Introduction

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1 Introduction

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Abstract

The subject of this enquiry is human trafficking in Nigeria, its manifestations, and how the institutional response as well as context of interventions has been in Nigeria in the period 1960-2020. This period is purposively chosen to coincide with the marking of the African year 2020 by Leiden University; specifically, it relates to the African Studies Centre of Leiden University's theme Africa 2020, specifically Reflecting on 60 Years of Independence. The perspective that we have chosen for dealing with/analysing this specific phenomenon takes due account of three main aspects – the definitional and the manifestations (forced labour, sexual exploitation, factors of internal displacements), the spatial or geographical dimensions (the domestic and international profile of Nigeria as source, transit, and destination context), and the institutional scopes of interventions (international conventions and protocols, related government departments and agencies, NGOs, international organisations) collaborating with Nigeria in relation to human trafficking.

Conventions and Definitions

The definition of human trafficking has its background in the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (UNCTOC). The UNCTOC adopted by General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000 is the main international instrument in the fight against transnational organized crime. As of 26 July 2018, 190 countries and territories had become Parties to the Convention. The convention is further supplemented by three protocols, which target specific areas and manifestations of organized crime: the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children; the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air; and the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms and Ammunitions, their Parts and Components.[1]

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1   http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/index.html.

The United Nations Protocol to Prevent Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol, 2000)2.

The Palermo Protocol defines trafficking in human beings as:

(a) …the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power, or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery, or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs;[3]

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in sub paragraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in sub-paragraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered «trafficking in persons» even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.

(d) 'Child' shall mean any person less than eighteen years of age.

This protocol is the primary international legal instrument that addresses human trafficking as a crime. The international community's choices when it developed its framework for combating human trafficking produced a narrow construct focused primarily on criminal law measures, thereby marginalizing other vital perspectives such as witness protection for victims of trafficking. Failure to adequately incorporate these other perspectives constitute hindrance to efforts aimed at combatting human trafficking. Despite the criticisms, the UN Trafficking Protocol is a legally binding instrument which serves as a useful template for developing regional and sub-regional protocols to deal with trafficking in persons.

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2   United Nations Protocol to Prevent Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 2000, Article 3.

3   Art. 3 of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the UN Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime (2000).

The other protocol supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, namely the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, defines 'smuggling of migrants' as:

> the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefits, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.[4]

This definition opens the human trafficking discourse to concepts such as fraud, deception, false promise, or trickery, with implications for vulnerability of the victims. In a bid to understand the various points of convergence and divergence between the various Nigerian laws and the Palermo Protocol, Gbadamosi (2012) highlights how Nigeria's constitutional and legal frameworks and judicial system address the problems of trafficking for forced labour, and new forms of slavery or slavery.

The conceptualization of trafficking implies the possibility to estimate and understand the range and level of exploitation experienced by the victims. There is the debate about what conditions are necessary to be fulfilled in order for someone to be regarded as a victim of human trafficking (Taiwo & Akinyoade, 2015). There are four main elements of human trafficking: action (recruiting, luring, transporting, and receiving), means (deception, coercion, and the threat of the use of force), process (double-edged use of traditional and new forms of communication and transportation), and purpose (exploitation – servitude, forced labour, modern-day slavery, and trade in organs, pornography, and sex) (Wako, 2020). Combating each of the four main elements of human trafficking (actions, means, process, and purpose) is beset by challenges that require the use of both policy and legal instruments as well as financial and human resources.

Trafficking can occur within a state or across national frontiers. As a result of the multi-dimensional nature of these phenomena, efforts at curtailing and controlling the problems have also been multi-dimensional. Human trafficking for forced labour in Nigeria cannot be adequately addressed without reference to similar developments in the neighbouring countries of West and Central Africa, and the most frequently used destination countries in Europe and the Middle East. States, state parties, international organisations, and NGOs have played prominent roles in addressing the problems. Underlying factors for trafficking are many and complex;

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4   Art. 3 of UN Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (2000).

these factors include problems of poverty, inequality, and discrimination. Perpetrators are driven by the pursuit of financial profit at the expense of the vulnerable, the unprotected, and the unorganized set of individuals being trafficked. Equally of significance is the role of the state especially as it relates to the failure of the social contract. This introduction captures it vividly as it provides the historical antecedents to human trafficking in Nigeria.

Post-independence Era (1960-1966)

The period during the attainment of independence in 1960 was characterized by the euphoria of helping the new nation attain economic independence. The three regions namely the north, the west and the east were in deep competition for economic development. The north focused on the production of groundnut and cotton while the east tried to develop its palm produce. In the west attention was on the growth of the cocoa industry which had produced enormous wealth to pay for free education and the development of infrastructure. The quest for development engendered some form of competition between the regional governments which benefited the people, since scholarships for education were freely provided and those with some form of education could get requisite employment. Thus, the phenomenon of human trafficking was not yet manifest, since young people with aspirations could actualise them through the instrumentality of the regional governments.

However, the political crisis which began in 1964 and culminated in the two coup d'états in January 1966 and July 1966 truncated the first republic and subsequently resulted in the civil war of 1967 to 1970.

The Second Republic, Military Regimes, and Human Trafficking (1970-90)

At the end of the civil war in 1970, the government at the centre had embarked on reconstruction, rehabilitation, and reintegration of the survivors of the 30 months civil war. Fortunately, the aftermath of the Arab/Israeli war had caused a hike in the price of crude oil resulting in a windfall for Nigeria. The period 1970-1979 could be considered the golden era for Nigeria, as the country was awash with Petro-dollars and was able to fulfil its obligations to the people. However, in 1979, the military handed power back to civilians whereupon commenced the second republic. The elections conducted in 1979 brought in the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) with Alhaji Shehu Shagari as President. Just as in the first republic, the second republic was fraught with numerous contradictions, as political parties were at loggerheads, and corruption had

become a national malaise, thus negating the basis of the social contract. The attendant disillusionment would lead to many professionals leaving the country. Once more, the military returned in December 1983 in order to stop the slide towards chaos. Many Nigerians welcomed the military in the hope that these contradictions would be resolved. However, a palace coup in 1985 overthrew the regime of General Muhammadu Buhari and brought in the regime of President Ibrahim Babangida. At its inception, the regime tried to reach a rapprochement with Nigerians by calling for a debate on whether to take the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan to restructure the economy which was experiencing macroeconomic imbalance (Attoh, 2009). Nigerians rejected the loan, but the regime went ahead in implementing other conditions identified by the IMF as the reasons for Nigeria's economic fragility. The national currency (Naira) depreciated by 1000 per cent (see Babawale, 2006), thus dislocating the formal economy. This served as the genesis of the mass exodus of Nigerians to different countries in Europe, as many people lost their jobs in the private sector and government parastatals. As with the first migratory wave, the second migratory wave began with doctors and other healthcare personnel, but gradually trafficking syndicates entered the picture with mouth-watering offers of jobs as nannies and hairdressers to young nubile Nigerian girls. Thus commenced the trafficking of young Nigerian girls into Europe (Attoh & Makanju, 2017). As the trade progressed, there was a need to bring in enforcers to ensure compliance with the rules of the syndicates, hence it became expedient to traffic young men luring them with job offers.

Internal and Spatial Displacements

Internal displacement is the sudden displacement of people from their homesteads and means of livelihood resulting in a humanitarian crisis.

The killing of Mallam Mohammed Yusuf (the founder of Boko Haram) by government forces in Maiduguri (capital of Borno state) served to radicalise the Boko Haram sect and was the genesis of the war of attrition between the government and members of the sect. The group which had its origin in Maiduguri was anchored in the repudiation of western education and culture (see Attoh, 2018). The escalation of the Boko Haram insurgency has created a huge population of internally displaced persons who are kept in internally displaced persons' camps in states such as Borno, Adamawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe (north-east) of Nigeria. The dislocation of people from their homesteads and means of livelihood has provided trafficking syndicates with a pool of displaced persons eager to leave the IDPs for better environments.

Many of the IDPs become victims of traffickers and have been trafficked to the Middle East. Similarly, the Boko Haram sect participates in the trafficking of persons, as they abduct young girls for marriage to sect members, and those who refuse to be married off are sold to traffickers as slaves (Attoh, 2016). Up until the moment of writing, many of those abducted in Chibok in 2014 (276 girls) and those abducted in Dapchi (110 girls) in 2018 cannot be accounted for. Even though the federal government had negotiated with Boko Haram for the return of the girls, many are still missing.

The Boko Haram conflict has spilled into neighbouring countries such as Cameroon, Niger, and the Lake Chad basin, destroying infrastructure and agriculture, resulting in more complex forms of dislocation. Livestock farming, fishery, and sundry economic activities have been destroyed. The consequence has been a fluid movement of people across the states, which creates more vulnerability for a female child. During such movements more people are abducted and trafficked across international boundaries to engage in forced labour. Unfortunately, the dearth of statistics has not helped in this regard, as states do not have figures for such movements across these borders.

Human Trafficking for Forced Labour

Despite the allure of seeking routes to greener economic pastures, human trafficking is rife with severe consequences and deprivations, which include physical violence, sexual abuse, restriction of victim's movement, false imprisonment, withholding of wages, seizure of personal identity documents to discourage the victim from fleeing, and entanglement of the victim in fraudulent debt from which they or their families cannot escape. These outcomes are observed also in the examination of forced labour. Forced labour is regarded as a consequence of human trafficking, human smuggling, slavery, forced prostitution (Akinyoade & Oyeniyi, 2012). It can also be the motive or an important component of any or all of these. Article 2 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Forced Labour Convention (No. 29) conceptualizes forced labour as one of the direct consequences of human trafficking, human smuggling, slavery, and forced prostitution. In the literature, most trafficked persons are documented as living and working in bondage-like situations, comparable to slavery and practices similar to the slave trade. Its elements include 'debt bondage', 'serfdom', 'forced marriage',

and 'child labour', which are clearly evident in today's human trafficking, forced prostitution, forced labour, and irregular migration transactions.[5]

But, forced labour need not necessarily occur where there is irregular migration, prostitution, human trafficking, and smuggling of migrants. For instance, like all specialised agencies of the UN, ILO discusses forced labour as integral to irregular migration, prostitution, human trafficking, and the smuggling of migrants. For example, it is held that industrialized countries harbour an estimated 3% of all forced labour victims, three-quarters of whom have been trafficked (ILO, 2009). The ILO estimated as far back as 2005 that the annual profits generated from trafficked forced labourers amounted to USD31.6 billion. Half of these profits are earned in industrialized countries (ILO, 2005).

In the ILO (2007) 96th Session, human trafficking for forced labour was described as the 'underside of globalization that has taken on new forms and dimensions, linked to recent developments in technology, transportation and transitional organized crime'. Countries with advanced economies remain the destination of choice for trafficked persons, ironically the victims are sometimes held by authorities as illegal aliens. Within countries, it is relatively more difficult to directly define who are victims of trafficking (or what conditions might constitute forced labour) due to the absence of internal border controls, incomplete vital registration systems (birth certificates and other forms of citizen's registration such as proof of address, national identity cards, and other pertinent civil documentation), and the metamorphosis of local forms of child fostering to servitude. 'The stubborn survival – and often the transmutation – of traditional forms of servitude' is also seen to signal the emergence of newer forms of forced labour linked to globalization, migration and human trafficking' (ILO, 2007). Forced labour may occur where there are no incidences of irregular migration, prostitution, human trafficking, and human smuggling. This has not only skewed our understanding of the phenomenon but also militated against the development of nuanced policy frameworks and programmes that are geared directly at forced labour and that are capable of curtailing its spread.

Understanding human trafficking comes with some confusion as to the varying degrees of intensity. There is the puzzle of the linkage of human trafficking to forced labour. In a similar fashion, there is often a thin line separating human trafficking and legal migration. Thus, within the human

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5   Art. 1 of the Slavery Convention (1926), p. 32.

trafficking continuum, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between coercion, extortion, or consent. There is no neat distinction between human trafficking, illegal migration, and forced labour (modern-day slavery, bondage labour).

The legalistic definition of human trafficking does not recognize the material foundations that compel people to embark on irregular migration or to be trafficked (either voluntarily or with consent). The declining socioeconomic and environmental conditions within which human trafficking occurs are often divorced from ambitious policy plans and considerations. While counter trafficking initiatives aspire to granting victims freedom and emancipation, such programmes must be linked to freeing the human capital of victims from neediness, poverty, and unemployment, and the other socioeconomic and material causes of trafficking. For both academic and relative research, a more inclusive analysis of human trafficking should explore the concepts of vulnerability and exploitation. Victims' peculiarities are such that they are compelled by more than one factor, while some factors are better understood when viewed in reference to other factors.

Slavery and bondage

In contemporary studies of human trafficking, the term modern-day slavery is a business of trading in people, locally and globally. But trafficked persons may fall into conditions of labour bondage or debt that reduce their status to that of deep dependency and lack of agency, which effectively transmutes into slavery.

Slavery and forced labour

Trafficked persons can end up in a condition of forced labour or become identifiable with modern-day slavery as a form of human exploitation that thrives on vulnerability and exploitation (Akinyoade & Carchedi, 2012).

Therefore, in the following subsections, we will attempt to frame human trafficking-related concepts as they are presented in the literature.

Human Trafficking and Human Smuggling

UNODC presents trafficking as a situation in which, on the one hand, the subjects are often fully aware and initially not coerced or defrauded into migrating.[6] However, at various stages of the process, the subjects often end up in other countries or in another (undesired, exploitative) job. On the other, smuggling of migrants is defined as the procurement to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of illegal entry of a person into a state party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident. On the basis that the smuggled person is paying for illegal (transportation and or facilitation) services, this oddly enough puts the smuggled person theoretically in control of the process. In Wako's (2020) work in Ethiopia, it was found that the 'urge and desperation to migrate often push youth, the arms of traffickers and recruiters, in the hope that they can escape poverty and become part of the actors in the human trafficking process.'

Trust and dependence

Various forms of human trafficking are in existence, each worthy of contextual assessment of the conceptualization, which also necessitates new thinking about the conditions and outcomes of trafficking in Nigeria. Emerging evidence indicates human trafficking entails both physical and psychological dependence. Before the journey, physical dependence is manifest when a trust relation is built between the potential victim and local-level recruiter (as well as parents and formal recruiting agents where necessary); at different stages of the trafficking (between the victim and the facilitator and transporters); and at early stage at destination (accommodation, settling-in). Psychological dependence is incremental in nature; the trust relations that ensue between the trafficker (or recruiting agency) and the potential victim, which increases as each stage of the journey leads the victim to believe that reaching the green pasture is closer than ever; the dependency may also occur in a workplace situation, especially when handlers and/or employers demand more commitment to work (without commensurate wage and the reassurance of health and safety). This last context is a huge causal factor for the slavery-like exploitation situation that victims of trafficking experience for the fear of losing not only their livelihoods but also their lives. Unfortunately, this submission is sometimes misunderstood as a willing acceptance of a work situation that is simply slavery.

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6   UNODC 2009.

Vulnerability and exploitation

Arising from the definition and collation of institutional as well as individual experiences of human trafficking are two main concepts: vulnerability and exploitation. Vulnerability is defined as "a situation in which the person concerned has no real or acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse[7]. According to Daniel-Wrabetz and Penedo (2015), the dimensions of vulnerability factor include: personal (youth or old age, gender, belief, family situation), situational (legal status in one given territory or social, cultural, or linguistic isolation), and circumstantial (unemployment or economic situation). The context of exploitation was made more explicit by the EU (2011),[8] in its broader definition of human trafficking, taken as:

> The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or reception of persons, including the exchange or transfer of control over those persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person.[9]

Taken together, this definition incorporates features of human smuggling, modern-day slavery, and forced labour, which involve the control of persons in situations of vulnerability for exploitation or applying coercion and deception to lure vulnerable persons into situations where they can be controlled, irrespective of their willingness. Thus, the EU (2011) definition improves on the UN (2000) protocol, as it tries to make clearer the fine line between human trafficking and other forms of human exploitation such as modern-day slavery and forced labour.

For the conceptualization of human trafficking, questions that often arise include: in what ways can human trafficking be distinguished from other forms of human exploitation (for example, human smuggling, modern-day slavery/forced labour); what challenges does the distinction between different forms of human exploitation pose to practitioners? In this book, various contributors attempt to examine how policy and institutional frameworks

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7   Council Directive 2011/36/EU, Article 2.2:6. Directive 2011/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA [2011] OJ L101/1.
8   ibid.
9   ibid.

deal with the overlaps, and what it means to the overall effort to combat trafficking.

Prevention and protection

Prevention mechanisms mainly focus on addressing root causes of vulnerability, often referred to as push/pull factors, usually identified as sociocultural, economic, and political insecurities. The long-run success of prevention programmes depends on the extent to which the conditions of vulnerability in trafficking-endemic areas is reduced in terms of ideas and ideals of improved lives in the home country. Thus, effectiveness of prevention strategies to remedy conditions of poverty, underdevelopment, underemployment, and lack of equal opportunity (UN 2000) are put in place for the improvement of the lives of potential victims.

The protection of victims is aimed at the provision of government assistance – services and rehabilitation facilities – to victims of human trafficking. State authorities have the duty of care to provide human-rights protection and support to victims of trafficking. Such provisions must prevent re-victimization by agents of state and society, and prevent re-trafficking by limiting their exposure to traffickers.

Prosecution

The responsibility of investigation, prosecution, and adjudication of offenses related to human trafficking is the responsibility of state parties. This is mandated by international law; countries and sub-administrative units within countries have found ways of domesticating the laws and protocols. This can be found in the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (OHCHR) on the involvement of children in armed conflict. This was adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by General Assembly resolution A/RES/54/263 of 25 May 2000, with entry into force on 12 February 2002.

The Trafficking Process

The human trafficking process is an interplay between trafficked persons, recruiters, agents, and benefactors and the socioeconomic and cultural context within which trafficking takes place.

Chibba (2013) identified four elements in the trafficking process. Firstly, one notes the 'actions' of the recruitment, luring, transportation, and receipt or final processing of persons trafficked. Secondly, the 'means' is highlighted, which is the use of deception, coercion, and threat and/or force. Thirdly, there is the 'process', which is the use of both the traditional and the new forms of communication, partly driven by technology and internet-facilitated human trafficking procedures (for example, supporting cyber-sex exploitation. Lastly, there is the 'purpose', which is exploitation, in the form of pornography, prostitution, forced labour, servitude, slavery, and sale of organs.

The Trafficker

The term trafficker has several meanings, and distinguishing the role different types of traffickers play in the trafficking process further diffuses clarity of the concept (IOM, 2011). For example, the increasing level of collaboration and dependencies between legal agents, illegal job agencies, and the textbook trafficker makes clarification difficult. From an administrative viewpoint, about five types of traffickers, almost appearing as a chain of interconnected agents, can be distinguished. In the trafficking continuum, agents exist and function from the place of origin of the victims of trafficking, through the country (national), extending up to the international or place of destination. The transnational network begins at the village; village-level agents are located at the lowest-most echelon of the traffickers' chain. These individual agents identify and recruit potential local victims at the community level. Paradoxically, many community level agents do not possess the requisite knowledge about the official process of migration, but they exploit their closeness to victims and their families to gain trust. Despite some knowledge of potentially harmful outcomes weighing more heavily than pictures painted of material gains to potentially new recruits, agents have no inhibition or hesitation in doing the job because it is their own means of livelihood (Wako, 2020).

At the second level in the chain there are still in-country agents located in bigger urban agglomerations. They have contacts with agents based in foreign countries and, often times after the completion of all the requirements, they facilitate the travel process. These agents specialize in the provision of services required during the preparation for travel period and are active in the domestic phase of the international journey for transporting, protecting, and smuggling the victims (all within national borders).

Another group are operators of employment agencies, which can be found both in the places of origin and destination. They operate without valid license from national authorities.

At the fourth level are the nationally licensed employment agents. In Ethiopia, it is legally enshrined in the Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation 923/2016 that an overseas agency must have a business registration certificate and obtain a license from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.[10] However, where such agencies operate outside national laws and cooperate with unlicensed employment agents for the recruitment of peoples opens up an avenue for exploitation and to further maximise the returns gained by employment agents.

The fifth-level agents have international clout and are located at the victims' overseas destination. These agents use the vulnerability of the victims when they are outside their countries as an opportunity to exploit them. Fifth-level agents can also be from the same country of origin as the victim and are representing job placement agencies of the place of origin of the victims; they sometimes sponsor the trip, provide initial rental accommodation, and facilitate the employment of new arrivals.

Human Trafficking in Nigeria 1990-2020: What Do We Know?

It is documented that human traffickers exploit domestic and foreign victims in Nigeria, and traffickers exploit victims from Nigeria abroad. In Nigeria, victims of trafficking are more often than not recruited from the rural areas of the country's southern zones. Gender distribution of victims shows that women and girls are bound in domestic servitude and sex trafficking, while "the boys are victims of forced and bonded labour in street vending, domestic service, mining, stone quarrying, agriculture, textile manufacturing, and begging" (USDS, 2019, p. 357). In the latter category, approximately 10 million boys studying under the Quranic school system, commonly referred to as Almajirai (a more comprehensive explanation is given in latter parts of this chapters), are often times subjected to forced begging. Media reports also investigate and expose how some traffickers operate 'baby factories', particularly in south-eastern parts of Nigeria.

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10   See Wako (2020) op cit. and https://www.lawethiopia.com/images/federal_proclamation/proclamations_by_number/923.pdf.

Internationally, Nigerian women and children are trafficked to Mali, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Cabo Verde, and South Africa; they are also recruited and transported to Libya, Saudi Arabia, Oman, United Arab Emirates, and parts of Central Asia where they are exploited for forced labour and sex trafficking. In Europe, female victims of trafficking from Nigeria are found in Italy, Spain, Austria, the Netherlands, and Russia. Particularly in Italy, it is estimated that 80% of all female Nigerian migrants are or will become sex-trafficking victims. Nigeria is also a transit point for women trafficked from other West African countries. Within Nigeria, West African children have been found to be subjected to forced labour as domestic servants and in Nigeria's granite and gold mines.

Historically, the majority of Nigerian trafficking victims in Europe are from Edo State, many of which transit via Libya. The USDS (2019) cited an internal report of a foreign government that, in 2015, Nigerian nationals were the most common trafficking victims in the EU, with the exception of internal trafficking within the EU. More recently, the relaxed visa requirements for the 2018 World Cup staged in Russia created an opportunity for traffickers to fraudulently recruit Nigerian women for jobs in Russia. After the World Cup event, in the first quarter of 2019, 1863 Nigerians were recorded to have remained in Russia without travel documents; a sizeable proportion of these eventually became victims of sex trafficking.

Exact numbers of the victims of trafficking are hard to obtain owing to several factors. For instance, real data of trafficked women could only be obtained if the women themselves or their family reported that they were returnees; sometimes, the reporting is done only if the returnees or the families feel that they would receive some kind of support from the government (See Wako, 2020). Wako's research on trafficking in the Arsi administrative zones of Oromiya National Regional State in Ethiopia shows that even those who reported to the local authorities that they were victims of human trafficking are less willing to respond to requests from a researcher mainly because they fear the consequences of exposing the (criminal) practices. For research, this has implications for delineating the size and boundaries of the pool of potential research subjects, and/or the 'sampling frame'.

In March 2018, the King of Benin City in Nigeria's Edo State, in a bid to bring trafficking to a halt, exercised his powerful religious authority to invoke a curse on sex traffickers and revoked all juju spells that some local priests administer on victims to bind them to their traffickers. There is a trust in the potency of the invocation made by the King, and a lull was recorded in

trafficking-related activities. However, in order to circumvent this, some traffickers are alleged to have relocated to the neighbouring Delta State to continue their juju performance on would-be victims. Also in Italy, during a conference held at Catanzaro, I came across two anti-trafficking activists who claimed that traffickers of Nigerian origin transferred the 'administration' of girls in their network to gangs of European origin in an effort to dilute the effect of the King's curse on traffickers. This transfer deepened the victims' fears and strengthened the hold of traffickers on the victims. Many sex trafficking victims continue to work indirectly for their traffickers in exchange for leaving sex trafficking. Though, Nigerian sex traffickers are known to operate in highly organized criminal webs throughout Europe, it also appears that there exists a decentralized and sometimes independent functioning system of traffickers: once a Nigerian girl or woman becomes free of her debt to traffickers, she also graduates to the level of 'madam' who in turn starts her own ring or network to seduce Nigerians to Europe where they would be exploited.

The instability caused by the Boko Haram and ISIS-WA has resulted in the abduction of women and girls in the northern region of Nigeria, some of whom they subject to domestic servitude and forced labour. In this fragile zone, media reports indicate that some fraudulent officials of IDP (formal and informal) camps exploit girls in sex trafficking. According to the USDS (2019), "[M]edia and an international organization reported Cameroonian soldiers coerced Nigerian female refugees in a Cameroon refugee camp to have sex in exchange for food or protection from deportation."

Contemporary research shows a greater range of industrial occupations where evidence of trafficking for labour exploitation is detected. These include agriculture, food processing, construction, textile and garment enterprises, retail, manufacturing, logging, mining, and restaurants. Risks increase when companies have lengthy supply chains, particularly in industries with complex chains of subcontracting, which may involve recruitment agents whose activities may be poorly monitored. Moreover, there are sectors which may not directly impose forced labour and trafficking but can still be tainted by it unless adequate safeguards are adopted. Such 'invisible' sectors such as domestic work, hospitality and entertainment industries, airlines and other transport companies, visa and travel agencies, or internet operators, all of which have to constantly guard against human trafficking.

The Chapters

Therefore, reflecting on Nigeria's sixty years of independence, contributors to this publication examine the national, institutional, and victims' connections to human trafficking. These studies are by no means exhaustive, but they do present a wide range of scope through which the phenomenon has received scholarly inquiry in and for the country. Sequentially, this study is presented in the next five chapters; the authors of these chapters and their specialisation are described hereafter. The international conventions and protocols as well as conceptual definitions including the typology of traffickers are presented in the first chapter by Akinyinka Akinyoade and Adewale Adeduntan. This sets the tone for examining the trajectory of human trafficking in Nigeria from independence (1960) up to the present date (2020). This is followed by the chapter of Toyese Agbaje, Eugenia Appiah, and Daniel Fagorusi on Nigeria's human trafficking profile and the institutional scopes of interventions (governmental departments and agencies, NGOs, international organisations collaborating with Nigeria) in relation to human trafficking. This second chapter highlights how, in addition to conventions and regulations on the elimination of trafficking, a number of policies and programmes have also been developed by state parties, international organizations, and NGOs in an effort to rid the world of the menace of trafficking. The third chapter by Godwin Morka, Adewale Adeduntan, and Akinyinka Akinyoade zeroes in on NAPTIP, the national institutional context for combatting human trafficking in Nigeria. Here, the responsibilities and functions of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) are critically reviewed, its successes and challenges are revealed, while the way forward for practice and partnerships is discussed.

The spatial or geographical dimensions – that is, the domestic and international profile of Nigeria as source, transit, and destination area, and the manifestations (forced labour, sexual exploitation, factors of internal displacements) in Nigeria and experienced by Nigerians elsewhere constitute the next batch of chapter contributions. The international dimensions of the human trafficking experience of Nigerians are presented in three main contributions, the first of which is by Kristin Kastner. Seemingly innocent potential migrants who may eventually become victims of trafficking, who currently just 'want to travel' are enjoined to read about *[T]he complex bonds, imaginations and realities in Nigerian female migration to Europe*. This chapter is followed by the contribution of Francesco Carchedi's work on how lives of trafficked and sexually exploited Nigerian women and minors have been turned upside down in Italy. Other issues, which have not been

factored in the consciousness of potential migrants, is the exposé by Carrie Pemberton Ford who investigated Domestic Violence and Abuse within the African Churches.

The domestic dimensions of human trafficking form the next batch of chapters. This begins with Mukther Sadiq's examination of the trends, patterns, and drivers of *Internal Forced Migration in Northern Nigeria*. Data for that study were obtained from the United Nations International Organization for Migration (IOM Nigeria) tagged Digital Tracking Matrix (DTM). Following this is attempt by Aisha Umar and Safiya Yero to distinguish between fact, fiction, and creative imagination in conditions of *Insecurity, Female Vulnerability in War, and Conflict Situations in Nigeria*. This work is a reflective histo-literary interrogation of the Nigerian woman during the Nigeria civil war and fifty years thereafter. It showcases how the female remains vulnerable to other crises such as social, religious, communal, cultural, identity, and marital crises, among others. The study also discusses current insecurity trends such as the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria and women as victims. Furthermore, human trafficking is a product of combined social, economic, and environmental factors, including poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, land degradation, and social alienation, as illustrated in the Kwara State case study authored by Sheu-Usman Akanbi, Mercy Salami, and Olanrewaju Adetunji.

To further readers' appreciation of the connections of human trafficking to other world events are tangential studies by Pauline Aweto in her *Human Trafficking, Modern Day Slavery, and Global Public Health: Impact of the Covid 19 Pandemic and the New Normal*. Using the vantage point of the dramatic arts, Ogungbemi Akinola contributed a chapter on the use of *Theatre as Intervention against Human Trafficking in Nigeria*. This entails theatre performances aimed at the oppressed. It depicts how situations of impaired livelihood conditions or unmet aspirations, along with conflict, constitute the complex background that sparks the search for a better life, to join what the better-off victims of trafficking refer to as the 'good life'. This chapter is followed by Abisuga-Oyekunle and Oluwayemisi Adebola's examination of immigration and xenophobic violence in South Africa: *Xenophobic Violence: The Case of Black Africa Migrants in South Africa*. Olufemi Abodunrin employed the more poetic form of literature to present the human migration experience with the chapter on *The Location of Cultures: Multiculturalism and Migration*. It is an examination of patterns of figuration/signification of migrant poetry from South Africa vis-à-vis the whole notion of globalisation/fragmentation and migration/multiculturalism. In the same vein is Andrew

Onwudinjo and Anthony Okeregbe's chapter entitled *Migrating Africans and the Brickwall of European Borders: A Cosmopolitanist Evaluation of Hardin's Lifeboat Ethics*. This is a critical evaluation of Hardin's lifeboat ethics from a cosmopolitanist standpoint. Using his lifeboat metaphor, Hardin argues that more affluent countries should curb migrants' influx from poorer countries so that their (the affluent) carrying capacities will not be exceeded thereby subjecting the latter to the poverty state of migrants.

The themes examined in the chapters of this book mostly adopt descriptive methodologies in their examination of root causes, pervasiveness, and consequences, as well as institutional response to human trafficking in Nigeria. Those that focused on the domestic scene in Nigeria adopted exploratory methodology in order to seek new insights and assess the human trafficking phenomenon in a new light.

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