PATHWAY TO PREVENTION

A RESEARCH REPORT ON RECRUITERS OF SEX TRAFFICKING IN OREDO LGA, BENIN CITY, EDO STATE, NIGERIA.

Editors:
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Acknowledgments

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Secondly, we also appreciate the support and cooperation of key stakeholders, including Edo State Task Force Against Human Trafficking ("ETAHT"), National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons ("NAPTIP"), the Gender and Trafficking Desk of the Nigeria Police Force, Edo State Command, Edo State Government Ministries of Youth Development and Women Affairs, Edo State Attorney General and the coordinator of the National Human Rights Commission, Benin City, Edo State.

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September, 2020.

Executive Summary

Background and Objectives

The subject of cross-border sex trafficking from Edo State, Nigeria has long served as a pain point for many in the global community. With only a population of about 5 million in a country where population estimates approach 200 million, Edo State's astounding history as a cultural centre of excellence has been, almost singlehandedly, overshadowed by its reputation as *the most trafficked through destination in Africa*. Significantly, however, most of the research on the subject has focused either on the trafficking victim, her trafficker and/or the root causes of trafficking in the region. Not until this 'Pathway to Prevention' research Project has a study focused exclusively on the role of the local recruiter, the 'Enabler'- that trusted community member(s) who profits from each new recruit successfully referred up the trafficking chain. These entrenched actors serve as the critical link between demand and supply for traffickers and fuel the global human trafficking market. The researchers hypothesized that breaking their link to potential victims could potentially lead to an overall reduction in trafficking from Oredo Local Government Area in Benin City, an endemic hot-spot for recruiting and trafficking in the state.

Our objectives were three-fold: (i) empower and slave-proof local communities by deterring the recruitment of potential victims for sex trafficking by Enablers; (ii) inform prevention strategies and programs through effective community informed interventions; and (iii) contribute to the growing evidence base of data driven research that will inform policies and programs which support and scale replication of interventions that target Enablers and empower local communities against them.

Findings.

Overall, the research supported our hypothesis, having established that recruiters are critical, initiating actors with local ties to the Oredo LGA community where sex trafficking is prevalent. General awareness about sex trafficking is high and community members who had either been recruited or know someone who had been, were extremely knowledgeable about the modus operandi, tactics and schemes of Enablers (whether *paid-Professional Recruiters* or *unpaid-Helper Recruiters*) within their community. It was this knowledge that informed our resulting profile of recruiters in Oredo LGA: primarily women in their late 30's to early 40's who prey on the poor and ignorant, inspire with financial aspirations and intentionally target mothers, many of whom were already pressuring their daughters to travel overseas, particularly to Italy. Enablers, who are also now recruiting online (*Digital Enablers*), are primarily driven by a "need for money" and generate multiple streams of income, including a kickback from the trafficker for every successful recruit.

The Oredo LGA community identified multiple gaps within their lived experience, including government failures, as well as the community's complicity in tolerating trafficking, the remittances of which fuel its functioning economy. Successful interventions were applauded, while those that are failing were identified. Community members, as credible messengers, also provided tailored recommendations to stakeholders, urging them to prioritize economic empowerment, abandon the failing, elementary alarmist campaigns ("trafficking is bad-don't travel!") and increase arrests/ prosecutions of recruiters. Overall, the research evidenced the reality that community based and community informed interventions stood the highest chances of success in a community where many remain uninformed of available resources that may have altered their fate. In other words, breaking the link between recruiters and potential victims in Oredo LGA is both crucial and possible.

Recommendations

The community was clear- if it's for us, it should be designed by us. Community members want their voices included in the design of effective programs that reflect a nuanced understanding of the interlocking and interrelatedness of recruiting in Oredo LGA. In addition, a coordinated effort by stakeholders must be prioritized, while social justice reforms are addressed. Clearly, legislation alone cannot mitigate vulnerability to trafficking. Addressing those vulnerabilities (particularly gender disparities) does. In addition, stakeholders must increase trainings (particularly for law enforcement that is not well trusted in the community), educate community members (in Bini language and in pidgin as well) about the criminal nature of recruiting and address the mindset of many in the community that deem prostitution a viable alternative to poverty. The latter can only be successful when cognitive restructuring, a psychotherapeutic process that helps identify and change thinking patterns that are potentially harmful, is employed prior to behavioral modification efforts. Finally, anonymous, toll-free reporting mechanisms, which simultaneously link potential victims to CSO resources must be developed to encourage whistleblowing. Formal witness protection programs will also serve the needs of the community and increase prosecutions.

Additional Research.

Areas for additional research are further outlined in the body of the Report. However, a few worth mentioning here include a comparison of recruiting prevalence in Oredo LGA to other areas in Edo State where recruiting is not endemic to determine what community postures/responses and or cultures prevent the proliferation of trafficking in those areas and whether same can be adopted in Oredo LGA; the impact of the Oba of Benin's March 2018 pronouncement on recruiting; online recruiting and its impact on the landscape of in-person recruiting in Oredo LGA; the impact of COVID-19 on recruiting from Oredo LGA.

Chapter One

Introduction: Overview of the Project

This Report records the findings, conclusions and recommendations relating to the one-year Pathway to Prevention Project ("PTP Project"), a micro-level research Project conducted in Oredo Local Government Area ("Oredo LGA") in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria, between September 2019 and February 2020 by Pathfinders Justice Initiative ("Pathfinders") and CLEEN Foundation ("CLEEN"). The overall objective of the PTP Project was to empower and "slave-proof" local communities by deterring the recruitment of potential victims for sex trafficking by local recruiters ("Enablers"). The PTP Project was designed to inform prevention strategies and programs through micro-level research and community-based interventions. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of research were employed in this work, including quantitative surveys, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). The PTP Project was piloted in September 2020 in Oredo LGA, an endemic 'hot spot' for cross-border sex trafficking recruitment in Edo State, Nigeria, in an effort to develop the evidence base to inform policies and programs that will support and scale replication of effective interventions that are focused on empowering communities against Enablers across Nigeria. The PTP Project was funded pursuant to an Accountable Grant related to the larger Stamping out Slavery in Nigeria (SOSIN) Department for International Development (hereinafter DFID).² funded Project.

During the course of the research, the terms "Enablers" and "Recruiters" were used interchangeably, as will be the case in this Report.

²Now known as the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO).

1.1 Objectives of Project and Research

The ground-breaking research substantiating the PTP Project explored the prevalence of recruiting for cross-border sex trafficking from Oredo LGA in Edo State, an infamous trafficking hub in Nigeria.³ It endeavored to capture the demographics/profile of recruiters (Enablers) in Oredo LGA where the majority of sex-trafficking prevention efforts to date have focused on raising awareness, empowering potential victims or strengthening legal deterrents against traffickers.

Until the emergence of the PTP Project, the role of Enablers, the trusted community member who profits from each new recruit successfully referred up the trafficking chain, has, for the most part, been overlooked in understanding (and thus reducing) cross-border sex trafficking from Nigeria. As such, it was imperative for this research to unearth the role of what some may term 'low level offenders' who serve as the critical link between demand and supply for traffickers and fuel the global human trafficking market, yet remain largely undocumented in the trafficking chain.

In an effort to fully comprehend and capture the entrenched role of Enablers in the local landscape, the research endeavored to capture the community's assumptions and attitudes towards Enablers, as well as the community and government's response to Enablers. As a result of probing the subject matter from multiple angles, the research uncovered emerging trends and explored avenues of cultural and social norm change that could potentially limit and disincentivize Enablers' ability to operate in Oredo LGA (and by extension in Nigeria).

Ultimately, the objectives of the PTP Project were to: (i) empower and slave-proof local communities by deterring the recruitment of potential victims for sex trafficking by Enablers; (ii) inform prevention strategies and programs through effective community informed interventions; and (iii) contribute to the growing evidence base of data driven research that will inform policies and programs which support and scale replication of interventions that target Enablers and empower local communities against them.

1.2 Rationale: Background of Sex Trafficking in Nigeria

Sex trafficking is a form of modern-day slavery that involves the commercial sexual exploitation of persons via force, fraud or coercion.⁴ It amounts to a violation of human rights which

³According to the International Organization for Migration ("IOM"), of the 119,000 migrants who arrived in Italy by the Mediterranean Sea in 2017, 18,185 were Nigerian, 5,425 of whom were women. Of those women, 80% of them were potential victims of trafficking, with 94% hailing from Edo State.

⁴https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html

simultaneously presents a global health concern as an industry that generates \$99 billion of the estimated \$150 billion generated in annual profits by human traffickers.⁵ Over the last 20 years, there has been growing concern over the phenomenon of cross-border sex slavery – particularly relating to its intersectionality with unsafe migration- and considerable media attention has been directed towards amplifying the issue to ensure that it receives the urgent attention it deserves. Similarly, source, destination and transit countries have also begun to prioritize the issue by enacting the necessary legal and policy frameworks in an effort to decrease the scourge of trafficking that is occurring worldwide.⁶

Cross-border sex trafficking from Nigeria, particularly from Benin City, Edo State, remains at crisis level. Notwithstanding the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, unsafe migration and cross-border trafficking of victims persist. Victims continue to be deceived and/or coerced into seeking "greener pastures" in Europe, particularly in light of the economic downturn. Notably, however, even prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, Benin City, where Oredo LGO is located, has long been internationally recognized as Nigeria's sex trafficking hub, with built in infrastructures and networks which support the sale of human bodies. Other reports have referenced it as the most trafficked through destination in Africa. 8

For over three decades, tens of thousands of naive young women from Edo have been lured with promises of lucrative job or education opportunities in Europe, with many of them uninformed of the abuse, forced prostitution and torture that reflects the reality of this form of modern day slavery. In more recent times, Libya (post the October 2011 ouster of Muammar Ghaddafi) became the gateway to Italy, the primary destination in Europe for trafficking victims from Nigeria. According to the International Organization for Migration ("IOM"), of the

⁵https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_243201/lang--en/index.htm

⁶On December 10, 2018, world leaders from 164 countries agreed on the <u>'</u>United Nations Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) which strives to reduce the risks and vulnerabilities of migrants and refugees (including trafficking) at local, national and global levels. Although the GCM is non-binding, it is indicative of the fact that globally, world leaders consider the issue a priority and are working to ensure that migration is safe, not irregular and not dangerous.

⁷https://humangle.ng/illegal-migration-edo-youths-take-advantage-of-northwest-conflict-to-escape/

⁸ https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/27/africa/nigeria-migrant-smugglers-intl/index.html

119,000 migrants who arrived in Italy via the Mediterranean Sea in 2017, 18,185 were Nigerian, 5,425 of whom were women. Of those women, 80% of them were assumed to be victims of trafficking, with 94% hailing from Edo State. ¹¹

⁹ One theory espoused by retired University of Benin Professor, Christiana Okojie and her team, suggests that the trafficking of Nigerian women to Italy became endemic in the late 1980s/early 1990s after the HIV/AIDS epidemic rendered many Italian women in prostitution subject to infection as a result of drug use. Afraid of the possibility of contagion, the Italian prostitution market demanded a viable substitution, at which time Nigerian women began to fill the gap and finding it a lucrative market, commenced the trafficking of women and girls from Nigeria. Initially, victims were flown to Italy. In more recent times, however, victims are smuggled over land from Nigeria to Libya before embarking on the treacherous journey to Europe via the Mediterranean. Trafficking of Nigerian Girls to Italy, Report of Field Survey in Edo State, Nigeria; Okojie, C.E.E., Okojie, O., Eghafona, K. Vincent-Osaghae, V. & Kalu, V. (2003).

¹⁰ https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-44709974

¹¹ https://www.iom.int/news/voodoo-curses-keep-victims-trafficking-under-bondage



Once in Europe, victims are forced into prostitution and held captive in debt bondage, as traffickers demand that they repay an often astronomical amount (that may exceed \$50,000) to cover their journey from Nigeria, payment of which may have been advanced by traffickers. Victims are also held in physical and mental bondage as a result of the juju (voodoo) oaths that they may have sworn (prior to leaving Edo) to remain faithful to their traffickers (often referred

to as "Madams") or face the wrath of the gods. Pathfinders, 13 a leading anti-trafficking organization in Nigeria, contends that most of the repatriating trafficking survivors it serves have been enslaved for anywhere from 3-5 years in Europe, having endured forced prostitution on over 4,000 occasions.¹⁴

On the part of source, transit and destination countries such as Nigeria, the approaches to addressing human trafficking, particularly sex trafficking, have largely been limited to the development of laws and policies, often with limited and sometimes ineffective law enforcement strategies. 16 Other efforts, usually funded by the European Union ("EU") and implemented by IOM, ¹⁷ have proven inadequate to wholly address the often conflated issues of unsafe migration and trafficking. 18 Moreover, there is a limited amount of reliable, measurable data based on qualitative and quantitative research that has been culturally translated to serve as springboards from which effective and targeted interventions could be framed and/or developed.

¹² It should be noted that although traffickers contend that victims are indebted to them for the overland journey from Nigeria, many victims are regularly abandoned en route to Europe. In an effort to advance the journey, victims are forced to start prositution as soon as they leave Nigeria and will continue to do so until their arrival in Europe. These costs, which were paid by the victim, are not credited to her account by the trafficker. Full payment is demanded, in addition to costs related to rent, clothing, food and condoms. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/04/10/the-desperate-journey-of-a-trafficked-girl

www.pathfindersji.org

¹⁴ https://pathfindersji.org/nigeria-human-trafficking-factsheet/

¹⁵ https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-trafficking-in-persons-report/nigeria/

¹⁶ Nigeria ratified the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in 2001, following which it passed the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act, 2003, a national law to counter trafficking. The Act created the country's anti-trafficking agency, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons ("NAPTIP"). Since the decades following, a robust legal framework has been generated by Nigeria.

 $^{^{17}}$ Most of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant Proposition" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has termed the "European Migrant" of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to curb what it has the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the EU's efforts in Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the Nigeria have been generated to be a subject of the Nigeria have been generated to be a subject o Crisis,' which resulted from an unparalleled influx of undocumented migrants- more than 1 million in 2015 alone- into Europe following the commencement of the civil war in Syria and ongoing violence and insecurity in other parts of the world. https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/refugee-crisis-in-europe/

¹⁸ https://migrationjointinitiative.org/

Until the emergence of the PTP Project, research on the subject of sex trafficking-commercial sexual exploitation- in Nigeria has largely focused, almost in isolation, on empowering potential victims or strengthening legal deterrents against traffickers via legislation. Significantly, other than anecdotal evidence or as an afterthought reference, the role of the local recruiter or the 'Enabler,' *i.e.*, the trusted community member who profits from each new recruit successfully referred up the trafficking chain, has been largely overlooked. This is notwithstanding the fact that Enablers regularly attempt to recruit 1 in 3 young women in Edo State. Enablers are actively involved in trafficking at the local level but largely undocumented in the value-chain of sex trafficking in Edo State, as they are typically not part of a high-level organized trafficking network. Often considered 'low level offenders,' recruiters serve as the critical link between demand and supply for traffickers and fuel the global human trafficking market. They even continued to operate during the global COVID-19 pandemic.

In light of the significant role that Enablers play, particularly in recruiting victims for sex trafficking in Edo State, this research is groundbreaking in its efforts to specifically identify and profile Enablers, to determine the community's assumptions and attitudes towards Enablers, to determine the community and the government's response to Enablers and to outline potential avenues of cultural/social norm change that would limit Enablers' ability and incentives to operate.

In contexts outside Nigeria, behavioral change campaigns targeting perpetrators of behaviours that are directly harmful to others have been conducted. ²² A literature review of these campaigns was conducted to ascertain possible interventions that may be generated and adapted in the PTP Project.

¹⁹ Nigeria initially passed its Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act in 2003, an Act which established NAPTIP. The Act has since been twice amended, most recently in 2015. In May 2018, Edo State passed the Edo State Trafficking in Persons Prohibition Act, which in many ways parallels the national law, but officially codified the Edo State Task Force Against Human Trafficking ("ETAHT") (etaht.org) to investigate and prosecute cases.

²⁰ ITV.com, In numbers: People Trafficking in Nigeria, 15 October 2015.

²¹ https://humangle.ng/illegal-migration-edo-youths-take-advantage-of-northwest-conflict-to-escape/

 $^{^{22}} https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/Literature-review-behaviour-change-campaigns-Jan-2019.pdf$

1.3 Research Methodology

The PTP Project employed a micro-level research approach in light of its advantages over grand, macro level claims- advantages that are both quantitative (i.e., identifying the magnitude of trafficking within a measurable context) and qualitative (i.e., documenting complexities in lived experiences). This approach was better suited to formulating contextually appropriate policy, ensuring program interventions were adopted by local communities and to providing empirical evidence that can be scalable in other contexts addressing the burgeoning crisis of human trafficking.

The information elicited from Respondents included: gender, age, educational status, average monthly income, marital status and ethnic background. In addition, it was important to note Respondents' occupation, religious affiliation and household size. Furthermore, information was sourced on the Respondents' lived experience and perception of sex trafficking. The data was analyzed using relevant analytic tools as well as content analysis.

The thrusts of the micro-level study in the focal community included pilot research into and engagement with the local community (leaders/potential victims, etc.) to test their assumptions, attitudes and responses towards Enablers; analysis to understand the nature, motivations and actions of Enablers and to highlight potential avenues of cultural/social norm change that would limit their ability and incentives to operate; and pilot awareness raising interventions on the role and dangers posed by Enablers.

More specifically, the research utilized the following:

(i) Overview and Key Activities:

Developing a deeper understanding of Enablers and what approaches would be most productive, particularly for an awareness raising intervention, required cooperative engagement with and input from key stakeholders and experts. The most impactful and productive interventions are effective when "co-designed," and in this context, co-designed by the local community, victims who were successfully recruited by Enablers, Enablers themselves and other experts in human trafficking. Their collective input helped inform data collection sources and methods and refined our learnings and the resulting pilot intervention. We worked with select community influencers to help refine our hypotheses and engagements. This engagement simultaneously served to educate and create buy-in from local community leaders to ensure that generated interventions were both impactful and sustainable.

a. As such, the research began with a Methodology Workshop which invited a cross-section of community leaders from Oredo LGA (i.e., government, law enforcement, market women/mothers, pastors, etc.), survivors who were recruited by Enablers in their community, experts in trafficking in Nigeria and other

stakeholders (i.e., NAPTIP, ETAHT, etc.). In all, we successfully hosted thirty (30) stakeholders who provided a variety of perspectives on the subject matter, provided input on how best to source the data (who to interview, how to roll-out surveys, etc.), highlighted pitfalls to avoid and proffered their initial hypothesis/understanding of Enablers in the community. The Workshop also helped to inform elements of local nuances/references that were included in the subsequent two-day training of field workers and researchers. Most importantly, we were able to tweak our primary research tools (surveys/questionnaires, interview guides, etc.) and protocols (who to target, when, methods, etc.).

- b. At the conclusion of the data gathering phase, a Validation Workshop involving the aforementioned key stakeholders was conducted in an effort to review and confirm the findings from the research. Their input helped refine our perspectives/ synthesis and generated areas of the research that should be highlighted. Based on the input from the participants, our preliminary Report was finalized. This approach helped create buy-in for our interventions and provided initial community publicity for the Project.
- c. The partners subsequently piloted an Awareness Intervention ("Each One, Reach One"), based on the results of the research, that targeted potential victims of human trafficking by pairing them up with trained survivor advocates. Additional surveys were conducted immediately after the intervention to gauge audience learning and to develop strategic insights for future interventions.
- d. Following the Awareness Intervention, the partners conducted a Dissemination Meeting which gathered thirty (30) stakeholders (including those invited to the Methodology and Validation Workshops) to share the final findings and recommendations concerning the research.

(ii) Mixed Methodology Research:

The data generated was sourced via a combination of existing research on Enablers (from other sectors/regions), surveys that gathered quantitative data as well as KIIs and FGDs that enhanced the data with qualitative perspectives. The outreach also utilized a "snowball" approach which surveyed or interviewed participants recommended by other stakeholders, survivors, etc.

Ultimately, the research was generated by a total of ten (10) field workers and specialized consultants who were trained on the subject of sex trafficking in Edo State, on how to professionally administer the research tools and utilize the instruments and on how to

adequately source the required data from the local community. Working with a cross-section of the community, a total of 3,600 respondents were surveyed and a total of 84 persons participated in the KIIs (24)/FGDs (6 groups of 10) that were conducted over a period of six (6) months.

The output of field work and desk-review included data and examples of prevalence and recruitment for sex trafficking; community and government responses to sex trafficking; local, context specific information on reported cases of sex trafficking in persons, victims, and prosecutions; community norms, behaviors, incentives that promote sex trafficking; framework of the nature, motivations and actions of Enablers; successful examples of community/government responses and/or community identified approaches/solutions on what could be done to reduce vulnerability of victims, increase risk to traffickers and avoid/overcome the tactics of Enablers.

(iii) Reporting and Communication:

This Research Report was produced to share the PTP Project's findings as well as recommendations. The partners worked with consultants to ensure that the quality of the data was verified and that analyses from the surveys, FGDs and KIIs were generated as prescribed and that narrative drafts were generated. This Report was published in book form and disseminated to the broader anti-trafficking sector.

(iv) Monitoring and Evaluation:

Quality control over the Project and in particular, the data collection, was critical for the success of the PTP Project. Regarding the field work, there was ongoing oversight, with field workers and consultants sharing their findings along the way. A specialized consultant oversaw and monitored activities, while evaluating the work of the other consultants. Additionally, the partners monitored the output of the findings to ensure that quality learnings were generated.

Chapter Two

Research Findings

How This Report is Organized

The findings of this Report have been organized into three (3) sections which elucidate the following:

- 1. Awareness and Prevalence of Sex Trafficking: the goal was to evaluate the extent to which the Oredo LGA community, an infamous hot-bed for trafficking in Nigeria, understood the dangers, criminality and dynamics of sex trafficking;
- 2. Demographics/Profile of Enablers: this section highlights the attributes of Enablers and attempts to provide a data driven profile of the recruiters based on local community members' perceptions; and
- **3. Perceptions of Interventions:** notwithstanding a growing number of ongoing government and local CSO interventions in Oredo LGA, it was imperative to determine which were effectively reaching the local community and which the local community itself recommended to successfully address the subject matter.

Based on these findings, both conclusions and recommendations have been synthesized in the final section of the Report.

Demographic information on the respondents can be found in the Appendix.

2.1 Awareness and Prevalence of Sex Trafficking

Awareness is High

According to the survey results, 99.3% of the 3,600 Respondents we surveyed in Oredo LGA indicated that they had heard of/were familiar with the term 'sex trafficking.' 96.9% understood that being "forced, deceived, threatened or coerced by someone to work or sell your

body for money in Nigeria or overseas" amounts to sex trafficking. ²⁴ 92.3% understood that it is a crime. ²⁵ In fact, the overwhelming majority of Respondents (97.5%) believe that sex trafficking is "very bad," "condemnable" or "bad." Additionally, a majority (60.1%) also were aware that there were penalties for recruiting someone into sex trafficking. And as one participant noted in the FGDs, victims are usually unaware of the gravity of what they are getting into until it becomes too late and they are too deeply entrenched in it.

Sources of Awareness

When asked how they came to learn about sex trafficking, it appears that television/radio, word of mouth from friends or colleagues, and news outlets overwhelmingly serve as the top three effective sources of information on the subject. ²⁸

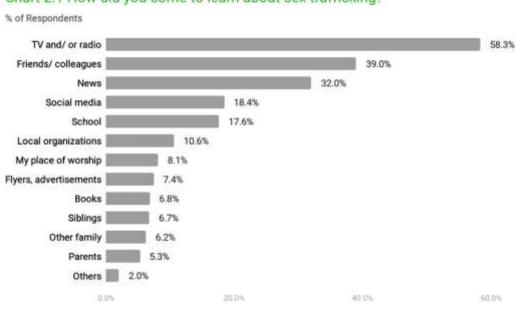


Chart 2.1 How did you come to learn about sex trafficking?

 $^{^{23}}$ Survey Questionnaire, Question 1.

²⁴ Survey Questionnaire, Question 4.

²⁵ Survey Questionnaire, Question 2.

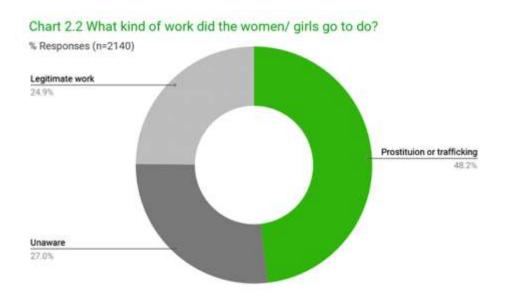
²⁶ Survey Questionnaire, Question 6.

²⁷ Survey Questionnaire, Question 3.

²⁸ Survey Questionnaire, Question 5.

Prevalence in the Community - Recruiting is Somewhat Common

The majority (69.2%) of Respondents believe that it is common for girls/women in their local community to be recruited to travel abroad. Of those who knew someone who traveled abroad, nearly half (48.2%) believe prostitution or sex-trafficking was involved.



In fact, nearly 1 in 4 Respondents (22.6%) indicated that they personally knew someone who had been successfully recruited into sex trafficking. Some Respondents even indicated that they had been recruited themselves. According to those Respondents who knew of someone who had been successfully recruited, 69.8% indicated that there were others who had simultaneously pressured the woman/girl to travel overseas. 32

Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is noteworthy that some Respondents in the FGDs indicated that sex trafficking was on the decline in Edo. According to them, the influx of repatriating returnees from Libya since the end of 2017 has served to raise awareness concerning the perils

²⁹ Survey Questionnaire, Question 7.

³⁰ Survey Questionnaire, Question 10.

³¹ Survey Questionnaire, Question 16.

³² Survey Questionnaire, Question 20.

of unsafe migration. They believe that the conditions of the returnees, which they have been able to observe with their own eyes, serves to discourage intending migrants.

Contributing to the contention that there has been a significant reduction in sex trafficking in Edo State, a participant at one of the FGDs noted:

The rate of sex trafficking between 2017 and 2019 has reduced up to 40%. This is because, in 2017, it was at its peak, at 100%, but now with all the advocacies, prosecutions and legal actions against human trafficking and other accomplices, it has come down to about 40%.

Perceived Motivations for Traveling Abroad

Of those Respondents who knew someone who had been successfully recruited to travel abroad, the top 2 motivations that they perceived for migrating related to financial aspirations.

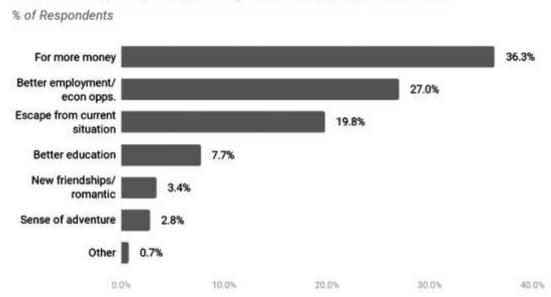


Chart 2.3 Why do you think they decided to travel overseas?

Interestingly, Respondents appeared to create a distinction between *safe*, *legal migration* as an accepted social norm/practice in Oredo LGA and *sex trafficking and unsafe migration*, both of which Respondents overwhelmingly rejected as an acceptable social norn/practice, ³³ even though both are prevalent.

This posture was corroborated by the FGDs, with the following quote from a participant:

A taboo cannot be accepted as a social norm/culture.

Push Factors Outlined by Respondents:

We further explored the most highly rated motivations through FGDs and KIIs to develop a richer understanding, as summarized below.

1. Poverty. Participants in KIIs noted that community members believe that poverty is one of the propelling factors that renders potential victims vulnerable to trafficking. Some participants noted that traveling abroad for prostitution amounts to a way out of poverty.³⁴

Consistent with the foregoing, one interviewee affirmed that:

Poverty is the major factor. There is no job. Some of our children went to school; some learnt work, but there is no job opportunity and power supply for skilled workers.

2. Ignorance. Participants from the FGDs indicated that of community stakeholders also believe that ignorance concerning the dangers of sex trafficking serves as a major push factor. One focus group participant explained:

...one of the push factors is ignorance. The child may not be from a poor home but because he has not been to the city and is not enlightened and somebody comes to sell the idea, he may just fall for it.

This finding also correlates with the March 2019 Perception Study conducted by the ETAHT, entitled *The Perception of Edo People on International and Irregular Migration*. There, the majority of Respondents (91.6%) indicated that their communities do not support unsafe international migration, but agreed that regular, safe migration was an accepted social norm in Edo (94.9%). https://etaht.org/uploads/resources/ETAHT-FINAL-The-perception-of-Edo-People-on-International-

https://etaht.org/uploads/resources/ETAHT-FINAL-The-perception-of-Edo-People-on-International and-Irregular-Migration.pdf.

This finding correlates with the March 2019 Perception Study conducted by the ETAHT, entitled *The Perception of Edo People on International and Irregular Migration*. There, the majority of Respondents (93.8%) agreed that it was generally acceptable in Edo State for girls to be trafficked overseas for prostitution. https://etaht.org/uploads/resources/ETAHT-FINAL-The-perception-of-Edo-People-on-International-and-Irregular-Migration.pdf.

In addition to poverty and ignorance, lack of education and lack of exposure to relevant knowledge concerning the dangers of human trafficking and unsafe migration were also identified as key push factors for vulnerability to recruiters and human trafficking.

3. Family Pressure on Potential Victims to Financially Support. Survey data indicates that 97.2% of Respondents in Oredo LGA agree that their family members believe that prostitution abroad is a fast lane to wealth. More specifically, 98.7% agreed that parents mount pressure on their children (as potential victims) by often applauding the apparent wealth generated by known victims of trafficking, while mocking their own children. FGDs also confirmed that as a result, potential victims' families may pressure their own children by regularly making comparisons with the potential victim's peers who have traveled abroad and appear to be succeeding. For example, one participant in the FGDs noted that it was common for some parents to express the following sentiment:

I saw Ngozi. Ngozi went [abroad] and after 2 years she came back. Look at her mother's house! Look at her father, they are now enjoying. Why can you not do it?

Another participant in the FGDs noted

:

So they will always be under their parents and their parents will always put pressure because they want to always meet up. Some other people have been doing it, so you are not the only one. They will even tell you, 'you are not the only one,' adding that 'that's why I gave birth to you. Look at you! You no get good head! See the other one. She get better head. You no dey see your mates? No be the same time they born you and him? See the car wey en buy give en papa! Wetin you buy come give me?' ³⁶

Discussions from FGDs/KIIs also revealed that although both parents of potential victims may mount pressure on them to consent to being trafficked abroad, mothers are more often implicated in these situations. In this context, it could be said that some mothers actually serve as Enablers themselves, often seeking out traffickers to finance their daughters' travel abroad. Attesting to the role of mothers, another key informant noted that:

 $^{^{35}}$ 76.4% of Respondents from the ETAHT March 2019 Perception Study noted above agreed that most parents encourage at least one child in their families to seek employment abroad.

Translation from pidgin English: You do not have a good head on your shoulders. Look at [someone else's child]. She has a good head on her shoulders. Can't you see your age mates? Were you not born around the same time? Look at the car he bought his father. What have you bought for me?

This issue of traveling in Edo State is fueled/planned by jealous, greedy mothers without the knowledge of the father. Most fathers only get to find out when the daughter has gotten abroad and calls to say where she is, but won't say what she is doing (work).

Another key informant attested to the reality of family pressure amounting to a push factor by indicating:

Imagine when your parents will keep telling you that 'your mates are making it abroad, but you are still here eating my food.' When the pressure is too much, one day, the girl can just pick up her bag and agree to travel out.

Several FGD participants described a situation whereby families may come together to actively nominate one child to travel abroad in order to financially redeem the family members left behind at home. This notion of *self sacrifice* (resulting from societal pressure to keep up with their peers), i.e., where one female child willingly volunteers to be trafficked abroad to work in prostitution in order to redeem her family from suffering, poverty, lack and deprivation, was referred to as commonplace. FGD participants indicated that this *sacrifice* was often deemed the only means of survival for families who found themselves yielding to the pressures of society. To elucidate this notion, one FGD participant explained:

So the girl decides that instead of my mum, my siblings, my dad to die in hunger, to die in suffering, let me do something. So, in that process, they can take decisions, let me go for this to sacrifice myself. So for me, sometimes, I don't see it as bad because somebody has to sacrifice himself.

4. Status Symbol. Many local stakeholders agreed that the desire for prestige translates into a form of family pressure. As such, societal expectations therefore serve as a primary psychological push factor that leaves victims vulnerable to becoming trafficked by Enablers.

Participants observed that upon arrival in Europe, these 'sacrificial lambs' will often endeavour to portray, on social media, a life of joy abroad, as opposed to the bondage they are actually facing in sex slavery. Selfie-style photographs, against the backdrop of luxury vehicles that belong to strangers, are often commonplace on the Facebook or Instagram statuses of such women trapped in debt bondage abroad. These "fake statuses" often serve to incentivise their peers in Edo State to also make the move abroad via unsafe migration.

5. General Insecurity and Poor Infrastructure. General insecurity and the uncertainty of the Nigerian economy were also acknowledged as push factors by community stakeholders. In fact, 97% of survey Respondents admitted that there was simply no

assurance concerning the stability of the Nigerian economy, as reflected by the depreciating value of the Nigerian Naira against foreign currencies. In addition, the absence of basic infrastructure (good roads, consistent electricity, etc.) to potentially support young entrepreneurial efforts, was also identified as a push factor by 97% of survey Respondents.

6. Laziness and Greed. In addition to the above listed push factors, others included laziness

and greed on the part of the would-be migrant. More specifically, 97.4% of Respondents interviewed admitted that laziness is a push factor that renders victims vulnerable to recruiters, in light of the "get rich quick" mentality that plagues some aspects of the community. In addition, 98.8% believe that members of their community are generally greedy and gullible. When that laziness is combined with what the community has termed "greed," it pushes would-be migrants to travel overseas where they believe one does not have to work hard and can easily become rich.

Informed of Routes and Destinations

Through FGDs/KIIs, it became clear that those who knew someone that had been successfully recruited were not only knowledgeable about trafficking routes from Edo, but were also knowledgeable of the fact that Edo State is also utilized as a transit hub.

According to a participant who had been a victim of sex trafficking:

I observed that most of these persons who travel are not actually from [Edo]. The Bini people who were trafficked with me amounted to less than 3%. People come from all over Nigeria to prepare for their journey from Edo State."

Regarding international destinations, participants noted that primary destination countries for traffickers with their victims have long included Italy, Spain, Germany and France. Participants agreed that the Edo people (in general) seem to maintain a working knowledge of the historical trafficking/smuggling route from Nigeria to Italy. According to one participant:

Movement started from Belgium. Once they shut that path, they developed a new one in Spain. Morocco provided access to Spain when they shut Libya. Tunisia now opened up to Italy. For some, it was through Morocco. Recently, some traffickers are now trafficking to France.

Another FGD participant noted that:

...[traffickers] have also developed another route to Dubai, Oman, Middle East countries, even China.

FGD participants also indicated that traffickers who traffic victims overland are able to beat security checks in various transit counties by timed movement.

One FGD participant offered a solution: the government needs to block the borders.

Knowledgeable of the Players Involved in Trafficking

Participants in FGDs/KIIs describe a network that includes a secondary intermediary, i.e., "guides," who help migrants navigate their travel by land. These guides operate in relays, such that they hand their victims over from one stage to the next as they travel from Edo out of Nigeria, depending on the route.

One such transit country is Mali. In Mali, victims are handed over to other guides called 'gid', 'tuwarette' or 'bet' in the Malian language. Although the lingua franca of Malians is French, most of these guides are illiterate and therefore speak the more common national language, Bambara. Notably, participants added that some of these gids are stationed in Kano (northern Nigeria) and that with their help, currency-exchange is performed for migrants/trafficking victims moving by land out of Nigeria.

Gids also provide the much needed orientation for migrants and trafficking victims concerning the journey they are about to embark on. The orientation generally includes instructions on how to move, anticipated expenses that may be incurred at some point in the journey and how to avoid being robbed by armed robbers (there is a 50-60% likelihood that victims will meet bandits or robbers).

One Respondent noted that the orientation on how to survive the trip is not free of charge, especially when some guides accompany their victims to the intended destination. To Nigerian migrants, these guides are colloquially referred to as *burgers*. They will often either accompany the victim from their home country to their destination country but may, along the way, make them available for sale if and when they run out of money. The fact that *burgers* often accompany their victims from the origin country differentiates them from ordinary *gids*.

It was also gathered that these unsafe-migrants become trapped in debt bondage once they arrive at the destination country and are thus forced to 'work' in an effort to pay their trafficking sponsors who are generally referred to as 'madams', 'oga', 'boss', or 'sponsorer.' Victims may only gain their freedom after completing the payment, a process that can take 2-4 years.

2.2 Descriptions of Enablers/Recruiters

2.2.1 Types of Enablers

Enablers (recruiters) are actors who facilitate the process of trafficking by serving as the "middle man" between the potential victim and trafficker. One Respondent provided the following

general description that was similarly echoed by others throughout the course of this research:

The recruiter is basically the person on the street doing the convincing to get new victims into the network; that is working for the traffickers; it could be a man or woman or even the grand-mother (age does not limit who the recruiter could be).

Some Enablers even go the extra mile of protecting their investment after recruiting because, as the same Respondent noted:

...they follow trafficked girls one on one until they get to Europe.

Data from the FGDs and KIIs revealed that recruiters in Oredo LGA generally fall into two categories that we have termed: the paid **Professional Recruiter** and the unpaid Helper **Recruiter** who may encourage and/or provide the motivation for the potential victim to seek 'greener pastures' abroad. Both are known by the community and may operate as *physical* Enablers or as what we have termed *digital* Enablers.

- **Physical Enablers**. Physical Enablers are local recruiters who operate in-person within the local community and facilitate the connection of potential victims to traffickers in varying destinations.
- **Digital Enablers**. Digital Enablers are recruiters who, with the incorporation of technology, are emerging to recruit potential victims of sex trafficking on various online platforms, such as Facebook and WhatsApp. These online platforms are now being used to ease and facilitate connectivity between potential victims and traffickers in varying destinations. This approach eliminates the need for physical Enablers, as confirmed by a reformed Enabler during a KII:

[The business of recruiting] is now complicated...

According to the reformed Enabler, more potential victims are becoming connected online, thus rendering in-person services in the local community unnecessary.

The following elucidates the community's understanding of how both Professional or Helper Enablers operate, whether digitally or in-person.

The Professional Recruiter

Professional Recruiters work directly with high level traffickers (and often with organized criminal networks) and can be based either in Nigeria or outside the country (often in Europe or in other African countries such as Libya or Niger). Those based in Nigeria have direct

connections in Europe and typically work with and for various traffickers (who tend to be women) to recruit women/girls from Benin to Europe. The research identified five categories of Professional Recruiters in Oredo LGA.

1. Purray Boys'

Professional Recruiters may be based overseas, in Europe or Libya for example, and regularly travel to Benin solely for the purpose of recruiting young women and girls into the cross-border trafficking chain. One example of this category of Professional Recruiters include what the community refers to as 'Purray Boys,' young men who are married to wealthy traffickers overseas, i.e., Madams. Purray Boys have been known to return back to Benin anywhere from monthly to at least once annually for recruiting purposes in an effort to bolster their wives' income. According to one Participant during a FGD:

It's like a chain-you have the scouts [in Benin], then their own brother that is either based [overseas] or coming down here- he is also being a middle man because when the brother scouts for the girls here [in Benin], he [hands them over] to the brother that is coming down from abroad. That one would take that girl and go and sell to a neutral person over there.

2. Burgers', 'Trolleys', or 'Connection Man'

Another set of Professional Recruiters are those who specialize in the Libya-Morocco smuggling route. They are well versed on the route to Libya and maintain connections in Nigeria, Libya, Morocco and in Europe. Colloquially, they are known in the community as 'burgers,' 'trolleys' or 'connection man.' These are usually young men who return to Benin after successfully recruiting and then smuggling young women from Edo State to Libya. Respondents indicate that once awareness began to increase in the urban areas of Edo (such as Benin) and recruiting became more arduous, burgers immediately pivoted and set their sights on rural areas where awareness remains low. According to Respondents, burgers often conceal the inherent danger involved in embarking on the smuggling route to Libya. Rather, the potentially deadly voyage is painted in the most promising light in an effort to convince potential victims that they are making the right decision for themselves and/or their families.

It should be noted that *burgers* may simultaneously work with members of the community who are jobless to handle aspects of the job that may be inconvenient or too tedious. These community members are not targets for recruitment themselves but strategically work to connect *burgers* to their target population.

In endeavouring to describe the dynamics and inner workings of that relationship, one informant stated:

The burger will send them to look for passengers. He can give you little [money]. You know, because of the economic problem here, you can give me N10,000 to look for somebody for you. I will do it because I don't have a job. That is one way.

3. Voodoo/Juju Priests and Pastors

Native doctors (voodoo priests) who practice traditional "juju" medicine or what have termed "black magic," make up yet another category of Professional Recruiters. They are known to recruit vulnerable young women on behalf of traffickers and then take them through 'oath taking ceremonies' in their shrines. The ceremony may require that the victim produce some of her pubic hair, fingernails and underwear. Some have been asked to drink the blood of chickens or goats. The young women are then required to swear an oath of loyalty to their traffickers. Should they choose to break the oath, they will be at the mercy of the gods who may take their lives or cause harm to them or to their families. In an effort to encourage the women to fully participate in the ceremony, they are told that the process will serve to 'fortify' them for the journey ahead.

Some pastors are also very well entrenched as Professional Recruiters in the trafficking chain. Those who have connections with traffickers in Europe are known by the community to recruit victims from their congregation and thereafter, "spiritually" prepare them for the smuggling journey into Europe. However, because most of these pastors do not represent the tenets of their faith, they are often regarded as "fake" or "spiritual pastors" who prioritize their profits over the spiritual sheep they have been called to serve.

A male discussant, a pastor himself, decried the situation in describing another pastor friend who abandoned his moral compass and sought what he referred to as 'ungodliness instead of righteousness.' According to him, "our interest now is no longer moral value, it is now about monetary value."

4. Scouters

Professional Recruiters also include scouters, local recruiters who conduct on-the-ground assessments of potential victims before connecting them to traffickers abroad. These scouters are the middle person between the victims' Madam overseas and their mothers who they left back home in Nigeria. As the young women leave Benin, these scouters often provide them with a list of items that must be sent back to them as payment for their services. Until the women fulfil that agreement (in addition to payment of any debt to their traffickers), scouters will block their access to their mothers who have no way of contacting their daughters other than through the scouters. Scouters are Enablers who do not accompany their victims on the journey. Rather, they may link victims to *burgers* or to a *connection man* who is in a position to do so.

Notably, some scouters have been known to recruit their spouses or girlfriends by the use of deception and force and without their knowledge. They then receive a "kick-back" payment from the traffickers.

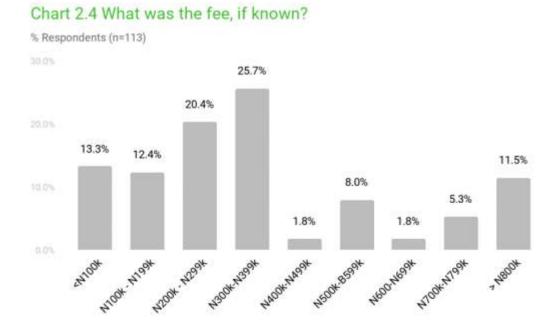
5. Former Trafficking Victims

Professional Recruiters are also former trafficking victims who, after paying off their debts to their Madams in Europe, may return back to Benin to begin recruiting victims, either to initiate their own illicit businesses or on behalf of their former Madams. Flanked by their "experience," it is noteworthy that the same deceptive messaging that was used to deceive them into trafficking is employed to deceive others. An interviewee/source from the NAPTIP noted that:

In most cases, the enablers might be victims, and when they finish their payments they want to recruit their own people. Another group of enablers are the ones that recruit for their madams, they go to the villages to recruit and bring to their madam who will put the victims in debt bondage just like external sex trafficking.

Payments to Professional Recruiters Can Be Lucrative

When Respondents were surveyed on whether or not the Professional Recruiters received payments, i.e., "Do you know if the recruiter received any kind of recruiter's fee?," 26.1% responded in the affirmative. A smaller number of respondents (113) indicated a recruiting fee that they were aware of, varying widely in Nigerian Naira, U.S. Dollars or E.U. Euros. Approximatley 46% of those Respondents estimated that fees were in the range of N200,000 - N400,000. Fees were cited as low as N50,000 (~USD 130) to N5,000,000 (~USD 14,000).



Research results also indicate that Professional Recruiters may have multiple streams of income that extend beyond the fee received from traffickers. One stream may flow from the exorbitant fees earned from the sale of recruitment applications to potential victims, notwithstanding the fact that recruiters are often paid an advance by traffickers who may reside in Libya or in Europe. These fraudulent applications are often purchased by potential victims on credit and must be repaid by any means necessary upon arrival at the destination country.

Recruiters who come from Europe to recruit unsuspecting victims back in Benin usually enjoy an all expense paid trip financed by the trafficker. In addition to having their expenses covered, they are also given a discretionary spending allowance that can be spent lavishly in an effort to convince and/or deceive would-be victims of the possibilities of Europe. Similarly, recruiters who leave Libya to return to Benin for the purpose of recruiting (*burgers*), are usually given target numbers to hit, i.e., a certain number of recruited victims to deliver to their traffickers. Again, all expense paid trips and additional spending allowance serve as incentives to facilitate their operations in Benin City. These discretionary funds amount to additional income for the recruiter.

Other streams of income include a percentage of the overall debt that a victim is required to repay the trafficker for advancing the cost of the trip, no matter how deadly, to Europe. Finally, Professional Recruiters also receive 'thank you packages' from their trafficking Madams for a 'job well done.' These funds guarantee enough capital to fund new trafficking rings and/or keep current rings ongoing. One key informant confirmed, during the interview, that "[recruiters] actually have their own benefits and percentages."

• "Helpers"/Unpaid Recruiters

Helpers are generally unpaid recruiters who serve to first encourage or convince young women and girls in their circles into seeking 'greener pastures' abroad before linking their victims to traffickers abroad. It is noteworthy that this category of recruiters are often naive concerning the intricacies of the trafficking chain, are generally not connected to organized criminal networks and generally unaware of the inherent dangers that lay in wait for their recruits.

To a large extent, they are genuinely motivated to help a young woman who they see suffering from abject poverty find a better life abroad. These individuals often maintain ties to someone in Europe who may have expressed interest in 'helping' their wards travel abroad. The research indicated that these *Helper* Recruiters may or may not be closely associated with or related to the recruit. They are sometimes strangers, but more often, mutual/close friends or immediate/distant relatives such as mothers, sisters, spouses and aunts. Motivated by the illusion of 'greener pastures' abroad, but unwilling to make the journey themselves, these *Helpers* are hopeful that sending the victims abroad will somehow serve to bring them fortune and wealth.

Some Respondents noted that even some "fake" Pastors occasionally fall into this category, convincing young congregants to embark on the journey with their support and 'spiritual backing.' Interestingly, although unpaid, some "Pastors" have been known to actually send some victims to native doctors (juju priests) to provide additional 'spiritual backing.'

It is noteworthy that many community members in Oredo LGA consider both categories of Enablers/recruiters to be supportive agents of change, *helpers* even, who may be God-sent to lend a helping hand to those enslaved by poverty. Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is important to note that some of these *Helper* Recruiters may be unknowingly enabling trafficking (as aiders and abettors). During the FGD with community leaders, a participant explained precisely how many people in Oredo LGA enable trafficking without remotely understanding its intricacies. He cited a clear example:

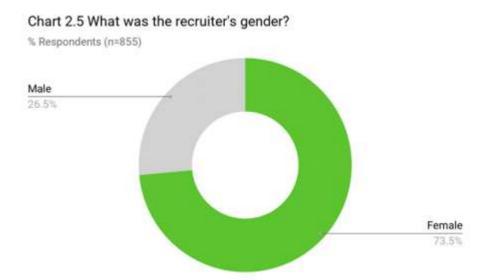
These people who are scouting for the young ones are mostly from our brothers and sisters [in Benin]. They call their own brothers and say, 'Ah, I need three girls o. I will be coming to Nigeria and I will carry 3 girls back to that place.' Now, those brothers and sisters they called will meet some of their friends and introduce [the idea] that "my sister dey come from abroad o and I go like make she carry your daughter go abroad. My sister get company for that side; she dey wash clothes. I wan make your daughter go dey help am for there dey wash clothes or dey help am dey cook." Them go say, "no be ashawo them dey go do o, so make you no think say na ashawo your pikin go dey do. Your pikin no be ashawo, so she no go do ashawo kaka. "My sister no dey do that kind work o." "

2.2.2 The Demographics: Gender, Age, Relationship to Potential Victims & Motivations

Gender

Community stakeholders indicate that both men and women work as Enablers of sex trafficking in Oredo LGA. More specifically, however, survey data reveals that of the 855 (23.8%) Respondents who responded to knowing someone who had been recruited, 73.5% noted that recruiters are overwhelmingly women that hail from the local community.

Translation from pidgin English: My sister who lives abroad is coming to visit. I would like for her to take your daughter with her when she returns. She has a company there that is engaged in washing clothes. I would like for your daughter to assist her in washing clothes or even cooking food once she returns home." They will even add, without any confirmation, that "your daughter will not be forced into prostitution so please don't think that is what she will be doing overseas. Your daughter is not a woman in prostitution here and so she cannot be a woman in prostitution abroad. My sister does not do that kind of "work.

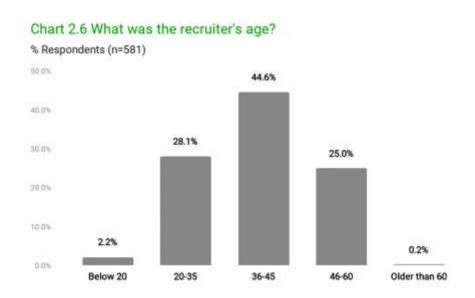


It is noteworthy that Respondents surmised that women are more likely involved because it is easier for a woman to convince another woman to give up her daughter for trafficking. The basic assumption is:

If a man tells you that he wants to take your daughter, you would be suspicious, but if a woman comes to tell you, you would know it is woman to woman. It is mostly run by women, even many of them which I have seen and I know are women, few are men. Men can do the scouting, but the real ones that come are women. I know those ones well.

Age Range

Based on the survey Respondents' perception, recruiters' age varies but the majority are between the age of 36-45. The age distribution below would indicate that they are older than the potential victims they recruit (who are typically 15-25).

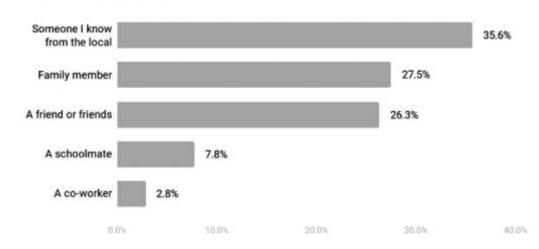


Relationship to Potential Victims

From a sample of 3600 Respondents, 838 (28.3%) Respondents noted that they were aware of cases where someone was recruited into trafficking or forced into prostitution. The Respondents knew the potential victim(s) as someone from their local community but also knew family members and/or friends who were recruited.

Chart 2.7 Who are you aware of that was recruited? (if multiple cases, answer for each case of type of case)

% Based on total responses (n=767)



Among those who were aware and could recall who the recruiter was, 64.0% indicated that the recruiter/Enabler was someone from their local community or someone they knew directly. Only 25% believed the recruiters were complete strangers.

Chart 2.8 Who was the recruiter? % Based on Responses (n=862)

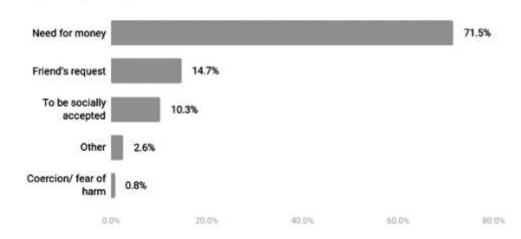
Multiple choices	Percent
(a) Stranger	25.5%
(b) Travel agency	5.22%
(c) Employment agency	3.6%
(d) Friends	12.5%
(e) Family member	24.3%
(f) School mate	1.7%
(g) Someone in the local Community	24.9%
(h) Other	2.2%

Motivations

When asked about the motivations of recruiters, Respondents who knew someone that had been recruited overwhelmingly perceived recruiters to be driven by finances ("need for money"). Notably, they believe recruiters are willing agents and not victims of threats or other coercive tactics that are typically associated with an organized network/ gangs.







2.2.3 Modus Operandi, Schemes & Targets

Modus Operandi

Based on research results, there is no one single profile of an Enabler. Although there may be some similar characteristics, the defining traits of Enablers in Oredo LGA can be gleaned from the manner in which they recruit.

According to questionnaire data, the primary messaging employed by recruiters to ensnare potential victims, their families and/or other members of the community is the promise of financial security and liberation from poverty.

Expanding on their primary mode of operation (promises of financial security and liberation from poverty), Respondents noted that recruiters often refer to unverifiable 'success' stories of other victims, inaccurately painting the full experience of sexual exploitation. One key informant noted that it was not unheard of for recruiters to make these sort of representations:

Josephine is abroad and has brought some money for me o. You want to remain in this condition? Wouldn't you, I mean, bring out your daughter, and let us help you?

Schemes

1. Conducting 'Due Diligence' and 'Background Checks

It is noteworthy that Enablers appear to conduct their own form of due diligence, i.e., conducting an informal background check, into the financial status of a potential victim and/or her family before making their pitch. Once a family appears to be entrenched in poverty, a plan is devised to approach the family in a manner that will be most productive. Each approach is tailor made and adapted to address the potential victim's primary financial concerns and/or motivations. According to one key informant, "Their tricks abound... you track them on one, they bring out another."

A story shared by a male participant in a FGD was typical, according to the other discussants in the group, and elucidates the point:

The major tactic they use for the ladies is that they find the poorest among the society and they go there. I had an encounter with my aunt, my mum's sister, who has 3 girls; no male child. At that point, she was not working, her husband was not working. They were living on the survival of God. A man from my neighbourhood came to her and said: 'you have three daughters that can give you money. Just give me only one. My sister just came back from Italy and she wants to carry your child [back with her]. You will not pay one Naira. Just give me the permission to carry your child.' My auntie then asked: 'Of my three daughters, which one you wan carry go?' He responded that he would take the last born, that is the youngest and at that point, the youngest was about 16 years then. The mother refused. The man [insisted], he even came with the sister that is a trafficker. They came with a lot of items like bags of rice, a gallon of oil and cash. All just to convince this woman. The mother stood her ground [and refused].

2. Demanding Secrecy But Providing Minimal Details

Respondents noted that secrecy is another tactic utilized by recruiters. Some Respondents described a pattern whereby recruiters urge their potential victims to keep the possibility of their travel abroad secret.

It's one of the hallmarks to know them. They will say, 'keep it secret, otherwise they will be jealous of you.'

Another reason why recruiters urge their victims to keep their travel plans a secret is so that they cannot be dissuaded or forcefully prevented from being trafficked.

Most times, the families are not aware of their children's journey. They will call their families when they get to their destination, mostly Libya. Some later returned. Some lost their lives, and some succeeded.

In addition, while demanding secrecy from the potential victim, recruiters intentionally provide minimal details concerning the journey abroad. According to one Respondent:

They come to you and tell you they want to carry your daughter, sister or brother abroad. What are you going to do there? They don't tell you the implication of what they do. They expose our own children to all types of hardship, to any type of life, to any type of society they meet there and [our children] don't cry back to us to tell us that this is what they are passing through because there is nobody to guide them.

3. Building Trust and Legitimacy

Furthermore, recruiters make concerted efforts to win the trust of a prospective victim. There are various ways Enablers go about building trust and legitimacy.

Gifts: Recruiters often shower money and gifts on the unsuspecting victim. As one participant described it, "they will start buying you things, and give you money and ask you to use the money to buy this, buy that. And then meet me at a certain point. And they will never tell you the truth. They will not demand money; they will be the ones spending, a lot of spending. Anything you say, before you know it, they will buy everything for you." This excessive show of wealth often lures the victim further into their net of deception.

Offering Free 'Help': Recruiters often poise themselves as helpers to the family, offering to provide assistance and a way out of abject poverty. They may also use their connections abroad (to someone who, unknown to the victim, is a trafficker) to legitimize their claims of 'greener pastures' abroad. When in actuality, "unknown to you, they are enslaving your family."

Offering 'Guidance': A participant revealed that he recently discovered that when recruiters come across a young person desperate to travel abroad, recruiters encourage him/her to join a cult or gang, as their members are generally connected to the trafficking chain (within and outside Nigeria) and can provide protection along the smuggling route into Europe if and when necessary.

Offering "Customized Packages": Participants also noted that customized 'packages' are sometimes offered to potential victims who are seeking to, for example, further their skills in a certain area that the recruiter may become aware of, following the 'due diligence' or 'background check' previously conducted. By utilizing a form of "motivational interviewing," the resulting 'opportunity' abroad (as a top chef, a model, etc.) may appear even more appealing, as it presents as one that will further the potential victim's personal goals.

The strategy they use for A might not be what they use for B, according to how they look at the house, that's how they play the game.

Highlighting Potential Victim's "Appearance": This tactic was highlighted by an FGD participant as one that is often utilized by recruiters, particularly 'fake' pastors, who prey on naive teenage girls who may be insecure and unexposed. Complimenting them as "beautiful" now and even "hot" once they travel abroad serves as a way for recruiters to encourage the recruit to let down her guard, particularly those seeking approval and attention. A female discussant during the FGD with churches and CSOs noted:

Even myself, seated here, I was approached by a Pastor! Yes, a pastor of a church and he was a Pastor who was...recruiting people: He started calling me, [asking] if I would be interested in traveling to Germany. Then, I had graduated-that was in 2008. The day I went to their church, they were doing prayers. He [pointed out] this girl and said, 'they are moving her to Germany next week; her papers are ready.' Then, I was slim, because slim girls were 'hot cake.' He told me everything; and that 'with this your stature, if you go to Germany, you [will be] brought in.

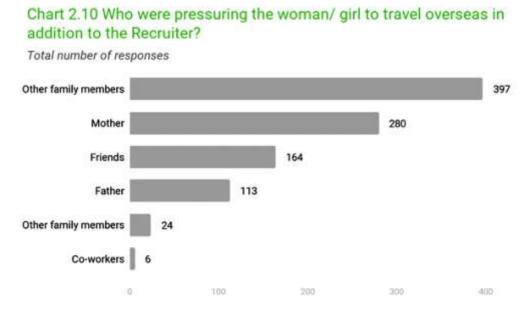
4. Targets

The Poorest and Most Vulnerable: As noted above, recruiters maintain working knowledge of their prospective victims and mainly target those that are financially insecure and desperate. Families that cannot afford to educate their children or provide three square meals a day are often targeted.

The Illiterate and Psychologically Weak/Naive: Significantly, Enablers appear to take advantage of those who are illiterate and who lack the requisite strength in will to resist their advances. One key informant avowed that "at most times, when you see [Enablers], a lot of them appear rather intelligent and they know how to work on your intelligence. If you are not strong willed, they will entice and convince you."

Mothers For Their Daughters: Furthermore, interviewees submitted that some Enablers approach the prospective victims' poor mothers with a proposal: "I want to take your daughter abroad to help me wash clothes, plates, etc." They will often lure the mother with gifts that she could never afford or with cash, prior to discussing their intent for her daughter(s).

Survey data indicates that of those who were aware of someone who was recruited, 69.8%% believed the victim received external pressure to go. When asked who pressured the woman/girl to travel overseas in addition to the recruiter, it was overwhelmingly a family member, with mothers representing the largest source of pressure (30% of Responses).



In addition, field reports showed that most interviewees pointed to parental pressure which results from praising the wealth of successfully trafficked women. This implies that much advocacy on the role of recruiters should be targeted at parents because recruiters basically work on the minds of parents to make recruitment easy especially for underage girls.

5. Formalizing the Agreement

Once potential victims agree to a recruiter's proposition, recruiters generally move quickly to introduce what appears to be an official "contract" and/or proceed with an oath-taking ceremony performed by a contracted native doctor (juju priest). This represents the final step in legitimizing the agreement. If necessary, coercion (particularly during the oath taking ceremony) is used to pressure victims into silence and submission. Making the agreement "official" also serves as a deterrent against cancellations, thus psychologically pressuring potential victims into proceeding.

Contract Forms: After prospective victims agree to the proposition, Enablers proceed to formalize the arrangement with a "contract," often with the consent of the victim's mother and/or other signatories.

Oaths: By and large, agreements sealed by oath-taking comprise a significant section of the recruiter's playbook in Oredo LGA. Oath-taking is considered the point of no return for both recruiters and the victims, as the agreement now has both financial and "spiritual" implications. Should a victim endeavour to back out of the agreement at this stage, traffickers, who are now in the picture, will readily shut that option down by demanding payment: "I bought you for 25 million and you must make my profit before you go!"

One male key informant confirmed:

...the recruiters promise the girls job opportunities abroad. They have an agreement with the recruiters, and in turn they swear an oath.

Corroborating the foregoing, he further stated:

If the agreement is not fulfilled, the girl will die. Most of them have died. Some are seriously ill as a result of sex trafficking.

2.2.4 Conditions That Allow for the Proliferation of Recruiting

Complex Immigration Regulations and Fees that Prohibit Safe Migration

According to participants and interviewees, the excessive regulatory processes (bureaucratic red tape) and exorbitant fee requirements that accompany safe, legal migration to Europe are ultimately prohibitive for the overwhelming percentage of those seeking to migrate safely. Accordingly, safe migration for would-be migrants living below the poverty line or in a lower economic class, is rendered a non-starter. Although unsafe migration is rife with danger, it presents itself as a quicker and more cost-effective option for many, including Enablers and traffickers, as well as trafficking victims who have the upfront costs for travel financed by a *sponsorer*.

It is important to note that Enablers, who are generally more adept with the requirements for safe, legal migration, leverage on the bureaucracies that saddle the endeavour to secure a valid visa. They understand that visa applications are accompanied by stringent requirements, such as robust financial statements and supporting documents, which most would-be migrants in lower economic brackets may not readily possess. To buttress the point, one participant in the FGDs admitted:

I said, these Enablers are taking advantage of the difficulty of others, so they want to become of assistance to you. That's what makes them a cartel. If there is nothing for them to assist you with, you can have your way by yourself and make your journey alone without the help of Enablers.

Community Complicity & Tolerance

Some Oredo community stakeholders contend that cross-border sex trafficking from Edo to Europe has become normalized because its remittances from the diaspora propel Edo's functioning economy. To this end, the deafening silence from those who should, historically, be taking a stance against it amounts to what can only be considered community complicity, cultural acceptance and tolerance of the illicit trade:

The community has been silent; nobody has said anything against it. The silence has come to mean that it is acceptable so when somebody comes to traffic your daughter, you feel like he is

doing you good because nobody has come to tell you that it's bad. And all they are [referring to] is testimony of people coming back and building beautiful houses, flashy cars everywhere. So you don't have the strong will to say 'no'; to say that it is wrong, since that has been the position of our young people in Edo State.

That silence and cultural acceptance are clear from an example referenced by a stakeholder who noted a random family's willingness to accept expensive gifts from their neighbour's daughter living abroad, knowing well that she did not complete primary school and is likely not in a position to be able to make such expensive purchases. However, no questions are asked. No inquiries are made about the source of her apparent wealth, even though the assumption is prostitution. Instead, a blind eye is turned and everyone carries on.

As another stakeholder put it,

You cannot work here in Nigeria, where we are blacks. Is it your illiteracy that you will use to go and work in a white man's country? If you say you are ignorant of the sex inside, you are not telling yourself the truth.

Stakeholders contend that matters have disintegrated to the point that almost every family in Oredo LGA aspires to have at least one member living abroad since prestige and recognition have become synonymous with that reality. Attesting to this development, one participant commented:

In fact, my family was highly respected by the community because my family had six children overseas and money was coming into the family regularly. So every family starts doing everything possible to make sure they send someone abroad by any means possible.

At the community level, recruiters take advantage of the community's tolerance and complicity, interpreting them as a show of support for their 'contributions' to the functioning economy of the state. According to one participant, this begs the question of whether, in addition to the local community, community leaders and traditional rulers (who should be taking a stand) are also benefiting from the proliferation of trafficking in the state. Rather than curb it, they are "encouraging it." The key informant further lamented:

The community is not doing anything to reduce it. The community members know the Enablers, but refuse to do the needful, so much so that anyone who tries to report them will be labeled a betrayer. I have not seen an Enabler or trafficker who has been dragged out by the community before, so the community is not doing anything in this regard.

Endemic Recruiting Locations

Quantitative data from the field revealed that there are several locations within Oredo LGA that have become "hot spots," i.e., areas where recruitment for sex trafficking is rife. Out of 761 opinion-counts of respondents who were aware of the venue of victims' recruitment, 26% stated Benin City and its environs, without noting any specific area. This justifies the popular notion that the city has become a major transit hub through which potential victims of sex trafficking are lured. Furthermore, 13% claimed they know where recruitment was endemic but did not disclose the locations. The unwillingness to disclose such locations among the respondents can be attributed to the pervasive psychology of risk perception and victimization associated with the illicit trade of sex trafficking. Also, 25% of the respondents listed a variety of areas within Benin Metropolis, including the victims' homes; 11% had no idea or could not recall where recruitment took place; Iyaro/New Benin/Ikpoba Axes were identified by 4%; Sakponba environ (4%); Uselu/Ugbowo Axes (about 2%); Airport Road and environ (6%); Sapele Road and environ (less than 1%); Ogida/Egor environ (less than 1%); and Ekehuan /Uzebu environ (about 3%). It is noteworthy that some respondents identified areas outside Edo State, such as: Auchi, Uromi, Agbor, Delta and Lagos States (about 2%).

It is noteworthy that discussions during FGDs with churches and CSOs also highlighted Upper Sakponba in Benin City and the town of Uromi as recruiting hot spots in Edo State. According to another participant:

...the truth is that those who are really moving the people, 80% of them, are in the Government Reserved Area (GRA). But as far as people who you can trolley now or agents, the guys who are picking kids from houses, they are everywhere, but ...[Upper Sakponba] is a major zone.

Online Recruiting

As the global community has made advancements in technology, traffickers and Enablers have done the same, moving certain aspects of their business online. Over the last few years, Participants have observed a new wave of recruiting on social media, particularly on WhatsApp, Instagram and Facebook Victims overseas with "success" stories will often post their selfie photographs on social media, rendering jealous those who were left behind at home. Respondents noted that Facebook, WhatsApp, and other social media platforms serve as major vehicles for advertising, soliciting, arranging or recruiting both victims and Enablers alike in an effort to widen the illicit cartel. An ex-victim recounts her experience on Facebook with her exburger, even after her deportation back to Nigeria:

[My ex-burger] saw my update on my Facebook page (pictures) and noticed that I am now in school. She was telling me that I will need the money. This woman even tried to

convince me to look for new 6 young ladies, telling me that she will pay me sixty thousand naira (N60, 000) for each girl. Because I still have respect for myself, I warned her off, telling her that if she does not stop disturbing me, I will set her up. It was then she left me alone.

Another discussant, a stakeholder from the press, highlighted the emerging role of social media in illicit recruiting of Nigerian women and girls into sex trafficking:

Social media has added to it, although it is not the elementary problem- that is the family mainly. But since the family is now fading away, girls start going to Facebook where they meet agents who will offer to help them. Social media is a modern way to recruit girls.

2.3 Awareness and Responses to Interventions

This section outlines the local community's knowledge, perceptions and understanding of implemented interventions to end sex trafficking. It also sets forth Respondents' perceptions of what interventions they believe would be most effective.

As a starting point, Respondents were asked to indicate their knowledge and perception of:

- Government responses
- CSOs and other stakeholders' responses
- How to report trafficking

Finally, Respondents were asked to indicate what they maintained would be effective interventions and activities to end sex trafficking in the community.

2.3.1 Background: What Exists?

Outlined below are some of the government initiatives currently combating trafficking in Nigeria.

a. Establishment of Task Forces and Anti-Trafficking Laws: 38

To demonstrate its commitment, at all levels, to the disruption and termination of human trafficking in Nigeria, the Nigeria government has established various State Task Forces which are comprised of key stakeholders (donors, development partners, law enforcement agencies, MDAs, NGOs, traditional rulers, faith based organizations, etc.) and inaugurated by the state Governors to enhance a multi-sectored response towards prevention of human trafficking, protection of victims and their access to justice, prosecution of traffickers and successful rehabilitation of victims of trafficking. More specifically, Edo State's most recent anti-trafficking law, Edo State Trafficking In Persons Prohibition Law (2018), which codified the state's anti-trafficking task force, ETAHT (www.etaht.org), was signed into law in May 2018.

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³⁸ https://etaht.org/; https://www.naptip.gov.ng/

b. Legal Instruments at State Level

Edo State amended its criminal code in 2000 to include several new provisions. One such provision, for the first time, made it a crime for third parties, i.e., sponsors and traditional priests, to facilitate the secret oath ceremony for the preparation of persons to be trafficked and/or to participate in it. The offence is punishable by imprisonment for ten years or a fine of N500,000 (\$3,846) or both. Edo State, more recently, adopted the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015.

c. NAPTIP³⁹

NAPTIP was established in July 2003 by the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act (2003). The Agency is the federal government's response to addressing the scourge of all forms 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").

2.3.2 Community Knowledge of Government Interventions

Overall, community knowledge of government or community responses against sex trafficking is low, as only 4.6% of Respondents acknowledged that there are state actors/stakeholders who specialize in the fight against human trafficking in Edo. In fact, 5.5% of Respondents noted that there were no entities/stakeholders responding to sex trafficking and recruiters/recruiting in the state, while 87.5% declined to answer.

As indicated by Respondents, 14.1% noted that Edo State does not have a comprehensive state policy or an action plan to combat sex trafficking. The majority (52.9%) admitted that they did not know if Edo State had a comprehensive state policy or an action plan to combat sex trafficking. Only 32.3% of Respondents acknowledged that the state had some plans and policies to tackle the menace of sex trafficking.

As for what they believe is working, the 32.3% who indicated that Edo had a policy or an action plan to combat sex trafficking ranked "exchange of information between the state Police, Immigration and NAPTIP" highest (accounting for 39.4% of all selections). 21.8% of selections point to an integrated approach (Public Prosecution Service, Police, Edo Ministry of

³⁹ https://www.naptip.gov.ng

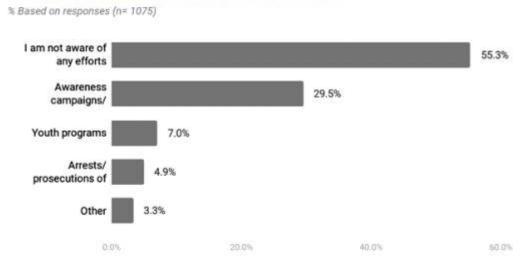
Justice, LGAs) as operational in the state, while another 21.8% point to international cooperation to repatriate victims from destination countries via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as currently operational. 17.1% noted that the Victims' Support System (shelter and health care through the state Ministry of Health, Welfare, etc.) is operational in Edo.

On the contrary, Respondents from the FGDs and the KIIs seem to be well versed on the operations of NAPTIP. Some even provided examples of how NAPTIP is excelling by pointing to the production of a one (1) hour program on national television which updates the general public on its efforts. Another Respondent added:

In Edo State, it was NAPTIP who involved the Oba of Benin to lay a curse on sex traffickers.

2.3.3 Community Perception of Government Interventions

Chart 2.11 As far as you are aware, what has your local government/ community leadership done to stop trafficking?



Perceptions of Positive Government Responses

An outline of some of the community's positive responses to government efforts is provided below. This list was outlined by Respondents during the FGDs and the KIIs.

- a. Communities often partner with NAPTIP and ETAHT to organize Town Hall meetings, door-to-door sensitization, etc., to reduce the rate of sex trafficking.
- b. Various advertisements, advocacy efforts and messaging against human trafficking have been released and are running on state television, radio, in newspapers. Several jingles, capturing a call against human trafficking by some media houses in support of government efforts also exist.

- c. A member of the community noted a collaboration with Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) to carry out a sensitization drama program in the community.
- d. One law enforcement officer admitted that "the government has also been empowering returnees, collaborating with local and international bodies in the fight against human trafficking."

Based on the survey, of those Respondents who were aware of entities specializing in the fight against sex trafficking, we asked them to rate the effectiveness of each government entity's efforts at addressing sex trafficking in their community. The State Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development and the State Broadcasting Services ranked the highest as "effective" and "very effective." Notably, entities at the national level were perceived to be generally more effective than those at the local levels (i.e., local government authorities and the Nigerian Police Force). The one exception to this was the Nigeria Immigration Services, which was deemed by the majority as neutral.

Chart 2.12 How effective are the following government efforts at addressing sex trafficking in this community?

Government Entities	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
NAPTIP	1.9%	10.0%	29.1%	47.6%	11.4%
Nigeria Police Force	12.2%	27.4%	23.7%	33.7%	3.0%
Local Govt. Authorities	9.0%	28.6%	29.3%	28.7%	4.4%
Public Prosecution Dept.	6.7%	18.7%	33.9%	36.9%	3.7%
Judiciary	5.0%	15.3%	29.9%	44.7%	5.0%
State Broadcasting Services	0.7%	3.6%	11.2%	50.2%	34.4%
State Ministry of Information	1.4%	10.7%	29.3%	38.8%	19.9%
State Ministry of Women Affairs	1.0%	7.3%	21.9%	54.6%	15.3%
Nigeria Immigration Service	6.0%	24.3%	42.6%	22.8%	4.3%

Perceptions of Where Government Response is Lacking

Notwithstanding some of the applause directed at government efforts (above), most community stakeholders believe that the government is not taking seriously the prosecution of human trafficking offenders. They urge the government to "become serious about arresting recruiters"

and bringing them to book; I mean they should be made to pay for their crimes."

Still, others insist that the state government cannot fight human trafficking alone. Rather, collaboration with returnees/survivors, NGOs, CSOs, local community leaders, traditional rulers and faith leaders and other key institutions should be encouraged.

Furthermore, some other stakeholders believe that the government is not creating an enabling environment for returned migrants to stay put, as most of them risk being re-trafficked. Also, a general idea gathered from the FGDs was the perception that:

The government is not doing enough for returnees. It is not enough to do campaigns. What structure has been put on ground to sustain youths or other returned migrants? The financial packages and trainings are not adequate to sustain our youths in the actual sense.

According to the qualitative data generated from the field, some of the respondents do not believe that the government will keep its promises of providing financial support for Libya returnees upon their return. In line with this claim, one returnee claimed:

Actually, if things were okay, if our government actually cared about us, if this reintegration of a thing you are actually talking about is actually going well, nobody would want to leave his village. Nobody.

Echoing this sentiment, another returned migrant noted:

The government should help the people to stay, empower them more; create the enabling environment for them to stay. Your empowerment shouldn't be segmented. Let it be direct; let it get to the people who really need it.

Another interviewee is quoted as saying that:

To a large extent, the Nigerian government is complicit in these money laundering and human trafficking issue. It is people that are in government that are even more into this. The people that have hope of replacing them.

Perception of Law Enforcement Agents

Most participants in the KIIs and FGDs expressed distrust of law enforcement agents. It is widely believed that they can be compromised. As a result, most people indicated that they would be unwilling to report a suspected human trafficking case. If such cases are reported and the information is leaked to the trafficker or recruiter, it could potentially endanger the lives of persons who initiate the report, particularly since there is no formal witness protection program in the Nigerian legal system.

During one FGD, a participant returnee from Libya narrated the following:

While I was in Libya, the burger brought a new set of girls from Nigeria. As he was gisting with these girls, one of them said that the police caught them on their way to Kano. It took a N50,000 bribe per girl to bail them from the custody of the police so that they continued their journey, arrived Kano and crossed the desert.

The foregoing FGD participant was alluding to the extent of government complicity and the reality that some law enforcement agents aid and abet trafficking and unsafe migration because they can be bought for a price.

Another respondent observed the following:

On paper, most anti-trafficking agencies could be seen as working, but some 'special' cases still slip by and go unattended to. It is recommended that any successful fight against sex trafficking should look at ways of making law enforcement agents foolproof to the bribery of traffickers and recruiters.

2.3.4. Community Knowledge of Other Stakeholders' Responses and Efforts

Respondents were asked about their knowledge of non-government stakeholders' responses and efforts in the fight against sex trafficking in Oredo LGA. For purposes of this research, non-state stakeholders included non-state actors, such as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), professional associations as well as religious and educational institutions.

Responses from the FGDs and KIIs reveal that there is knowledge of non-government stakeholders' responses to sex trafficking in the community, as they conduct town hall meetings and engage in anti-sex trafficking campaigns. One such actor that was highlighted was the Committee of the Support of the Dignity of Woman (COSUDOW) which actively engage in anti-sex trafficking campaign programs in Oredo LGA.

One of the inteviewees noted that the faith based community, particularly the church, has played a major role in the fight against sex-trafficking by hosting seminars and highlighting the dangers of sex trafficking. It was noted that the community often partners with NAPTIP and the ETAHT to organize Town Hall meetings, door-to-door sensitization campaigns, etc. to reduce the rate of sex trafficking.

On the subject of community efforts to curb the activities of recruiters, the most popular response pointed to the pronouncements and curses made by the Oba of Benin in March 2018 against traffickers and those aiding and abetting trafficking (including recruiters and some native/juju priests). It is believed that that single action by the Bini Kingdom's highest traditional

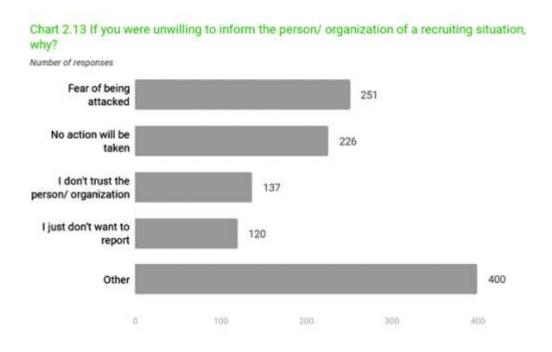
ruler had a significant impact on the crime of trafficking in the state of Edo.

Also highlighted as effective were the referral of returnees to stakeholders such as Idia Renaissance Skill Acquisition Center (IRSAC) and Girl's Power Initiative (GPI) for training and rehabilitation. It was also noted that community vigilante groups have also resulted from collaborations between local stakeholders. In addition, some well-trained community leaders have volunteered to help create awareness on the dangers of sex trafficking in their communities. All of the foregoing were noted as having helped to curb the activities of recruiters.

2.3.5 Community Understanding of What to Do if They Become Aware of Trafficking

According to survey results, 56.4% of Respondents indicated that they would know what to do if they become aware that a woman/girl was being recruited into forced prostitution or sex trafficking abroad. That indicates that a significant proportion (43.6%) would not know or are unsure of what to do if they become aware that a woman/girl was being recruited into forced prostitution or sex trafficking abroad.

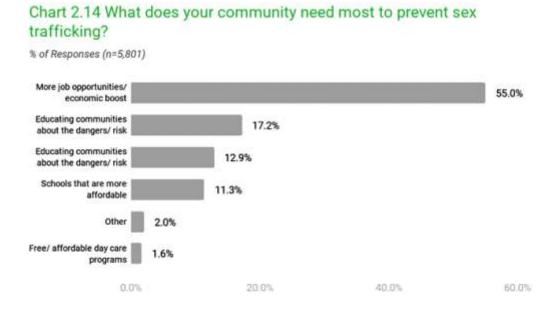
Of the Respondents who indicated they knew who to inform, the majority (41.1%) indicated that they would inform NAPTIP if they become aware that a woman/girl had decided voluntarily or involuntarily for prostitution abroad. Next, 34.5% said they would inform the police, while 10.5% noted that they would inform local NGOs.



It should be stated that knowing what to do, however, varies significantly from whether action would actually be taken if the circumstances presented themselves. Notably, 21% of those who indicated that they would "know what to do" also indicated that they would be unwilling to do the needful (inform the appropriate government authorities) due to the fear of being attacked (7%) or their anticipation that no action would be taken (6.3%) since they (3.8%) do not trust the authorities well enough.

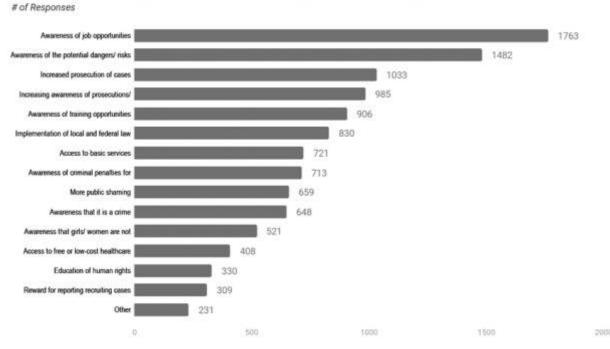
2.3.6 Recommendations by the Community on Effective Interventions

We surveyed Respondents to understand what they believed would be effective interventions to combat sex trafficking in Oredo LGA. Respondents were afforded the opportunity to choose from a host of possible prevention interventions (more than one) based on what they believed would be most effective. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the responses (55%) involved "job opportunities/economic boost."



We also asked Respondents to select multiple effective prevention mechanisms across a range of possible interventions. Respondents gave similar responses, with the majority citing "education/ awareness of job opportunities" as the top prevention mechanism for recruiting. However, "increased prosecutions" and "awareness of those prosecutions/ people going to jail" were also prominent in the top 5 prevention interventions. It is noteworthy that "awareness that recruiting is a crime" was not as favored, implying that it may not not necessarily be an effective strategy. This also implies that the local community believes it would require actual prosecutions and awareness of people facing those consequences to be sufficiently preventative.

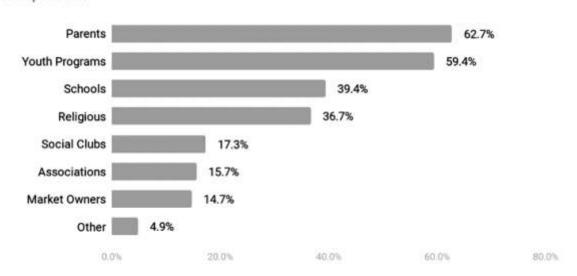
Chart 2.15 What do you think would have stopped the recruiters you described above?



Additionally, when asked who should be targeted or prioritized for these interventions, the Respondents could make multiple selections and ranked "Parents" as their top choice, followed by "youth programs." This speaks to intervention efforts that have historically targeted only potential victims and recognizes that parents should be considered a target population, as stakeholders design interventions to prevent recruiting.

Chart 2.16 Who/ which group(s) would you target/ prioritize to prevent recruiting?





While "Parents" were the top selection from the survey, it was also clear from KIIs/FGDs that all stakeholders in the community had a role to play.

Below are specific recommendations and practical tips offered by the research participants, organized by target audience:

Government Efforts

- 1. Government, at the federal, state and local levels should be mindful of the necessity of proper infrastructure and basic services/amenities, such as functional street lights, pipe-borne water, paved roads, access to subsidized transportation, access roads to farms, small business loans without collateral, to name a few. The basic infrastructure that is available in more developed countries serves as a pull factor.
- 2. Unemployment must be considered a priority, mandating immediate action. Recommendations included generating and/or incentivizing varying industries to employ skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Paid, learning on the job programs should also be explored and expanded. Small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) should be promoted and empowered to flourish in an enabling environment. In addition, there is a considerable need for industrialization in Edo, an initiative which should also be prioritized by the government. Respondents urged the government to focus on the creation of sustainable jobs in an effort to discourage recruiting as an alternative or supplemental form of employment. This was the most common explanation for the proliferation of recruiting identified by interviewees.
- 3. Government should innovatively tackle and eradicate what Respondents identified as both the primary root causes of recruiting and primary root causes of vulnerability: poverty and joblessness. Economic empowerment should be deemed a priority by the government, an effort that would restore hope to the people of Edo and give them something to look forward to. Doing so will serve to empower individuals against the advances of recruiters. One key informant interviewee affirmed:

To discourage recruiters, make government help the poorest people because na them be the target. Because if person dey comfortable, no body go fit entice am with human trafficking. Those government officials, you don see their children for trafficking? Na poor people dey traffic.

4. Government should establish reporting systems that allow for anonymous reporting of trafficking and recruiting in an effort to protect those saddled by the fear (threats and attacks) of reporting.

Law Enforcement

- 1. Law enforcement should be more proactive in publicizing cases of trafficking in order to deter recruiters and family members who release their children to them.
- 2. Law enforcement should publicize and publicly shame recruiters who have been arrested and are being prosecuted, particular parents or family members who expose or release their children to traffickers/recruiters.
- 3. The identity of those who report cases should be protected by law enforcers. Some Respondents noted attempts by the police to cover-up or allow prime suspects to go free, actions that could potentially endanger the reporting journalist, activist or MDA staff.
- 4. Law enforcement should include the voices of survivor advocates to ensure that the depravities endured by survivors (being forced to have sex with animals or to defecate into the mouth of a client) are well understood by potential victims, their families and the local community.
- 5. Law enforcement should increase arrests, prosecutions and convictions of Enablers. Doing so will directly decrease the impunity, social power and influence of recruiters within the community.
- 6. Law enforcement officers should be held accountable for truncating the legal system via their acceptance of bribes from recruiters and traffickers. To this end, they are aiding and abetting traffickers and recruiters. To the extent that a system of accountability can be created, Respondents believed that it should be created. More research into how to make the work of law enforcement bribe-proof to corruption was recommended by the community on this issue.
- 7. Law enforcement should raise awareness about the fact that "helping" someone out of poverty by connecting them to a recruiter/trafficker (information sharing) amounts to aiding and abetting trafficking- a crime. More sensitization should be conducted to the community about how "helpers" are ultimately breaking the law and endangering the lives of members of the community. Once the community starts to see that information sharing of recruiters' contacts is being punished, they will become less hesitant to engage in recruiting.

Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)

- 1. MDAs should collaborate with the IOM to undertake more awareness campaigns.
- 2. NAPTIP should make their hotlines accessible, i.e., ensure that the numbers are functional, are answered and toll free. NAPTIP staff should also be professionally trained.

- 3. The Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) should also beef up security, particularly at borders and airports, and ensure that they are monitored 24/7 to stem the trafficking flow.
- 4. Both NAPTIP and the ETAHT are overburdened and would be more functional if their respective mandates were streamlined. To this end, on both the national and state levels, an independent investigative body (similar to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission) should be created and tasked solely with the mandate of tracking and investigating recruiters. Similarly, other bodies should be set up to handle various aspects of human trafficking, such as sensitization, rehabilitation and prosecution.

Depending on their specializations and expertise, partner CSOs and MDAs should be assigned to support each of these bodies, which would also work in collaboration with international crime police organizations such as Interpol.

Local Communities

- 1. Communities should adopt an aggressive "zero tolerance" stance against trafficking and stop celebrating the wealth of Enablers and traffickers. According to Respondents, this will only happen when law enforcement agencies, such as NAPTIP and ETAHT, begin to publicly shame and publicize prosecutions. For example, in the United States, some television stations air live court proceedings/prosecutions in both criminal and civil cases (such as felony murder cases). Respondents recommend that the same be done with human trafficking cases in Nigeria because they are serious and offenders have caused considerable, irreversible damage to the lives and liberties of victims who died in slavery and survivors, potentially for generations to come. If such prosecutions/court proceedings are aired on live television, it will go a long way in not only shaming the perpetrators, but also serving as a deterrent to others.
- 2. Survey Respondents recommended that the Oredo LGA community start to encourage whistleblowing. Community leaders should come together to form vigilante groups and community task forces that simultaneously act as whistleblowers and encourage members of the community to do the same. This will counteract the silence that recruiters encourage and use to entrap victims. Reports show that this approach has worked well in some communities in Uromi and may very well be one way to "slave-proof" communities. Whistle blowing to relevant anti-trafficking and law enforcement agencies should be performed anonymously.

Mass Media, Online Media and Network Providers

1. Survey Respondents indicate that there is a need for additional programming, such as talk shows, that portray media advocacies by journalists on both television and on the radio. Such programs should feature the work of stakeholders on the frontlines in the fight against modern day slavery, particularly human trafficking.

- 2. In much the same way that short, straight to the point public service announcements and advertisements were produced concerning the COVID-19 pandemic, same should be produced to engage the general public about unsafe migration and sex trafficking. These should be widely circulated, in timely succession, in much the same way COVID-19 messaging was integrated by the Nigerian Centre for Disease Control (NCDC).
- 3. Revamped awareness should be prioritized and introduced on social media networking sites such as YouTube, Facebook and Instagram as short captions, jingles or short videos.
- 4. Network providers could partner with the relevant MDAs, such as the ETAHT, to utilize text messaging (SMS messaging) to help raise awareness. Such should be well circulated in timely succession, again, similar to the way COVID-19 short messaging was employed by the NCDC.

Educational Institutions

- 1. Teachers and schools administrators should be trained to educate their students on the dangers of human trafficking, unsafe migration and the realities of sex trafficking. Respondents note that the subject of human trafficking should be incorporated into school (private and government) curricula, particularly civics, social studies and religious studies, in order to educate our youth against the tactics employed by Enablers. Sports and the arts (drama, music, etc.) are also other avenues to explore.
- 2. Children should be educated on Nigeria's anti-trafficking law (on both the state and national level) so that they are aware of its provisions and are able to use them to their benefit. In most developed countries, children are educated on how to call the police and child welfare services if they are in danger. Similarly, youth in Edo should be educated on the perils of human trafficking so that they know exactly who to approach if they are ever endangered, particularly by their parents. Additionally, it is important that children are taught to understand that in certain circumstances, it does not amount to a betrayal of trust if one's parents are taking actions that could potentially cause grave injury to the child. Sentiment, according to Respondents, must be eliminated from the discourse in light of the grave danger that being sold into trafficking poses. Significantly, this education should not be limited solely to formal educational sectors, but should also be translatable to informal sectors. Parents should simultaneously be educated via adult literacy classes and enlightenment campaigns.

Faith-Based Organizations and Other CSOs

1. Research data establishes that only about 8.0% of Respondents indicated that they learned about trafficking from their houses of faith. As such, faith leaders should use their platforms to send strong anti-trafficking/unsafe migration messages to their congregations. They should also maintain a "zero tolerance" policy and hold accountable parents (and others) who bring their children to them to "bless" before they head overseas (via unsafe migration).

2. Coordinating bodies, such as the Christian Association of Nigeria and Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria, should be trained and empowered on how to deal with "fake" Enabler pastors who have chosen to abandon the tenets of their faith which prioritizes people over profits.

Traditional Leaders and Institutions

Traditional rulers and institutions, which continue to maintain considerable influence over their communities, should replicate pronouncements similar to that made by the Oba of Benin against human traffickers. Native/juju priests who generate 'charms' and spells for Enablers to disorient and brainwash victims should be held accountable for their actions. They should also be educated on how they enable trafficking and how their actions ultimately cause more harm than good.

International Community

- 1. Respondents in the church/CSOs FGDs recommended that the EU stop deporting victims of human trafficking back to the same conditions that rendered them vulnerable in their home countries. Rather, trafficking victims should be resettled within the EU, in collaboration with the Nigerian government, so that they are not saddled by vulnerabilities and other overwhelming responsibilities in Nigeria.
- 2. Nigerian embassies and Nigerian ambassadors abroad should initiate high level talks with Foreign Offices concerning the visa application processes for Nigerian applicants, most of whom cannot satisfy the arduous application requirements. Relaxing the current demands will result in less would-be migrants risking their lives via unsafe migration following multiple visa denials by foreign embassies.
- 3. The killing and dehumanization of Nigerian migrants in countries like Libya must be prioritized and immediately stopped. Rehabilitation of migrants is imperative now, even more so than before.

Chapter Three

Conclusions

General Awareness is High and Trafficking is Prevalent

General awareness on sex trafficking is high. 99.3% of Respondents surveyed indicated that they had heard of or were familiar with the term 'sex trafficking.' That being said, not all members of the community are as well versed or informed on its implications. This implies that awareness campaigns which focus, generally, on the subject of sex trafficking alone ("Say No to Sex Trafficking!") may no longer be required in Oredo LGA. Rather, such campaigns should focus on informing the community about the dangers and implications of sex trafficking.

Of the Respondents who were knowledgeable on the subject of sex trafficking, their perceptions of the push factors and root causes reflect the complexity of the issues and evidence why multiple, comprehensive approaches to this subject matter are required.

Key push factors identified by the community include poverty and ignorance in an environment which Respondents contend is rife with joblessness. The foregoing, coupled with family pressure to migrate (by any means necessary), an entrenched desire to pull one's family from the clutches of poverty, and a mindset that deems migration for prostitution a viable exit strategy from poverty (98.8%), results in the combustible time bomb that multiple stakeholders have struggled to contain.

Significantly, the fact that Respondents identified poverty and joblessness as both the primary root causes of recruiting and the primary root causes of vulnerability speaks volumes as to what aspects of the issue should be considered a priority by stakeholders. It appears that until those two issues are resolved, at least to the satisfaction of the local community, recruiting may continue to receive the community's stamp of approval as a viable full-time or part-time career path for those who do not earn a living wage.

Although Trafficking is Prevalent, Potential Victims Do Not Know Where to Get Support

Although sex trafficking is prevalent and general awareness is high, survey results revealed that 85.6% of Respondents are unaware of effective programs in their community that are designed to prevent sex trafficking. Arguably, stakeholders are not doing enough to ensure that potential victims are aware of resources within the community that may provide viable and alternative options besides being trafficked abroad. This gap ultimately results in more women becoming trafficked in a community that appears to tolerate trafficking and where joblessness, according to Respondents, is rife.

Community is Conversant on Terminology, Routes & Recruiter Tactics/Mechanisms.

Respondents, interviewees and participants who were aware of someone who had been successfully recruited into trafficking (or were themselves recruited) were acquainted enough to provide in-depth knowledge of the terminology, routes and what appear to be disaggregated recruiting networks involved in sex trafficking from Oredo LGA. Regarding routes, members of the community pointed to the historical pattern of trafficking from Edo to Italy and noted emerging trends in trafficking from Edo to the Middle East, particularly Dubai and Oman and to other African countries, including Mali and Libya.

On the subject of terminology, the community appeared conversant of smuggling and unsafe migration terminology, describing some of the actors: *burgers, gids, trolleys, pusherman*, etc. They were also able to identify recruiter tactics, modus operandi and schemes, as outlined above.

Oredo LGA Community Members Actively Compare Their Economic Conditions to Those of Their Counterparts Who Appear to Have Succeeded Abroad.

In much of the research that has been generated on cross-border trafficking from Edo, researchers often point to the fact that the Edos are not the poorest or least educated in the country and therefore, it is mind-boggling that the community repeatedly identifies poverty and economic hardship as root causes of trafficking in Edo. This research, however, has confirmed the reality that Edos do not necessarily define poverty scientifically or as same may be defined by,

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 $^{^{40}}$ This may suggest a disaggregation of actors and the possibility that dismantling what appear to be one-off or weak links may prove effective in addressing the issue. Exploring a strategy along these lines may justify additional research.

say, the World Bank. Nor do they compare what they consider poverty to the poverty that may be pervasive in other parts of the country, such as the North-East. Significantly, the comparison is made (in light of the historical and entrenched history of trafficking in the state) to their counterparts living abroad who *appear* to maintain a lifestyle that far surpasses their current economic conditions. It is that comparison that drives their dedicated focus to attain (or exceed) the same level of wealth and status that has been achieved by someone they personally know or know of.

That comparison is what fuels their drive to migrate and is what overshadows what they know to be the potential danger of the journey. That drive, coupled with pressure from varying sources and a sense of hopelessness, is often underestimated by stakeholders (particularly international funders) in designing effective interventions. Understanding and appreciating this posture is imperative.

Recruiters Are Entrenched, Critical Initiating Actors Operating With the Same Modus Operandi.

Given that trafficking in Oredo LGA is based on a web or network of players (no matter how disaggregated), Enablers (both Professional and *Helper* recruiters) are seen as the critical first link into trafficking. While the research did not identify a consistent physical profile of a recruiter, it was able to identify consistent tactics, messaging and patterns that could help identify them and provide advance notice to members of the community.

Recruiters on the ground are generally women (although not always), older than those they are recruiting (in their 30's-40's) and likely known or connected to the community. Some of them, who we termed *Helpers*, may not necessarily recognize the inherent danger weaved into their roles which lure potential victims and then introduce them to traffickers. Other *Professionals*, on the other hand, maintain a financial motive and are more strategic and calculating in their approach. They lure victims with lies of job opportunities, exploit vulnerabilities (financial, naivety, ignorance, etc.), build trust through gifts and often target mothers, a strategic move that almost always guarantees recruiting success. Additionally, often because of the associations with trusted leaders in the community (such as pastors), victims and their families are more readily lured into the web of deception.

It is important to note that when this approach is used digitally, it has the potential to scale the number of targets and exponentially grow the number of potential victims. Digital recruiting is a growing threat that needs to be addressed.

• Both the conditions and deceptive tactics employed by Enablers have made it challenging for community members to sound the alarm or for victims to safely exit, once successfully recruited. Significantly, Respondents noted: (i) the ineffectiveness and even complicity of local law enforcement in rendering reporting futile; (ii) the cultural acceptance/ silence and unwillingness of the community to condemn recruiting and recruiters; as well as (iii) the role of oathtaking and unethical financial "contracts" that trap victims and render efforts to back-track on agreements futile.

Community Has Invaluable Insight on Mechanisms and Strategies to Prevent Recruiting.

The local Oredo community should be considered a resource and invaluable partner in the fight against sex trafficking in Nigeria. Having a wealth of lived experience, it serves as the most credible messenger, offering practical insights and well as tenable strategies to inform global efforts to combat sex trafficking and unsafe migration from Edo State.

- The local community was also insightful on mechanisms and strategies to better prevent and intervene in known cases of recruiting, e.g., publicly naming and shaming recruiters. They recognized that because the problems are interlocking, multifaceted and involve multiple players, the solutions must be comparatively interlocking and multifaceted. Their understanding of what interventions are effective provide a practical set of recommendations to each actor, as outlined above.
- Additionally, the process of interviewing and conducting focus group discussions simultaneously served to create awareness and further educate community members on the subject matter. As noted herein, 40% of Respondents indicated that they were unaware of any criminal penalties associated with sex trafficking. If awareness is lacking, then the effectiveness of the legislative framework for combating sex trafficking in Edo State will be considerably reduced.

Breaking the Link Between Recruiters and Potential Victims Could Potentially Reduce the Incidence of Trafficking from Edo State.

Our hypothesis at the outset of this Research was that Enablers are entrenched in the cycle of trafficking from Edo State and that as critical, initiating actors, breaking their link to potential victims could possibly lead to an overall reduction of trafficking from Edo State.

The research does, in fact, support this hypothesis but also notes another significant point: that for the most part, *Helper* Enablers are contending with two of the same realities that render potential victims vulnerable to becoming trafficked, i.e., hope of a better financial future and ignorance. More specifically, the data supports the fact that although *Helper* Recruiters are mostly unpaid, they genuinely believe, and are perceived by the community to be doing a good deed to enhance the lives of those they recruit and hopefully, in the near future, their own. In addition, the research further supports the notion that *Helper* Recruiters are operating in a vacuum of ignorance concerning the slavery and torture that their "good deeds" initiate.

Both of these factors, operating simultaneously, suggest (as further outlined below) that some of the same interventions that educate and economically support potential victims may also be effective if targeted at *Helpers*.

Recruiting is Both Interlocking and Interpersonal-Solutions Must Be As Well.

Recruiting in Oredo LGA appears to involve multiple community based actors, particularly when it comes to pressuring the potential victim to travel overseas. The building of trust and even travel packages are tailored and customised on an interpersonal level to increase the likelihood of success. As such, combating trafficking requires interlocking and interpersonal interventions that consistently break down the strategic and intentional efforts of recruiters that target the breadth of actors. This approach, however, requires acknowledgement and ownership of the issues by the local community. Once buy-in is created, stakeholders must allow the community to inform and design "home grown" solutions that are implemented in a manner that reflects the nuances, intersectionality and interrelatedness of recruiting in Oredo LGA. In other words, interventions must be bottom-up, not top-down.

Chapter Four

Recommendations

As outlined above, Respondents in the local community of Oredo provided specific recommendations which each of the identified stakeholders can enact to combat sex trafficking therein. The recommendations below incorporate their input and outline broader strategies for the anti-trafficking movement as well as specific recommendations for areas of additional research. It is important that ongoing efforts against trafficking be amplified so that the implications of trafficking, i.e., on mental and physical health, on the depletion of human resources from Nigeria, on crime rates and public safety, can be contained.

Design community based interventions:

- **Invest in gathering local community input.** New initiatives and research would benefit from gathering qualitative input from members of the local community, including survivors, returnees, former recruiters and traffickers. This effort may not necessarily warrant a comprehensive research project, but it is evident that the community has the insight to effectively overcome its challenges.
- Interventions must be community-informed. Interventions that are designed outside Edo, in air-conditioned board rooms overseas and without the voice of the community, are generally short-lived and unsustainable in Edo because the community

⁴¹ Prior to embarking on any interventions for the local community, Pathfinders consults with *The Voice*, a focus group it created made up of former recruiters, traffickers, survivors and young women who were unsuccessfully recruited. As they have lived experience, these actors provide input and guidance from varying angles and are instrumental in both the design and implementation of Pathfinders' interventions.

does not take ownership of them. Ultimately, if it is for the Edo community, it should be designed in partnership with the Edo community.

• Influence the influencers. Further to the above recommendation concerning community informed interventions, it is important that key community stakeholders who understand the culture, its nuances and its overlapping complexities are engaged. This engagement must allow their "home grown" voices to lead the discussions and frame the response. A perfect example was the Oba of Benin's March 2018 pronouncement against traffickers. It took the consistent engagement of stakeholders with the Oba on multiple occasions to generate what was, arguably, one of the most effective responses to the issue of trafficking in Edo State.

Educate the community on recruiters and economic opportunities.

- Parents and other community influencers should be educated (in English, the Bini language and in pidgin English) and warned of the criminal consequences of recruiting and schemes of recruiters. As noted earlier, awareness/education campaigns should be redirected to include warnings about recruiting. Campaigns should include clear illustrations of Enablers' schemes and outline, in simple terms, the criminal penalties related to recruiting. The dangers and actual realities of what happens to victims should also be communicated. Additionally, as noted in the research, information of economic alternatives and job training opportunities need to be included. It is imperative that these efforts are not only communicated in English, but also in the Bini language and pidgin English.
- Some of the same preventative measures targeting potential victims may also be effective on Helper Enablers. As noted in our Conclusions, *Helper* Enablers are contending with two of the same realities that render potential victims vulnerable to becoming trafficked, i.e., hope of a better financial future and ignorance. As such, we recommend directing education interventions (which educate on the reality of sex trafficking abroad and the criminality of recruiting) and economic empowerment opportunities to both groups in an effort to reduce the incidence of recruiting in the community.
- Continue to conduct trainings. Additional trainings should be conducted for local law enforcement, NAPTIP, ETAHT, NIS, NCS as well as leaders of faith based and traditional institutions so that they all understand the dynamics of recruiting, are able to identify and distinguish between recruiters and victims, refer victims appropriately and speak with one consistent voice against recruiting.

Close the gaps that recruiters exploit:

- The absence of coordination between stakeholders is a gap exploited by traffickers that should be closed. Enablers in the local community understand that most initiatives are funded by international donors who are not necessarily invested in long term, sustainable outcomes so long as the 'pain point' (unsafe migration from Nigeria) is stemmed. They also understand that the NGOs working to stem the tide are not well funded and are not doing so in a cohesive manner with either government MDAs or other NGOs. Specifically, communication bottlenecks within government entities (from federal to local and from state to local) and between government to CSOs -- to more efficiently handle referrals, intelligence sharing, case management, etc.-- are challenging even when coordination mechanisms are in place. Likewise, as unsafe migration expands from Europe to other parts of Africa and the Middle East, intelligence relating to these evolving dynamics/trends and coordination across regions are increasingly important. In addition, the lack of coordination for awareness campaigns and shared learnings regarding messaging and target populations are shortcircuiting the import of these interventions. There is an overall need to create a cohesive and measurable political, economic, legal and educational strategy.
- Increase safe, legal pathways. Nigeria maintains bilateral agreements with several European countries, including Spain, Italy and the United Kingdom. These countries should be urged to reverse their anti-migration stance and instead, enact policies that encourage safe, legal migration. The human rights of migrants must also be prioritized, pursuant to international law.

Combat recruiters' online presence:

• Innovate with technology the way Enablers have. The COVID-19 pandemic, which began during the synthesizing of the data for this Report, made it even more evident that many recruiters have long pivoted from in-person recruiting to operating online through platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook. Trafficking has grown more sophisticated, particularly with the use of technology, leaving stakeholders behind in their inability to generate accurate data as well as the necessary skill set/systems to manage, analyze, and adequately report. It is imperative that the latest technologies are employed to ensure that these *Digital Enablers* are held accountable.

Make reporting easy, safe, and effective

• Reporting traffickers is a challenge – make it easier. Local law enforcement need to build better relations and trust with the community to make reporting easier. There is

also a need for better protections for whistleblowers and communications mechanisms to relay tips, as Enablers are often within the same family and/or local community. Via awareness campaigns, the community should be educated about recruiters and informed of ways to report if and when they are approached. Creating apps or directing people online is ineffective, as most do not have smartphones or the necessary data to go online. Text messaging via national toll free "tip" hotlines (which can be promoted with effective jingles on all media outlets) will prove effective.

• Mechanism to report corrupt law enforcement officers who participate in the recruiting process is imperative. Respondents made it clear that law enforcement officers readily demand and receive bribes, particularly on the Nigeria-Niger border. To this end, these state-actors also contribute to the crime of trafficking. Accordingly, it is imperative that the government, on both the federal and state levels, establish reporting mechanisms that are anonymous and actionable to address corruption in law enforcement.

Engage local law enforcement and increase/showcase prosecutions

- Establish a formal witness protection program to increase successful prosecutions. Pursuant to Part V, Section 47 of the Edo State Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement & Administrative Law, 2018, witnesses can be protected as determined by the Court, subsequent to a motion by the Chairperson of the ETAHT or a law enforcement officer. However, this process may take time and leaves victims at the mercy of their exploiters. As such, it is recommended that a formal witness protection program that can be initiated at the direction of the ETAHT Chairperson be established, thereby eliminating the need for motion practice. Restraining Orders should also be incorporated into the system in an effort to protect witnesses and thus, increase the chances of successful prosecutions against perpetrators.
- Law enforcement must educate the community and then name and shame Enablers, particularly in identified endemic areas. According to the Oredo LGA community, *Helper* Enablers may not necessarily understand the full breadth of their actions and the possibility that those actions may be criminal. As such, it is incumbent on law enforcement to ensure that the community is educated and protected against this form of recruiting. That being said, it is not enough to stop there. Law enforcement must also routinely partner with the media and CSOs to publicize the naming and shaming of both *Professional* and *Helper* Recruiters, particularly in high endemic areas. The naming and shaming of a mother or a local pastor will, according to the community, serve as a deterrent to Enablers. Along the same vein, religious and traditional leaders should also

be warned that they will not be exempted from the foregoing and as such, it is imperative that they train their leaders against recruiting.

Expand messaging beyond "Don't travel!" or "Stop Trafficking!"

- Abandon the alarmist ("don't travel!") messaging that fails to offer viable and sustainable economic opportunities in Edo. Community members indicated that any effort demanding that Edo people avoid unsafe migration because of the dangers that accompany it is an elementary, ineffective approach. It is inherently misguided to contend that would-be migrants should not leave Nigeria when viable and sustainable economic alternatives are not presented. They must go hand in hand. In addition, there is an urgent need to broaden messaging to incorporate cognitive restructuring (not just behavior modification), to highlight self-worth/cultural heritage, to focus on identity and agency and to address gender inequality, since "don't travel!" messaging is ineffective.
- The "stop trafficking!" messaging is falling on deaf ears. As survey results revealed, over 95% of the local community already knows that trafficking is "bad." As such, repeating this messaging in awareness campaigns evidences a superficial understanding of the issues and wastes valuable resources. What community members are unaware of is what to do when approached by an Enabler, what the alternatives are to trafficking and where to find them.

Address mindsets and vulnerabilities

• Legislation alone cannot mitigate vulnerability to trafficking. Addressing vulnerability does. Nigerian law on both the federal and state levels is adequate to fight recruiting in Edo State, as both criminalize the act of "recruiting." As much as that should be applauded, it is important to note that legislation alone has proven ineffective in mitigating vulnerability to recruiting. It is important that the underlying vulnerabilities are identified and addressed.

Based on over 100 survivor testimonials, Pathfinders has developed a preliminary victim profile in Edo State, i.e., a 12-point vulnerability criteria: (1) prior sex abuse history; (2) from a single parent home; (3) eldest sibling; (4) little to no education; (5) living in abject poverty; (6) parents who are poorly educated; (7) female ages 15-25; (8) has sibling or friend who is already abroad; (9) dealing with pressure from family and peers to generate income and/or travel abroad; (10) unemployed; (11) has social media access; and (12) low self-worth/ esteem that embraces/potentially embraces prostitution as an alternative to poverty (mindset).

- Address the gender disparities that render women vulnerable. Deep-seated sociocultural norms and paradigms that devalue women and girls contribute to the
 proliferation of trafficking in Edo. 43 One example is an Edo adage that loosely translates
 to 'educating a girl child is a waste of time and money.' Although mindsets are evolving, it
 is imperative these deep-seated beliefs that result in women/girls having less access to
 education, continue to be disrupted and that community leaders are trained to
 understand the intersectionality of those beliefs and the sex trafficking of women and
 girls.
- Stakeholders must address the mindset that deems prostitution a viable alternative to poverty. Significantly, 98.8% of all survey Respondents believe that traveling abroad for prostitution amounts to a way out of poverty. The fact that such a significant percentage has reached this conclusion evidences just how entrenched and pervasive trafficking is in Edo state. Stakeholders are therefore burdened with the task of designing effective interventions that utilize cognitive restructuring, a psychotherapeutic process that helps identify and change thinking patterns that are potentially harmful. Endeavoring to change behavior (through behavior modification techniques) will be impossible without first acknowledging and changing the mindset.

Address additional root causes

- Address demand in destination countries. Recruiting will not end without the vacuum of demand. In other words, it is imperative that the sustained demand for the bodies of young Nigerian women overseas be addressed by the governments of destination countries. So long as exploiters, including buyers, recognise that their actions will not be criminalized and that they can act with impunity, the demand will persist. It is also imperative that governments of destination countries increase prosecutions and/or deportations of Nigerian traffickers in their jurisdictions, an effort that will serve as a deterrent to would be Enablers and traffickers in Nigeria. Synergies with Nigerian law enforcement, as well as various MDAs, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, should be sustained.
- A well-intentioned criminal justice approach, on its own, is inadequate, and requires social justice reforms. An approach that focuses solely on sustained law enforcement ultimately increases risk to would-be migrants who do not see remaining in Nigeria as a viable option. Social justice reforms, which seek equitable opportunities for would-be migrants is an absolute necessity.

⁴³ https://pathfindersji.org/what-we-do/

- Stakeholders must demand accountability from leadership that consistently robs Nigeria's youth of their hope. Perhaps it goes without saying, but Respondents repeatedly pointed to Nigeria's ingrained system of top-down corruption that robs Nigeria's youth of their futures, but even moreso, their hope. Several Respondents expressed the sentiment that Nigerian youth are not leaving Nigeria because they have given up on it, but rather, because Nigeria has given up on them.
- Innovative, alternative forms of employment should be explored. The need for economic empowerment, rapid industrialization and the creation of sustainable jobs is imperative to discouraging recruiting as an alternative or part-time form of employment. Government should also ensure that the local community is attractive and enabling for the private sector to invest in, as that will also increase employment opportunities.

Chapter Five

Pilot

Possible pilot interventions include the following:

- targeting *Helper* recruiters with messaging that clearly sets forth the import of their actions on victims who have been successfully recruited as well as the criminal nature of the crime.
- targeting mothers and/or other family members who pressure young women into sex trafficking abroad with messaging that highlights the day to day reality of their daughters abroad in the hands of traffickers.
- training faith-based and traditional leaders about the import of recruiting so that they are educated and can, in turn, pass the messaging on to those over whom they may have some influence.
- targeting vulnerable young women (potential victims) with messaging that elucidates the tactics and modus operandi of recruiters, how they can avoid them and where and how to report.
- targeting messaging to young women (through influencers) about their inherent value and the cultural heritage of Edo.
- training law enforcement, immigration and customs officers on recruiting in Edo State so that they understand the various types of recruiters and can identify recruited victims.
- targeting primary and secondary school-aged children with messaging that highlights the tactics and modus operandi of recruiters, while also informing them of where and how to report.
- piloting a toll-free helpline that allows the community to anonymously report recruiters.
- piloting a toll-free support line that connects vulnerable women and girls to CSOs that offer economic empowerment or other resources.

- piloting an economic empowerment program in the community that targets mothers of vulnerable women and girls.
- piloting a six-month program that pairs trained trafficking survivor advocates with potential victims in an effort to educate them on the tactics of recruiters, where and how to report, provide them with guidance and encouragement and direct them to available resources.

Chapter Six

Areas for Additional Research

Possible areas for additional research are outlined below.

- The dynamics of recruiting for sex trafficking from Edo State, as it relates to geographical/territorial specificities, as well as its intersectionality with other forms of trafficking, including forced labour.
- Research into the mindset of many in the community in Edo that have embraced prostitution as a viable alternative to poverty and how same can be reversed.
- Comparison of the Enabler profile and recruiting tactics of Enablers in other endemic Edo State LGAs to determine whether similarities exist.
- Comparison of recruiting prevalence in Oredo LGA to recruiting in other parts of Edo State where trafficking is not endemic (such as Edo North) to determine what community postures/responses to trafficking and/or cultures prevent the proliferation of trafficking in those areas and whether or not same can be adopted in Oredo LGA.
- Expanding research on the subject of recruiters (and trafficking in general) outside of Oredo LGA in an effort to compare recruiting tactics, modus operandi, the demographics of recruiters as well as the success rate of recruiting.
- The import of family pressure and financial limitations on vulnerability to recruiting.
- The impact of various approaches to tackling recruiting (i.e., via primary education, policies, programs on the ground, awareness in rural areas, town hall meetings which gather local stakeholders, involvement of survivor leaders, etc.), particularly with reference to children.
- The costs of preventing recruiting vs. victim rehabilitation.
- Researching the intersectionality (if any) of what appears to be the disaggregated operation of recruiting actors in Oredo LGA against the backdrop of existing highlevel, organized criminal networks (Nigerian mafia, Black Axe, Aye, etc.) operating in Europe.

- Conduct research into the growing number of *Digital Enablers* in an effort to determine their modus operandi and potential scalability of online recruiting.
- The impact of the March 2018 proclamation of the Oba of Benin on recruiting.
- The impact, if any, of anti-trafficking mainstreaming in primary schools in Edo State.
- The impact of COVID-19 on Enablers in Edo State.

Appendix

Appendix

A.1 Terminology

CBO: Community Based Organisation

COSUDOW: Committee of the Support of the Dignity of Women

CSO: Civil Society Organizations

DFID: Department for International Development ETAHT: Edo Task Force Against Human Trafficking

EU: European Union

FCDO: Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office

FGD: Focus Group Discussion GPI: Girls Power Initiative

IRSAC: Idia Renaissance Skill Acquisition Centre

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IOM: International Organization for Migration

KII: Key Informant Interviews LGA: Local Government Area

MDA: Ministries, Departments and Agencies

NAPTIP: National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons

NCDC: Nigeria Centre for Disease Control

NCS: Nigeria Customs Service

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization NIS: Nigeria Immigration Service

NPF: Nigeria Police Force PTP: Pathway to Prevention

SME: Small/Medium Sized Enterprises SOSIN: Stamping Out Slavery in Nigeria

UN: United Nations

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

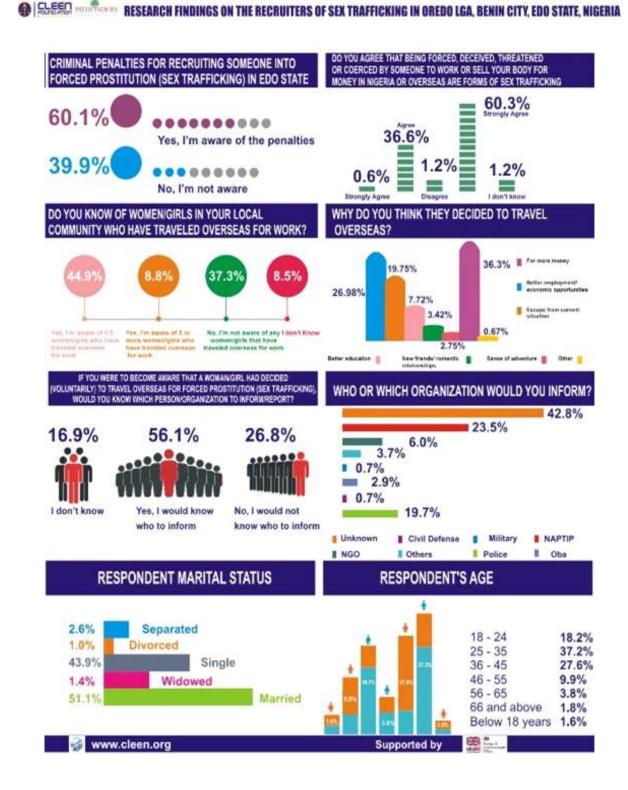
UNTOC: United Nations' Transnational Organized Crime Convention

A.2 Infographics for Research Findings

HAVE YOU HEARD OF SEX TRAFFICKING? DO YOU KNOW THAT SEX TRAFFICKING IS A CRIME? 0.6% 99.3% 0.1% I don't Know No HOW DO YOU VIEW THE IDEA OF GIRLS/WOMEN BEING FORCED, DECEIVED, THREATENED OR COERCED BY SOMEONE TO WORK OR SELL THEIR BODY FOR MONEY IN NIGERIA OR OVERSEAS TO MAKE MONEY HOW COMMON IS IT FOR GIRLS/WOMEN IN YOUR LOCAL COMMUNITY TO BE RECRUITED TO TRAVEL ABROAD? 0.6% 16.9% 1.1% 53.3% 30.8% 16.9% 7.6% Very common for girls/women 27.3% in my area to be recruited to travel overseas 17.4% 0.8% It happens sometimes that I'm aware of It never happens, as far | I don't know | as I'm aware Very Bad Very good Good | Bad I Condemnable III I don't know IF YOU WERE TO BECOME AWARE THAT A WOMANIGIRL WAS BEING WHAT KIND OF WORK DID THE WOMEN/ GIRLS GO TO DO? RECRUITED INTO FORCED PROSTITUTION (SEX TRAFFICKING) ABROAD WOULD YOU KNOW WHAT TO DO? 14.95% 25.8% 20.73% 13.79% 56.4% 5.99% 17.8% Prostitution They went to do some form of legitimate work Yes, I would know what to do . No, I am not sure what to do They were forced by someone else to sell sex for money = I don't know I'm not aware of what kind of work they went to do DOES EDO STATE HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE STATE POLICY **LOCATION OF INTERVIEW** OR AN ACTION PLAN TO COMBAT SEX TRAFFICKING? 60% 40% Urban Rural I don't know Follow the conversation via #SexTrafficking @cleenfoundation @pathfindersji

♠ SEED MINISTER RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE RECRUITERS OF SEX TRAFFICKING IN OREDO LGA, BENIN CITY, EDO STATE, NIGERIA

A.2 Infographics for Research Findings



A.3 Survey Questionnaire

DFID SoSiN Accountable Grants to NGOs

PATHWAY to PREVENTION PROJECT

Questions for Quantitative Data Collection

QUESTIONS
Informed Consent Form for Respondents
Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is
(Researcher/Interviewer)
I am part of the team that is carrying out research that is focused to empower and slave proof local communities by deterring the recruitment of potential victims for sex trafficking by local recruiters (Enablers) in Oredo LGA, Edo state. The research is coordinated by the CLEEN Foundation in partnership with Pathfinders Justice Initiative with support from the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (UK DFID). Your contribution, by completing the questionnaire/interview, is voluntary and valuable. We equally assure you of the confidentiality of the information you provide in the course of the interview.
It would be greatly appreciated if you would provide your candid responses on all the questions.
If you have any questions about this study, you may contact:
Name: Oluwole Ojewale, Head of Research, CLEEN Foundation;
Email: oluwole.ojewale@cleen.org
Profile/ Background
Interviewer's Name:
Location of Interview: (a.) Urban (b.) Rural

Respondent's Name (first name adequate):				
Respondent's Sex:	Male () Female ()			
Name of Community of residence in Oredo:				
Respondent's Ethnicity:				

Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Benin, Esan, Afemai, Etsako, others

Respondent's Marital Status: Single () Married () Divorced() Separated() Widowed()

Respondent's Highest Educational Qualifications:

- 1. Informal Education
- 2. Primary School Leaving Certificate ()
- 3. Secondary School Certificate ()
- 4. Post-secondary Diploma ()
- 5. University Bachelor's Degree (BA), (B.Sc.), (B.Ed.)
- 6. University Post Graduate (PGD), (Masters), (PhD)

Respondent's Age:

Age	
Below 18 years 0	
18-24	1
25-34	2
35-44	3
45-54	4
55-64	5
65 and older	6
Prefer not to answer	7

Religion: (a) Christianity (b) Islam (c) Traditionalist (d) Other, please specify: _____

Economic Status: (a) Employed (b) Unemployed (c) Self-Employed (d) Apprentice (e) Student (f) Other, please specify:

If employed/self employed:

1. Average monthly income in Naira:(a) Below 30,000(b) 30,000 – 50,000 (c) 51,000 –100,000 (d) 101,000 – 500,000 (e) 501,0000 – 1,000,000 (f) above 1,000,000

			2.		If unemployed, provider?	apprentice/student, who is your primary financial
		Self			L	
		Pare	nt			
		Sibli	ing			
		Son	or daughter			
		Exte	nded family			
		Frie	nds			
		Othe	er:			
Se	ctio	ıA: U	J nderstandi ı	ng the l	Prevalence of S	ex Trafficking
1.		Have	e you heard o	f sex tr	afficking?(a)Ye	s (b) No(c.) I don't know
2.		Are	you aware tha	at sex tı	afficking is a cri	me? (a) Yes (b) No
3. (se	x tra		you aware of ing) in Edo St	-	•	alties for recruiting someone into forced prostitution
			es, I'm aware o, I'm not aw	-	penalties	
4. yoi	ur bo	-	_	_		d, threatened or coerced by someone to work or sell orms of sex trafficking?
(a.)) Str	ongly	Agree (b.) Agree	gree (c	.) Disagree (d.) S	Strongly Disagree (e.) I don't know
5.		How	did vou com	e to lea	ırn about sex traf	ficking? Please select one or more:
•			•		ip (Church, Mos	
			School		·F (,,	1,
			Parents			
			Siblings (Br	others	, Sisters)	
			Relations (U		*	
			Friends or co	olleagı	ues or word of me	outh
			From the ne	ws (e.g	s. news channels	, newspapers, and online news sources)
			Non-fiction	books	and documentar	y style movies on trafficking
			Television a	nd/or r	adio	
			Flyers, adve	ertisem	ent boards, brock	hures
			_		s and NGOs	
			Social medi			
			Other (pleas	se spec	ify)	

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someone to work or sell their body for money in Nigeria or overseas to make money?

How do you view the idea of girls/women being forced, deceived, threatened or coerced by

(a.) Ve	good (b.) Good (c.) Bad (d.) Very Bad (e.) Condemnable (f) I don't know
7.	low common is it for girls/women in your local community to be recruited to travel abroad? Very common for girls/women in my area to be recruited to travel overseas (I know of a east 5 or more) It happens sometimes that I'm aware of (I know 1-5) It happens rarely that I'm aware of (I know of 1-2) It never happens, as far as I'm aware I I don't know
8.	o you know of women/girls in your local community who have traveled overseas for work? Yes, I'm aware of 1-5 women/girls who have traveled overseas for work Yes, I'm aware of 5 or more women/girls who have traveled overseas for work No, I'm not aware of any women/girls that have traveled overseas for work I don't know
9. (Please	you answered "yes" to Question 8, why do you think they decided to travel overseas? Pelect one or more.) For more money Better employment/economic opportunities Better education Sense of adventure New friends/ romantic relationships Escape from current situation Other
If no/I	n't know to question 8, go to Question 11
10.	You answered "yes" to Question 8, what kind of work did the women/ girls go to do? Prostitution (voluntarily selling sex for money) They were forced by someone else to sell sex for money (sex trafficking) They went to do some form of legitimate work I'm not aware of what kind of work they went to do
11. (sex tra	If you were to become aware that a woman/girl was being recruited into forced prostitution (cking) abroad, would you know what to do? Yes, I would know what to do No, I am not sure what to do I don't know
12. for for inform	If you were to become aware that a woman/girl had decided (voluntarily) to travel overseased prostitution (sex trafficking), would you know which person/organization to port? Yes, I would know who/which organization to inform

	<u> </u>	No, I would not know who to inform I don't know
13. Police	-	u answered "yes" to Question 12, who or which organization would you inform? (a) Defense (c.) Military (d) NAPTIP (e.) Oba (f) NGO (g)Others, please specify
If you a	nswered	d no to question 12, go to Section B.
14.	Would	you be willing to inform the person/organization? Yes() No()
15. taken (-	answered no to question 14, why not? (a) Fear of being attacked (b) No action will be don't want to report (d) I don't trust the person/organization (e) other (please specify).
Section	n B: Rec	ruiting/Understanding the Enablers (Recruiters)
16. (sex tra	-	ou aware of any instances of a woman/girl who was recruited into forced prostitution overseas, even if she rejected the offer? Yes, I'm aware of someone who was recruited into forced prostitution overseas No, I'm not aware of anyone who was recruited into forced prostitution overseas
Ifno, g	o to Q25	5 .
17. multip	-	answered "yes" to Question 16, who are you aware of that was recruited (if know of answer for each case or type of case)? A friend or friends Family member A co-worker of mine A schoolmate Someone I know from the local community
18.	-	Stranger Travel agency Employment agency Friends Family member School mate Someone in the local community (Please specify:) Other:
19. aware)	•	answered "yes" to Question 16, please provide the following information (if you are
A.	What w	vas the recruiter's age?

B.	What was the recruiter's gender?					
C.	How was the woman/girl recruited?					
D.	Do yo	Do you know how the woman/girl was recruited?				
E.	Do yo	u know where the woman/girl was recruited?				
F.	Do yo	u know what tactics were used by the recruiter? Threats Promises of fortune/ better life Social shaming if reported Mentioned known connection/ community person Referenced a large amount of money to be made Reassurance of safety Other: (Please indicate)				
20. travel		lition to the recruiter, were there others who were pressuring the woman/girl to also s at the same time?				
uavei		Yes				
	_					
		No				
21.	If yes,	who?				
21,		Mother				
		Father				
		Other family members				
		Friends				
		Co-workers				
		Religious leaders				
		Traditional leaders				
		Other:				
22.	Dovo	u know if the recruiter/agent received any kind of recruiting fee?				
22.	\Box	Yes				
		No				
	_	INO				
If yes.	••					
A.	What	was the fee, if known? Or please provide a range:				
B.		r opinion, why do you think the recruiter/agent was				
recrui	•					
	ŭ	Need for money				
		Coercion/ fear of harm				
	_	Friend's request				
	_					

C. (crimir	Do you nal or oth	To be socially accepted Other: think the recruiter was connected to an organized network er)? Yes No
I.	Ifyes	, why do you think so?
II.	How	do you think the recruiter/agent knew who to target and what to offer?
III.	oversea contact	The recruiter intentionally sought out a potential victim to connect to a trafficker as They were informed of a woman/girl who was looking to travel abroad and made with her. It was likely a friend or someone they knew that suggested to the recruiter that they inancially benefit from recruiting Social clubs or religious groups were promoting recruiting Someone forced the recruiter into recruiting Other:
Section	n C:	Community/Government Response in Oredo
23. choose	In your all that a	Local law enforcement is not active and lack the capacity to enforce laws Local law enforcement can't be trusted Many do not know that recruiting for sex trafficking is a crime Many believe that people will not get hurt if trafficked Many believe that prostitution abroad is relatively safe There are not enough job opportunities in Edo The community/parents/relations praises the wealthy girls/women into sex

	0	Youth programs (scholarships, trainings, job opportunities) I am not aware about any effort
	ā	Other
25.	-	are unaware of any recruiting cases, what do you think it is about your community that the that possible?
1103 1101		Most people who could be recruiting do not need the extra money
		There is a shared belief that prostitution is harmful
		Children are in school and busy
		His Royal Highness, the Oba of Benin's March 2018 pronouncement against traffickers and fear of consequences
		Awareness of the criminality of the offense
		I am not that connected so I don't know
		High moral values in the community Other:
	_	Other.
26. recruiti	•	u think that the law enforcement agencies are doing enough about trafficking and our community?
		Yes, they are.
		No, they are not. If no, what should they be doing?
27.	Do you	think the community leaders are doing enough to reduce sex trafficking in Oredo? Yes, they are.
		No, they are not.
	A. If	no, what should they be doing?
28. traffick		Edo State have a comprehensive state policy or an action plan to combat sex
(a)	Yes (b)	No (c) I don't know
If the re	esponde	nt answers 'No' or indicates he/she doesn't know, kindly go to Q30
29.	-	which of the following options are operational in Edo with respect to government afficking?
	(a)	the integrated approach (Public Prosecution Service, Police, Edo Ministry of Justice, local government)
	(b)	exchange of information (Police, Immigration and NAPTIP)
	(c)	victims' support system (shelter and health care through ministry of health, welfare etc.)
	(d)	International cooperation to repatriate victims from destination countries through
	the Mi	nistry of Foreign Affairs.

- 30. In Edo State, are there persons or entities specialized in the fight against sex trafficking and the protection of victims? (a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know
- 31. If yes, how effective are the following government efforts aimed at addressing sex trafficking in this community?

	Very Effective	Effective	Neutral	Ineffective	Very ineffective
NAPTIP Inspectorate					
Nigeria Police Force					
Local Government Authorities					
The Public Prosecution Department					
Judiciary					
State broadcasting services					
State Ministry of Information					
State Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Devp.					
Nigeria Immigration Service					
Edo State Task Force Against HT					

If no, go to Q32.

32. State a	What j	preventive measures to discourage recruitment of girls for sex trafficking has Edo?
	(a)	a state campaign with the aim of raising awareness with regard to victims of trafficking in human beings
	(b)	launching of hotlines to "report sex trafficking anonymously"
	(c)	the enactment of law to arrest and prosecute recruiters and to compensate the victims of sex trafficking
	(d)	I don't know
33. well a protec	s medic	the Edo State budget allocate specific funding for the prosecution of offenders as eal, mental healthcare and economic empowerment for victims (assistance and
1	/	res (b) No (c) I don't know
Section	on D: Po	tential Solutions
34.	Do you	know of any examples of effective programs that prevent sex trafficking?
		Yes
		No
IfYes.		
	A.	What were they?
	В.	Where were they utilized?
	C.	Do you think they would work in your community?
35.	What	lo you think would have stopped the recruiters you described above? (Please select
all that	t are app	licable.)
		Education/ awareness of the potential dangers/ risks of getting trafficked
		Education/awareness that it is a crime

Education/ awareness of what the criminal penalties are Implementation of local and federal law by local law enforcement Increased prosecution of cases More public shaming Increasing awareness of prosecutions/people going to jail for recruiting Education/awareness of job opportunities Education/ awareness of training opportunities access to basic services such as food, housing, clothing, etc. Access to free or low-cost healthcare Education/ awareness that girls/ women are not commodities Education/awareness of exploitation and human rights Reward for reporting recruiting cases (whistle blowing) Other

36. If you could pick one, which of these programs would be most effective in your community to prevent sex trafficking by a recruiter? (Please choose one.)

☐ Education/ awareness of the potential dangers/ risks of getting trafficked

	Education/ awareness that it is a crime
	Education/ awareness of what the criminal penalties are
	Police better enforcing the law - arrests
	Awareness of prosecutions/people going to jail for recruiting
	Education/ awareness of job opportunities
	Education/ awareness of training opportunities
	access to basic needs such as food, housing, clothing, etc.
	Access to free or low-cost healthcare
	Education/ awareness that girls/ women are not commodities
	Education/ awareness of exploitation and human rights
	Reward for reporting recruiting cases (whistleblowing)
	Other:
37.	loes your community need most to prevent sex trafficking?
	More job opportunities/ economic boost
	Schools that are more affordable
	Free/ affordable day care programs
	Educating communities (Parents) about the dangers/risk of trafficking
	Educating communities about the dangers/risk of recruiting for trafficking
	Other:
• •	
38.	which groups would you target/prioritize to prevent recruiting? (Please specify the
name r	ach selection.)
	Social clubs
	Associations
	Religious organizations
	Schools
	Market owners
	Youth programs
	Parents
	Other:

A.4 Focus Group Discussion and Key Informant Interview Questionnaire

DFID SoSiN Accountable Grants to NGOs
PATHWAY to PREVENTION PROJECT
Questions for Data Collection
QUESTIONS
Informed Consent Form for Respondents
Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is(Researcher/Interviewer)
I am part of the team that is carrying out research that is focused to empower and slave proof local communities by deterring the recruitment of potential victims for sex trafficking by local recruiters (Enablers) in Oredo LGA, Edo State. The research is coordinated by the CLEEN Foundation in partnership with Pathfinders Justice Initiative with support from the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (UK DFID). Your contribution, by completing the questionnaire/interview, is voluntary and valuable. We equally assure you of the confidentiality of the information you provide in the course of the interview.
It would be greatly appreciated if you would provide your candid responses on all the questions.
If you have any questions about this study, you may contact:
Name: Oluwole Ojewale, Head of Research, CLEEN Foundation Email: oluwole.ojewale@cleen.org
Profile/ Background Interviewer's Name:
Location of Interview: (a.) Urban (b.) Rural
Respondent's Name (first name adequate):

Respondent's Sex: Male() Female()

Name of community of residence in Oredo:.....

Respondent's Ethnicity:

Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Benin, Esan, Afemai, Etsako, others

Respondent's Marital Status: Single () Married () Divorced() Separated() Widowed()

Respondent's Highest Educational Qualifications:

- 1. Informal Education
- 2. Primary School Leaving Certificate ()
- 3. Secondary School Certificate()
- 4. Post-secondary Diploma()
- 5. University Bachelor's Degree (BA), (B.Sc.), (B.Ed.)
- 6. University Postgraduate Degree (PGD), (Masters) (PhD)

Respondent's Age:

Age	
Below 18 years	0
18-24	1
25-34	2
35-44	3
45-54	4
55-64	5
65 and older	6
Prefer not to answer	7

Relig	Religion: (a) Christianity (b) Islam (c) Traditionalist (d) Other, please specify:					
		atus: (a) Employed (b) Unemployed (c) Self-Employed (d) Apprentice (e) Student se specify:				
Ifemp	oloyed/se	elfemployed:				
1.	(c) 51,	ge monthly income in Naira:(a) Below 30,000 (b) 30,000 – 50,000 000 – 100,000 (e) 501,0000 – 1,000,000 (f) above 1,000,000				
2.	_ _ _	nployed, apprentice/student, who is your primary financial provider? Self Parent Sibling Son or daughter Extended family Friends Other:				

 $\textbf{Respondent Category:} \ General \ Public \ (\) \ Special \ Public \ (\)$

Special Public

Section A: Please briefly respond to the following set of questions based on your understanding and knowledge:

- 1. From your view, what can you say about the rate of sex trafficking in your area?
- 2. What are the factors you think promote sex trafficking in your area?
- 3. How do you view the role of Enablers (recruiters)in sex trafficking in your area?
- 4. What are the methods Enablers use in recruiting people to be trafficked in your area?
- 5. What are the ways of identifying the Enablers in your area?
- 6. What are the measures the community has used to reduce the work of Enablers in your area?
- 7. What are the measures the government has used to reduce the recruiting by Enablers in your area?
- 8. How can the effects of Enablers in your area be reduced by the community?
- 9. How can the effects of Enablers in your area be reduced by the government?
- 10. How can the effects of Enablers in your area be reduced by NGOs and media?

- 11. In your opinion, what additional messaging should be included in the fight against sex trafficking in Edo State?
- 12. If you heard someone was getting trafficked/ recruited for trafficking, who should be the local resource to address this?
- 13. Who should be more involved?
- 14. What should the process for reporting recruiting be?

Section B: Optional

- 15. Have you ever been recruited to travel overseas for prostitution?
- 16. Have you ever been trafficked for sex overseas? Do you need help?
- 17. Would you like help in reporting a case of recruiting or sex trafficking?
- 18. If you are being recruited, would you like additional information on what to do?

A.5 Demographics of Respondents

B. Location of Interview

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	A. Urban	2160	60.0	60.0	60.0
	B. Rural	1440	40.0	40.0	100.0
	Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

C. Local Government Area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Oredo	3600	100.0	100.0	100.0

D. State

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Edo	3600	100.0	100.0	100.0

F. Name of Community of residence in Oredo

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Eguadase	35	1.0	1.0	1.0
	Etete	70	1.9	1.9	2.9
	Evbiemwen	48	1.3	1.3	4.3
	GRA	248	6.9	6.9	11.1
	Ibiwe	76	2.1	2.1	13.3
	Ihogbe	23	.6	.6	13.9
	Ikpeama	23	.6	.6	14.5
	Isekhure	29	.8	.8	15.3
	Iwegie	42	1.2	1.2	16.5
	Iwehen	60	1.7	1.7	18.2
	Nekpenekpen	76	2.1	2.1	20.3
	New benin1	224	6.2	6.2	26.5
	New benin2	86	2.4	2.4	28.9
	Ogbe	134	3.7	3.7	32.6
	Ogbelaka	55	1.5	1.5	34.1
	Ogboka	71	2.0	2.0	36.1
	Oredo	208	5.8	5.8	41.9
	Orevaoghene	27	.8	.8	42.6
	Other	1862	51.7	51.7	94.4
	Ugbague	32	.9	.9	95.3
	Unueru	25	.7	.7	95.9
	Urubi	48	1.3	1.3	97.3
	Uzebu	98	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

J. Respondent Marital Status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Divorced	37	1.0	1.0	1.0
Married	1839	51.1	51.1	52.1
Separated	93	2.6	2.6	54.7
Single	1580	43.9	43.9	98.6
Widowed	51	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

K. Highest Educational qualifications

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Primary School Leaving Certificate	318	8.8	8.8	8.8
2. Secondary School Certificate	1703	47.3	47.3	56.1
3. Post-secondary Diploma	633	17.6	17.6	73.7
4. University bachelor degree (BA, B.Sc, B.Ed. etc.)	750	20.8	20.8	94.6
5. University postgraduate degree Masters and Ph.D	73	2.0	2.0	96.6
6. Informal Education	123	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

L. Religion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid a.) Christianity	3359	93.3	93.3	93.3
b.) Islam	145	4.0	4.0	97.3
c.) Traditionalist	69	1.9	1.9	99.3
e.) Others	27	.8	.8	100.0
Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

M. Economic Status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid a.) Employed	812	22.6	22.6	22.6
b.) Unemployed	249	6.9	6.9	29.5
c.) Self- Employed	1989	55.3	55.3	84.7
d.) Apprentice	226	6.3	6.3	91.0
e.) Student	278	7.7	7.7	98.7
f.) Others	46	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

M. Average monthly income

-		T.	r	F
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid a.) Below 30,000	1606	44.6	44.6	44.6
b.) 30,000 – 50,000	1203	33.4	33.4	78.0
c.) 51,000 – 100,000	641	17.8	17.8	95.8
d.) 101,000 – 500,000	143	4.0	4.0	99.8
e.) 501,0000 – 1,000,000	6	.2	.2	100.0
f.) Above 1,000,000	1	.0	.0	100.0
Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

O. Respondents' Age

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18 - 24	655	18.2	18.2	18.2
25 - 35	1338	37.2	37.2	55.4
36 - 45	992	27.6	27.6	82.9
46 - 55	357	9.9	9.9	92.8
56 - 65	136	3.8	3.8	96.6

66 and above	65	1.8	1.8	98.4
Below 18 years	57	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	3600	100.0	100.0	

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Editors

About The Editors

R. Evon Benson-Idahosa, the founder and Executive Director of Pathfinders Justice Initiative (www.pathfindersji.org), is a Nigerian native, a thought leader and leading expert on the subject of modern day slavery in sub-Saharan Africa. She is also a trained English Barrister and American lawyer who lends her expertise as an advisor/consultant to organizations as well as state, national and international governments on the issues of sex trafficking, the sexual exploitation of African women and gender based violence. In her role as a consultant to the Government of Nigeria (Parliament), the Edo State Government and the UK Home Office (via its Modern Slavery Project), she is a sought after trainer and facilitator, known for her innovative and holistic approach to ending modern day slavery and sex trafficking in her home country of Nigeria. As an activist, Ms. Benson-Idahosa's work has been featured on multiple radio and television news outlets, including CNN, CNNi, BBC and Al Jazeera and she has been named one of New York's New Abolitionists (www.newyorksnewabolitionists.com). She is a 2019 recipient of France's Emerging Leaders Program award, a 2018 TEDx speaker, a 2018 'The Platform Nigeria' speaker, a 2019 and 2017 Vital Voices Global Freedom Exchange Fellow, a 2016 United States White House State of Women "Nominated Changemaker" and has been nationally recognized for her efforts in seeking an end to gender based violence. To learn more, please contact her via email: reidahosa@pathfindersji.org.

Suzi Chun-Turley serves as the Director of Strategy and Development for Pathfinders Justice Initiative and is responsible for their strategic growth initiatives. She focuses on innovative projects to better serve survivors and strategies to further the anti-trafficking sector. Her pursuit of social impact has straddled both private and social sectors throughout her career. Most recently, she served as the Director of Strategy and Development for Restore NYC, a leading anti-trafficking organization in New York City serving foreign national survivors. She helped launch their Economic Empowerment program and founded a social enterprise for

survivors which has become a model for the anti-trafficking sector. Her other social sector experience includes consulting for the UN Office of Internal Oversight, starting up a new charitable arm at Next Jump, and developing a framework and model to quantify social impact as a Farber Fellow at REDF. Her private sector experience includes providing management leverage at Bridgewater Associates, management consulting at McKinsey, and investment banking support in JP Morgan's public finance group. Her work in both sectors has been featured in The McKinsey Quarterly, The New York Times, Wired, and the Chronicle of Philanthropy. Suzi received a BS from Columbia School of Engineering and an MBA from Columbia Business School.

Oluwole Ojewale is Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. He possesses about a decade experiences across a wide range of development interventions in Nigeria. At various times, he has served as the lead and component manager on major programs and projects which have attracted funding. Oluwole combines public policy research with program management expertise to advance evidence-driven advocacy on governance, conflict, security, community resilience and democracy. He has published policy papers in leading peer-reviewed journals and also co-authored "Urbanization and Crime in Nigeria", published with the Palgrave Macmillan and adjudged as the first comprehensive book on the intersection between urbanisation and crime in Nigeria. He heads the research unit at the CLEEN Foundation in Abuja, Nigeria.

Ruth Olofin is a development practitioner with expertise in Security Sector & Governance with bias for accountability, civil military relationship and gender inclusivity. She obtained a Masters of Arts (MA) degree in Development Studies- with a Major in Social Policy for Development (SPD) from the International Institute for Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, The Netherlands. She has over 8 years vast experience (including grassroots development work) working in various national and international organisations with focus on women's rights and gender in development, media related work on mitigating electoral violence, accountability in the justice and security sectors in Nigeria, building strong resilient communities in preventing and countering violent extremism, mainstreaming and developing gender components of various programmes. She has worked as a Support Consultant with the Department for International Development (DFID) on the Justice for All Programme on External Accountability of the Nigeria Police Force and Oversight Bodies including presently leading on CLEEN's security sector reform program aimed at improving civil military relations between civilians and the Nigerian Armed Forces. Currently, Ruth Olofin works as the Program Manager of the Headquarters office of CLEEN in Abuja, Nigeria as part of the management team of the organisation.

Nnamdi Odo is a Monitoring and Evaluation expert and a statistician with diverse knowledge and skills in information communication and technology. He is a renowned researcher and data analyst with experience in development works, data analysis and project monitoring and evaluation. His career objective is to "to aid effective management decision making processes in government, businesses and organizations in the development sector through inferences based on empirical evidence". Professionally, Nnamdi led the implementation of "Improving Knowledge and Mitigating Electoral Violence" project which one of the outcome of the project is Election Violence Mitigation Tool (EVMT) which is being used by the Electoral Institute, an organ of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and other stakeholders in conducting research to map electoral risk related factors ahead of elections. Nnamdi supervised the field work on Election Violence Mitigation in Edo and Ondo state 2016 gubernatorial elections respectively. Furthermore, he has assisted in the commencement and implementation of Civil Military Relations Project which is currently in a 3rd phase of its implementation based on the successes recorded by the project. In his current position, as a Monitoring and Evaluation officer, Nnamdi develops organizational and project work/implementation plans, collects data relating to project performance, produces management information system (MIS) reports for the board and management of CLEEN Foundation, conducts field visits to monitor projects and carries out mid-term and end of project evaluations. Nnamdi holds a B.SC in Statistics from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka in 2012 and completed a course on "Result Based Monitoring and Evaluation" with University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, 2017.

Contributors

About The Contributors

Iziengbe Pat Ebuka-Onuoha is a lecturer with the Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria. She has special interest in Human trafficking, Gender and Sexuality studies, Women History and Peace and Conflict Studies. In 2006, she had a B.A and in 2012 got an M.A both in History at the University of Benin and Ibadan respectively. She is currently in the last phase of her PhD program with the University of Ibadan. She also holds a post graduate Diploma in Federalism, Decentralization and Conflicts Resolution from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. She is an independent researcher with over 10 years experience where she has won several grants with the French institute for Research in Africa (IFRA Nigeria) on Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation, Women's Clubs and their relationship with Trafficking in Benin. She also won the grant with Vluchtelingen Werk (Dutch Council for Refugees) Netherlands through Idia Renaissance on Daughters for Sale; Relationship between Human Trafficking and Landed Properties in Edo State. Iziengbe has authored a book, contributed to many journals and has over 20 published articles in both local and international journals. Recently, she was also the youngest contributory author on the reverend Oba of Benin Red Book. She is a fellow of the French institute for Research in Africa (IFRA Nigeria), Fellow, Lagos Studies Association (LSA), Fellow, Institute of Benin Studies, Member Africa Unite Against Child Abuse (AFRUCA) UK, and member of Historical Society of Nigeria.

Precious Oghale Diagboya is a competent research consultant on human trafficking and irregular migration from Edo state. She holds a B.A and M.A in Philosophy from the University of Benin and Ibadan respectively. Precious is concerned with the epistemologies of ignorance that fuels human trafficking and irregular migration. Precious is affiliated to the French Institute for research in Africa (IFRA, Nigeria), Swiss-Sub Sahara Migration network, and is also an alumni of the Lucerne Summer University: Ethics in a Global Context. These

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Mannie Omage is a Lecturer and Researcher in Criminology and Sociological fields. His research interests span youth restiveness, deviant youth subcultures, juvenile delinquency, female criminality, academic offenses, urban criminality, human trafficking and unsafe migration. He holds a M.Sc. in Sociology (Ibadan), a B.Sc. in Sociology & Anthropology with a Diploma in Social Work & Criminology (BIU) and he is Doctoral candidate in Criminology. Mr. Omage is published in reputable journals; local and international. He has taught courses and supervised research in areas where social problems related to human trafficking, smuggling and unsafe migration is explored as organized criminality. He has participated in conferences, seminars and workshops involving local and international stakeholders in academia, government and NGOs where trafficking and unsafe migration was topical: One was organized by NAPTIP in 2015; another was the Senate roundtable on migration and human trafficking, 2018 and virtual training session on the role of MDAs and CSOs organized by palladium group, 2020: This incubated a quest for understanding the plight of trafficked persons and vulnerabilities of women, youths and children as target victims and illuminated the endemic nature of the problem in Edo State and Nigeria. His concern for humanity made him extend advocacy to vulnerable persons in rural areas through voluntary missionary/community service where young females and males are being enlightened and safeguarded against engaging in unsafe migration. Thus he has now begun research consultancy in this area in furtherance of participating in the fight against human trafficking and unsafe migration in Nigeria.

Aifuwa Rich Iyamu is a Social Behavioral Change Communication Specialist with over 12 years experience in the development sector. He holds a Master's degree in Sociology and Anthropology (Social Work) from the University of Benin, Benin City. He is the resident Pastor of Church of God Mission International – Oka Provincial Headquarters, Benin City. Aifuwa Rich Iyamu is the Founding president of Kingdom Youth Development Network - an organization that is dedicated to empowering people with the ability to make free choices based on self-awareness. As an author, he has 6 books and many paper publications to his credit.



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