controlled in everyday life.

The rest of the theories will then inform the actual transaction of fellow human beings as property. For example, the *rational choice* theory postulates that slave traders are rational beings who make decisions like any business people based on the costs and benefits involved (Flowe, 2010) – while the *Demand theory* is a theory that can explain the relationship between enslavers and those who pay for the slaves thereby rewarding the practice. The *Demand theory* forms the basis for the demand curve, which relates desire to the amount of slaves available. As more of a good or service is available, demand drops and therefore so does the equilibrium price (Smith, 2013).

Economic theory can be used to explain actions and behaviours which calculate the gains and benefits accrued from participating in slavery just as it does for any other task.

Constitutive theory which postulates that power and equality build socially constructed differences through which harm and deprivation is imposed on the subordinated group (Lutya and Lanier, 2012), seals the theoretical framework for the investigation.

1.11 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.11.1 INTRODUCTION

This section of the study will explore existing research on modern day slavery and linkages, if any, with the global economy. It will also seek to show what is already known about the factors that make it easy for a practice that has been long abolished to persist in a world that presumably should be more effective in protecting human rights and personal security. It will also discuss what is already known about modern slavery in Zimbabwe.

1.11.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Slavery had been banned by most countries by the end of the 19th century but continues today in virtually every country despite its universal abolition (McGough, 2013). It is now officially illegal in every country in the world with Mauritania being the last to officially abolish slavery in 1981 (BBC, 2012). In spite of this, there are more people in slavery today than at any other point in human history (Smith, 2013). Its global prevalence is, however, currently estimated at least 27 million slaves (Skinner; United Nations, 2008). The number goes as high as 29.8 million people by some estimates (Global Slavery Index, 2013). These statistics invariably mean that the problem of slavery has grown across the globe in spite of all local and international legal apparatus, concerted campaigns and bans.

This clearly shows that the practice of slavery and involuntary servitude has grown across the globe instead of going down in the face of legal bans. It now exists in virtually every country in the world (McGough, 2013). The major difference though is that while owning slaves used to be formalized through legal documents, today's slaves are held through debt bondage, indentured servitude or other vicious forms of control. Many may be surprised to know that Zimbabwe is ranked among 45 countries affected by the worst prevalence of slavery (Global Slavery Index, 2013). Although enslavement and ownership of people is almost never locally acknowledged as slavery, human

trafficking is recognized as a rampant crime which is accepted as a modern-era form of slavery (U.S State Department, 2013). Global Slavery Index (2013) also identifies human trafficking as being synonymous with slavery although there is yet to be consensus on the new term.

According to Adam Smith's Theory of the Persistence of Slavery, slavery has continued due to the "love of domination and authority and the pleasure men take in having everything done by their express orders" and the absence of a satisfactory compensation system of slave holders in spite of legal instruments outlawing it (Weingast, 2015). While this may have been true of chattel slaves who were born into slavery and passed their status on to their offspring, the incentive for other forms is purely economic. Slavery has managed to continue because the modern global economy is firmly rooted in a psychology of exploitation and dependence on cheap or forced labor (Smith, 2013). The desire to keep production costs low often entails spending as little on labor as possible which in turn protects good profit margins. This form of slavery is easy to mask and maintain.

Human trafficking is however much more difficult to identify. By its very nature, human trafficking is largely a hidden crime as captors deny their victims freedom of movement and keep them isolated by limiting their contact with the outside world (Clawson and Dutch, 2008). There thus is insufficient economic literature on human trafficking despite it being a multibillion business (Interpol in Martinsen, 2014) that has had an immense impact on people's lives (Martinsen, 2014). Former US President Barack Obama contends that human trafficking is modern day slavery if it were to "be called by its true name" and acknowledged its role in business and warns that "it ought to concern every business, because it distorts markets" (US Department of State, 2013, p.7).

One challenge in quantifying the number of modern day slaves is that some of the victims of human trafficking do not themselves consider themselves as slaves due to the tragic psychological trauma they may experience such as the *Stockholm syndrome*. These are conditions that make sufferers generate positive feelings and gratitude toward their captors for perceived favors or even for being allowed to live (Fitzgerald, 2009).

While various forms of slavery share essential similarities across time and geographical, religious or economic environments, Kate Blewett (in Mason, Date) distinguishes modern day slavery from past forms by the sheer weight of its financial value –

The difference between now and colonial times is that in the old days slaves were worth a great deal of money and so were taken better care of. But these people are utterly disposable. They are cheap to buy and cheap to throw away.

In the American South in the 1850s, “a healthy slave was a valuable piece of property, worth up to \$40,000 in today’s dollars” (Masci, 290) while currently a slave can be purchased for as little as ten dollars. The contrast suggests that not only has modern society devalued the market value of the slave, but has, in the process, exponentially degraded the value of humanity, his life, dignity, self-worth and self-respect. It is, therefore, clear that the distinction between the past and present worth of a slave is imperative for the purposes of understanding modern practices of slavery (Kuhl, 2011).

This study will be unique in that it will focus on Zimbabwe with particular reference to the trafficking of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait. In the process, it will also seek to explore and critique the theory that political and economic pressures make people vulnerable to exploitation as either indentured servants or slaves in foreign countries (Fiedrich Kapp in Williams, 1943) as is obtaining in Zimbabwe in the period under investigation. The collapse of political and economic systems also appears to have given existing criminal organizations opportunities to fill the vacuum and thrive without significant opposition (Hughes, 2000). The study will further explore the subject by examining the three essential elements of human trafficking namely, the act of obtaining some person; the method, which involves any means of coercion, threat, or abuse of power or money; and the purpose of this action, which is always for exploitation be it factory labour, domestic services, prostitution or any other form of slavery (Krieg, 2009).

The study will primarily explore the subject through media reports about the women’s experiences. It will also make use of selected stories of former slaves either as narrated by historical fiction

writers like Alex Haley in *Roots* or Jesse Sage and Liora Kasten in *Enslaved: True Stories of Modern Day Slavery* as well as reports by intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations' publications while history books, journals and newspaper reports offer valuable insight into the institution in context.

1.12 METHODOLOGY

The study will make use of research methodologies best suited for a literature based study owing to their capacity to effectively allow the researcher to analyse and interpret findings in their correct context. The researcher will employ three main methodologies – *interpretive research*, *textual analysis* and *content analysis*:

(i) Interpretive Research

Interpretive research does not make any formal division between quantitative and qualitative methodologies but employs a variety of analytical tools according to Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006).

(ii) Textual Analysis

Textual analysis involves gathering data through textual scrutiny and deriving educated guesses at the most likely interpretations of the text under review postulates McKee (2003).

(ii) Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined differently by different scholars. It is a “subjective interpretation” of textual content to identify themes and patterns in deducing sense notes Hsieh and Shannon (2005); Mayring (2000) views it as an “empirical, and methodological controlled analysis of text within its context of communication guided by content analysis rules and step by step models without rash quantification”; while Patton (2002) views it as a “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and

meanings”. The three views acknowledge that content analysis is a qualitative tool which emphasizes an integrated approach to deriving meaning from text by interpreting it within specific contexts.

1.13 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The dissertation will be structured in a manner that would allow it to clearly interrogate each of the three elements of slavery or human trafficking – the act of owning someone; the method of acquiring a person; and the purposes for which people are enslaved.

Chapter Two of this study will therefore look strictly at the defining marks of being under another’s ownership. It will especially look at proving that someone is another’s property by highlighting the markers of being another’s economic or social or sexual asset. It will look at what rights, if any, slaves had in the past and in the present day form of the practice. This chapter hopes to also prove that the Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait were indeed under the ownership of others as a vital first step in investigating the existence of slave trade in Zimbabwe as without this evidence there is no basis to discuss how they were acquired or for what they were used as slaves.

Chapter Three will then look at the methods by which slaves were acquired, how they are recruited globally and how the Zimbabwean women were transformed into the merchandise that slaves are.

Chapter Four will then look at what slaves were historically used for and what role, economic or otherwise they are used in modern times and what the main subjects of our investigation – Zimbabwean women trafficking to Kuwait - were used for and whether their roles have any resemblance to what slaves were generally used for over the years. Chapter Five will then give a summary of the study and conclude by giving recommendations for further study investigations.

1.14 CONCLUSION

This Chapter laid the foundation for the study by laying bare the aims and objectives of the investigation; what specific problem the study hopes to address; stating clearly what is known about modern day slavery internationally and in Zimbabwe, in the literature review; as well as stating the tools to be used in the study and how they will be used as given in the theoretical framework.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: ENSLAVED: INDICATORS OF BEING ANOTHER'S PROPERTY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter seeks to draw comparisons between the state of the Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait and that of transatlantic slave trade victims is as far as whether they carried the hallmarks of slaves as a crucial starting point to the interrogation of the issue. Without their state clearly established as slaves no questions regarding their case as proof of the existence of slave trade can arise.

Thus, for the act of having someone as a possession to occur, it begins with the person who is to be owned to be stripped of their rights and liberties and reduced into property that can be owned. In this light, this Chapter will first explore what being a slave and being an owner of one entailed through historical accounts into the modern-day era before a closer look at the state of the Zimbabwean women trafficked to Kuwait is taken. This will be capped by a comparative analysis of the chosen literary accounts to establish if there indeed is sufficient evidence of their ownership or if it was just an unfortunate case of abuse in a legal contractual servitude.

2.2 TRANSATLANTIC SLAVERY ACCOUNTS OF INDICATORS OF BEING ANOTHER'S PROPERTY

2.2.1 Roots: The saga of an American family – Alex Haley

Central to Alex Haley's historical fiction account of the Transatlantic Slave Trade was that slavery was an accepted institution even in black African communities at the time. Slavery was, according to Haley, not a violation of any moral or religious code at the time as it is now as he identifies historical characters who were celebrated as 'holy men' but were slave owners in black Africa. He makes specific mention of two examples to prove its acceptability by people who ended up victims of the system themselves. However, a slave in African communities, Haley reveals, was not a homogeneous class of people who could be easily distinguished by a strait jacket of characteristics and features -

Slaves aren't always easy to tell from those who aren't slaves (pg. 65).

But key to being a slave was loss of one's personal liberty. And it was not a condition that one needed to be a slave for life, as Haley's character Omoro Kinte explains to his inquisitive son Kunta Kinte.

Enslavement, though universally entailing loss of autonomy, was not an absolute limit to one's personal growth or personal influence and contributions to others' lives. Some slaves were even "very famous people" and their communities' heroes as was the case with account that "the great Mandinka Empire had been won by the crippled, brilliant slave general (Sundiata) whose army had begun with runaway slaves found in swamps and other hiding places" (pg. 66). Some were only slaves in name as their masters were long dead and were themselves elderly and participated fully in important community cultural and religious rites like the character Nyo Boto who could even give "the sharp side of her tongue to any passing adult – even the elders, if she felt like it" (pg. 66). Even Kunta could not believe she was anyone's slave. Some could even "prosper beyond their masters" and take slaves for themselves in turn. Though acknowledged as an institution, slavery was regulated against abuse in African communities. As Omoro put it, their rights were guaranteed by customary regulations.

In some cases, they could only be distinguished by the type of thatch they were compelled to use for their huts. These slaves could not be physically abused or sold without their consent. There were yet others who would keep to themselves and not mingle with ordinary folk. Then there was yet another class of slaves within the African villages which was even 'despised' and thus could be physically abused or sold without their consent and did not enjoy the same rights as the others. These would have been convicted murderers, thieves and criminals. This essentially means there were no obvious markers of a slave in African communities and one could not tell slaves from non-slaves by merely looking at people or observing their interactions.

Haley however dedicates the bigger chunk of his narrative to the slaves who he repeatedly portrays as ‘stolen away’ from their homes. On being taken away from their lands into a ‘new world’, they were stripped of their identity by being forced to drop their African names which were linked to their tribe’s, cultural and religious identity. Names were also more of parents’ prayers for what kind of person they wished their children to becoming as children were given names after a thorough research for a good name with the naming itself accompanied by an elaborate naming ceremony. This is clearly exemplified by Kunta’s loss of his grandfather’s respected name Kunta Kinte to Toby which was given to him by the master. His renaming by his master was another demonstration of his dominion and power over him as well as destroying any trace of his identity.

Related slaves were also sold to different owners to break any sense of community and bonding among them. These ‘captured’ people were also branded upon being taken up as slaves and could thus be clearly distinguished as such by the physical markings in yet another obnoxious show of their degradation into others’ property just like horses and cows. They were passed on from a slave master to his offspring as part of their property inheritance in the event of death of their owners. By so doing, their rights to dignity and privacy of their own bodies were also violated:

...the men’s foto was pulled and looked at. Even the women’s private parts were inspected (pg. 71).

In further humiliation, their private parts, their teeth armpits and all body parts were inspected publicly. In a way, this was to prove that their bodies did not belong to them but the traders and masters. This form of slaves who were shackled and would have their liberties completely stripped and reduced into merchandise and advertised in bestial terms to would be buyers before being sold at auctions:

...Look at him! Works like a mule! ...Just picked out of the trees... Bright as a monkey! Can be trained for anything! ...Top prime – young and supple! (pg. 216)

All this was in a dehumanizing public auction where their value was determined through competing bids. When bought, their movement was controlled and they had no right to own

anything as even their children were their masters' property and could be and were often sold off to other slave masters.

To cap it off, these slaves' worth was determined by a public auction bidding making a specific price tag the absolute mark of their worth to their owners. Such sales sealed the fate of the slave as just an economic asset which could be exchanged for a specific price. Once in the new world, Haley presents a completely objectified human being who could be dismembered to control their physical movement, or even killed publicly to strike fear into the hearts of any slave not to even consider claiming their right to self-determination. Haley shows that in essence the slave owner, a human being who, because of the physical differences with the one he was enslaving, had no remorse in the treatment of his slave. There was an absolute denial of their humanity. The abuse and extent of violations of slaves' personal rights knew no bounds.

2.2.2 The Book of Negroes – Lawrence Hill

In this historical fiction narrative Lawrence Hill is clear from the onset about what a slave was as his central character Aminata Diallo makes it clear that an enslaved woman has no freedom of her own, and cannot choose the hands that claim her. In other words a slave has no power over the use of her body and cannot choose what happens to her but that she was totally at the mercy of the master or owner.

This clearly showed of the deprivation of one's right to individual autonomy as a key condition of a slave, as, just like property, they could be sold or bought off any time at the whims of their 'owners'. Hill also takes a moral argument against the practice as he argues through his characters that slave drivers were denying both their humanity and that of their victims my engaging in the practice of slave trade.

As part of breaking their captives, slave drivers would use humiliation –

...they tore the clothes off our backs. We had no head scarves or wraps for our body, or anything to cover or private parts... nakedness marked us as

captives wherever we went (pg. 29).

Doing this to these Muslim captives was the height of humiliation as they would have been accustomed to covering their entire bodies including their heads. It is no wonder that the central character would have such strong feelings of shame that she did not want to be noticed, seen or known by anybody in her present state, leading to nearly making herself crazy in a bid to escape her nakedness.

There appears herein a deliberate effort to deny captives any respect for their sense of decency as part of an elaborate degrading process culminating in their being sold off as others' property.

Like Haley in *Roots*, Hill identifies pricing of slaves at public auctions as a key marker of being enslaved. With a price tag, one's worth was determined by another human being who, if he chose, could dispose of his slave without anyone querying the decision since slaves' lives were only protected to the extent of their masters' will, according to their narratives.

The denial of slaves' rights to own anything including even their own children as repeatedly shown through Aminata clearly marks off chattel slaves as property which itself had no rights whatsoever.

Hill also acknowledges that slavery was an acceptable practice as shown by Fomba, Aminata's village chief's second generation slave as he belonged to the chief since his birth. But unlike the cross racial slavery of the transatlantic slave trade local slaves enjoyed a certain amount of rights. Fomba's inability to master complex instructions and tasks was respected by the chief who would assign him duties that were within his mastery in acknowledgement of his humanity.

2.2.3 Capitalism and Slavery – Eric Williams

Eric Williams does not seek to prove that slaves were objectified and sold as merchandise, taking it as a foregone conclusion. His subject of study was investigating "strictly an economic study of the role of Negro slavery and the slave trade in providing the capital which financed the Industrial Revolution in England" (pg.7). What is also clear in Williams' research is that like any property,

slaves had a price tag to them. Earl St. Vincent, a British admiral, was given six thousand pounds as compensation for 418 slaves he owned in Jamaica in 1837 when Britain abolished the practice (pg. 44). It is therefore fundamental that for one to be considered a slave a person should have no control of their own being and thus can be exchanged for money as would chattel slaves be viewed in economic and not human terms as “valuable property with title recognized by law” which were “sold openly at auction”. Williams states that the status of these slaves was legitimized by a declaration of the British parliament as merchandise in 1677:

Negroes being usually bought and sold among merchants, so merchandise and also being infidels, there might be property in them. (p. 45)

Williams mentions the case of Britain’s Chief Justice Mansfield who in 1773 equated slaves to horses after he was approached by slave owners who sought compensation from a shipping company after a ship captain threw overboard 132 slaves because the ship was running short of water. Mansfield infamously ruled that “the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard” and ruled that the shipping company pays thirty pounds for each slave (p. 46). Williams documented the protestations of a Trinidad planter against efforts to reduce slaves’ working hours to nine as “a most unjust and oppressive invasion of property” to further attest to their status as property. Beyond slaves’ use for labour he said they would also be used as financial security as they would be “attached as horses and beast for the debts of their masters” (p. 19). Another condition of being enslaved, according to Williams, was the ability of the slave owner “to exact the mechanical obedience of a plough-ox or cart-horse, to demand that resignation and that complete moral and intellectual subjection which alone make slave labor possible” (pg. 19).

Williams also attested to the fact that slaves were given physical markers by being branded with hot iron to identify them with their owners as livestock would. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel prohibited Christian instruction to its slaves in Barbados and even branded “Society” to distinguish them from slaves that belonged to individuals that did not belong to the influential

group (pg. 42). This clearly shows that slaves were distinguishable economic assets that were controlled and governed by their masters who exercised the power of God over them.

Williams also notes that slaves did not only lose control of their bodies, labours and autonomy and language as, in addition to working alongside fellow slaves whose language he could not understand, he was also ignorant of the white man's language (pg.19). To emphasize the loss of a language to converse with among themselves as key to enslavement British planters, Williams said, "opposed Christianity for their slaves... It meant also instruction in the English language, which allowed diverse tribes to get together and plot sedition" (pg. 42).

2.3 MODERN-DAY INDICATORS OF BEING ANOTHER'S PROPERTY

2.3.1 Enslaved: True Stories of Modern Day Slavery - Jesse Sage and Liora Kasten

Jesse Sage and Liora Kasten define slavery not by length of time spent in a state of entrapment or capture but the condition of not being able to decide one's fate. Their subjects, whose identity are hidden to protect them from the dangerous criminal human trafficking rings that once claimed them as their property, consistently revealed confinement and failure to decide what to do with their lives, restricted movement and inability to decide who to associate with as prominent markings of their enslavement.

Next to the state of captivity, the power of captors to do as they pleased with the bodies of their captives including physical abuse was another clear marker of being a slave. They make reference to one victim of sex trafficking who would be assaulted over her voice –

Once, the pimp didn't like Jenya's tone of voice. He made her undress, took off his belt, and flogged her back with the buckle till she started to bleed. (Pg. 74)

Wanton physical abuse appears to be an integral constituent of being enslaved according to Sage and Kasten's account. Violence is clearly a weapon of choice in keeping slaves under check and as a demonstration of their unbridled power and authority over their victims.

2.3.2 The Human Faces of Modern Day Slavery – United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Report

This United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights publication concedes that modern day slavery is dynamic and identifies some of its many forms as child soldiers, forced or early marriages, sexual slavery, child prostitution, child sex tourism, child pornography, debt bondage, and serfdom, forced labour and traditional slavery. In light of this, the attachment of a price tag on a person for sale and purchase is not a universal identifier of one as a slave, neither are restriction of movement, nor being a captive, even time frame, and constant physical abuse. In its modern day form, enslavement is a heterogeneous institution whose victims are not always easy to identify.

Exploitation and other various forms of abuse are a common thread that runs through all forms of slavery identified in the publication. A desire to exercise lordship over the lives of slaves appears to be the main reason behind the abuse which appears completely unnecessary for the victim who has lost control of their lives to the overload. Although they are not uniform, the plethora of abuses common among modern day slaves include sexual abuse, violence which at times leads to permanent disability, discrimination, restricted movement, being denied food as well as being denied the chance to pursue an education. This bred a strong sense of isolation and defeat (pg.17) by almost all the slaves. These degrading experiences often inform whether one is enslaved or not as invariably the practice is meant to benefit the enslaver and not the one who is enslaved. This is the theme the UN publication makes with focus on ten people from across the globe and in different settings and across all continents that were rescued from different forms of slavery.

2.4 ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN'S STATUS IN KUWAIT

2.4.1 *The Daily News* (June 14, 2016): “Zim-Kuwait ‘slaves’ narrate horror tales” – Farayi Machamire

This report by Farayi Machamire clearly identified the case of the Zimbabwean women as slaves considering that they were also referred to as ‘*kadamas*’ – an Arabic term for slaves. The three women Machamire interviewed for the story arrived in the Middle East country on the same day and recounted having been queued up for sale to the highest bidder in scenes reminiscent of the transatlantic slave trade. With a price tag on their heads, they became merchandise that was converted to private property of whoever bought them.

The women also recounted horror stories of physical and mental torture as one related having been woken up a few hours after midnight to insults and assault by a belt. Their inhuman treatment extended to being forced to bath countless times as they were deemed to be smelly by some of their owners who also had them keep their clothes outside.

Their identity was also stolen from them when their passports confiscated. This was meant to incapacitate them from claiming any rights as they could not possibly exit the country without them. They were also made to surrender their phones which effectively isolated them from their families, friends and relatives as they would not be able to contact anyone because they would be physically confined to their owners’ place of choice.

2.4.2 *The Standard* (May 16, 2016): How Harare woman was turned into slavery, prostitution in Kuwait - Xolisani Ncube

Xolisani Ncube recounts the tale of a woman who was sold without her having any knowledge of it and only came to know of her price tag when she demanded that she be paid for her work. Her \$2 000 price tag was only revealed when her Canadian owner in the Gulf State returned her to the human traffickers who then made her a sex slave. While the woman initially did not suffer any obvious physical abuse beyond the long working hours she only realized that she had been bought

after challenging what she thought were contractual terms agreed on that should have seen her get a salary for her labours.

2.4.3 *The Zimbabwe Independent* (June 3, 2016): “Human trafficking exposes govt as agency of poverty” – Wongai Zhangazha

Wongai Zhangazha reports in this article of a woman who was bought for \$2 000 for amusement as a sex toy as her owner – who had bought her for \$2 000 -, his adult son and the family’s male friends would routinely rape her. This shows that she had no control over her body and the son of the family demonstrated the power of ownership over her. She as well had her identity taken away from her as they took away her passport and ensured that she had no contact with the outside world by taking away her cell phone. The woman who, was part of a group of ‘200 Zimbabwean women who were known to having been trapped in Kuwait’ also spoke of being physically abused by her ‘owners’. Her experiences bear all the signature of experiences of someone who had been reduced to property and who had lost the power to determine the course of her own life.

2.5 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Comparing the status of the Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait, it is abundantly clear that they, beyond any reasonable doubt, have the entire signature experience of being slaves – even millennium old chattel slavery. Like Haley’s *Roots*’ central character Kunta’s experiences, the women were paraded before a public auction where each one was sold to the highest bidder as would be the case with property. This was the case with Hill’s *Book of Negroes*’ Aminata who was sold off in similar fashion. The status of the women as fully fledged slaves is beyond doubt as they had monetary value attached to them and they were not being paid themselves for services rendered just as was the case during the transatlantic slave trade even as Williams (1943) contends in *Capitalism and Slavery*. Slaves were completely objectified which then justified their selling off as pure merchandise.

Some of the women’s sexual violation was also consistent with Haley and Hill’s position that slaves did not own their bodies anymore and their masters would do with it as they pleased. This

would also go to their physical abuse. Like chattel slaves, as Haley (1976), Hill (2007) and Williams (1943) concluded, the abuse was a demonstration of their ‘owners’ mastery over their person as they sought to satisfy their egos that they had the authority to treat them anyhow. This is another feature that is common with other modern day slave experiences as Sage and Kasten (2007) and the United Nations report show. After paying money for them, slave owners seem to feel the need to prove their ownership rights of the slaves by exercising the ‘power of God’ over the lives of the slaves by subjecting their bodies to anything they please perhaps in an effort to break their minds. With full control of the mind, slave owners would then compel their slaves to do exactly what they wanted without question. This also appears to be a key trait in almost everyone who denied the humanity of another by paying money for the ownership of a fellow human being on the bases of the text under review.

The enslavement of the Kuwait women was also for an indefinite time period as was the case in the historical fiction accounts of Haley and Hill in the antebellum slavery era. Had it not been for their eventual rescue, the Zimbabwean women would have lived in slavery for an indefinite period under the ownership of the people who bought them. Significantly, however, Sage and Kasten (2007), like Dafoe in Williams (1943), do not see the issue of time as a factor in proving slavery but the conditions under which one will be which is primary assumption of one’s life’s autonomy by another for their own benefit.

Confiscation of Zimbabwean women’s identity and travelling documents upon entry into Kuwait also draws parallels with Haley (1976) and Hill (2007) where slaves had their names taken away and would be given new names. Having no identity document would equally have the same effect as one would not be able to identify oneself positively to any interested party and thereby denying them access to services they would be entitled to. This is also a common modern day practice, as Sage and Kasten (2007) write. This has the effect of isolating the slave and denying him access to assistance which would, in the case of the Zimbabwean women, be compounded by taking away their communication devices. With language a method of choice in keeping slaves apart during the

transatlantic period Williams (1943) not effective in the modern era, enslavers took away these women's phones. Combined, this also brought feelings of having been stolen away that both *Roots* and *The Book of Negroes* amply testify.

The experiences of one of the women in Kuwait who was ordered to take a bath numerous times during the course of the day was effectively a denial of her humanity and meant to communicate her inferiority status to her master just as effectively as the order to keep her clothes outside. Hill (2007) speaks of the denial of the humanity of the captive by their captor which is clear in this scenario.

2.6 CONCLUSION

It is clear that Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait were turned into slaves upon arrival in the Gulf State. Their circumstances and condition bear all the features of slavery as defined by historical fiction novels – Roots and Book of Negroes, a timeless 1943 research – Capitalism and Slavery - as well as modern day slavery accounts by Sage and Kasten and as defined by the United Nations. This proven, the researcher moves on to investigating resemblances in the recruitment procedures of slaves may have over the past three hundred years in the next chapter.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: METHODS OF OBTAINING SLAVES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter seeks to explore how millions of free and self-respecting people have lost and continue to lose their independence and become others' property for centuries up to now. The researcher will examine how slave trade is conducted and how individuals end up being trapped in the fog of slavery. Since it has already been proven that slave trade still persists more than one hundred and fifty years since its historic abolition and that it even exists in Zimbabwe, the researcher will investigate how slaves were obtained during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade era and examine if the methods bear any resemblance with how they are obtained in the modern day era focusing on the trafficking of Zimbabwean women to Kuwait.

3.2 TRANSATLANTIC SLAVERY RECRUITMENT ACCOUNTS

3.2.1 Roots: The saga of an American family – Alex Haley

In his book, Haley lays out the different ways in which both Europeans and Africans obtained slaves prior to and during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade era. The first method of acquiring slaves that Haley mentions relates to individuals who volunteered themselves into slavery during times of drought and other human disasters -

Others left town, seeking another village to beg someone who had food to accept them as slaves. Roots, pg.20

In negotiating their enslavement such slaves would also have a clear path of what they would need to do to buy terminate the condition of being another man's property. The second method was of individuals who were born as slaves. The third form of slavery comprised those who lost their freedom as prisoners of war who were all turned into slaves after their tribes were over-powered in battle. The fourth class of slaves Haley makes mention of as predating Transatlantic Slavery were those who were turned into slavery because they would have been convicted of crimes. These were apparently the only forms of slaves, according to Omoro Kinte, who could be otherwise be

physically assaulted by their masters as all the rest retained some level of respect in spite of their condition of being slaves – their treatment being protected by traditional customs . But convicts “were the only slaves whom a master could beat or otherwise punish as he felt they deserved”. Slave ownership could also be transferred from one person to the other in trade and it was the last form of slaves whose consent was not sought before being sold off in Black Africa.

Then, the arrival of Europeans in search for slaves completely transformed slavery into an institution steeped in abuse. Abduction was the most prevalent method of choice in obtaining slaves from Africa by Europeans. This is illustrated by the capture of Kunta Kinte who got kidnapped just outside his village and was taken to the sea coast where he was exchanged or traded with goods namely, textiles, fire arms, alcohol, beads, manila, and cowries along with others from nearby villages. He was abducted by the toubob (white man) with the aid of African men who killed his dog and hit him unconscious. At that point, slavery began to be equated with being “stolen away”.

European traders captured some slaves in raids along the coast but bought most of them from local African dealers who were derisively referred to as ‘slatee-traitors’. Some African chiefs also began selling convicted criminals into slavery. Corruption by African kings became a critical lubricant as their “personal agents now supplied most of the people whom the toubob took away”. There began to arise a trend in which convictions became more rife during those times when slave ships were in dock looking for slaves, resulting in some people being convicted for “suspicion of plotting against the king – often for little more than whispering” (pg 71) .

3.2.2 The Book of Negroes – Lawrence Hill

In this historical fiction narrative, Hill also gives his researched accounts of how slaves were obtained during the period of the infamous Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Kidnapping was one of the ways the Europeans used to obtain slaves and Aminata, the protagonist, is kidnapped from her village of Bayo along with others who were raided in their village. These kidnapped individuals were then sold into slavery in exchange for goods that the white men brought. After being sold into

slavery Aminata is trapped and becomes a victim of chattel slavery. Later on as the book progresses, her child is born into the world as a slave and is also sold off as a slave even though she was just a baby. This also explains how slaves were obtained; that is, apart from getting them transported from Africa, the offspring of the slaves became slaves as well, in the process increasing their numbers as their master's investment.

Captains would offer gifts to the local African leaders and paid taxes for the right to trade so that they get slaves from the chiefs or have the right to raid or abduct able bodied men in another clear indication that Africans played a critical role in facilitating the enslavement of their own people by Europeans.

3.2.3 Capitalism and Slavery – Eric Williams

Williams opened his book with what he contends was a form of servitude but which in modern day era fits the classification of slavery – indentured labour which was a prelude to the Transatlantic slavery of Africans. Indentured labourers were whites who would have signed contracts binding them to serve for a stipulated period in return for passage to the new continent. They would, however not pass on this status to their offspring. Williams also identifies another class of white labourers who also qualified as slaves by modern day standards – ‘redemptioners,’ those who “arranged with the captain of the ship to pay for their passage on arrival or within a specified time after”. Those who failed to make the money in time would then be sold by the captains to the highest bidder. While this extreme form of servitude appeared fair to the extent that there was consent, “soon commercial speculation entered and abuse crept in” (p.11). Kidnapping became a major means of acquiring these ‘servants’ as it became a major business in places like London and Bristol with adults being drugged with alcohol and children enticed with sweets by their captors who became known as ‘spirits’. A wave of German immigrants into Britain provided even more options for human traffickers of the day. Labour agents of the day, ‘newlanders’, also moved in,

recruiting labourers for the American sojourn for a commission. It was not always honest business with them as they would employ all sorts of ‘trickery’ and ‘deception’ to trap their victims.

Convicts also provided a good number of this form of servitude and were sent off to plantations in the Americas from the British Isles, being proscribed punishment for a number of crimes to provide labour for British interests in their new colonies, writes Williams (1944). According to a British 1664 legal proposal, ‘vagrants, rogues, idlers, petty thieves, gypsies and loose persons who frequented brothels’ were all shipped out into indentured servitude in the Americas by government, Williams noted. Wives who were ‘convicted of stealing goods valued at 3 shillings and 4 pence’ were added to the list. These were packed like ‘herrings in ships’ that would carry them across. Williams notes that servitude which was previously a voluntary engagement became progressively worse, especially in the plantations. It soon began to bear a lot of resemblance with chattel slavery with Williams referring to these servants as ‘temporary chattels’ as they would not be given “proper food or accommodation, physically abused and sold, attached as horses or beasts over their masters’ debts.” Daniel Defoe, an 18th Century English novelist is quoted by Williams as having “bluntly stated that the white servant was a slave”. Williams’ protest of this classification was based on the fact that the “loss of liberty was temporary” and that they did not pass on the condition to their offspring which was the traditional defining features of the Black slave.

The exploitation of fellow human beings for profit, Williams contends, was fully established and refined as a practice with an infrastructure that would support industry and agriculture in the colonies by the time the enslavement of Africans began. He also confirmed abductions as the main modus operandi of acquiring African slaves by Europeans. These captured slaves would also then be sold off at public auctions.

3.3 CASES OF MODERN-DAY SLAVE RECRUITING METHODS

3.3.1 Enslaved: True Stories of Modern Day Slavery - Jesse Sage and Liora Kasten

In this non-fiction book, Sage and Kasten give details of various methods of enslaving people in use in the modern day era. While kidnappings still feature prominently, trickery and deception appear to be the major methods of choice. To highlight the most common method of recruiting people into slavery, the two authors note that human traffickers do background research of their targeted victims who they would then approach and entice with promises of good fortune. The human traffickers would then facilitate the passage to a foreign country where they will be trapped by the debts of the 'favour'.

In the case of the trafficking of Sveta and Jenya to Moscow from Belarus, the human trafficker was given intimate details of the lives of his targets by his girlfriend who was known to the young girls who he then enticed with the prospect of financial independence and a glamorous life style in which they would be able to "dress like famous actresses". The two friends however only realize that when they "got to Moscow everything turned out differently. Our dream crashed against the reality: we had to pay back our debt - the money paid for our tickets and accommodation, food and clothes. The man threatened to put us in jail if we tried to escape." Without any traveling documents and indebted they had no option but to comply and their fate as sex slaves was sealed.

3.3.2 Hear their story – The United Nations (UN) Office for Drugs and Crime

In this UN publication, *Hear their story* a wide range of means by which people are being enslaved in the modern day era across the globe is given. Drawing its stories from many different institutions dealing with human trafficking, it narrates the case of a Sudanese woman – Janet - who was made vulnerable to trafficking by destitution following the death of her mother in Niger at the age of 22. She was handed over to a trafficker by her friend in a case of trafficking being facilitated by people close to victims. She was moved from Niger to Chad, Egypt and Sinai where, because no one could

pay for her ransom, she was held captive and raped repeatedly before she eventually escaped into Israel.

There is also a case of Cambodian girls who were taken from the hands of their parents by a woman who appeared like a Good Samaritan who took the girls to Thailand where they would save as her slaves, selling flowers on the streets and suffering physical abuse. The publication also explains how Rizal, a Philippine, became a slave in the United States of America after an employment agent supposedly facilitated his passage for a job in a restaurant only to end up cleaning in a hotel for “very long hours and was paid almost nothing. He wanted to quit, but his supervisor threatened him with arrest and deportation.”

Elira, an Albanian, who went to Kosovo with her mother following her divorce while she was only 14 years old was transformed into a slave by her own mother who made her waitress, dance and sex slave. In yet another case of family transforming their children into slaves, a Roma (*Gypsy*) girl was forced to steal cell phones on the streets of Paris in France. The UN publication carries many more means through which people are losing control of their lives and enslaved even by the closest family members and friends demonstrating the complexity of the methods of enslaving people in use in modern day slavery.

3.4 ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN’S STATUS IN KUWAIT

3.4.1 *The Daily News* (June 14, 2016): “Zim-Kuwait ‘slaves’ narrate horror tales” – Farayi Machamire

In this article, the newspaper describes how Zimbabwean women were conned into slavery. The news report narrates how a victim of human trafficking was deceived. The victim whose identity is protected by the journalist to protect her privacy after suffering the trauma of being enslaved, explained that she responded to false newspaper job vacancy alert and received speedy response. Thereafter an arrangement was made where she would have a ‘sponsor’ who would pay for the

travelling expenses which she was told were to be paid back once she started work. On arrival her hopes were dashed when she was detained along with other girls in the airport's basement for hours after which the agents came and sold them to the slave masters. Clearly the woman had been fooled by the impression that her passage into the country was being supported by a well-wisher who would sponsor her to go and find the job that she had responded to only to realize that by accepting the 'help', she was giving up her rights to the 'sponsor' who turned out to be a slave master.

3.4.2 The Standard (May 16, 2016): How Harare woman was turned into slavery, prostitution in Kuwait - Xolisani Ncube

The Standard article shows how ways in which slaves are obtained has changed little as we are still having reports of people being abducted and sold into slavery which has been the method of choice by slave drivers for over one hundred and fifty years. Dishonesty is however now the predominant method as they want to hide the practice under the veil of consent in the initial stages of the process of recruiting someone into slavery until they are in an environment where they have total control over their victims. It appears as if these traffickers have borrowed a leaf from confidence artists who use every psychological ploy to gain the trust of their victims before they strike.

The Standard report narrates how one victim of human trafficking to Kuwait was baited by a lucrative job opportunity in Kuwait that appeared in a local newspaper which she applied for. To give the whole process a semblance of professionalism, her travelling arrangements were made through the use of agents. On arrival, however, everything changed as she was asked to surrender her passport and other documents including her phone. This shows that in the modern day era, trickery has become the method of choice – Zimbabwean women were deceived into slavery by bogus employment agents with representatives both in Kuwait and Zimbabwe.

3.4.3 *The Herald* (March 12, 2016) in an article entitled “200 Zim women trapped in Kuwait”

The Zimbabwean government owned national newspaper, also reinforces the fact that the women were tricked into travelling to Kuwait where they were traded like merchandise having been stripped of all their rights to freedom and dignity in a murky debt bondage deal. The women were lured to the Middle East country by lucrative false job offers in the local media by human trafficking syndicates.

The article details how the journey of the Zimbabwean women like many other nationals being enticed to go to Kuwait began voluntarily only to be declared indentured to ‘sponsors’ and labour recruitment firms that would have facilitated their passage into the country who would then sell them in an auction on arrival. It notes that in some cases the migrants would themselves have

paid exorbitant fees to recruiters in their home countries or are coerced into paying labour broker fees in Kuwait that, by the Middle East laws, should be paid by the employer—a practice that makes workers highly vulnerable to forced labour, including debt bondage.

Kuwait’s ‘sponsorship law’ clearly aids the enslavement of foreigners as it ties migrant worker’s legal residence and valid immigration status to an employer thereby restricting their movements and penalizing them for fleeing their masters.

3.4.4 News Deeply (November, 2015): ‘I Was Going to Starve’: A Story of Trafficking and Escape in Kuwait

This article reiterates, with anecdotal evidence from interviewing trafficking victims, that the Zimbabwean women were attracted and entrapped in slavery through fraudulent means. They were enticed by advertisements of well paying but non-existent jobs. Worryingly, this article also points to corruption by very senior Kuwaiti government officials as playing a key role in the scamming of the Zimbabwean women for enslavement by Kuwaiti citizens. It fingers the Gulf nation’s former ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ahmed al-Jeeran, as heading a human trafficking syndicate that was ‘capturing’ desperate women who were responding to the false job adverts and facilitating their passage to Kuwait. Al-Jeeran is being jointly accused with his secretary, Brenda Avril May, who

was allegedly the syndicate's focal person in a criminal case opened against them in Zimbabwean courts.

3.5 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Looking at the methods of slavery over the past three millennia there are many features that remain constant, exposing serious loopholes in efforts to end the practice which should have died with abolition and laws and policies that all countries on the globe have against it. There has been however a significant number of changes to these methods of recruiting slaves as enslavers and slave owners seek to evade criminal prosecution in an era when human rights have become a universal concern.

One method that has changed is one of turning prisoners into slaves. While traditionally convicted criminals were converted into slaves, which was a key method of recruiting slaves and a feature that runs cross the ages from pre-Transatlantic slavery in Africa, according to Haley, and Britain, according to Williams, this is no longer prevalent as imprisonment is now used largely for rehabilitation of offenders more than just a punitive means of preventing a repeat of the offence or commission of the same crime.

One obvious change is that with the strengthening of the rights of prisoners of war this avenue of recruiting slaves is closed. This had been a prominent method in which many would lose their freedom into slavery in Black Africa according to the historical fiction accounts of both Haley and Hill. With the formation of nation states instead of chiefdoms a trend whereby governments owned slaves obtained for some time as evidenced in the 20th century involving prisoners of war during the Second World War being used as menial labourers without remuneration in colonies.

Another medium of multiplying or recruiting slaves by claiming ownership of the offspring of one's slave as one's property which again had been a norm both in Black Africa and in the antebellum era in the U.S. has largely stopped except in Mauritania which still has a deeply

entrenched hereditary slavery (Global Index Report, 2013). This has however largely fallen off elsewhere as modern day slavery is mostly no longer a life-long condition. This is mostly so because keeping a slave for a lifetime is now a challenge in an environment where the practice is illegal with all countries having signed protocols that abolished it – on paper, at least.

There are however still many similarities in the recruitment of slavery since the 17th century. There was a practice of self-bondage involving individuals selling themselves into slavery in Africa since before the Trans-Atlantic slave trade to be redeemed from hunger and famine. Similarities to this trend are recalled in Williams' accounts of people trying to escape poverty by handing themselves over in debt bondage to ship captains in exchange for a passage to the Americas from Britain. These were termed 'redemptioners', according to Williams. Although the system of 'redemptioners' was considered servitude Dafoe is quoted by Williams as 'bluntly' declaring it to be slavery and it indeed is on all fours with modern day understanding of slavery.

The hesitancy to label it so historically may just have been an attempt to run away from the fact that the wealthy white initially would enslave their own people before they turned to Africa for slaves. Volunteering their freedom to the extent of being considered property that could be sold to others or held as surety for debt is also still prevalent in the modern day era. Cases of people handing themselves over in debt bondage in exchange for a better life abound. The similarities extend to the fact that there has always been a non-permanent form of slavery whether in Africa, in the Americas or in the modern day era with poverty being a driver of this form of slavery both in the Britain of old and across the globe presently.

On a rather ominous note, however, there appears to be a worsening of recruitment methods with children becoming their families' slaves in the modern era which was unheard of in both the pre-Transatlantic period and Transatlantic period as some parents seize control of their children's lives and exploit them by forcing them to steal or engage in child prostitution or marrying them off for

their own survival and profit. This, as a method of recruiting slaves, does not have any historical parallel.

The use of deception in taking away someone's freedom and converting them into slaves is another modus operandi used by slave-drivers particularly in Britain before the transatlantic slavery as reported by Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery*. Although this form of slavery was absent in Africa at the height of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, according to both Haley and Hill, it is now the method of choice in the modern day era even though the practice has been outlawed. Trickery has become the best strategy as raids, abductions and other violent methods of slave recruitment though still present are now less popular especially where the slaves need to leave their home countries via official ports of exit. The trend is obvious considering that well resourced criminal syndicates are now behind the modern day form of slavery. This sees even relatives and neighbours deceiving people they are known to in order to have control over their offspring for economic exploitation in foreign countries as highlighted in Hear their Story.

Thus, deception was the method of choice in the recruitment of Zimbabwean women into slavery in Kuwait. According to the US State Department, Trafficking in Persons Report of 2016, Zimbabwean women are lured by promises of good jobs in the Gulf country. Corroborating the same, newspapers reported that the Kuwait slave owners obtained the women through the aid of a well organized criminal syndicate that includes fellow Zimbabweans, high ranking embassy personnel including the Kuwait ambassador to Zimbabwe and possibly local immigration officials.

3.6 CONCLUSION

The successful recruitment of slaves is a crucial factor in the continued survival of slavery in spite of its abolition. Slave drivers have been evolving their methods to stay ahead of laws calling for the end of the practice. Without the means to recruit them the institution would die. Looking at the methods of recruitment identified in this chapter, it is evident that there are efforts to adapt recruitment methods to evade legal detection through the use of deception such that unless there is

a close examination of relations between some ‘employers’ and their ‘employees’ it is almost impossible to distinguish a slave from someone in a bad job because slaves have clearly been proven to be present in hotels in the US. Some people are so desperate that they are even using their children as economic assets whom they send to do criminal activities for money. The enslavement of children by their parents is however a new trend that has no precedence in the historical text under analysis. Consequently, trickery has become the mainstay of camouflaging the recruitment efforts of human trafficking. Without this evolution the trade in humans would die off given the vast legal and policy instruments being put in place by all countries and under the watch of human rights activists and humanitarian institutions.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: THE RATIONALE OF SLAVERY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter sets out to detail the various purposes for which slaves were obtained throughout history and set that against what Zimbabwean women who were enslaved in Kuwait were used for. While slavery generally implies exploitation this section of the research seeks to investigate and argue whether all enslaved individuals could be regarded as economic assets as is implied by many scholars. The role slaves played in plantations in the Americas conjures up images of slaves as beasts of burden that are used to maximize and protect profits unto perpetuity. But, the researcher will herein take a closer look at the example of slaves identified in previous chapters and others to explore the various uses for which they were employed. Understanding slave use trends through historical times to the present can help unveil the real reasons why efforts to end slavery are not succeeding to date.

A clear understanding of slaves' uses can inform what strategies can be employed to end the practice. Slavery's persistence in spite of abolition and the many international and country level legal instruments prohibiting it which includes heavy legal penalties calls for a closer look at the institution of slavery. The use of slaves is a key component in establishing why the institution of slavery is continuing unabated in spite of everything staked against it.

4.2 THE RATIONALE OF TRANSATLANTIC SLAVERY

4.2.1 Roots: The saga of an American family – Alex Haley

Haley gives a diverse profile of slavery in this work of historical fiction exposing a wide use of slaves which were not all economic but saved to benefit the slave owner. A close look at Haley's slaves in Juffure reveals that slaves in Africa often would participate in the locals' traditional and cultural rites and were not always valued in monetary terms. He identifies slaves in his chapter 13 of slaves participating in boys' rites of passage rituals as the boys would be "turned over to slaves,

who took them by hand and led them, one by one, out of the village”. This shows a culturally institutionalized function of slaves in Africa prior to Transatlantic slavery. Some of the slaves Haley presented in his book were engaged as nannies – Nyo Boto, in a system in which the entire village had a common nursery for children which also involved Juffure’s elderly females, during a time where hired labour was not yet a part of skilled trade. Haley also identified warriors as slaves, as was the case of Sundiata, a celebrated army general, who also had many runaway slaves under his army with whom he won famous battles for their masters’ kingdom. **Roots** also identifies slaves in African villages serving as servants and also being allocated fields whose produce they would share equally with their masters with this role assuming a completely economic function.

All these slaves, writes Haley, were respected and accorded rights in spite of their having limited liberties as they would be treated with so much reverence that even children growing up in these community could not tell who was and who was not a slave. Kunta Kinte was surprised at being told that some of the people he already knew or he held in high esteem in his village were actually slaves. In the African institution of slavery which Haley contrasted graphically with the abuse that characterised Transatlantic slavery it was however not uncommon to see slaves who would be segregated beyond their servitude and were told to live apart from the rest of the community. An example of this class of slaves is seen in the case of a Holy Man who visited Juffure and his slaves “did not enter the village with others” as they are pictured as taking their proscribed place in the social order when they “squatted down near where they had tethered the cattle and penned the goats”.

Haley’s accounts of Transatlantic slavery however reveal an unmistakably economic institution beginning with money exchanging hands from their acquisition in Africa extending to their auctioning upon arrival. Once bought, they would predominantly be employed in the fields, as gardeners and as musicians complete with different price tags on their heads. According to Haley, once they were in the hands of Europeans, Africans became property, like livestock or even furniture. They were made to do whatever job as was desired by their owners and the females could

often be used to quench their male masters' sexual desires with children resulting from these unions also considered property even by their white fathers as they inherited the slave status from their mothers.

4.2.2 The Book of Negroes – Lawrence Hill

Hill identified slavery on the African continent before Transatlantic slavery and contrasts that with the slavery that obtained across the ocean in the Americas. There is a level of kindness that was extended in allocating slaves duties in Africa that could not be seen when African was under white masters. While Hill identifies the fields as the primary work station of slaves back in Africa there was respect for the slaves' mental and physical abilities. Explaining the role of Woloso, a retarded African second generation slave, Hill says he was made to hunt because he “could not plant or harvest because he could never learn the techniques” implying that planting and harvesting were among the duties of slaves of that time. Hill places slaves predominantly in plantations in the Americas but also notes that some African slaves with special skills were used to serve other slaves during transit and on plantations as was the case with Aminata Diallo whose midwifery skills were used both to serve fellow slaves and even white slave masters. Hill however largely portrays slaves in menial labour roles in plantations cementing the role of slaves as economic tools.

4.2.3 Capitalism and Slavery – Eric Williams

Williams argues in *Capitalism and Slavery* that the institution of slavery was set up for “purely economic” reasons. Transatlantic slavery was built on earlier forms exploitation of people's labour for profit in which Native Americans, socially ostracized and economically disempowered whites were used as bonded or indentured servants. These were generally not considered then or in earlier writings to have been a form of slavery but their liberty were so limited that even though they were not deemed slaves then, modern day definitions place them among slaves. It's only that their servant status was not passed down to their offspring but they could be sold, held over their masters' debts and be made to work as their masters pleased. They however only provided cheap

labour for some time before they were replaced by African slaves. White servitude, thus served as a historic base upon which transatlantic slavery was built.

The roles for which the slaves were primarily recruited were largely for exploitation in plantations, according to Williams. Interest in African slaves had however been identified earlier in the 16th century, a claim Williams supports by quoting an official in Hispaniola who in 1518 sought permission:

...to bring Negroes , a race robust for labour, instead of natives, so weak that they can only be employed in tasks requiring little endurance, such as taking care of maize fields or farms. p.??

Williams argues that the reasons were clearly economic as they sought a stronger but cheaper specimen for use in their fields and mines. He said the new colonies settled for the African because he was famed for being more docile, had superior endurance and good manual labour capacity. Black slaves were deemed a “solution” to the “Caribbean labour problem”. Gibbon Wakefield as cited in Williams (1943) also argues that slavery was brought about by “economic necessity to produce more at limited cost”. In arguing that slavery was an “economic phenomenon”, Williams says this is proven by the fact that the function for which slaves were bought was for “arduous field work” as women and children were sold for less than “robust males”. Fernando Ortiz is quoted by Williams as having noted that black males were considered more ideal in the mines because it required “monotonous, insane and severe labour” with the Africans being “best suited” for such “intense labour”.

According to Williams slaves could also be attached over debts like any other farm assets like horses and cattle. They would also be sold off to redeem debts like any other property. He concludes that slavery and monopoly helped create the wealth of the “West”. Beyond use as economic assets, Williams also identifies an even more degrading role of slaves as some young slaves were also bought and kept like pets while female slaves were routinely raped by their masters or forced to copulate with “studs” to produce “sturdier” species of slavery. Williams shows

this in his reference to Hogarth's heroine in *The Harlot's Progress*, who was attended to by a black boy. This book, he contends, informed 18th century English opinion which he postulates influenced Marguerite Steen's Orabella Burmester's desire to have "a little black boy who she could love as her long-haired kitten".

4.3 THE RATIONALE OF MODERN-DAY SLAVERY

4.3.1 A Child Slave in California – Kristin Lewis

In this true life story of a modern-day era Child Slave that was published in the *Scope*, Lewis recounts how Shyima Hall was trafficked to the United States of America after she was sold into slavery by her family at age eight for use as a domestic servant. She served as a slave for four years before her rescue. Shyima would work 18 hours a day. She would stay up ironing as everyone in her master's house retired to bed, and was the first to get up to wake up the family's kids, get them ready for school, made breakfast, cleaned the house, made beds, dusted, vacuumed carpets, did laundry and dishes among others. Although a child herself, she was raising other children and doing work way beyond her age. Her family sold her out of poverty, notes Lewis, and the family that bought her preferred the cheaper option of owning a slave girl instead of hiring a house maid who would have government labour laws protecting such an employee.

4.3.2 The Human Face of Modern Day Slavery – United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Report

This United Nations publication points out a diverse range of functions modern-day slaves are engaged for. Tellingly, all the slaves mentioned were either employed within the home of their enslavers or in informal business, pointing to an attempt to use slaves in spheres where there is no public scrutiny of both the ethical issues of subjecting minors to child labour and their inhuman working conditions. There are also no adult males but just women and children revealing a deliberate preference by modern day era slave catchers to avoid adult males because of their ability to fight back or escape.

The publication carries a wide cast of slaves including the story of Maria who was sold by her former husband for sexual exploitation; Ebo who was given up by his parents to his own sister who then used him as a slave in a fish boat on Ghana's Lake Volta; Reka who was married to a low caste and thus enrolled in a caste-based slavery which saw her emptying dry latrines of people from higher castes (in India?); Diana who was enslaved by a fellow Burkinabe family in an affluent apartment in Paris; Maysoun who was forced into early marriage as a 15 year old and was treated like a slave at her in-laws' home (where?); Johanne a Haitian girl who was enslaved as a domestic slave at age nine until she was ejected onto the street at age 15; Nepal's Aasha who was a domestic bonded labourer from age 10 until she was released following a brutal physical attack that left her permanently disabled; Philippine Jonalyn who was enslaved in domestic servitude; and Mauritanian brothers Said and Yard, 15 and 13 years old respectively, who were born into traditional Chattel Slavery in which they served mostly as camel herders. When one casts a gaze at the geographical location of these cases, one realises the horrific extent of this crisis in modern day slavery.

These anecdotal stories show a wide array of roles slaves are being used in – from serving as cheaper alternatives to hired servants to more institutionalized roles as in the caste-based system of India, Kamalaris – bonded labourers in Nepal and the 'Restavek' or child domestic slave in Haiti. While the use of slaves as an alternative to hired labour points to a business decision the other forms of slavery point to a plainly unjust but entrenched social system. The case of Maysoun also shows that slavery can also be found in the institution of marriage.

Exploitation is however the common denominator in all the slaves' tales. However, while some of the slaves were captured or bought to curb the financial burden of employing someone, many other cases are not necessarily motivated by economic gain but social status proving that slavery transcends economics into the socio-cultural fabric of some cultures.

4.4 ENSLAVEMENT OF ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN

4.4.1 The Daily News (June 14, 2016): ‘Zim-Kuwait ‘slaves’ narrate horror tales’ – Farayi Machamire

Machamire based his article on interviews with two women who were trafficked to Kuwait where they were enslaved as domestic servants. One of the women, a trained nurse would often be awoken to start work just after midnight and work late into the night. Referred to as a ‘Kadama’, Arabic term for slave, by the people who had paid a \$3 000 ‘sponsorship fee’ in line with the Kuwaiti government’s laws to her captors she would often also suffer physical abuse. She also survived a rape attempt by the man of the house by screaming but was instead accused of trying to seduce him a crime for which she was heavily assaulted by the couple. The other woman was again enslaved into domestic servitude working in a 17-roomed three storey house under similar abusive circumstances.

In both cases what is clear is that slave owners in Machamire’s article were affluent and could afford a sizeable cash amount like \$3 000 which was paid for each of the two women. It therefore proves that owning slaves is predominantly a preserve of either the rich or well to do families as owning another human being comes with considerable purchasing costs.

4.4.2 The Zimbabwe Independent (June 3, 2016): “Human trafficking exposes govt as agency of poverty” – Wongai Zhangazha

IN this article, Zhangazha writes about a woman who was enslaved for use as a sex toy by her Kuwaiti master. Zhangazha’s subject was raped upon arrival at her master’s house and would also be sexually assaulted by his adult son. Her owner’s male friends would also be directed to her to quench their sexual desires, she recounted to Zhangazha:

My sponsor who was the father of the house raped me. Sometimes he would let his son sexually abuse me. If his friends came over for visits over the weekend, anyone who wanted to quench his sexual desire did soon me. I lost count of the number of times I was raped. The Zimbabwe Independent

It can be deduced from the article that the woman would also serve as a domestic servant beyond being a sex slave because it did not say how she spent her day when she was not being sexually abused. There is also no mention of the attitude of female members of the household to her sexual abuse or whether they would tolerate sharing their men with a black slave. Domestic servitude appears therefore to have been just an excuse to have her accepted into the home especially in the face of female members of the family who did not seem to have played any role in her sexual assaults.

4.4.3 The Standard (May 16, 2016): “How Harare woman was turned into slavery, prostitution in Kuwait” – Xolisani Ncube

The Standard newspaper details the journey of a Zimbabwean woman who began off as a domestic slave to a big Canadian family where she joined two other women from Ethiopia and Cameroon. Their communication with the outside world was effectively cut when their cell phones confiscated on the guise of ensuring “that there was maximum concentration”. Unaware of her status as a slave, Ncube’s subject made her condition worse by protesting nonpayment by refusing to work resulting in her being handed back to the slave catchers who had sold her to the family. They demanded their \$2 000 which they had bought her with back. She was immediately then turned over into forced prostitution:

I was told since I had refused to work as a maid, I should use my body to pay and they would only take me back to Zimbabwe after I had given them \$2 000. On a given day, I was forced to sleep with five to 10 men.

This clearly proves that she was deemed an economic asset by both her captors and the family that had bought her. More importantly the article tells us that buying slaves was not a preserve of Kuwaitis but also wealthy nationals of other countries who in this case are Canadians. It also shows that victims of trafficking also included women from other African countries like Ethiopians and Cameroonians.

4.5 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A comparative analysis of the use of slaves from the period preceding the Transatlantic Slave Trade right to the present day show that while economic exploitation is still largely the major driver the other emerging trend is that it has become institutionalized. This appears to be logical for a practice that would have existed for hundreds of years. The Restavek – domestic slave, in Haiti a country that is largely populated by blacks who are obviously descendants of former slaves can be safely inferred to be a residual tradition from Transatlantic slavery. Another clear case is on the Kamalaris who would be bought by landlords from the poor land tenants in Nepal. The caste-based system where a lower caste serves a higher caste community in doing their dirty work in India is yet another clear sign of this.

The big change that is apparent is however that in the olden days slaves were needed mainly for back-breaking work. According to Williams (1943), who also quotes Ortiz who noted that males were considered more ideal to work in mines where work was “monotonous, insane and severe labour” “robust males” were valued more. There is a clear preference for women and children because of the domestic nature of the work to be done in the modern day era. There also appears to be a greater need for slaves indoors than in outfields.

Another issue that sticks out in this study is that women and children are now being preferred over men because they pose a lower risk of revolting than “robust males”. Women and children are much easier to restrain physically as has been proven over the years with males often fighting their way out of captivity as Haley (1967) shows with Kunta Kinte, Lawrence (2004) with Aminata Diallo’s father while Williams (1943) shows postmen being employed to also hunt down escaped slaves who were mostly males.

Another obvious factor is the use of slaves by the wealthy throughout history into the modern era. From the literature under review, slave ownership is a continuing trend in wealthy families from the pre-Transatlantic period where African chiefs would own slaves as both Haley (1967) and

Lawrence (2004) show in their historical fiction accounts. It appears that the wealthy are either greedy or have a challenge with their egos and are desirous of a absolute subordination of their servants hence the need for slaves ahead of hired workers who would come with the protection of their respective countries' labour laws as we find the trend repeating in this economic class across different countries globally.

Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait were engaged in predominant modern-day slave roles of domestic servitude and sex slavery which benefited the slave owners either financially or for their own amusement as was the case with sexual abuse victims. Proving their status as economic assets, if the master is no longer in need of specific slaves he can sell them again. This also shows that despite fulfilling his needs the master also makes profits from selling these slaves.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The roles for which slaves are needed have clearly changed over time in part due to its abolition which has pushed it underground where it is thriving in private homes, brothels and many such secluded areas instead of open plantations of the Transatlantic slavery era. The use of modern day slaves appears to be in line with a deliberate effort to keep the institution underground. Without this, slaves would be easily identified and victims rescued sending the industry into a death spin. According to Williams, in *Capitalism and Slavery*, slave trade was conducted for economic reasons and its abolition was economic as well. This explains the reasons why it never ended and has survived to this day because there still is need if not greater need to produce more at very minimal cost or to saved household income by limiting expenditure by relying on domestic slaves. The reasons for Transatlantic Slave Trade and its modern day form, human trafficking, are all predominantly economic.

There is now a clear preference to women and children in light of the functions for which they are needed. While slave use purposes have seen a total metamorphosis with the profile of slaves being

aligned to their new roles the practice has also stayed for so long that it is now also embedded in many cultures with Haiti, Nepal and India, being standout examples. Zimbabwean women trafficked to Kuwait were recruited and employed in the two most popular sectors of modern day slavery – domestic servitude and sexual exploitation, proving beyond any reasonable doubt that they were indeed slaves. A look at their journey from freedom to slavery also shows that the institution of slavery is an economic entity.

Although Williams contends that the West industrialized off the back of slavery Roger Anstey and Seymour Drescher have argued that profits from the slave trade were never sufficient to be a significant source of capital for the Industrial revolution. They went on to argue that the slave colonies rather than generating substantial profits were actually a loss for the metropolis. Though there are such arguments, the complex economic relationships established with and between Europe, Africa and the Americas during the early modern period make it difficult to isolate Europe's economic developments from the American slave complex. It is beyond doubt that for economic reasons, slavery has existed throughout history.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1.1 SUMMARY

Chapter One of this dissertation looked at the literary evidence of the persistence of slavery in spite of its abolition and a stake of legal instruments at international and by every country on the planet (BBC, 2012). Its findings revealed an abundance of evidence to the effect that slavery was not only a continuing practice but was even getting worse as slaves exist today in millions – more than at any other time in history. The problem is actually growing as opposed to coming under control as there are over 29.8 million people who are in this age-old vice grip (Global Index Report, 2013). Evidence clearly showed that business considerations by individuals who want to undercut their costs of production, national economic crisis' and poor enforcement of policies and laws was making people from poor countries susceptible to being plucked out either by force, deception and various other tricks for abuse as slaves either within the country or across borders. The Chapter also set the foundation for the investigation of whether Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait could fit the profile of modern day slaves or if the reportage of their issue was not being sensationalized as human trafficking which this chapter clearly proved as another term for modern day slavery.

Chapter Two set out to investigate whether indeed the Zimbabwean women trafficked to Kuwait were at any point indeed enslaved or just abused employees by looking at their condition in Kuwait against the definition of a slave which is a state or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised (Global Slavery Index, 2013). Looking at the state of enslavement from the pre-Transatlantic era into the antebellum era right through to modern day forms of slavery the state of the Zimbabwean women was clearly proven to have been that of slaves. The women were proven to have been in a similar situation with millions other women who are internationally acknowledged as modern-day slaves. Even further, their circumstances including auctioning on a parade proved that their situation was similar to that of

slaves during the Transatlantic Slave Trade, complete with isolation from their families. The comparative analysis also clearly showed that the state of being enslaved had similar markers that have not changed a bit in over 300 years.

Chapter Three explored the methods of recruiting people into slavery across three hundred years into the modern day period. It was apparent that while brute force was used during the Transatlantic era it was predated by the use of deception and trickery that had been employed in Britain to capture poor whites – who were the early slaves in America albeit under the guise of being bonded servants. Even during this same period some were drugged and shipped across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas while abductions were also not uncommon. Force worked particularly in Africa where captors had the blessings of local Chiefs but force is no longer the primary weapon of choice in slavery although abductions are still occurring – this is understandable following the abolition of the institution of slavery. For the practice to survive in an environment in which it is outlawed it had to evolve methods that would camouflage slave catchers from detection hence the greater use of deception and trickery. This is itself proven to an old method. Even employment agents who were known as ‘newlanders’ in Britain before Transatlantic slavery and ‘redemptioners’ who fit the same profile as ‘sponsors’ in Kuwait who would then hold their victims as slaves on the excuse that they would have paid for or facilitated the passage of their victims into another country. What became abundantly clear was that there is largely nothing new in terms of enslavement except a worsening as parents nowadays are now either enslaving their own children or selling their own children into slavery which was never hinted at in historical texts under review. The recruitment of the Zimbabwean women was shown to have been in line with modern day trends of recruiting slaves.

Chapter Four looked at the use of slaves and the purpose for slave trade or enslavement from historical accounts to date for comparisons with the work Zimbabwean women were condemned to do in Kuwait. The findings proved that although slaves were given a wider variety of jobs and could be openly used and identified as such the abolition of slavery has pushed it underground

resulting in slaves now being employed in spaces that are not prone to public scrutiny like in homes, sex work and other hidden spaces. There is also a change in preferred sex for enslaving from males to women and children who are now enslavers' favourites. The uses for which Zimbabwean women trafficked to Kuwait were employed fit the profile of modern day slavery trends which is domestic and sex slavery.

5.1.2 CONCLUSION

The research has managed to prove that slave trade is continuing in spite of the world's best efforts and is even present in Zimbabwe regardless of it not making any headline news. Clearly, slavery trends of three hundred years ago are continuing in Zimbabwe without much outrage by either the populace or government as there is yet to be any conviction of anyone for the crime of participating in the practice or owning a slave although there are a few Kuwaiti Embassy authorities currently on trial. There is also very limited literature on the practice making it difficult to ascertain how big the problem is although the absence of literature can be used to infer that it is not something that is locally acknowledged as a problem warranting investigation. For, without a thorough knowledge of what exactly is happening, it is impossible to formulate policies or enforce those that are ratified from international conventions. Zimbabwe appears, from this lack of literature on the issue, to be in denial of the problem. It is, as a general scientific truth, impossible for the country to measure what it cannot see or manage what it cannot measure. The research has however proven that Zimbabweans could be lured into slavery across the globe and criminal gangs of human traffickers could be doing as they please with gullible locals in the face of the economic meltdown. The country's comatose economy has been making jobs searches a nightmare which has already been proven to having been a significant factor in the enslavement of Zimbabwean women who were trafficked to Kuwait.

5.1.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the findings of this study which have proven the existence of slavery and slave trade in Zimbabwe the research has a number of recommendations to individuals, human rights activists and to government and inter-governmental organisations:

To individuals:

- Every individual should consider themselves as being at risk of enslavement. Without personalizing the risk, no one can take any steps to prevent oneself from falling prey to slave catchers.
- One needs to do thorough background checks of international employment agents before accepting their offers. Or better still it could be better to fight poverty from familiar surroundings of one's home than placing blind trust on the supposed charity of total strangers especially when that charity seeks to take you away from family and friends.

To human rights activists / organisations:

- Activists, interest groups and institutions should invest in educational campaigns to bring awareness of the existence of slavery on the mind of every individual.
- Activists and organisations must investigate and share information on all employment agents who seek to take people out of their home countries into other countries. Individuals may not always be able to fully understand or have the ability to see through the intricate web of lies they weave in gaining a façade of legitimacy.
- As a rule, activists and interest groups must always press all employment agents that facilitated passage of people into jobs in foreign lands to account for every individual they have 'assisted'.

- Human rights institutions ought to commission or conduct researches into human trafficking so that all trends can be identified and exposed to public and government scrutiny.

Government:

- As a start, government needs to acknowledge that slavery is a growing problem that even locals are not immune from and commission a study either through development partners or universities to get an accurate picture of what the situation is.
- Since government has the ultimate responsibility of ensuring the safety of its citizenry it needs to take stern action against everyone who participated in the enslavement of the women who were trafficked to Kuwait as it was clearly trade in persons for the purposes of their exploitation.
- Government needs to enforce all laws relating to trafficking and monitor intra-country domestic working conditions as this is an area for which slaves are acquired and put to use globally.
- Government needs to constantly review its performance in enforcing anti-slavery policies and laws as they could easily become white elephants as they would not be sufficiently turned to identifying and stopping human trafficking.

Inter-governmental institutions (UN organisations):

- UN organisations need to institute an inquiry into Kuwait's 'sponsorship' system as it is clearly a cover for human trafficking as its 'beneficiaries' are losing their liberty to their supposed benefactors.
- UN ought to review laws that govern Kuwait's domestic workers to prevent them from being abused by human traffickers as is currently obtaining.

- UN agencies can also take a leading role in coordinating investigations into human trafficking across borders to ensure that perpetrators are brought to book even in their home countries as is the case with Kuwait nationals who auctioned the Zimbabwean women.

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