



**MARKET
DEVELOPMENT
IN THE NIGER DELTA**

DFID Department for
International
Development

Funding for this programme
is provided by the United Kingdom's
Department for International
Development (DFID)



■ **Monograph Series Vol. 16**

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF POTENTIAL TARGET DEMOGRAPHICS FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES (PHASE II)



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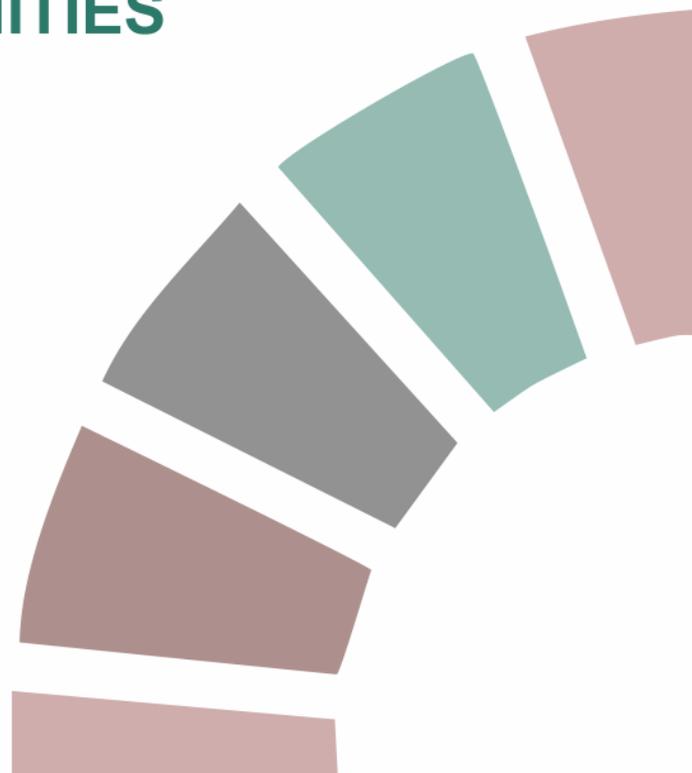
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May 2018

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We believe the information will contribute to sector dialogues and conversations around development in Nigeria.

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ACRONYMS

CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
COSUDOW	Committee for the Support of the Dignity of Woman
DFID	Department For International Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GPI	Girls Power Initiative
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KII	Key informant Interviews
MADE	Market Development for Niger Delta
MDS	Modern Day Slavery
NAPTIP	National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in persons and other related matters.
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	National Population Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
UNICRI	United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
UNODC	United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime
UNTOC	United Nations Transnational Organised Crime Convention
WOTCELF	Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The main goal of this survey is to determine the socio-economic dimensions of human trafficking and modern day slavery, and explore livelihood opportunities with potential target demographics of human trafficking in Edo State, Nigeria. The specific objectives were to: determine socio-economic characteristics and dimensions of existing trafficked individuals and of their families; understand the perception of the target population and their families on participation in trafficking situation; determine Economic Livelihood Factors driving the victimization of women and girls; analyse the costs/benefits to the families that are associated with the trade; and explore factors influencing integration and rehabilitation of trafficked persons and possible opportunities for alternative sources of livelihood.

Purposive sampling was used to select 315 respondents based on the characteristics of the study population. Four homogenous categories of respondents were selected, thus: individuals who are potential target victims (potential victims), individuals who have been trafficked to foreign destinations and returned (successful returnees), Individuals who were trafficked but did not reach their destination before being returned to Nigeria (unsuccessful returnees) and Parents/guardian of returnees/unsuccessful migrants in Edo State. Other respondents selected included community leaders, representatives of civil society organisations (CSOs), Government officials, leaders of Christian associations and youth leaders. Three methods of data collection: key informant interviews, Focus Group Discussion, and face to face interviews were adopted during the study. The team used interview guides, checklist and semi structured questionnaires respectively to obtain qualitative and quantitative data from the respondents. Qualitative data were analysed to create themes and patterns used to back up discussions from descriptive analysis.

The survey on socioeconomic characteristics of respondents show that while majority (32.8%) of the potential victims were within the age range of 18 to 22years, the unsuccessful returnees were mostly (33.9%) within the 23 to 27years age range and 28.6% of the successful returnees were in the age category of 28-33 years. More males than females were interviewed in all the categories of respondents for this study.

Findings revealed that most (55.8%) successful returnees were married while 73.1% of potential victims and 60.3% of unsuccessful returnees were single. Furthermore, large household size seems to be the trend across all categories of respondents. Majority (37.3%, 33.9% and 32.5%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had household¹ sizes of 12persons and above, followed by (23.9%, 30.6% and 29.9%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively with household sizes of 6-10 persons. The

¹ Household size is the number of persons who may not necessarily live under the same roof but depend on the same means of livelihood and authority of a common head.

number of persons in these households is an indication of a high demand and strain on family resources which may have predisposed the individuals to trafficking in order to make ends meet. This brings to bear the importance of creating livelihood opportunities for the increasing youth population in the State.

On educational attainment, majority (52.2%, 55.4% and 59.7%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had attained a secondary school education. Also, 31.3%, 19.0% and 24.7% of potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had attained tertiary education. In terms of educational attainment of parents of trafficked victims, the results show that mothers' (28.4%, 24.4% and 23.7%) and fathers' (31.3%, 34.2% and 25%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had attained a secondary education. Thus, the majority of the respondents in all categories were literate. The religious disposition of most (95.5%, 82.6% and 90.9%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively was Christianity. Few were Muslims and a small percentage, traditionalists.

The primary source of income for the majority (64.2%, 62.8% and 36.4%) of potential victims, unsuccessful trafficked persons and successful trafficked persons respectively was artisan/ vocational work with most respondents earning a monthly income in the range of ₦5, 000 to ₦20, 000. Findings further revealed that more males than females in all categories of respondents aspire to be involved in mechanised/modern agriculture (crop or livestock farming). Also, livelihood activities such as trading/business in foodstuffs, provision/ cosmetic shops and hair styling/ makeup business are mostly sought by females while most males have their interest in managing barbing salons, building material shops, computer/phone shops, spare part shops (machine, motor/generator), transportation business, operating business centres, mechanic workshops, welding and building works.

More so, economic livelihood is the major driver of the victimization of women and girls in Edo State. Embedded in the economic livelihood factors are the socio-cultural factors that make women and girls more vulnerable to victimization. Some of those highlighted from the field research may be grouped under four headings: 1) family structure and size; 2) discrimination in access and ownership of productive assets arising from gender inequality in inheritance; 3) a shift in family expectations on women and girls with regard to family bread winning; 4) shifts in norms to acceptability of prostitution and sex trade. These findings underline the need for a multi-pronged response to the problem.

From the survey, the highest ranking perceived benefit from partaking in trafficking is that of improved standard of living. This reason ranked highest in all categories sampled, with a mean of 3.93 (with a grand mean of 3.18) and 3.91 (with grand mean of 3.23) for the 'unsuccessful returnees' and 'successful returnees respectively. For the parents of the victims, it was a mean of 3.90, while that of the potential victims was a mean of 3.81. Ironically, the costs associated with participating in human trafficking far outweighed the benefits for most respondents. Data from both the survey and discussion groups suggest that the experience of the respondents did not match the 'success stories' that attracted them to engage in the trafficking situations.

The study also showed that respondents in all categories were aware of seven main professions that trafficked persons were engaged in (organ donor (30.3%); begging (21.2%); factory worker (21%); sales boy/girl (18.2%); house help (12.1%); artisan (9.1%) and sex work (6.1%)). However, with regard to their attitudes to these professions, organ donor was among the least attractive to the 'successful returnee respondents' (with 1.8 mean) while the factory worker profession was the most attractive to them (with a mean of 3.65).

Further to this, the study revealed that 'poverty alternatives' and 'lifestyle alternatives' are key factors influencing the decision of the migrants to travel. However, poverty alternatives will take the lead as the survey results and discussions indicate that low income earning is the highest ranking factor influencing people's decision to travel. In addition, the driving expectations for migration within the families are closely related to the factors influencing the decision to travel. These expectations include that of a rise in income across all the categories of respondents (which ranked the highest), better housing for the family, more travel options for migrants and their families, better school options for the migrants and their families and acquisition of luxury goods. In essence, poverty alternatives and lifestyle alternatives are significant and closely related determinants of the quest to migrate.

Regarding the realities of victimisation, data/discussions revealed that a greater percentage of all the respondents (both male and female) expressed fears about migrating, albeit in varying degrees and for different reasons. Most of the potential migrants had limited information about the risks involved in trafficking. Gender dimensions in the patterns of victimising the migrants was revealed in the data. Female migrants had to undergo a harrowing oath taking ritual as a guarantee against possible default before their debts are paid while male migrants had a significantly different contractual process. They were required to make payment to facilitate the logistics of migrating out of the country.

The several stages involved in migrating abroad though fraught with danger, exploitation and harrowing experiences is endured because of the victim's optimism of the future, strengthened by the remote pressure from family and relatives who have high expectations of the victims and further encouraged by the support of religious clergy whose endorsement are held in high esteem. The Nigerian society places a high premium on spiritual backing and this inadvertently enhances the migrants' confidence to pursue their journey. Evidence from discussions and data reveals the intense level of victimisation in the trafficking chain. It is also clear that desperation by the victims to experience life abroad with the perceived benefits, largely informs their vulnerability to victimisation.

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The power dynamics in the trafficking chain, exhibits certain characteristics of an oligopolistic market where a few major actors dominate the larger market. In this case, control rests on two major actors in the chain namely- the sponsors and the agents/facilitators. The sponsors or madams operate in collusion as a cartel and trade on individuals identified with specifications in a closed system with strong barriers that are difficult to break and/or penetrate. They wield the strongest channel power and can be described as chain leaders or channel captains.

73.2% of migrants have their journeys intercepted when caught and arrested by officials for not having proper or legitimate documents. These migrants are returned home. 65% of 'Successful returnees' are forced to return as a result of lack of proper documents while 29% return voluntarily because they got tired of living abroad. Although government and non-governmental presence in Edo State are currently carrying out interventions in the area of human trafficking, bureaucratic bottlenecks, poor funding and lack of infrastructure hinder the delivery of their services.

This report provides suggestions for strategic actions that MADE could adopt for the next phase of its programme implementation.



1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF SURVEY

The main goal of this survey is to determine the socio-economic dimensions of human trafficking and modern day slavery as well as explore livelihood opportunities with potential target demographics for human trafficking in Edo State Nigeria. Victims of human trafficking are often forced into situations where irregular migration for economic reasons looks like a good option for the individuals or their families, although majority of the migrants get caught up in the trafficking chain. However, the reality is rarely the same as the perception and so, a much deeper understanding of the behavioural pull into human trafficking situations is required in order to develop solutions to address the underlying problems.

Trafficking of persons involves some form of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, deception or the abuse of power. It may also involve the use of payments or benefits to someone who has control over another. It always involves exploitation.

In Nigeria, both men and women engage in irregular migration, and are also victims of trafficking, although, until recently, the focus had been more on the trafficking of women and girls. Indications however reveal a new trend of men and boys being trafficked from and through Edo State in large numbers. The victims and their families are often led to believe that working abroad is a positive option for the family or are coerced by the use of cultural practices. The trade in human beings is a complex market, involving corruption, a multi-layered system of channels and the systematic commodification of women, girls, boys and men.

Market Development for Niger Delta (MADE) is a DFID funded programme which seeks to raise the incomes of at least 150,000 poor people, 50 per cent of whom will be women, by at least 50 per cent. MADE uses the “Making Markets Work for the Poor (M4P)” approach to design systemic and sustainable interventions that generate pro-poor and inclusive economic growth in the non-oil sectors of the nine Niger Delta states. MADE is currently implementing interventions in agricultural inputs, cassava, fisheries (wild capture and aquaculture), palm oil, and small scale poultry value chains. The existing project is on track to raise the incomes of 153,000 people by February 2018 (surpassing agreed targets). It achieves its impact by supporting innovation in market systems through technical assistance and financing to private sector companies, who then invest in ways that benefit the poor, either as suppliers, clients, consumers or employees. The proposed second phase of the programmes scheduled to begin in March 2018 if approved, will allow the programme to identify and address livelihood and economic factors contributing to human trafficking, forced labour and modern day slavery in the region, particularly in Edo State. Modern day slavery (MDS) is a critical issue throughout Nigeria, but most acute within the Niger Delta region, from where the majority of those trafficked to Europe originate. The presence of MADE presents a



unique opportunity to apply market systems activities, specifically to increase the resilience and reduce the vulnerability of those most at risk of being trafficked.

1.2 SURVEY OBJECTIVES

The socio-economic survey covered a cross section of-

- i) individuals who are potential target victims,
- ii) individuals who have been trafficked to foreign destinations and returned, and
- iii) individuals who were trafficked but did not reach their destination before being returned to Nigeria.

The specific objectives of the survey include:

- To determine socio-economic characteristics and dimensions of existing trafficked individuals and of their families;
- To understand the perception of the target population and their families on participation in trafficking situations;
- To determine Economic Livelihood Factors driving the victimization of women and girls;
- To analyse the costs/benefits to the families that are associated with the trade;
- To explore factors influencing integration and rehabilitation of trafficked persons and possible opportunities for alternative sources of livelihood;



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Human trafficking is a global problem dating centuries back in history (Agbu, 2003; Adesina, 2014). Some of the global responses to end the trade in humans include the abolition of slave trade in the 19th century in the United States and United Kingdom, and the various United Nations conventions against human trafficking and slavery since 1949. In spite of global and national instruments to prevent and punish the crime of trafficking and slavery, they have continued unabated, taking new forms internationally and nationally. A new wave of illegal migration occasioned by wars and economic downturn in many countries has given currency to the issue of human trafficking. Movements have been mostly from less developed countries in the Middle East, Africa and Asia to more well-off countries in Europe and North America, suggesting that economic livelihood factors underpin the problem of human trafficking. In the context of Nigeria, human trafficking has disproportionately affected Edo State (Afonja 2001; UNODC/UNICRI, 2003) demanding a more detailed examination of how to formulate appropriate responses to it.

This brief review starts by clarifying the three key terms used in this study namely, Human Trafficking, Smuggling of Persons and Modern day Slavery. It then takes a very broad brush at some of the studies that have been done on the subject in relation to the Nigerian context, zeroing in on Edo State. In so doing, it attempts to highlight some of the gaps and additional information which the current study aims to fill.

Starting with the definition of terms, the United Nations (2000a) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children defines human trafficking as follows:

- "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring 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 labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."(Article 3a)
- While the crime of human trafficking is sometimes related to smuggling of persons and illegal migration, there are important differences. The United Nations (2000b) Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air defines it thus:
 - "Smuggling of migrants" shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal

entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.

The above definitions are adopted for this study. An UNDAW (2005) report makes an important distinction between human trafficking and smuggling of persons thus: ***In principle, the smuggling of persons constitutes an illegal border crossing and is therefore a violation against the state. In contrast, trafficking in human beings is a violation of the rights of the individual, so that the victims of the crime are the trafficked persons themselves.*** It needs to be noted that a crime that started as smuggling (with the consent of the person being smuggled) could easily morph into human trafficking (where the person being smuggled loses control and becomes a victim), depending on the situation.

Regarding the term, Modern Day Slavery, the analysis by Leary (2015) is helpful in showing how it links to human trafficking. Leary (2015:116) suggests that former United States President Barack Obama in 2012 brought the term 'Modern Day Slavery' to the fore when he noted that human trafficking "*must be called by its true name – modern slavery*" so that it could be tackled accordingly. In other words, human trafficking shares with slavery all its dehumanizing features, including peonage. Leary (2015) also pointed out that Modern Day Slavery (MDS) is now used by many international organizations to denote human trafficking. However, from other literature (Omar Mahmoud and Trebesch 2010: 173; Weitzer, 2014) MDS covers a wider scope than trafficking and involves other types of forced labour and exploitation situations, including:

- those related to labour supply in exchange for financial and other resources;
- exploitation by informal financial agents when they disburse loans to their clients and;
- exploitation of house-helpers and nannies

Howbeit, the two terms – human trafficking and modern day slavery (MDS) are used interchangeably in this study.

The differentiation between smuggling and human trafficking is important in the categorization of illegal migration. Tracing migration configurations in Nigeria, Atsenuwa and Adepoju (2010:9) argue that they are diverse and include legal and illegal types such as smuggling and human trafficking. A study by de Haas (2008:24) suggests that Nigerians topped the numbers of sub-Saharan African migrating to Europe and North America and by year 2000, a good number had also started using the North African routes through Libya and Morocco (de Haas, 2006:16). Ikuteyijo (2012:2) notes that "In 2007 the Nigerian embassy in Libya reported an increase in the number of young Nigerians (men and women) leaving the country through irregular means." These numbers have increased over the years and have been highlighted recently with media features (such as the CNN Freedom Project) of horrific abuse and enslavement of Nigerians and other Africans in Libya. While the media reports show that young men now make up a good number of illegal migrants from Nigeria, recent studies (IOM,

2017) still point to a large increase in the number of Nigerian girls trafficked to Europe in recent years, mainly by sea. There is therefore the need to continue to address trafficking of women and girls because it is rising instead of decreasing. This is important as recent trends are distorting the picture by suggesting that more males are involved.

2.2 INCIDENCE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

Returning to the incidence of human trafficking, Adepoju's (2005) review of data from Sub-Saharan Africa denotes how wide-spread the crime is in the region, involving most countries to varying degrees. In the case of Nigeria, Adesina (2014:165) argues that the country *"is a source, transit, and destination country for trafficking and experiences both internal and external trafficking of women and children..."*. In other words, trafficking has remained an on-going challenge and seems to have intensified in recent decades. Eurostat report (2015) shows that Nigerians made up 1,322 out of 6,594 (that is 20%) of persons identified as trafficked victims in the EU for the period 2010- 2012. Reports from a number of sources (UNODC/UNICRI, 2003; Afonja, 2001; UK Home office, 2016) suggests that victims of the external trafficking in Nigeria are preponderantly from Edo State. For instance, the UK Home office (2016) report notes that *"well over ninety percent of victims rescued from human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation who are discovered outside of Nigeria are from Edo State"*.

Three studies have focused specifically on the issue of human trafficking in Edo State and together provide the background for the current study. These are Afonja's (2001) study to inform Edo and Delta government intervention on the issue; UNODC/UNICRI, (2003) which is a very detailed report examining the underlying factors in the context, which fed into a global search for solutions; and a MADE (2017) report which is part of the earlier phase of the current study to provide information for the proposed programme intervention to enhance livelihoods in the context. We now highlight some of the relevant findings from those earlier reports and other related literature and briefly discuss how the findings from these past studies shaped the design of the socio-economic survey.

The earlier background study conducted on behalf of MADE (2017) had identified the historical and economic background to Edo ties with Italy and how that evolved to the current human trafficking and prostitution. Among the key points raised by the study is that the show of wealth from those who had returned from Italy was among the pull factors, fixating many Edo people on travelling abroad to make money by all means. The UNODC/UNICRI, (2003) and UK Home Office (2016) report made similar findings. The UK Home office (2016:38) document notes that, *"Becoming rich through illicit activities such as prostitution has become socially acceptable in Edo State"*. This point raises the issue of attitudes and perception that may be promoting human trafficking and therefore deserves further investigation – which the current study attempts to do.

Afonja's (2001) study, focusing on trafficking in Edo and Delta States, noted some of the processes of coercion adopted by traffickers, including the taking of oaths to secure the silence of the victims. The methods of victimization were also examined by the UNODC/UNICRI, (2003), suggesting that victim-bondage through psychological means is a major part of the problem. This study will examine this issue for both currency and spread. The UNODC/UNICRI (2003) report, which provides detailed examination of the human trafficking in Edo state, also looks at the various actors, responses and the nature of the involvement. The report includes a list of recommendations to various national and international actors on ways to reduce and combat human trafficking. Among those are the recommendations around return, rehabilitation and re-integration of victims of trafficking- which is one of the themes explored in this study. It will be interesting to examine if and how any of those recommendations have been implemented in the study area.

Most of the studies (for example, Agbu, 2003; UNODC/UNICRI, 2003; Adepoju 2005) have noted the various global and national responses to human trafficking. With respect to Nigeria, its assent to the all related UN conventions against human trafficking and the establishment of national enforcement and monitoring bodies, such as NAPTIP and WOTCELF have been noted. The work of international bodies and civil society groups to combat trafficking and support the rehabilitation and reintegration of victims have also been highlighted in studies. The current study will add to data in this regard by exploring the activities of some of the key civil society groups currently working on human trafficking in Edo state.

In spite of its detail, the UNODC/UNICRI, (2003) study involved only 29 victims of trafficking and in the 13 years since it was conducted, there has been an increasingly large wave of migrations. There is therefore the need for a study involving a larger number of victims, to explore possible changes in trend. Moreover, there are indications that there is a new trend of men and boys being trafficked in numbers hitherto unimagined. Given such large numbers and the time that has elapsed since the 2003 study, there is need to investigate the current state of affairs by drawing on the experiences of a commensurately larger number of victims – female and male- and other experts working in the area. The current study therefore involves a much larger number of victims (315) in response to the current huge wave of illegal migrations with the key aim of exploring alternative livelihoods in the context.

3. METHODOLOGY

The survey process began with a kick off meeting organised by MADE on the 15th of November 2017. During this meeting, the Support to Human Trafficking Prevention in the Niger Delta study team (another study commissioned by MADE), made a presentation on findings from their study. Discussions on the study's findings amongst others, created a common understanding on research expectations between MADE and the Socio-economic survey team, setting the pace for the series of activities that followed in order to achieve the objectives of this study.

3.1 STUDY AREA

The study was conducted in Edo State, Nigeria. Reports from a number of sources (UNODC/UNICRI, 2003; Afonja, 2001; UK Home office, 2016) suggest that victims of the external trafficking in Nigeria are preponderantly from Edo State. For instance, the UK Home office (2016) report notes that "well over ninety percent of victims rescued from human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation who are discovered outside of Nigeria are from Edo State". Edo State is an inland State in central southern Nigeria. Its capital is Benin City. It is bounded in the north and east by Kogi State, in the south by Delta State and in the west by Ondo State.

The State was formed in August 27, 1991 when Bendel State was split into Edo and Delta States. Edo state has a population of 3,218,322 (NPC, 2006) spread among three senatorial districts – Edo North, Edo South and Edo Central. The State has a landmass of 19,794 Square kilometers and is divided into eighteen (18) Local Government Areas with a population density of about 168 persons per square kilometers. The main ethnic groups in Edo State are: Edos, Afemais, Esans, Owans and AkokoEdos. Virtually all the groups traced their origin to Benin City hence the dialects of the groups vary with their distance from Benin City. The Bini speaking people who occupy seven out of the 18 Local Government Areas of the state constitute 57.54% while others Esan (17.14%) Afemai comprising Etsako (12.19%), Owan (7.43%), and Akoko Edo (5.70%). However, the Igbira speaking communities exist in Akoko Edo as well as Urhobos, Izons, Itsekiris communities in Ovia North East and South West Local Government Areas especially in the borderlands. Also, Ika speaking communities exist in Igbanke in Orhionmwon LGA. The vegetation of the State ranges from lowland rainfall in the lower portion of the State to derived and guinea savanna belts in the northern parts of the State. Edo is an agrarian State producing crops such as Cassava, Yam, Groundnut and Oil Palm, Citrus fruits, rubber and cashew. The State is also known for local cattle rearing, fishery, piggery and snail farming.

3.2 SAMPLING/ SAMPLE SIZE

Purposive sampling method was used to select respondents based on the characteristics of the study population. Four homogenous categories of respondents were selected thus:

1. Individuals who are potential target victims (potential victims);
2. Individuals who have been trafficked to foreign destinations and returned (successful returnees);
3. Individuals who were trafficked but did not reach their destination before being returned to Nigeria (unsuccessful); and
4. Parents/guardian of returnees/ unsuccessful migrants in Edo State.

Other respondents selected included community leaders, CSOs, Government officials, leaders of Christian associations and Youth leaders.

The use of purposive sampling, though a non-probability method, is appropriate considering the fact that only individuals that fit into the characteristics of a particular group are admitted into the sample for that group. The team relied on the various government and non-governmental organisations currently working in the State on human trafficking for identification and inclusion into of individuals into the study sample.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND TOOLS

Three methods of data collection were employed to elicit information for the study. These are: Key informant interviews (KII), Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Face to face interview using semi structured questionnaires. The process began with the mobilisation of various respondents for FGDs, KII and face to face interviews by the survey manager with support from MADE Staff, and this was an opportunity to introduce the research team to key stakeholders in the study area. This involved enlisting respondents and fixing engagements for KII and FGD interviews. Data collection was carried out in two phases. The first phase (28th of Nov, 2017 to 1st of Dec, 2017) involved the collection of qualitative data using Focus Group Discussions and KII interviews. Discussion/Interview guides capturing the objectives of study were developed by the team and used for these meetings. The guides contained open-ended questions on economic livelihoods of irregular migrants, their interest in agriculture and non-agricultural sector; perceptions on benefits of participating in irregular migration; awareness of the professions of irregular migrants. Other issues included the costs and benefits accruing to irregular migrants and their families, economic livelihood factors driving the victimization of women and girls in Edo State, realities of victimization and factors influencing return, integration and rehabilitation of victims. KII interviews were held with community leaders, CSOs, Government officials, leaders of Christian associations and Youth leaders. More so, using similar guides, FGDs were

conducted with groups of potential victims, returnees and unsuccessful migrants as separate groups of males and females respectively. Each session comprising ten participants was moderated by a consultant assisted by a note taker/recorder. The discussants had the opportunity of conversing freely on their general and/or personal experiences, bearing their minds on what should be done to stem the tide of human trafficking activities in the study area. Furthermore, a debriefing session with the moderator and recorder was held at the end of each day to enable the team compare impressions and make additional notes while thoughts are still fresh in their minds. Discussions were hand written and backed up with audio records and were later transcribed verbatim. Ten (10) FGDs and thirteen (13) KIIs were conducted on different dates as indicated in Table 1.

The second phase (6th of Dec. 2017 -12th of Dec, 2017) of data collection involved the use of four sets of semi structured questionnaires to obtain both qualitative and quantitative information from individuals who are potential target victims (potential victims), individuals who have been trafficked to foreign destinations and returned (returnees), Individuals who were trafficked but did not reach their destination before being returned to Nigeria (unsuccessful) and Parents/guardian of returnees/ unsuccessful migrants in Edo State respectively. The questionnaires which were coded based on information garnered from the Focus Group Discussions and KII interviews were also submitted to MADE for completeness and content validity check. The revised versions following comments and inputs from MADE were then used for the training of enumerators. A one-day training was conducted for enumerators recruited by the survey team, based on their educational qualification, ability to understand/speak the local language and understand the cultural context as well as experience in data collection on similar studies. During the training, survey team members took the enumerators through the topics and items in the questionnaires. Enumerators were at liberty to discuss freely and seek clarification on questions or terms not understood. Other aspects considered during the training included data collection procedures, survey ethics and logistics planning. Due to time constraint, role play was used instead of pre-test to establish the approximate time it would take to complete a questionnaire, test if questionnaires were understood by interviewers, test if questionnaires have terminologies that are not understood by interviewers, assess challenges that interviewers are likely to face and assess the appropriateness and relevance of questions. The survey team members closely supervised the mock interview sessions and enumerators shared their experiences in acting as an interviewer or interviewee at plenary. Enumerators were trained to obtain informed consent from respondents before proceeding with interviews.

The team assumed that an enumerator could fill at most seven (7) questionnaires in a day considering the nature and volume of the questionnaire. This assumption worked out well in the field. The survey mobilizer/facilitator engaged by MADE and guided by the survey team collated a list of respondents, made field contacts, planned and

arranged for interviews with respondents at various locations. Face to face interviews were conducted between 6th of December, 2017 and 12th of December, 2017. A total of three hundred and fifteen (315) respondents as indicated in Table 1 were interviewed in Edo State.

Table 1: Summary of questionnaires completed

S/N	CATEGORIES	SEX		TOTAL
		M	F	
1	Successful returnees	55	22	77
2	Unsuccessful returnees	86	35	121
3	Potential victims	36	31	67
4	Parents/guardian of returnees	14	36	50
	Grand Total	191	124	315

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from respondents using various methods already discussed. Qualitative data was analysed by coding, identifying themes, patterns and relationships that emerged from the transcribed notes. The team created domains which help in synthesising and combining related pieces of data together. Quotes were also gathered from transcripts. Quantitative data, on the other hand, were analysed using descriptive statistics such as means, frequencies and percentages. Graphical presentation were also used to present findings.

3.5 DESCRIPTION OF TERMS

In order to have a flow and minimise lengthy sentences in the discussion of findings the following terms will be used to refer to the different respondents of the study as indicated below:

- **Potential victims** refers to ‘individuals who are potential target victims’
- **Successful returnees/victims** refers to ‘individuals who have been trafficked to foreign destinations and returned’
- **Unsuccessful returnees/victims** refers to ‘Individuals who were trafficked but did not reach their destination before being returned to Nigeria’

3.6 CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNT

- There were some expectations from the FGD participants -particularly financial assistance. While this was generally mitigated as the situation arose by further explaining the long-term strategic importance of such a study, it still posed a bit of a challenge and possibly may have deterred some prospective participants. For instance, in one of the field locations (Ekpoma, Edo central), the team was not able to secure the participation of the female returnees as they expected some financial gratification in lieu of the time they would spend for the interview.

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- There was obvious lethargy on the part of respondents since they did not see any immediate benefit from our interaction with them. Some of them claimed to have been involved in interviews and surveys in the past and did not benefit from them and as such, saw our interview with them as one of those “academic” exercises.
 - The subject of human trafficking is a relatively sensitive and touchy issue. As age-long a problem as it has been, people still feel somewhat reserved about participating in discussions around it or being interviewed directly. This played out in the field a couple of times as some of the key respondents were reluctant to be interviewed and even when one of the potential key informants (a market leader) was interviewed, she was very reluctant to indicate that she had any information regarding trafficking. She barely responded to any of the questions. This also played out during the interview of a key traditional ruler, who was visibly ‘guarded’ and ‘selective’ on what information he chose to share. In Auchu Kingdom (a relatively conservative community), all the previously mobilised female returnees failed to show up at the last minute as they were not ‘comfortable’ to be interviewed about their experiences. This might relatively pose a challenge to the comparative gender analysis required in the study.
 - It was difficult in some cases mobilising certain participants because they did not want to spend time away from their businesses. Although this was somewhat mitigated by inviting as many people as possible (to give room for situations where some would not turn up).
 - Two categories of the trafficking chain that would have added value to the study, the female trafficking agent usually based in Europe (also known as the ‘*madam*’) and the locally based trafficking agents (also known as ‘*Trollies*’), were not interviewed for obvious reasons. It was not possible to have access to them since they operated illegally.

These challenges may not significantly affect the final outcome of the field work, but could possibly limit the depth of the assessment, as possible data would have been excluded in the study based on these enumerated challenges. All these challenges were largely beyond the control of the research team. The team suggests that for future surveys, adequate and proper sensitisation should be carried out in order to have the required buy in from all relevant and related stakeholders. Also, adequate time should be devoted to mobilisation of participants, particularly those categories of participants that might require more stringent paper-work/formal permission to secure their time for an interview.



4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 HUMAN TRAFFICKING CHAIN IN EDO STATE

Human Trafficking is a complex market, intertwined with corruption, a multi-layered chain and the systematic commodification of women, girls, boys and men. It becomes difficult and complex to clearly track and discuss the trafficking chain as there are different and diverse opinions on the various actors that make up the chain. Based on key informant interviews with members of civil society organisations, government officials working in the area of prevention of human trafficking activities as well as information from trafficked victims, this study attempts to describe the key actors that may be involved in a trafficking chain (Fig 8 attached as Annex). They include;

4.1.1 VICTIMS

The victims include individuals (boys, girls, women and men) mostly at the prime of their ages. They may be individuals who set out on labour migration and become trapped/exploited along the way due to the fact that they did not have legal documents to travel out of the country. They may also be individuals who are coerced to take decisions to travel abroad either for labour or prostitution. They also include individuals who willingly take decision to travel abroad (based on information available to them) and become victims of exploitation (emotional abuse, rape, loss of money etc). Discussions with respondents revealed that a few victims initiate the process of their being trafficked by seeking out recruiters and making enquiries on the processes and requirements. However, for most victims, recruiters approached them directly or through various intermediaries (agents & facilitators). This study classifies victims of trafficking into three broad categories.

1. individuals who are potential target victims (potential victims);
2. individuals who have been trafficked to foreign destinations and returned (successful returnees);
3. Individuals who were trafficked but did not reach their destination before being returned to Nigeria (unsuccessful)

4.1.2 AGENTS

In this context, agents are seen as those who are directly working and are paid by the sponsor in the trafficking process. The agents are in different categories. They include agents who reside in Edo State, agents based outside the State (commonly Abuja, Lagos and Kano), agents in transit countries (Niger, Libya) and sponsors (generally called the Madams). Often times, agents residing in Edo State are used to initiate the contact process and sell the idea of travelling to the victim, parents of the victim or close acquaintance of the victim. Agents based outside the State provide collection points for the victims while in transit within the country, while the agents along travelling routes organise the travelling processes providing for transport vehicles, travel documents and other such requirements as may be directed by the sponsors. This group of agents usually referred to as trolleys are mostly vibrant and energetic young men. They travel with the victims especially as they move along in transit within Nigeria. Agents also act as recruiters, they sometimes search for and recruit victims especially girls and then wait for the sponsors (*madams*) to come during yuletide season to process their papers and take them along on their return.

4.1.3 FACILITATORS

The facilitators can be viewed as the grease that oils the trafficking wheels. They include members of law enforcement agencies, transporters, brothel keepers, traditional rulers and chiefs, and immigration officers who provide the enabling environment. A common trend arising from focus group discussion with various groups also reveals that agents use family members, friends of the victim and/or a formerly trafficked person who known to be able to exert influence and facilitate the process of trafficking. These groups of persons perform functions which provide an enabling environment for trade in persons. Traditional rulers and chiefs act as mediators in settling disputes between the sponsors and defaulting victims where there is breach of contract.

4.1.4 SPONSORS

All categories of the market agents receive instructions/directives from 'the sponsor' and act accordingly. The sponsor can be described as the link between the demand and the supply of persons from Edo State to different countries. Sometimes, the madams do the recruitment and engagement process all alone by meeting their victims directly and transporting them to destination countries. Victims informed the team that the sponsors usually pay for all the travel documents, trip expenses and provide for the victims basic necessities like clothing and cosmetics. They therefore are seen as the owners of the victim- the item of trade. Hence they determine the repayment terms for victims.

4.1.5 USERS

The users are diverse and include brothel owners, farm settlement owners and owners of businesses in foreign countries who are in need of cheap labour. Discussions with victims show that sometimes, prospective employers of trafficked persons directly approach the madams with specified requirements that guide the agents his negotiation with the trafficked person(s) or their relatives.

The preceding discussions on actors and roles performed in the trafficking chain gives a lead to power dynamics in the system. The human trafficking chain exhibits to some extent the characteristics of an oligopolistic market. The power control rest on two major actors in the chain namely, the sponsors and the agents/facilitators. The trafficking chain is dominated by a number of persons called sponsors/madams operating in collusion as a cartel and trading on individuals identified with specifications in a closed system with strong barriers that are difficult to break and/or penetrate. These madams seem to have a substantial market control and run a well organised and efficient system which involves the movement of persons solely to profit from the exploitation of the trafficked person's labour. According to one of the civil society organisations interviewed, in times past, the *madams* sent money to the agents to bring the girls to them in Europe; they go through the desert and then through the Mediterranean Sea into Europe. However, when it became extremely difficult, the modus operandi changed to settling the trolleys after the successful arrival of the girls to Europe. So the more girls that arrive safely, the more money is paid to the agents. Hence the agents take as many girls as possible so that when they lose some of the girls in the desert due to death, they still have a sizable number to deliver, and make a profit on their investment.

In summary, the sponsors wield the strongest channel power and can be described as chain leaders or channel captains. They call the shots; in other words, they get what

they want. Next to the sponsors in power and control, are the agents. The role they play can be described as providing a fertile soil for the germination of the trafficking seed.

4.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF EXISTING TRAFFICKED INDIVIDUALS AND OF THEIR FAMILIES.

4.2.1 AGE AND SEX OF RESPONDENTS

Findings from the survey show that while majority (32.8%) of the potential victims were within the age range of 18 to 22years, the unsuccessful returnees were mostly (33.9%) within the 23 to 27years age range and 28.6% of the successful returnees were in the age category of 28-33 years. The distribution reveals that more of the victims are middle aged and active persons. Also, it can be inferred (using the predominant age range of the potential victims) that most teenagers and youths are much more exposed and vulnerable to being trafficked. In terms of the age of parents of victims, the survey shows that most (30%) of the parents interviewed were within the age range of 35-49years followed by (28%) 60 years and above. Findings on gender indicate that 53.7%, 71.1% and 71.4% of individuals sampled from potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively were males while 46.3%, 28.9% and 28.6% respectively in the specified categories were females. This seems to portray the increase in recent times, of the number of males involved in trafficking situations in Edo State. However, this result may also arise due to the sampling procedure adopted by the study. A sampling frame was not available at the time of study, hence a random selection of respondents which gives equal opportunity to males and females to be randomly and proportionately included in the study was not possible. The greater number of males available for the survey may also be as a result of the fact that the male gender are more open to discuss issues of trafficking as there is a general perception that only the females are involved in sex work activities which already has a stigma. It is assumed that most men are trafficked for labour related activities. However, a more positive dimension to the higher number of males is the fact that the government and other stakeholders need to also pay attention to issues related to trafficking in males as most previous studies seem to be targeted at females (Table 2). The parents category in the survey showed that majority (72%) were females while 28% were males.

Table 2: Age and sex distribution of respondents

		Potential Victims(n=67)		Unsuccessful Returnees(n=121)		Successful Returnees (n=77)	
		Frequenc y	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Age	18 - 22	22	32.8	20	16.5	2	2.6
	23 - 27	15	22.4	41	33.9	17	22.08
	28 - 33	21	31.3	39	32.2	22	28.57
	34 - 38	6	9.0	13	10.7	14	18.18
	39 -43	2	3.0	7	5.8	8	10.39
	44 and above	1	1.5	1	0.8	14	18.18
Sex	Male	36	53.7	86	71.1	55	71.4
	Female	31	46.3	35	28.9	22	28.6

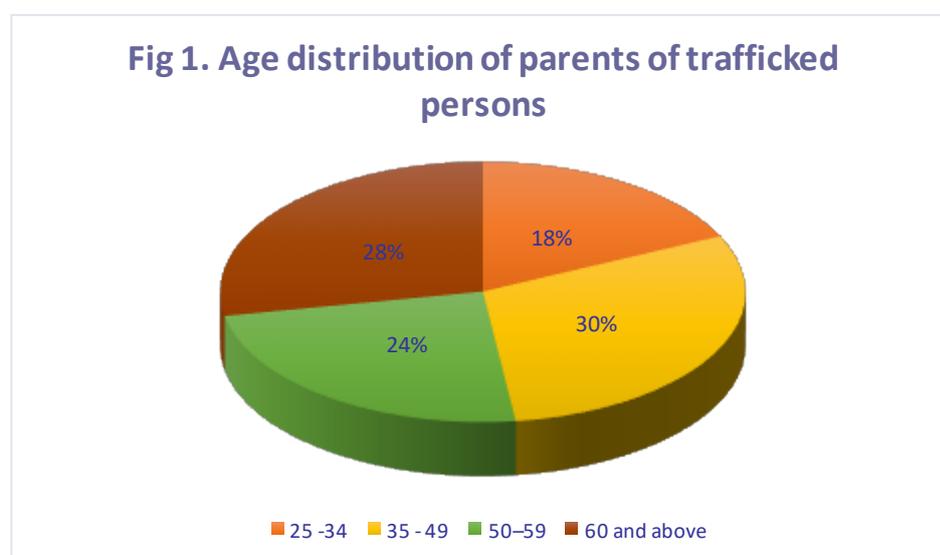
Source: Field data, 2017

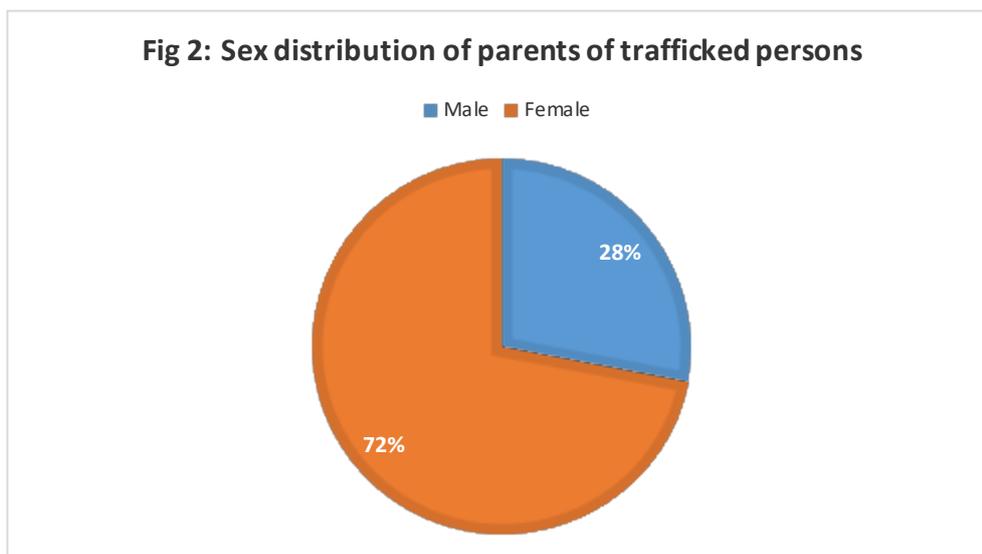
Table 3: Age distribution of respondents by gender

Age Cohort	Potential Victims(n=67)			Unsuccessful Returnees (N=121)			Successful Returnees (N=77)			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
18 - 22	4	18	22	13	7	20	2	0	2	19	25	44
23 - 27	12	3	15	26	15	41	8	9	17	46	27	73
28 - 33	15	6	21	30	9	39	14	8	22	59	23	82
34 - 38	4	2	6	12	1	13	10	4	14	26	7	33
39 -43	0	2	2	4	3	7	7	1	8	11	6	17
44 and above	1	0	1	1	0	1	14	0	14	16	0	16
Total	36	31	67	86	35	121	55	22	77	177	88	265

*Numbers in the table are frequency counts.

The results in Table 3 shows a cross tabulation of the age distribution of respondents by gender. For the potential victims, more females (18) than males were within the age range of 18-22, while the males were more (15) within the age range of 28-33. For the Unsuccessful returnees, more males (26 and 30) were within the age range of 23-27 and 28-33 respectively. Amongst the successful returnees, the age range 28-33 and 34-38 constituted the highest number of male and female respondents. In summary, male and female respondents within the age range of 18-38 may be considered as most vulnerable to human trafficking situation in Edo State.





4.2.2 MARITAL STATUS AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Findings on marital status showed that most (55.8%) successful returnees were married while 73.1% of potential victims and 60.3% of unsuccessful returnees were single. Considering the average number of years (about 3-5years) it may take a victim to travel to his/her destination, it seems evident that most single and young individuals are exposed to trafficking. This gives an area of focus to MADE in designing programs/projects that will focus on young entrepreneurs in order to curtail the tendency of being involved in trafficking situation (Table 4). Furthermore, most respondents lived with both parents while growing up. The potential victims mostly (50.7%) came from homes where their father married only one wife while the unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees (61.2% and 67.5% respectively) were from homes with more than one wife. On the other hand, most parents (76%) were married though there were a few (20%) widows/widowers.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by marital status and family structure

		Potential Victims (n= 67)		Unsuccessful Returnees (n=121)		Successful Returnees (n=77)	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Marital Status	Married	16	23.9	44	36.4	43	55.8
	Single	49	73.1	73	60.3	33	42.9
	Divorced	1	1.5	2	1.7	1	1.3
	Widow/Widow er	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Separated	1	1.5	2	1.7	0	0.0
Childhood experie nce	Both parents	37	55.2	64	52.9	43	55.8
	Father only	2	3.0	11	9.1	3	3.9
	Mother only	13	19.4	22	18.2	13	16.9
	Blood related guardian	14	20.9	19	15.7	18	23.4
	Non-blood related guardian	1	1.5	5	4.1	0	0.0

Household structure	Married one wife	34	50.7	47	38.8	25	32.5
	Married more than one wife	33	49.3	74	61.2	52	67.5

Source: Field data, 2017

4.2.3 HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Large household sizes seem to be the trend across all categories of respondents. Findings show that majority (37.3%, 33.9% and 32.5%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had household sizes of 12 persons and above. This was followed by (23.9%, 30.6% and 29.9%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively with household sizes of 6-10 persons (Table 5). Most (52%) of the parents were raised by parents who had more than one wife and also grew up in families with large household sizes. The large number of persons in these households is an indication of a high demand and strain on family resources which may have predisposed the individuals to trafficking, in order to make ends meet. It also brings to bear the importance of creating livelihood opportunities for the increasing youth population in the State.

Table 5: Household size by category of respondents

		Potential Victims		Unsuccessful Returnees		Successful Returnees	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Household size	1 - 5	12	17.9	21	17.4	17	22.1
	6 - 10	16	23.9	37	30.6	23	29.9
	7 -11	14	20.9	22	18.2	12	15.6
	12 and above	25	37.3	41	33.9	25	32.5

Source: field data, 2017

4.2.4 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The highest level of education attained by respondents in the study area varied from one category to another. Generally, majority (52.2%, 55.4% and 59.7%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had attained a secondary school education. Also, 31.3%, 19.0% and 24.7% of potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had attained tertiary education (Table 6). This became a point of discussion during the FGD as most graduates lamented the absence of gainful employments as a strong drive for seeking for greener pastures outside the shores of their country. More so, few of the respondents had no formal education.

Table 6: Highest level of education attained by respondents

		Potential Victims (n=67)		Unsuccessful Returnees (n=121)		Successful Returnees (n=77)	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Highest level of education	No formal education	3	4.5	5	4.1	3	3.9
	Preschool/Nursery education	0	0.0	3	2.5	1	1.3
	Primary education	7	10.4	23	19.0	8	10.4
	Secondary education	35	52.2	66	55.4	46	59.7
	Tertiary	21	31.3	23	19.0	19	24.7
	Non-formal education	1	1.5	0	0.0	0	0.0

Source: Field data, 2017

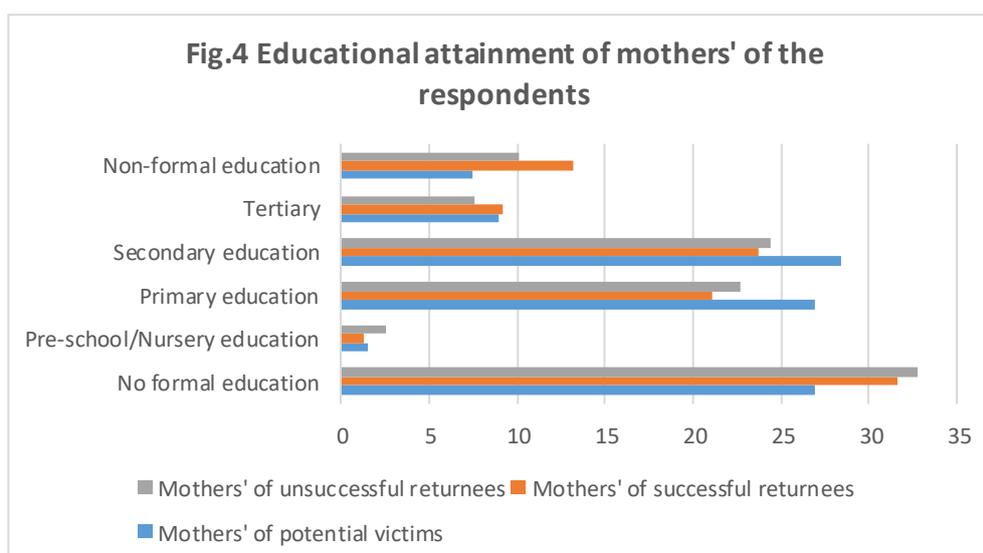
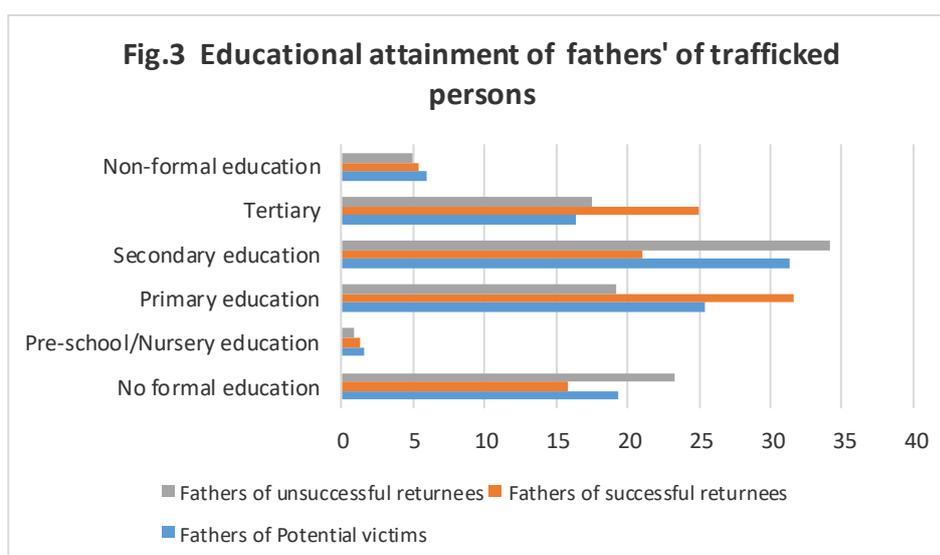
The pattern of highest educational level attained by parents of the respondents is quite interesting, whereas the general assumption will be that the parents of trafficked victims should mostly be illiterates who may not be aware of the dangers of human trafficking, the survey shows that most mothers' (28.4%, 24.0% and 23.4%) and fathers' (31.3%, 34.7% and 20.8%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively had attained a secondary education. Also, few parents had attained a tertiary degree. A disaggregated presentation of the data on highest level of education attained by gender, the results show that more males than females had completed the secondary level education amongst all the categories of respondents in the study area (Table 7). The scenario shows that majority of the respondents in all categories were literate. It may be that though most of them are literate, the strain on their economic livelihood and poverty situations may have overridden their senses of judgment. However, MADE should view the literacy status as a positive factor as this also implies that the affected persons will be receptive and can easily understand innovations, trainings, capacity building and/or any intervention dynamics that might be brought to them.

Table 7: Distribution of educational attainment of respondents by gender

Educational attainment	Potential Victims (n=67)			Unsuccessful Returnees (N=121)			Successful Returnees (N=77)			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
No formal education	1	2	3	4	1	5	2	1	3	7	4	11
Preschool/Nursery education	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	4

Primary education	5	2	7	11	12	23	3	5	8	19	19	38
Secondary education	14	21	35	48	19	67	31	15	46	93	55	148
Tertiary	15	6	21	22	1	23	18	1	19	55	8	63
Non-formal education	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	36	31	67	86	35	121	55	22	77	177	88	265

*Numbers in the table are frequency counts



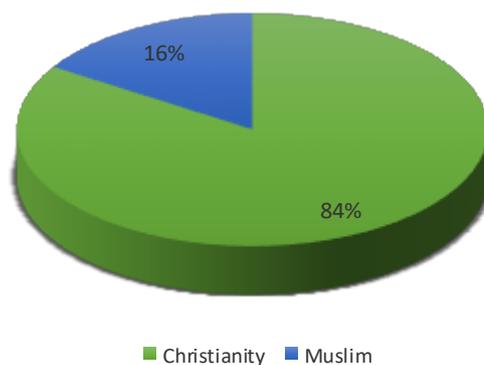
4.2.5 RELIGIOUS DISPOSITIONS

The religious disposition of most (95.5%, 82.6% and 90.9%) of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively was Christianity. Few others were Muslims and a small percentage of traditionalists (Table 8). The religious inclinations of the victims' tallies with their parents' as most parents (84%) were Christians while 16% were Muslims. This gives an indication that since most respondents are committed to at least one religious system, these systems can be used as agents of change to reorient the mindsets of youth towards hard work, sacrifice and dedication to service which form core beliefs of the different religious segments.

Table 8: Respondents religious dispositions

		Potential Victims (n=67)		Unsuccessful Returnees (n=121)		Successful Returnees(n=77)	
		Frequenc y	%	Frequenc y	%	Frequency	%
Religion	Christianity	64	95.5	100	82.6	70	90.9
	Muslim	2	3.0	18	14.9	6	7.8
	Traditionalis t	1	1.5	3	2.5	1	1.3

Fig.5 Religious disposition of parents of trafficked persons



4.3 ECONOMIC LIVELIHOOD AND FACTORS DRIVING THE VULNERABILITY OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN EDO STATE

4.3.1 CURRENT ECONOMIC LIVELIHOODS OF TARGET POPULATION

An economic livelihood of a person comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. It comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities and access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household. Most often the sustainable livelihood framework which classifies livelihood assets into natural, physical, financial, spiritual, social and political assets is used to study in detail, the livelihood of individuals and households. Studies on livelihood will identify shocks (sudden, intense events that can harm people's lives or livelihoods), cycles (situations that occur regularly) and trends (increases or declines, patterns) which affect the livelihood outcomes of individuals. This survey makes an attempt to identify the current livelihood activities of the various categories of respondents in the study area. Activities captured are aimed at assessing the respondents' current source of income and average monthly income obtained from this source.

The primary source of income of majority (64.2%, 62.8 and 36.4%) of potential victims, unsuccessful trafficked persons and successful trafficked persons respectively was artisan/ vocational work. This captures a wide variety of activities such as fashion designing, hair dressing, make up artistry, hair cut services and bricklaying. Also, 19.4%, 19% and 31.2% of the potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively are engaged in trading/petty business activities (Table 9). Other livelihood activities such as farming and civil service are few amongst respondents interviewed. A considerable percentage (18.2%) of the successful returnees and few (3.3%) of the unsuccessful returnees were not engaged in any economic livelihood activity at the time of this survey. The reasons for being unemployed as inferred from focus group discussions is attached to the non-availability of government jobs and enabling environments such as financial assistance for small business start-ups in the State. The primary source of income for 50% of the parents was trading/business. Others were into farming (22%) and artisan/vocational skill (20%).

Issues of income are always considered personal to individuals and it is most times difficult for people to disclose their income status for fear of probably being excluded from some potential benefits. Findings of the survey revealed that respondents of all categories are earning relatively low income considering the current economic situation in the country. The average monthly income of most respondents fall within the income category of N5, 000 to N20, 000 with percentage of 74.6%, 45.54% and 39.0% for potential victims, unsuccessful returnees and successful returnees respectively. Few of the three categories of respondents however, currently earn ₦69,000 and above monthly (Table 9). A cross tabulation between income level and the type of economic livelihoods engaged by respondents shows that most respondents within ₦5000-₦20,000 monthly pay were artisans (Table 10, 11 & 12). Also, 54% of the parents reported an average monthly income between ₦5000 and ₦20,000 only.

Table 9: Primary source of income and average monthly income of respondents

	Job categories	Potential Victims		Unsuccessful Returnees		Successful Returnees	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Primary source of income	No work	0	0.0	4	3.3	14	18.2
	Artisan/Vocational skill	43	64.2	76	62.8	28	36.4
	Trading/Business	13	19.4	23	19.0	24	31.2
	Farming	8	11.9	17	14.1	10	13.0
	Civil service	3	4.5	1	0.8	1	1.3
	No income	0	0.0	4	3.3	14	18.2
Average monthly income (Naira)	5000 - 20000	50	74.6	55	45.5	30	39.0
	21000 - 36000	7	10.4	18	14.9	11	14.3
	37000 - 52000	4	6.0	11	9.1	7	9.1
	53000 - 58000	3	4.5	6	5.0	4	5.2
	69000 and above	3	4.5	27	22.3	11	14.3

Source: Field data, 2017

Table 10: Distribution of income level of potential victims by source of income

Income level (NGN)	Primary source of income					
	No work	Artisan/Vocational skill	Trading/Business	Farming	Civil service	Total
No income	0	0	0	0	0	0
5000 - 20000	0	33	9	6	2	50
21000 - 36000	0	4	1	1	1	7
37000 - 52000	0	3	1	0	0	4
53000 - 58000	0	2	1	0	0	3
69000 and above	0	1	1	1	0	3
Total	0	43	13	8	3	67

*Numbers in the table are frequency counts

Table 11: Distribution of income level of unsuccessful returnees by source of income

Income level (NGN)	Primary source of income					
	No work	Artisan/Vocational skill	Trading/Business	Farming	Civil service	Total
No income	4	0	0	0	0	4

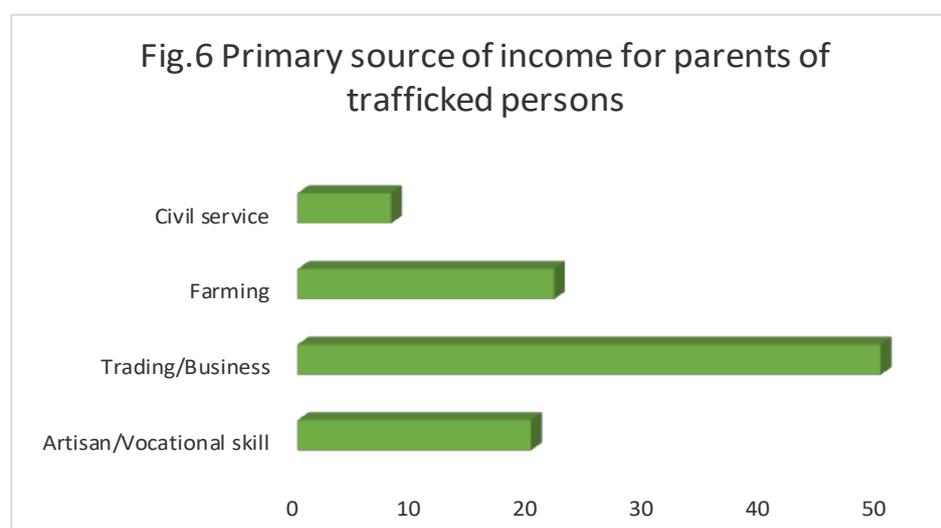
5000 - 20000	0	31	13	11	0	55
21000 - 36000	0	11	5	1	1	18
37000 - 52000	0	9	1	1	0	11
53000 - 58000	0	4	1	1	0	6
69000 and above	0	21	3	3	0	27
Total	4	76	23	17	1	121

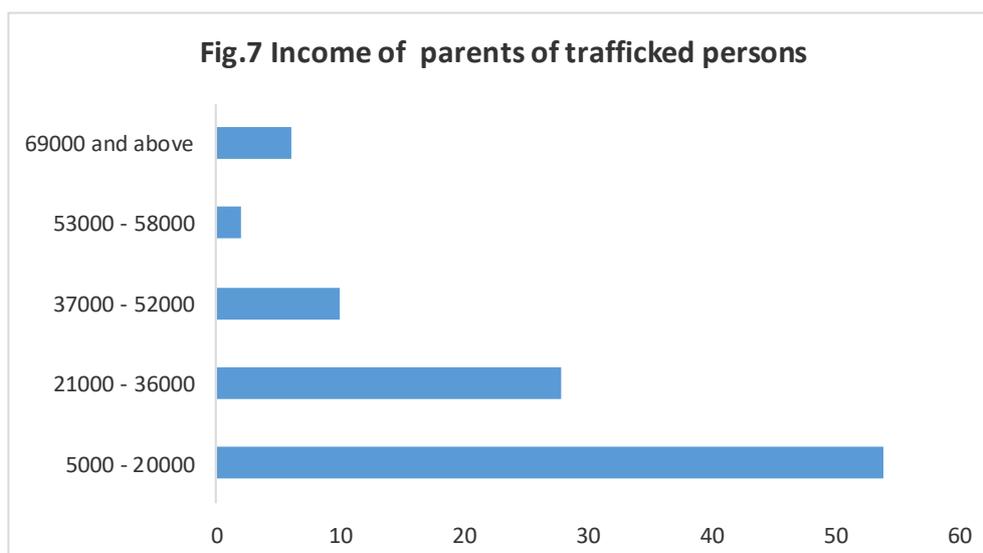
*Numbers in the table are frequency counts

Table 12: Distribution of income level of successful returnees by source of income

Income level (NGN)	Primary source of income					Total
	No work	Artisan/Vocational skill	Trading/Business	Farming	Civil service	
No income	14	0	0	0	0	14
5000 - 20000	0	14	10	5	1	30
21000 - 36000	0	7	2	2	0	11
37000 - 52000	0	2	4	1	0	7
53000 - 58000	0	2	2	0	0	4
69000 and above	0	3	6	2	0	11
Total	14	28	24	10	1	77

*Numbers in the table are frequency counts





4.3.2 FACTORS DRIVING THE VICTIMIZATION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN EDO STATE

A common theme that ran through the focus group discussions and the survey is that economic livelihood is the major driver of the victimization of women and girls. One informant summarized the economic livelihood challenges thus: *“No jobs. No social welfare. There are no social services from the government. There is no connection between the government and the people.”* The specifics of the economic challenges referenced by respondents ranged from lack of jobs to there being only very menial, low paying jobs which make it difficult to cater for self and family. As earlier discussed, responses from the survey show that most of those surveyed earned between NGN 5,000- 20,000 per month, putting most of them below the World Bank (2015) defined poverty line of USD 1.90 a day. A respondent said that *“...the wage rate here cannot pay for basic expenses like food, clothes and other things.”* That situation seemed to push people to see illegal migration as the only survival option, regardless of its dangers.

While men and women are affected by the economic situation in the State, there are gender-related differences in their status, expectations and responses. Some of those difference stem from already existing gender norms and roles in the context. For instance, there were differences in the types of economic activities women and men engage in (Table 13).

Table 13: gender disaggregated economic activities of respondents

Women	Men
petty trading, working in business centres, hair dressing, fashion designing prostitution	trading, artisan work, barbing, 'okada' riding (motorcycle transportation), sales of phone accessories, illegal activities such as ritual killings and 'yahoo yahoo' (internet fraud)

Of interest is that most discussion groups in Benin and Ekpoma mentioned prostitution among the economic activities women in the context engage in. In a group discussion with unsuccessful returnees/ unsuccessful returnee females, a respondent noted that "...in our state, the quickest way to make money is through prostitution." Some respondents noted that men have also joined the sex trade, providing various services at a higher end of the market. From the incomes reported, none of these activities seem to earn much for either women or men within the state. At different group discussions with women and men, opinions varied about whether men or women were more economically disadvantaged. A number of the men groups noted that the social expectation that men will be household heads and providers for their family placed a big burden and a sense of failure on them when unable to do so. Women groups pointed out that much of the family provisioning role had been left to the women. While some of the men groups agreed that cultural factors place women at some disadvantage to men, others argued that women were better placed to use their sexuality to economic advantage. However, all groups conceded that cultural norms around the sharing of productive assets in families and communities in the context place women at a disadvantage.

Embedded in the economic livelihood factors are the socio-cultural factors that make women and girls more vulnerable to victimization. Some of those highlighted from the empirical data from the field research may be grouped under four headings: 1) family structure and size; 2) discrimination in access and ownership of productive assets arising from gender inequality in inheritance; 3) a shift in family expectations on women and girls with regard to family bread winning; 4) shifts in norms to acceptability of prostitution and sex trade.

On family structure and size, respondents noted that polygamy as well as the relatively large family sizes contributed to the poverty situation of families. From the survey, the majority of respondents come from families with over 12 members. A respondent in a discussion group said she was from a family of 10 children and according to her, her parents never catered for any of their children. *"They gave birth to them and sent them off to the city to live with people as domestic helps."* The challenge of fending for such large family sizes would obviously be exacerbated by the poor economic conditions in the context, pushing families to take desperate measures. Indeed, the survey findings showed a high awareness level (up to 83 per cent) among potential travellers that work abroad would likely be domestic, sexual or menial in nature, or may involve trading in their vital organs. But even with that awareness, up to 70 per cent of potential travellers are still not deterred, suggesting a high level of desperation in the context. As daughters are often the first in line to be sent out as domestic help, this increases their vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation. In similar manner, it becomes normal for girls and women to become pawns in the family livelihood and survival strategies.

Another factor underlining the victimization of women and girls is tied to the cultural inheritance practices that discriminate against women and girls in the distribution of productive assets, particularly lands and houses. Respondents noted that while some rich and progressive families may will some houses and property to daughters, culturally all of a man's property passes on to his first son upon his demise. It is then the first son's prerogative to share the property with his brothers and it is completely at his discretion to decide if and what his sisters may receive or use. Respondents said that while some brothers may allow their sisters to use some of the family farmlands or

property for economic pursuits, most brothers would rather keep all for themselves. Wives are often disinherited upon the death of husbands and may have to move out of the family house, especially if they do not have a son. In addition to the implicit low value this practice places on women and girls, in practical terms, it translates to fewer resources and options for planning their livelihood strategies.

Ironically, while women and girls have relatively less resources for structuring their livelihood options, there appears to have been a shift in recent times in family expectations of women and girls with regards to provisioning. In discussing the gender-related disadvantages, women respondents (in all the three categories) referenced the pressure they felt to provide for their families as a major push factor for considering migration and eventually sex trade, for some. They noted that in the face of men's inability to provide for their families, they looked to the women and girls – and often domestic work and sex trade would be the options.

Relatedly, there appears to have been a shift in norms from prostitution and sex trade being a taboo in the context (UNODC/UNICRI, 2003) to being accepted as inevitable and spoken of, as a matter of fact, a way to earn a living. Respondents, particularly female and male returnee categories spoke freely about sex trade being the main source of income while they were abroad. The returnees in Benin and Ekpoma were more vocal about this than their counterparts in Auchi. Pointing out how prevalent and normalized the sex trade and prostitution had become, male returnees respondents in Ekpoma argued that *“95% of those travelling know that the main work they are going for is sex trade and prostitution”*. While the survey results also shows high awareness of sex work (71% by those in the ‘potential’ category), only 6% in the ‘successful’ category of the survey agreed they had engaged in sex work while abroad. This may suggest that they felt safer to disclose this work engagement in group discussions. In any case, most of the respondents seem to perceive prostitution as having been normalized. In one group discussion, a respondent argued that *“It is difficult for women to succeed without sleeping around. Even in the entertainment industry like modelling, most of them there are made to sleep their way through -like corporate prostitution.”* Part of the perception of prostitution as regular work seems to have reduced any shame attached to it in the context, thereby legitimizing it as foreign exchange trading activity.

The new acceptability of sex trade as a legitimate means to wealth is reinforced by ‘success stories’ of returnees who show off their new found economic power and become models in their communities (UK Home office, 2016). Respondents of all categories agreed that this is a major pull factor for them to travel.

The foregoing background factors set the stage for women and girls to fall into the trap of traffickers. In summary, low earnings and inadequate employment opportunities are the top two reasons that influence people in the context to migrate abroad. Additional reasons are the attractiveness of improved standard of living and access to social amenities abroad which are promoted in the success stories of those who had travelled before and seek to lure or traffic them. In a climate where prostitution has ceased to be a taboo, even the knowledge that they would be engaged in sex work has no chilling effect. For women and girls, the additional layer of vulnerability stems from socio-cultural factors that limit their relative ability to access productive resources.

4.3.3 ASPIRATIONAL ECONOMIC LIVELIHOODS OF RESPONDENTS

Respondents were asked to list alternative/aspirational livelihood options they would like to pursue. Interestingly, most of the respondents in all categories mentioned that they would like to continue in their current livelihood activity if they can be supported with finance. Findings show that more males than females in all categories of respondents aspire to be involved in agriculture (crop or livestock farming). They however explained that their interest was on mechanised farming and that they will not like to be involved in traditional agriculture as practised by their parents.

Livelihood activities such as trading/business in foodstuffs, provision/cosmetic shops and hair styling/ makeup business are mostly sought for by females while most males have their interest in managing barbing salons, building material shops, computer/phone shops, spare part shops (machine, motor/generator), transportation business, operating business centres, mechanic workshops, welding and building works. Some males also indicated in the music and entertainment industry. White collar jobs and boutique/sales of clothes attracted the interest of both the male and female respondents of this study. There may be a need to conduct a more in depth assessment of aspirational jobs in order to evaluate the feasibility and sustainability of each option in line with the current economic realities of the country (See details of aspirational jobs in annex Table 20).

4.4 PERCEPTION OF THE BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING IN TRAFFICKING SITUATIONS

The first thing to note about why families of persons involved in trafficking situations seem enthusiastic about the prospects of migration is that economic hardship is a huge factor in all the communities surveyed. From the survey, the highest ranking perceived benefit from partaking in trafficking is that of improved standard of living. This reason ranked highest in all categories sampled, with a mean of 3.93 (within a grand mean of 3.18) and 3.91 (within a grand mean of 3.23) for the 'unsuccessful returnees' and 'successful returnees' respectively. For the parents of the victims, it was a mean of 3.90, while that of the potential victims was a mean of 3.81.

The second most perceived benefit from the survey across all categories and which validated the data from the field group discussions, is access to better social amenities abroad, with a mean of 3.51 for the 'successful returnees', 3.41 for the 'unsuccessful returnees', for the parents of the victims, it was a mean of 3.46, and a mean of 3.21 for potential victims. The third highest ranking perceived benefit from participating in trafficking in all categories is enhanced social status. However, the survey results revealed that the perceived benefit of enhanced social status and that of 'career development' ranked same with a mean of 3.21 among the potential victims. Other perceived benefits include career development, improved self-esteem, and securing a foreign spouse (listed in order of priority ranking).

In one of the group discussions with male potential migrants, one of them said "*I will come back and invest, build filling station, hotels, and schools, start pure water factory i.e. that will give me money daily.*" He said that some of those that had travelled came back to establish such businesses. Another respondent said that he has uncles in Germany and another European country, and they advised him to learn a 'hand work' (skill) e.g tiling, plumbing which would possibly qualify him to work when he migrated. Another respondent

said he intended to get a job with his barbing skills. However, there are also some respondents that have the ambition to further their education abroad. According to one of the respondents, *"when I am done with school, my certificate in addition with my barbing skills can get me a good enough job to further my education."* Another respondent said he had skills from his printing profession to use abroad and that if he was not able to use those skills, then he could look for something else to do.

One of the respondents in the group discussion with unsuccessful female returnees said she was looking forward to marrying a Caucasian man with lots of money (apparently she had been promised that she was migrating for that purpose). Another was told there was no need to prostitute herself (in Benin) as there was work available in Europe, while another respondent was promised that she would be engaged as a babysitter because (as she expressed) *"there was one 'aunty' that just gave birth there, so I would be taking care of the baby."* According to the respondent, she had made the journey three times and it was only the first time that she was told she would be babysitting. By the second time of making the journey she knew it was prostitution she was going for but she didn't mind. This was one aspect of the discussions that was not a 'one-size-fits-all' reality. It was also difficult to ascertain the veracity (or otherwise) of the claims by some of the respondents that they were unaware of what exactly they were going to do abroad. While some claimed that they knew, others claimed that they were deceived. Interestingly some of those that claimed that they knew they were going into prostitution insisted that this was the case with most of them regardless of whether they were comfortable to admit it or not. One of the intercepted respondents said that her mother was not comfortable with her planned trip, but that she did not have a choice owing to their economic disadvantage. It was more like an option that weighed better and was more 'hopeful' than their current situation.

From discussions with various groups of respondents, it was evident that the aspiration for increased wealth often included the perception that travelling abroad would yield enough income for the respondents to build houses and buy cars, generally joining those whose 'success stories' they have heard to become the new rich. For instance, in one of the discussion groups, a male returnee talked about how he expected to *"buy the whole of Ekpoma"* when he returned from his trip. He had based his calculations on what he heard from friends about amounts they would be making while abroad. One respondent (an intercepted/unsuccessful female) said she was told that she could make more than the equivalent of about two million naira in a month. Another respondent noted that *"People who used to be poor when they have opportunity to travel abroad suddenly become better."* Part of the aspiration of becoming the new rich is the desire by many respondents to lift their families out of poverty. Most respondents of all categories spoke about their desire to break the poverty cycle in their families, especially after their inability to get any employment after their education.

Further to this, as captured in the survey data and from the group discussions, most of the parents/guardians of the victims are economically disadvantaged and barely able to make ends meet (see earlier section on "current economic livelihood of target population). Edo State has limited industries and job opportunities in both the public and private sectors. The formal and informal jobs are relatively scarce. According to one of the female respondents whose migration was intercepted, *"...there are no jobs for women. There is a high rate of poverty. Parents cannot handle the responsibility for the home so the girls are responsible for taking care of the home."* In essence there are hardly

any jobs for graduates, not minding those with limited education. The government jobs are hardly available and the harsh economic conditions are not helping in the private sector businesses. Another respondent said *“Even when you are working and being paid N 10, 000, the employers use every given opportunity to deduct from your salary so that at the end of the day you end up taking only 4,000 naira of the 10,000 naira home.”* The poor economic situation, lack of jobs and/or very meagre incomes to cater for family/self needs make migration so ‘attractive’.

More so, related to this is the expressed opinion of most respondents that hard work is better rewarded in their destination countries. ‘Successful returnee’ male respondents pointed out that the more they worked the more they earned while abroad, unlike in the Edo context where they argued that working harder did not seem to enhance their earnings. One male respondent noted that people doing menial jobs got their due respect abroad unlike in Nigeria. So, the perception that people could engage in multiple menial jobs, earn good incomes and respect from what they do abroad were part of the benefits attached to the allure of travelling. Moreover, respondents had the perception that there were many job opportunities awaiting them in the destination countries. A male respondent in the ‘unsuccessful returnee’ category said that he had the impression that *“...in Libya, there are lots of business opportunities available. Bricklaying, fixing of tiles, barbing, sewing and lots like that.”*

According to one of the civil society organisations interviewed, and which was validated by the survey data, there is a general belief that life abroad is better. Even those that are not so economically disadvantaged, and do not fall within the United Nations universally accepted definition of ‘poverty’, still want to have that experience to travel and be like their peers that come back home at Christmas and other holidays to show off their wealth. So the perceived benefit of enhanced social status and image was evident. However, from the survey data and discussions, people are trafficked largely for economic reasons. According to a number of the potential victims, they have heard ‘good things’ about people working abroad, including the availability of jobs, better value of their currency, conditions like free light and other social amenities. They are eager to be a part of that ‘enjoyment’.

One of the respondents in the group discussions asserted that about 80% of Edo state indigenes have the desire to travel abroad. Another respondent said that most families have at least one family member abroad. This was also corroborated by one of the civil society organisations interviewed. For instance, a potential victim in one of the discussion groups noted *“I am the first born of my family so I want to travel so that I can open door for others.”* It became a ‘tradition’ of some sort, but one which economic benefits are the main expected outcome. Consequently, families with migrant relatives have huge expectations of financial remittances to be made to them by their migrated relatives in order to augment family incomes and social status. This expectation is as intense as a successful migration is celebrated by the parents/relatives back home. During the discussion with the group of Chiefs in Council in Auchi Kingdom, one of the Chiefs narrated a particular instance whereby a mother of a successfully migrated man was seen in the market square with her face adorned with white chalk (a traditional symbol of good news) and happily announcing that her son had successfully crossed over to Europe from Libya.

4.5 AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MAIN PROFESSIONS OF TRAFFICKED PERSONS

Respondents were asked to indicate the professions they were aware that trafficked persons were involved in before they travelled. Table 14 shows the six main professions as ranked by successful returnees and unsuccessful returnees in the study area.

Table 14: Awareness of professions that trafficked persons are involved in

Ranking	Profession	Percentage
1	organ donor	30.3%
2	begging	21.2%;
3	sales boy/girl	18.2%;
4	house help	12.1%
5	artisan	9.1%
6	sex work	6.1%.

It is noteworthy that this ranking of engagement in sex work did not match the responses that successful returnee respondents gave during the group discussions and did not tie with their very high level of awareness of sex trade (78.9%) from the survey. Rather, the information gathered from the discussion groups suggest that up to 95% of 'successful returnee/unsuccessful returnee respondents were engaged in sex work while abroad. The discrepancy may be attributable to the collegial setting of the discussions that encouraged respondents to speak without inhibitions. It may also be that the respondents did other jobs and engaged in sex trade as a side job which is then not reported in the survey.

Interestingly, the 'potential victims' category showed a high level of awareness of the main professions of trafficked persons and matched the awareness ranking of those in the 'successful returnee /unsuccessful returnee respondent category. Similar to the 'successful returnees respondents, organ donor profession had the highest awareness rating with the 'potential victims' (93.9%). House help and begging were the next two high ranking professions that 'potential victims' were aware of. This would suggest that the potential victims had gathered adequate information on available professions from those who had gone before.

With regard to their attitudes to these professions, organ donor was among the least attractive to the 'successful returnee respondents' (with 1.8 mean). On the other hand, the factory worker profession was the most attractive to them (with a mean of 3.65). Ironically, none of the successful returnees managed to secure a factory job while 30.3% of them ended up as 'organ donors'. Similarly, the successful returnees/unsuccessful returnees found the skilled worker profession very attractive (with a mean of 3.42) but in reality none managed to secure skilled work. In effect, the professions they expressed the highest attraction to were the least attainable to them. However, professions like house help, sales boy/girl and sex work were also reasonably attractive to the successful returnee / unsuccessful returnee respondents and they were able to secure those while abroad.

The mean attractiveness of the afore-listed main professions to the 'successful returnee respondents' category is comparable to the attitude of those in the 'unsuccessful returnee' category. However, the respondents in the 'unsuccessful returnee' category

showed more attraction to the organ donor profession (with 2.06 mean) than those in the 'successful' (with 1.06 mean). This may suggest that those in the 'unsuccessful returnee' category may be more desperate than those in the 'successful returnee' category or they had become resigned to whatever was the available means to make money.

4.6 FACTORS INFLUENCING RESPONDENTS' DECISION TO TRAVEL

There seems to be a close relationship between 'poverty' and 'lifestyle alternatives' as key factors influencing the decision to travel. According to the survey data, the highest ranking factor influencing people's decision to travel is low income earning, with a mean of 3.94 (within a grand mean of 3.08) for parents of migrants, 3.87 (within a grand mean of 3.07) for the 'unsuccessful returnees' and a mean of 3.83 (within a grand mean of 3.09) for the 'successful returnees', and a mean of 3.70 (within a grand mean of 3.06) for the potential victims. There is obviously a correlation between this data and that of the perceived benefit of participating in trafficking. This factor is closely followed by the factor of inadequate employment opportunities, the latter being the most likely consequence of the former/most ranking factor of low income earning. According to the Chair of the anti-trafficking taskforce in Auchi Kingdom, *"Youths are leaving our community en mass in search of greener pastures. It is a terrible situation for a child to finish school and there is no job. So when they see friends who have travelled abroad making it, they too want to travel."* One of the female respondents whose migration was intercepted, said that her elder sister who was in Italy was catering for the family's needs until she lost her husband. Then she (respondent) had to rise to the occasion to assist the family financially as her mother had had several bad marriages and the last husband (which is her father) made away with all her mother's belongings when she was barely 6 years old. She said she left for Tripoli in 2008 to help alleviate the suffering of her mother. She also had a child in Tripoli (who would turn 8 years old in April 2018). Another respondent shared her experience thus- *"After school there was no job forth coming so I started learning fashion design in addition to the menial work I was doing. Things were bad after my mother died so I had to take up the family responsibilities. I travelled to meet up with those expenses."*

Evidently from the data results and discussions, the driving expectations within the families from migration are closely related to the factors influencing the decision to travel. These expectations include (in order of highest ranking) the expectation of a rise in income for all the categories of respondents. For the unsuccessful returnees it was a mean of 3.94 (within a grand mean of 3.60, for the potential victims, a mean of 3.9.1 within a grand mean of 3.48), for the successful returnees it was a mean of 3.86 (out of a grand mean of 3.61), and a mean of 3.88 (within a grand mean of 3.44) for the parents of the victims. The second highest ranking expectation was that of better housing and facilities for the families of the victims (e.g. furniture, borehole, generators, etc), with a mean of 3.96 for successful returnees, 3.75 for unsuccessful returnees, 3.67 for the potential victims and a mean of 3.66 for parents. The third expectation varied slightly for the categories. For the successful returnees, potential victims and parents, it was the expectation of more travel options with means of 3.57, 3.52 and 3.32, respectively. While for the unsuccessful returnees, the third expectation was that of better school options for the trafficked persons and their families, with a mean of 3.52.

For the fourth ranking expectations for the categories, there was a variance. For the successful and potential migrants, it was the expectation of better school options for the trafficked persons and their families, with means 3.48 and 3.45, respectively, while the expectation of more travel options for the trafficked persons and their families, ranked fourth for the unsuccessful returnees, with a mean of 3.44. For the parents of the victims, acquisition of luxury goods (cars, clothing, jewellery, etc), ranked fourth with a mean of 3.20. However, acquisition of luxury goods ranked lowest for the successful returnees, unsuccessful returnees and potential victims with means of 3.43, 3.37 and 2.85, respectively. While for the parents of the victims, it was the expectation of better school options for their children and their families that ranked lowest with a mean of 3.16.

It is also evident from the group discussions and survey data that there is a sense of peer influence and competition among families in the respective communities and this obviously thrives due to their close-knit communal way of life as well as the predominant family structure of polygamy, both of which results in competition and rivalry. Polygamy is the predominant marriage structure in Edo State. A significant percentage of the respondents are from polygamous family structures. As indicated in the survey analysis, 65.8% and 60% of the successful and unsuccessful returnee categories, respectively, are from polygamous families, as well as 49.3% of the potential migrants. This practice seemed to be an economic advantage in the past when the people were mainly subsistence farmers, and needed large family units to provide an effective labour force (UNODC/UNICRI2003). Today, this has become more of an economic disadvantage, as it creates more financial pressure within the families (particularly for the wives), than it solves economic problems. This, no doubt, contributes to the 3rd highest ranking factor (according to the survey and validated in the field discussions) of 'Success stories' from others (e.g. madams, trafficked persons, agents, etc.) in the business, with a mean of 3.46 for the 'successful returnees', 3.46 for 'parents of victims', 3.36 for the 'unsuccessful returnees' and 3.22 for the potential victims. Successful migrants return home to show off the benefits of their sojourn and this triggers a chain of admiration, envy and high expectations for potential migrants as well as their parents/guardians. *"Even if you put me in an office in government house with air conditioner and everything, I will still want to travel out."* That was a comment that came through by a male potential migrant during one of the groups' discussions. In a similar line of thought, a female returnee in one of the group discussions said *"It depends on individuals, some people just want to travel abroad. Even when they have a profitable business they are doing they will hand it over to someone else to manage and travel abroad."*

So in essence, while the survey data and group discussions revealed that poverty was a driving force for the quest to migrate, the attraction of experiencing life abroad was evidently a competing factor. Other closely related factors influencing the decision to migrate include –peer pressure, large family size, marriage structure (most of the respondents were raised in a polygamous family structure), limited access to education as well as cultural beliefs (e.g. limited participation of women in decision making, lack of property inheritance for women, among others).

4.7 COSTS/BENEFITS ASSOCIATED WITH PARTICIPATING IN TRAFFICKING

For the respondents of this study, it would seem that the costs associated with participating in the human trafficking outweighed the benefits. Data from both the survey and discussion groups suggest that the experience of the respondents did not match the 'success stories' that attracted them to engage in the trafficking situations.

The content of contracts and initial financial investments for the travel are generally different for women and men. Women and girls are often 'sponsored' by agents and made to swear to oaths that they will abide by the unwritten contract and pay back amounts ranging between 35,000 – 50,000 Euros. The women and girls thus become enslaved in sex work by the trafficking rings. For men, they usually have to pay upfront to agents for their travel. At the group discussion with 'successful' males, they said that for the land and sea routes of the journey (often through Libya) "The amount needed to go ranges from three hundred thousand to three hundred and fifty thousand naira (₦300,000/350,000)...." Costs vary by routes but they generally go higher and up to an average of 600,000 naira for the few who travel directly by air to Europe. The men are then supposed to be free to earn income for themselves once they are able to get to their destination countries. However, this is sometimes not the case as some of them end up being sold into slavery by the trafficking agents.

A critical and unquantifiable cost associated with the trade and rarely fully understood by potential victims is the tortuous route to their desired destinations. From the discussion groups with both intercepted and returnee victims, the journey through the desert and the experiences in Libya were horrendous. The mental and physical pain from maltreatment, beatings and sexual abuse by various agents along the routes cost many their dignity and life. Some were sold into slavery and many drowned in the sea in a bid to cross to Europe on the treacherous floats. With regard to remittances, the survey showed that 59.5% of those in the unsuccessful returnees' category and 46.8% of those in the successful returnees' category made no income at all from their travels. The 40.5% of the unsuccessful returnee category who earned some income while abroad were mostly clustered in the monthly earning range that converts to NGN 20,000 and below (25%) and NGN 20,000 – 70,000 (39%). This range is similar for those in the successful returnee category. Yet on the average, it cost them NGN350,000 to facilitate each trip. Over 80% of male respondents had used personal funds for the trip, meaning that they had painstakingly saved over time. Discussing how they raised the money for their trips, respondents in the male 'successful returnee/unsuccessful returnee category said that some *"... sold properties ... some people also steal their relations' money and may sell property of their family members or the person they are working for..."*

Of those (among the 'successful returnee' and 'unsuccessful returnee' categories) who managed to earn some money, they generally saved some of it and used the remaining for their upkeep. Only a negligible two per cent of them sent some money to their family in Nigeria. This is understandable given the low amounts most of them reported they made. For the women, the scenarios are generally worse because their earnings are often collected at source by the traffickers to settle their alleged debts.

4.8 REALITIES OF VICTIMIZATION FACED BY TRAFFICKED PERSONS



4.8.1 FEAR OF INVOLVEMENT IN ILLEGAL MIGRATION

In terms of the realities of victimisation experienced by trafficked persons, the first thing to note is that a greater percentage of all the respondents (both male and female) expressed fears about the migration. From the survey data, there were more of the respondents that expressed fears than those that did not (Table 15).

Table 15: Fears of involvement in illegal migration

Category of respondents	Had fears	Had no fears
Unsuccessful	66.9%	33.1%
Successful	59.7%	40.3%
Parents	72%	20%

Source: Field survey, 2017

The fears expressed (as presented under Table 9 in the annexes) include the fear of being killed, which ranked highest for both the successful and unsuccessful returnees. Other fears include the fear of the migrants not getting to their destination, which interestingly ranked highest for the parents (and not the utmost fear of their children being killed) and this could mean that they had relatively limited information about the magnitude of the risks involved in the migration process.

For most of the potential migrants from the group discussions and survey data, it was clear that they had limited information about the risks involved in trafficking. The greater percentage of information they received were from friends (86.6%), while the remaining percentage was distributed among other sources of information (Table 16). However, from the discussions, the information received seemed to tilt more towards the benefits of migration than the risks involved, although a few of them had heard about the horrific journey through the Libya route and resolved not to go through such an ordeal. One of them said he saw the slave trade in Libya and it makes him feel bad. He said, *"It is a bad thing for one human being to sell a fellow human being. It is discouraging me from travelling"*. Another respondent said that he was not bothered about what he saw because he did not intend to go by land since he could not go with his educational certificate if he went by land. On the other hand, it was clear from the tone of the discussions that the strength of information they received on the perceived benefits seemed to outweigh the potency of the risks involved as well as the likelihood of occurrence. However, the limited information on the risks helped to discourage some of them from taking the land route but not entirely from the prospects of migration. They received the information mostly through friends and returnees who show off the benefits of their sojourn, as well as through related images on social media (though just a marginal percentage).

Table 16: Potential victims' sources of information on migration issues

	Frequency	Percent
Friends	58	86.6
social media	4	6.0
face to face	2	3
Radio	1	1.5
YouTube	1	1.5

Television	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

In terms of the information received, only about 22.4% said they were told about the possible killing of illegal migrants. On lessons learned, about 82% could not tell what lessons they learned from the information they received. On the question of whether they felt any pressure to travel, 35.8% of the potential migrants expressed being pressured to travel by mostly friends and family members, while 62.2% expressed not being pressured to travel.

It is clear that although the utmost fear of being killed was expressed by a significant number of the successful and unsuccessful/intercepted respondents, it did not deter their determination to travel. It was also evident from the discussions that fears expressed and in the order they were ranked, had to do with the amount of information available to the respondents.

4.8.2 VICTIMIZATION PATTERNS

In terms of victimisation patterns, there seem to be significant gender dimensions playing out at different stages of the trafficking. For all of the female respondents, the traditional oath taking experience was a harrowing one. The women are expected to submit personal items for the oath taking (such as pubic hair, armpit hair, used sanitary towel) as materials for the oath. Other materials include Bible, coffin, kolanut etc. This 'oath taking' is a form of contractual requirement in lieu of financial contribution to cover logistics (travel costs, lodging etc) for their journey. The financial costs are usually borne by the 'madams' (female pimps based in Europe). In some cases, an agent charges as much as N700,000 (seven hundred thousand naira) to traffic the girls. So the oath serves as a 'security' to guarantee that the women will neither abscond on their 'madams' nor 'disobey' them in any form, thereby putting them under debt bondage for an unreasonable period of time and over amounts arbitrarily inflated by the madams.

However, from the group discussions and survey data, the unsuccessful female returnees unanimously said that it was the desert travels that presented the most horrific ordeal. The road/desert journey into Libya was fraught with horrifying experiences such as utmost discomfort of the travel process (e.g. about 32 of them loaded into the back of a Hilux van) sexual abuse, physical battering and poor sanitary conditions. One of the female migrants, whose onward journey to Europe was intercepted in Libya, had a scar to show for her struggle against sexual abuse by one of the traffickers. One of the 'successful' female migrants narrated her ordeal, saying that the journey was horrible especially through the desert. The sea aspect of the trip took 24 hours to Lapadosa on a small boat (floater) before proceeding to Sicily on a ship. She said the entire trip took her seven months. "*It was not easy*" she said. Due to the strong belief in the potency of these oaths held by the majority of the people, the oaths were seemingly binding on the girls (at least so they believed) as they gave regard to the penal consequences that would occur should they default in any way. Some narrated how they were plagued by nightmares as a warning of what would happen if they defaulted. Parents are not left out of the victimisation equation, as they send charms abroad to protect their wards from the consequences of their oaths.

Although the female respondents (both successful and unsuccessful returnees), during the discussions, and as captured in the survey data, expressed that they felt utmost discomfort during the contractual oath taking, it was evident from the discussions that the intensity of their quest to migrate, significantly outweighed that discomfort. In other words, it became just an inevitable part of the process to get through. One could glean from the group discussions with the intercepted victims, that they felt frustration on two levels. While the first level of frustration comes from their horrendous ordeal in the desert, the second seems to be associated with the fact that after all the trouble they went through, they did not succeed in getting to Europe.

For the 'successful' female returnees, they also went through the harrowing desert experience as their intercepted counterparts did. In their situation, it seemed that the successful crossing into Europe must have presented a glimmer of light to douse the desert experiences. It was like a temporary 'success story' before they met with another (and neither less potent) form of victimisation. While in Europe, they were not allowed to call their family privately as any call made had to be in the presence of the 'madam'. In other words, they were completely under the control and supervision of the 'madam'. Consequently, and in desperation to ensure that they have some level of leverage, most of the victims found ways to circumvent their 'madam's' arbitrary surveillance (e.g. by stowing some of the proceeds of their earnings discreetly in a safe spot before getting home after the day's 'business'). One of the respondents said that, to complete her debt to her madam, she did not collect any payment directly from the clients. She said, *"They pay directly to the madam. The madam does not give me access to money, only for the bare necessities. Sometimes she does the purchasing of these necessities herself."*

On an average, they had sex with about 25 men on a daily basis, even at the most 'inconvenient' time of the month.

According to one of the CSOs interviewed, not all of them have sexual intercourse, as some men desire oral sex or other forms of sexual pleasures from the girls. In more recent times however, the girls see fewer clients because the supply of girls has increased. People who leave now do not make as much money as before because more girls are now involved. The difference is significant. Supply is exceeding demand. Sometimes there is no point going all the way to Europe because it is not so lucrative anymore; they can rest their oars in Libya and the trolleys become the "madams" in that case and try to recoup their investment."

For those in Europe, they are expected to pay back the 'madams' as much as 40,000 - 50,000 dollars or Euros on average depending on the madam, as being debt owed on the expenses incurred to facilitate their travel, lodging and feeding. This amount is significantly much higher than the actual expenses incurred by the madam (which usually falls within the range of 10,000 Euros or less). Meanwhile, on average, the female migrants make only about 50 Euros per day. It is interesting to further note that this victimisation/exploitation they face at the hands of the 'madams' largely helps to trigger a sense of ambition to become a madam themselves. This is usually the ultimate target of some of the victims. According to one of the CSOs interviewed (and which was also corroborated by some of the returnee respondents during the group discussions), *"The first generation of victims eventually became 'madams'. Being a 'madam' is the ultimate ambition of the trafficked girls. In fact some bring over people to Europe to begin to work for them before they have even finished paying their madams. It is a networking*

business.” So in essence, it is a revolving business chain. However, the study also threw up another interesting dimension –that of resistance to victimisation. This is about victims who managed at all costs to resist being victimised by their ‘madams’ after having been successfully trafficked or who tried to negotiate their terms of engagement to some extent. One of the female returnees said she negotiated with the “juju” priest before she took the oath, on the grounds that if she was repatriated before she completed her payment to the ‘madam’, the oath would not be binding on her. She also said she went through a horrific time after she got back home that she even attempted suicide. However just when she started picking up the pieces of her life together and learning a skill, the ‘madam’ called to ask her to return to Europe, claiming that she had regularized her stay. She declined the offer because she had just started piecing her life together again and was midway learning a vocational skill. She also revealed that she had travelled twice and while on her second trip she got stranded in Turkey and could not cross over before she was repatriated. She added that her two international passports were with the madam.

On another dimension, one of the female returnees shared the experience of a 17 year old victim that was recruited against her will and on getting to Europe, she refused vehemently to work as a prostitute which led to her ‘madam’ beating her to the extent of breaking a laptop on her head all in the bid to force her into prostitution. The girl eventually ran away from the madam and this caused problems and reprisals for her family back home in Nigeria as her family was threatened by the ‘madam’ whom they felt indebted to because of the travel expenses incurred on their daughter’s trip. However, amidst these exceptional experiences, it was clear that resistance to victimisation was a rare occurrence as no other similar incident was shared by the respondents. This rare occurrence could be explained in either of two ways–

- (1) The risks involved in such a resistance is unusually daring and the likely consequences should the victim decide to take this risk is far reaching; also,
- (2) The strength of the perception of benefits of economic enhancement is one, which the victims are not willing to forgo and for this reason, will not take this risk

For the male victims, the experiences vary. First of all, contractual process for the men is significantly different as they are usually required to raise the money to facilitate the logistics of their migration. This is also a challenge as some of them feel compelled to sell their landed properties and other assets in order to make the required payment. Consequently they are not required to engage in the oath taking process, but they (like the female victims) also go through a horrific desert experience albeit in different forms. They are subjected to all forms of exploitation including (but not limited to) unpaid or underpaid menial labour, physical abuse and in some cases are kidnapped for ransom, which the parents back home are forced to send across. One of the respondents in the intercepted group said, *“The Arab soldiers hate black men, but use them to do menial work. As you sweep, you are paid but no freedom of movement. If he puts you in a car he goes with you with a gun so that when you escape he shoots you.”* Another respondent further elucidated the desert experience - *“...desert is more difficult, we use Hilux; there were thirty passengers, woods are pegged around, the ladies will be inside. If you are not lucky you die, they throw you away. Desert spirit will enter into some people, they will*

begin to say, "I need blood, I need blood, I need blood. You travel for five days, no food, no sleep throughout the night, the van only stops to refuel."

So this is a reflection of another dimension of victimisation in the trafficking chain, hence the need to view victimisation from different perspectives. While it is evident that the main victimisation faced by the victims (male and female) comes from the harrowing travel experience and economic exploitation at the hands of the traffickers, we cannot overlook the subtle and remote victimisation they face from home (families/relatives). The pressure on them to measure up to their peers is overwhelming. Feedback from the discussions reveals that the girls are told of what their mates are doing so they are asked to measure up. Meeting these expectations is a challenge. It is however easier for females than males because the females have a "commodity" to sell. In certain cases, some of males who live in refugee camps in Europe waiting for their application for asylum to be processed are paid a stipend of about 70 Euros monthly by the European government. They augment this stipend with proceeds from begging and send home to their parents/relatives. Their families expect them to do so. The money is sent to their mothers and sometimes to the siblings as the siblings may assist the mothers to collect the money from the bank in cases where the mothers are not literate to do so themselves. Those that cannot send cash can send goods (such as used refrigerators, microwaves, pots, pressing irons, etc.) which the family can either sell to raise money or keep for their use as it is prestigious to say they are using "things from abroad" in the house.

It is however interesting to note that despite the depth of victimisation experienced by the victims, the predominant disposition expressed during the discussions was that of 'there is a light at the end of the tunnel'. So for most of them, getting to Europe is the 'success story'. For some of the men in particular, the successful crossing into Europe seemed to be a reflection of their 'masculinity'. This was also the perception of one of the male potential respondents who said, "*Those that can cross the sea are the real men.*" Hence for those who finally did not make it to Europe, they were captured as 'unsuccessful'. This was clearly reflected in the survey data that captured the main reasons for the migrants not getting to the final destination as thus - 71.9% of the 'unsuccessful' migrants, were intercepted by law enforcement agencies, 14% was due to exhausted funds, while 10.7% returned due to disappointment by agents. This indicates that the victimisation experienced by the intercepted migrants did not particularly elicit any form of resolution to return home voluntarily.

Also, in a society where religion occupies a significant position in the social lives of the people, one cannot overlook the role that it played in the whole victimisation equation. It was gathered during the discussions and from the field data, that religious clergy (across sects) and other faith based actors usually give a supporting moral compass to the migrants through prayers and supplications. However, this is not unconnected with the fact that they have been known to benefit financially from the proceeds of trafficking. In one of the group discussions with the female returnees, one of the respondents narrated how she was literally threatened over the phone by a Pastor she had been relating with (who also happened to know her 'madam' closely) telling her, "*make sure you do not disobey your madam o*". According to one of the CSOs interviewed, "*Some even conduct 'you must get your visa' church services so the traffickers bring potential victims' passports to be prayed over. Such church services are usually well*

attended. Pastors also pray with the parents of the trafficked girls that the 'businesses' of their children abroad prosper. Whether they are aware of the nature of 'businesses', could not be ascertained. One particular Pastor in the group discussion with potential migrants said that he usually prayed for potential migrants but always emphasised that he would not support any dangerous migration process/routes. 'Juju' priests are also not left out in the prayers depending on the belief system of the traffickers and their families."

From the foregoing, it is safe to deduce the fact that there is an intense level of victimisation in the trafficking chain, with different active players. It is also clear that desperation by the victims in all categories to live abroad, largely informs their vulnerability to this victimisation. There is also clearly an information gap from the media as the discussions revealed that most of the potential migrants seem to know largely more about the 'goodies' and perceived benefits of migration (from friends and returnees) than any information about the risks involved in such irregular migration via the media.

4.9 FACTORS INFLUENCING RETURN, INTEGRATION AND REHABILITATION OF VICTIMS

By far the most frequent reason why victims return is that they are intercepted/arrested for not having proper documents. Most also report not having received any support to settle back in upon their return.

4.9.1 Successful returnees:

For the 'successful returnees', 65% of them said that the lack of proper documents forced them to return. The second highest percentage of successful returnees (29%) came home because they were tired of living abroad. Their responses reflect on the nature of their return, with 58.4% being forced and 40% being voluntary returns. The return of most successful returnees had also been facilitated either by the government (59.7%) or international organizations (26%). They were welcomed home mostly by government officials (69.4%) and family members (22.4%).

As detailed in the table below, 80.5% of them received a warm welcome, although 18.2% reported that they were rejected by their families. During the FGDs, a male returnee noted that the families gave them a warm welcome out of relief to see them alive. He said: *"They were very excited and happy, because some of them could not hear from us for long."* Another male returnee explained that family rejections were largely based on the fact that forced returns represent huge losses in investment. According to him, some families *"... felt sad because they borrowed money to send them on such trip"*. A female returnee in the FGD said that her family *"... pretended to be happy to see me back but in actual fact they were angry I came back before I could help them travel and that has caused enmity between me and my siblings"*.

Domains	Options	Frequency (77)	Percentage
Reason for returning	Tired of living abroad	17	29.3
	Home sick	6	10.3
	No job	7	12.1
	Health situation	1	1.7
	No proper travelling documents	38	65.5
Nature of return	Voluntary	31	40.3
	Forced	45	58.4
	No opinion	1	1.3
Mode of return	Air	1	1.3
	Land	0	0.0
	Sea	2	2.6
	4.00	3	3.9
	5.00	71	92.2
Facilitated by	Myself	10	13.0
	Agent	1	1.3
	Government	46	59.7
	International organization	20	26.0
	NGO (International/Local)	0	0.0
Who welcome them	Parent	1	2.0
	Family members	11	22.4
	Government officials	34	69.4
	NGOs	5	10.2
How were you received	warm welcome	62	80.5
	Rejected by the family	14	18.2
	Rejected by the community	1	1.3
	Others	0	0.0
Have you received any support to resettle	Yes	14	18.2
	No	63	81.8

Table 17: Reasons, nature, mode and facilitation of return stated by successful returnees

Upon their return, 81.8% of the successful returnees reported not receiving any support for re-integration and rehabilitation. This suggests a major gap still exists in the state and national response to human trafficking. Of the remaining 18.2% who acknowledged that they were supported to resettle, the key source of that support was international organizations (mainly the IOM) and civil society organizations. On the sort of support received, the survey results showed that they were mostly (88%) in the form of finance to start a business (Table 17). A male returnee contended that such financial support were unfortunately often meager and said that: *“Empowerment should be sincere and sustainable ... Sincerity is when you provide sufficient funds to do what you want to do. For instance if you need NGN400,000 for a project and you are given NGN100,000 it will not work and the money will be diverted, the empowerment should not stop half way.”*

While most of the successful returnees struggle to eke out a living in Nigeria through engagement in various entrepreneurial or menial jobs, some are making new plans to travel out again. As one civil society informant noted, *“... some feel like going back ...*

want to make more money, some complain that there is not much profit in the business that was established for them”.

4.9.2 Unsuccessful returnees

With regards to unsuccessful returnees, the factors influencing their return, integration and rehabilitation mirror those of the successful returnees but may be more challenging given that they had not reached their planned destinations. For instance, all unsuccessful returnees (100%) reported not having proper travel documents (see details in response table below). Among them, 20.7% said they were already tired of living abroad, given that most had spent several months in transit without reaching their desired destinations.

In view of the forced nature of most the returns, they were also largely facilitated by governments (42.1%) and international organizations – such as the IOM (26.4%). Significantly, however, 28.1% reported that they facilitated their return by themselves, which may tie with their response of being tired of living abroad but not getting to their desired destination. At the FGD, a female unsuccessful returnee said that *“No one in particular influenced my return but the horrific experiences...”* In spite of the unhappy circumstance surrounding most returns, the majority of returnees in the ‘unsuccessful’ category (86.7%) said that they received a warm welcome from families. However, 10 per cent of them said that they were rejected by the families for having failed them as they did not have the chance to recoup the amounts paid for the trip.

Upon return, 81% of the unsuccessful returnees reported not receiving any support for re-integration and rehabilitation. However, 19% said they got some support. During the FGD with unsuccessful male returnees one of them noted that *“...Life has not been easy back home as the economic conditions are still tough and we are still struggling to make ends meet.”* Similarly, the females in their group discussion said that their economic conditions since their return have been challenging: *“We are all struggling to make ends meet in one micro entrepreneurial business or the other (hair dressing, fashion, mobile recharge card selling).”*

Table 18: Reasons, nature, mode and facilitation of return stated by unsuccessful returnees

Domains	Options	Frequency (n=121)	Percentage
Reason for returning home	Tired of living abroad	25	20.7
	Home sick	9	7.4
	No job	5	4.1
	Health situation	2	1.7
	No proper travelling documents	121	100.0
Nature of return	Voluntary	43	35.5
	Forced	78	64.5
	No opinion	0	0.0
Mode of return	Air	91	75.2
	Land	30	24.8
	Sea	0	0.0
Facilitated by	Myself	34	28.1
	Agent	2	1.7

	Government	51	42.1
	International organization	32	26.4
	NGO (International/Local)	2	1.7
Who received you	Friends	2	1.7
	Parents	12	9.9
	Family members	22	18.2
	Government officials	67	55.4
	NGOs	10	8.3
	Others	8	6.6
How were you received	warm welcome	104	86.7
	Rejected by the family	12	10.0
	Rejected by the community	0	.0
	Family members not very happy	4	3.3
Support to resettle	Yes	23	19.0
	No	98	81.0

4.9.3 Responses of Parents of returnees on factors influencing return and reintegration of victims

The parents' responses to the factors influencing return, integration and rehabilitation tie with those of the returnees. For instance, 73% of parent respondents reported that their wards' return was related to not having proper travel documents. They also corroborated the data that most of the returns were facilitated either by the government (36%) or international agencies (32%). Similarly, 88% of them said their children received a warm welcome from the family.

Speaking on the reaction of families to returnees, a civil society informant said that, *"They are happy especially when they have plenty money and their skin is shining, they are looking good, but they will not be happy if they are critically ill."* Another civil society informant put it this way: *"...the way they are received by family and community is largely dependent on their financial ability on their return. If they come back without money they are received shamefully but there is great joy and respect if they come back with money to spend and throw around."*

While a number of local organizations are working in the area of resettlement and integration, they are faced with many challenges. Listing some of the challenges with victims' rehabilitation, a CSO informant said: *"Standard of facilities/shelters and therapy provided here in Nigeria is not comparable to what they have experienced in Europe so they are disgruntled. They also have to face the negative mentality of the care givers in the facilities here in Nigeria, stigmatizing them, so they have difficulties getting out of the situation."* On resourcing, the CSO informant noted that: *"The re-integration grants given to the returnees are quite small and usually not enough to do anything tangible."* Also, there does not appear to be an adequately coordinated and resourced strategy for re-integration and rehabilitation.

In sum, the main reason why illegal migrants and victims of trafficking return is when they are repatriated for lack of proper travel documents. Upon return, their rehabilitation and re-integration is inadequately coordinated and poorly resourced. Even more challenging is that the larger push factors - inadequate employment and social amenities- are yet to be addressed. As a CSO informant noted: *“Government has a big role to play by providing infrastructure and affordable healthcare system to attract the trafficked people back to the country and even deter them from seeking these things abroad... Even businesses set up for the returnees do not thrive as there is no infrastructure to sustain the business.”*



5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

There are social, cultural, economic and political dimensions to human trafficking in Edo State. The economic situations of persons, the desire to come out of the cloak of poverty, quest for a certain level of social status driven by peer pressure for all the categories, and the cultural orientation of the people can be seen as strong driving forces that expose people in the area to trafficking situations. Reduction in occurrence and/or prevention of trafficking situations and proper reintegration of trafficked persons therefore lies in the use of an all-inclusive approach that will positively affect the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of the life of persons in Edo State. There is a need to strengthen the relevant institutions of government, create awareness on dangers of trafficking and build capacities of relevant stakeholders to stem the tide of trafficking activities in the State.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.2.1 SWOT/BEEM ANALYSIS

Using SWOT (Strength, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats) and BEEM (Build the strengths, Eliminate the Weaknesses, Exploit the opportunities and Minimize the Threats) analysis, the study presents a summary of the current situation of persons involved/likely to be involved in trafficking situations within the study area.

Table 19: SWOT/BEEM Analysis of trafficked persons/potential victims

SWOT	BEEM
Strengths	Build the Strengths
Most of the trafficked persons/ potential victims are literate, young and in their active years.	Design programmes to gainfully engage them. The implications are that they will be receptive to innovations/ interventions.
They have vocational skills and livelihood aspirations	Create opportunities for skill development
Aspirational job options shows there is some level of interest in agriculture.	Introduce modern crop/livestock method, diversify into aspects of agribusiness. This can be achieved by selecting and developing key value chains in crops and livestock for which the State has comparative and competitive advantage. It also involves moving from primary production to processing and marketing.
Weaknesses	Eliminate Weaknesses
They are exposed to peer pressures and other influences from success stories which may lead them to taking wrong decisions.	Peer groups can be set up as anti-trafficking ambassadors and used as change agents.
Opportunities	Exploit Opportunities

<p>The current government has a high interest in intervening in the sector. A task force has been put in place.</p> <p>There are other non-governmental organisations carrying out activities /interventions in the areas (COSUDOW, Idia Renaissance, GPI)</p> <p>There exists strong traditional systems in the State. Edo people are known for respect for these systems.</p>	<p>Work in close collaboration with the government</p> <p>Set an activity coordination system, collaborate and establish linkages with existing organisations, work in partnership for wider coverage and avoidance of duplication of efforts.</p> <p>Use the traditional systems and other religious associations as organs to create awareness and sensitize the people,</p>
Threats	Minimize Threats
<p>Lack of functioning systems and procedures for reintegration of trafficked persons back into the society.</p> <p>Lack of youth employment opportunities.</p> <p>Serious cultural issues working in favor of trafficking.</p>	<p>In collaboration with government and other agencies, set reintegration systems. This can be by provision of shelter for returnees, skill acquisition centers, counselling and mind reorientation services. .</p> <p>Collaborate with government and other agencies to create employment opportunities for youths.</p> <p>Media engagement for possible reorientation towards harmful cultural beliefs.</p>

5.2.2 SUGGESTED STRATEGIC ACTIONS:

Based on this analysis, the following strategic actions are suggested for MADE:

- Create systems that will support and enhance job creation and entrepreneurship programmes for the susceptible population of youths, men and women in Edo State as the lack of employment is a major push factor feeding human trafficking in the context. The focus can be in two sectors: 1. Agricultural sector: This can be in the area of value chain development exposing young farmers to improved farm methods, linking farmers with processors and other market intermediaries thereby increasing market access and providing training systems that will make people view agriculture as a business. 2. Aspirational/other sector: Creating systems and linkages in marketing, distribution and manufacturing of non-conventional products.
- Use Media Engagement: The media remains a powerful tool for change. The recent Cable News Network (CNN) Freedom Project report on ‘Trafficking in Human Persons/Modern Day Slavery (MDS)’ which triggered significant global attention, awareness and empathy towards MDS, is a pointer. In this context, there will be need to explore a closer collaboration with the media, both mainstream and entertainment media industry (such as the booming ‘Nollywood’) for possible intervention/awareness programmes.
- Work in collaboration with the government to strengthen and encourage joint activities among NGOS and government agencies currently working in Edo State

on human trafficking. This will reduce/eliminate duplication of efforts and increase the number of people that can be reached by NGOs. Also, the strategic positioning and leadership role of traditional rulers in Edo state cannot be overlooked. They wield a lot of influence in their respective communities. There will be need to collaborate more closely with them in anti-trafficking measures, and in some cases, encourage them to take the lead in order to take advantage of their close relationship with people in the respective communities as well as the respect accorded them

Furthermore, the study presents recommendations specific to the categories of respondents studied.

Potential Victims:

Objective: To prevent youths and other persons from being involved in illegal migration.

Possible interventions:

- Create and strengthen anti-trafficking peer clubs/groups in rural areas as well as schools. The capacities of existing peer group structure such as age grade, community based organisations can be built up and used to create extensive awareness in communities and schools on the dangers of trafficking. Some civil society groups have initiated school clubs to tackle trafficking and those could be strengthened and supported to scale up their activities. Also, critical stakeholders in leadership and community governance like Youth Leaders, Church Leaders, Market leaders, Traditional Institutions, Students Union leaders, Trade groups should be engaged and mobilised as ambassadors in advocacy campaign against human trafficking.
- Create jobs for young graduates and school dropouts in the State. Revitalise and create economic livelihood opportunities that will be aimed at sustainable income for the youths. Skill acquisition programmes should be designed and implemented by government and non-governmental agencies for a wider reach of the young population. These skills acquisition programmes should be designed in a way to make them sustainable as one of the challenges identified with the existing ones is lack of sustainability. The M4P approach for instance of encouraging private sector engagement, can be useful in supporting these initiatives through their corporate social responsibility.

2. Returnees:

Objective: To integrate and rehabilitate returnees

Possible interventions:

- Engage with relevant stakeholders to re-design existing reintegration system. Discussions from the study seem to indicate that the current system uses a top-down approach towards the rehabilitation and integration of returned migrants. Assumptions and decisions are made on their behalf regarding suitable skills and

programmes, and this in some cases results in lack of commitment by the beneficiaries to follow through as it is not their passion. It will be important to have a horizontal approach in designing these livelihood interventions whereby the expected beneficiaries will participate from the beginning to determine their areas of passion and interest. So, besides the usual 'tailoring', 'hairdressing' and 'catering' skills, there could be other areas of interest to explore. These new areas have to take into cognizance the prevailing market demands and realities. In addition, skills such as business and financial management skills will be very useful. These will also be useful in situations where the returnees or potential migrants benefit from microfinance/loans to support their businesses as the skills will enable them manage the loans and their businesses effectively. Any skills-based intervention should take this approach.

- Build, develop and properly equip facilities, social services centres, and resource centres for skill acquisition that can receive and reintegrate trafficked persons back into the society without discrimination and stigmatisation.
- Returnee Change Champions/mentors: This could be a powerful tool/programme for change. It has been known in different change programmes, that the role of rehabilitated 'victims' as mentors based on their personal experiences, can be quite influential and significant. In this regard, a specific mentoring programme can be designed to encourage a platform for returnees to engage in anti-trafficking awareness campaigns and training in relevant institutions. This may have been on-going in different aspects, but it needs to be more structured and coordinated. A collaboration with an NGO working in the area of anti-trafficking can facilitate this programme. This will also help to curb the potency of wrongly perceived benefits (as noted in the findings), which is a strong contributing factor to irregular migration.

3. Parents/guardians of victims:

Objective: To strengthen household economic livelihoods of parents and families in the State.

Possible Interventions:

- Create economic livelihood opportunities and enabling environment such as access to credit, land and other productive assets to gainfully engage household heads and family members.
- Create and build capacity of persons to effectively engage in agribusiness and other businesses of interest.

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7. ANNEXES

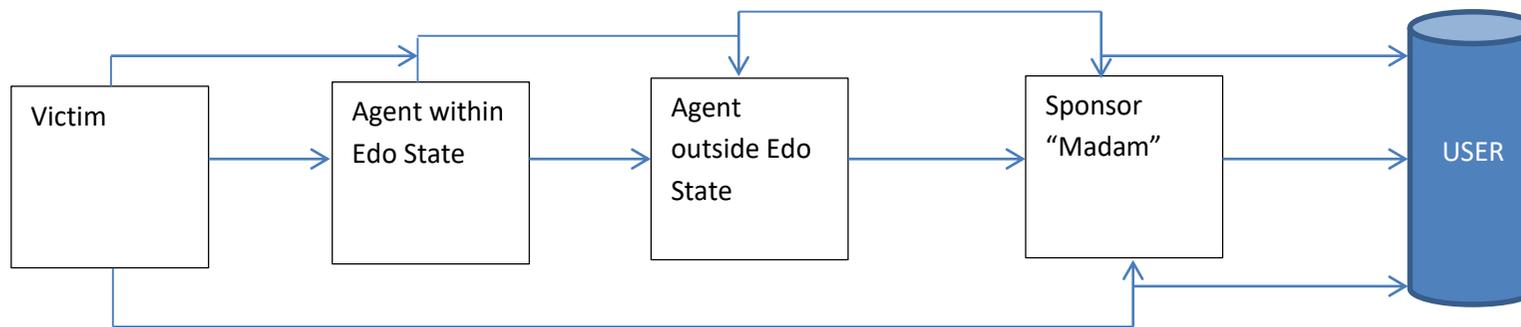


Fig 8. The human trafficking chain in Edo State



Table 20: Aspirational jobs by respondents

Aspiring Occupations		Potential			Unsuccessful			Successful		
		Sex		Total	Sex		Total	Sex		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Farming (Poultry, Piggery, Fishery, etc)	Count	9	1	10	11	0	11	12	0	12
	% within Occupation	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Sales of food items/Drinks	Count	1	1	2	1	4	5	0	1	1
	% within Occupation	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Fashion/Tailoring	Count	0	7	7	2	3	5	0	2	2
	% within Occupation	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Hair styling/make up salon	Count	1	5	6	0	7	7	0	2	2
	% within Occupation	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Barbing salon	Count	1	0	1	2	0	2	2	0	2
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Boutique/sales of clothes	Count	1	2	3	8	4	12	4	5	9
	% within Occupation	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Building material business	Count	1	0	1	7	1	8	5	0	5
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Provision/Cosmetic/Pharmacy shop	Count	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	1
	% within Occupation	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Computer/Phone and accessories sales	Count	1	0	1	4	0	4	1	0	1
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Machine/Motor/Generator parts business	Count	2	0	2	1	0	1	2	0	2
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Transportation business	Count	2	1	3	3	0	3	6	0	6
	% within Occupation	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Business center	Count	2	0	2	4	1	5	3	2	5
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	25.0%	100.0%	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%

Aspiring Occupations		Potential			Unsuccessful			Successful		
		Sex		Total	Sex		Total	Sex		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Computer services, Dry cleaning)	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Trading/Business	Count	1	8	9	12	6	18	7	5	12
	% within Occupation	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
Mechanic	Count	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Welding	Count	2	0	2	5	0	5	1	0	1
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Building engineering (Bricklaying, Plumbing, Tiling, roofing, painting, etc)	Count	4	0	4	7	0	7	2	0	2
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Music/Entertainment, Football	Count	1	0	1	3	0	3	2	0	2
	% within Occupation	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Catering/event decoration	Count	1	3	4	0	3	3	0	1	1
	% within Occupation	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Other vocational services (Furniture, Electrician, etc)	Count	3	1	4	8	0	8	2	0	2
	% within Occupation	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Office/white collar jobs	Count	2	1	3	7	1	8	2	2	4
	% within Occupation	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	36	31	67	86	32	118	52	21	73
	% within Occupation	53.7%	46.3%	100.0%	72.9%	27.1%	100.0%	71.2%	28.8%	100.0%

Table 21 Fears of illegal migration expressed by respondents

Fears	Sum of Strongly disagreed	Sum of Disagreed	Sum of agreed	Sum of Strongly agreed	Sum of Mean	Sum of Std. dev.
Be home sick	38	53	46	57	7.88	3.31
Parents	11	11	14	14	2.62	1.12
Successful	8	13	13	12	2.63	1.06
Unsuccessful	19	29	19	31	2.63	1.13
Be killed	37	39	37	92	8.8	3.37
Parents	3	9	9	29	3.28	0.97
Successful	13	11	11	21	2.71	1.2
Unsuccessful	21	19	17	42	2.81	1.2
Be used/abused	49	37	61	52	7.78	3.29
Parents	8	4	25	13	2.86	0.99
Successful	15	13	11	11	2.36	1.14
Unsuccessful	26	20	25	28	2.56	1.16
Get drowned in the sea	45	45	29	83	8.23	3.51
Parents	4	13	10	23	3.04	1.01
Successful	17	10	7	16	2.44	1.26
Unsuccessful	24	22	12	44	2.75	1.24
Lose my family and become totally estranged from them	44	49	50	54	7.86	3.15

Parents	3	7	23	17	3.08	0.85
Successful	16	12	10	11	2.33	1.16
Unsuccessful	25	30	17	26	2.45	1.14
Not finding comfort	41	43	64	53	8.08	3.11
Parents	3	6	28	13	3.02	0.79
Successful	14	12	8	18	2.58	1.23
Unsuccessful	24	25	28	22	2.48	1.09
Not get to my destination	48	39	29	94	8.62	3.43
Parents	3	4	14	29	3.38	0.88
Successful	17	12	6	23	2.6	1.28
Unsuccessful	28	23	9	42	2.64	1.27
Grand Total	302	305	316	485	57.25	23.17

Source: Field survey, 2017

Table 22: Mandates/interventions of Government and non-governmental organisations



S/NO	Name of Organisation	Mandate and Current Activities
1.	Ministry of Women Affairs, Edo State.	<p>The Ministry is an arm of the Edo State government responsible for handling issue relating to women and children especially the vulnerable. The broad mandate of the Ministry is to advise government on gender and children issues. Issues affecting persons with disabilities and the aged; initiate policy guidelines and lead the process of gender equality and mainstreaming at both the national and international levels. In addition, she supports the work of relevant non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) working for the realization of Women and Children's right.</p> <p>The Ministry had engaged critical stakeholders most recently on the menace of human trafficking in Edo State. They collaborate with agencies like NAPTIP on vocational skill training for returnee migrants at the various skill centres set up by the Ministry, two of which are still functional.</p>
2.	The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)	<p>The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is an umbrella organisation containing numerous Christian denominations in Nigeria founded in 1976. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) has five blocs made up the Christian Council of Nigeria, the Organization of African Instituted Churches, the Roman Catholic, the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria, and its Youth and Women wings. Evangelical Fellowship of West Africa. Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Edo State is an arm of Christian Association of Nigeria.</p> <p>CAN's mandate is to ensure the unity of the Church and to promote understanding, peace and unity among the various people and strata of society in Nigeria, through the propagation of the Gospel.</p> <p>To act as watch-man of the spiritual and moral welfare of the nation.</p> <p>During CAN meetings, pastors are sensitized on the danger of human trafficking and are encouraged to steadily discourage it in their local assemblies. CAN has been in the forefront of condemning programmes and activities of churches that may have negative impact on the fight against human trafficking like "VISA services". Pastors involved in organizing visa services are regularly engaged, summoned and interrogated by CAN. There are plans to carry out a state-wide rally sensitising our immediate environment on the ills of human trafficking in 2018.</p>

4	The Committee for the Support of the Dignity of Woman (COSUDOW)	<p>The Committee for the Support of the Dignity of Woman (COSUDOW) was established by the Nigeria Conference of Religious Women. The Committee for the Support of the Dignity of woman is a non-profit body located at 6A, Ehaekpen street, off Igbesanwan street, off Akpakpava road, Benin City, Edo State. She has been involved in advocacy and collaborative intervention activities for upwards of 18 years and has collaborations with NAPTIP, Caritas Italy, and Solidarity with Women In distress, Germany. COSUDOW's activities includes, Educating families and young people on the hazards of being lured to other parts of the world for greener pastures. Educating, resettling and rehabilitating victims of human trafficking; and finding ways of giving them marketable skills for self-support and successful business ventures.</p> <p>Her current activities include provision of short term shelter for returnees and provision of skeletal medical services. Current intervention programmes to human trafficked victims include Rehabilitation, Reintegration, prevention, sensitisation and awareness in villages, churches, schools and use of mass media like the Nigeria Television Authority</p>
5	Edo State Task Force on Human Trafficking (EDTF).	<p>Edo State Task Force on Human Trafficking (EDTF) is a Government intervention Agency inaugurated on August 15 2017 by the Edo State Government and headed by the State Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice, Professor Yinka Omoregbe. The task force is made up of representatives of security agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), NAPTIP, Ministries, Departments and Agencies of government, religious and traditional institutions.</p> <p>The major mandate of the Task Force is to curb the growing menace of human trafficking in Edo State; conduct research on its root cause and recommend to government mitigation strategies. The committee is to come up with modalities on how to domesticate the federal government's law on trafficking in the state. The taskforce is also to develop a comprehensive action plan for combating trafficking in persons, as well as programmes that will help in reintegrating victims of the illicit trade into the society.</p> <p>Current activities of EDTF include working closely with Traditional rulers especially the Oba's palace and stakeholders like NAPTIP, IOM and other intervention agencies in Edo</p>



6	The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)	<p>State in carrying out the above task. Advocacy and rehabilitation efforts are on-going.</p> <p>The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) was created on the 14th of July 2003 by the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act 2003.</p> <p>The Agency is the Federal Government of Nigeria's response to addressing the scourge of trafficking in persons. It is a fulfillment of the country's international obligation under the Trafficking in Persons Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Transnational Organized Crime Convention (UNTOC).</p> <p>NAPTIP's mandate is empowered by the Act to co-ordinate, and enforce all other laws on trafficking in persons and related offences and also to adopt effective measures for the prevention and eradication of trafficking in persons and related offences; Investigate all cases of trafficking in persons including forced labour, child labour, forced prostitution, exploitative labour and other forms of exploitation, slavery and slavery – like activities, bonded labour, removal of organs, illegal smuggling of migrants, sale and purchase of persons; Create public enlightenment and awareness through seminars, workshops, publications, radio and television programmes and other means aimed at educating the public on the dangers of trafficking in persons.</p> <p>Currently, NAPTIP is executing a comprehensive media campaign across the State. Schools and Market Areas are regularly visited for advocacy. There is also intensive collaboration with traditional institutions and local community leaders in finding the way forward.</p>
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