EMPOWERMENT AND REINTEGRATION: SURVIVORS' PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING REHABILITATION PROGRAMS IN NIGERIA

Nnenna Helen Okoli

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

YORK UNIVERSITY

TORONTO, ONTARIO

April 2020

Abstract

Rehabilitation services are often aimed at facilitating the recovery, empowerment, and reintegration of human trafficking survivors after their exploitative ordeal. However, only limited efforts have so far been directed at ascertaining the extent to which these rehabilitation programs fulfill their mandate. Using survivors' perceptions and experiences, this thesis assesses the extent to which the Nigerian government and civil society's rehabilitation programs facilitate or undermine the empowerment and reintegration of female survivors of human trafficking. Drawing on qualitative data gathered over the course of 4 months in Nigeria, I show that the government and civil society's collaborative efforts at rehabilitation simultaneously aid and hinder the empowerment and reintegration of survivors in Nigeria due to their conceptualization of human trafficking and the wider socio-economic structure of the Nigerian state. I conclude by considering the theoretical and practical implications of these findings for human trafficking rehabilitation in developing countries.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my wonderful parents, George Okoli and Helen Okoli. My adorable Adaora, this one is for you too. I love you all beyond words.

Acknowledgement

Now all glory to God, who is able, through his mighty power at work within us, to accomplish infinitely more than we might ask or think (Ephesians 3:20).

My sincere appreciation to my Heavenly Father for the grace and strength to reach this milestone in my academic career. It was definitely not a small feat but You saw me through regardless!

I would like to thank my awesome supervisor, Professor Uwafiokun Idemudia for his keen interest in seeing me succeed and reach my full potential as a graduate student. Thank you for answering my countless questions; for always being there to guide and encourage me when I got overwhelmed; and for pushing me to be the best that I could be. You were a huge part of my academic journey and I truly appreciate you. To the rest of my supervisory committee: Professor Sylvia Bawa, Professor Mary Goitom, and Professor Laura Kwak, you are the best committee I could have ever hoped for…thank you.

I am also thankful to York University and the Development Studies graduate program for the generous funding I received towards my master's degree. I am very grateful to have received the York University Graduate Fellowship and Scholarship as well as other research funding.

To my siblings, Ngozi and Uche, thank you for remaining close even though we were so far away. Thanks for being my loudest cheerleaders. I love you both so much. This master's degree is as much yours as it is mine. Another win for the Okoli family!

Peter Jacobs, my *oga at the top.* Thank you for being so supportive of my dreams and for all the sacrifices you have made for my success. You are truly extraordinary and God's special gift to me. Thank you for being there through the laughter and tears. *Ina sunka masoyina.*

Uju pumping and Tammy, sisters indeed. I appreciate you so much. Thanks for always keeping in touch even when I occasionally went off the radar due to school work. You are both beautiful souls and I hope I can be there for you as you have been for me someday.

Master Peeeee! You are an amazing person and I am convinced that God orchestrated our meeting. I am grateful that you saw the diamond in the rough and pushed for it to shine! Thank you for the indispensable part you played in this journey. I will never forget!

My *social* friends, Sarah, Tayba and Laura. You cannot begin to imagine how much I cherish you all. I am so glad our paths crossed in the program. You made everything easier! I will definitely miss our fun times together.

A very big thank you to NAPTIP, IOM, Genesis House, Home of Sharon, and Peace Villa rehabilitation homes for accommodating my research requests and making this thesis possible.

To every human trafficking survivor, I acknowledge your resilience and strength. This is for you.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BPFA – Beijing Platform for Action

CATW – The Coalition against Trafficking in Women

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CSO – Civil Society Organization

GAATW – Global Alliance against Traffic in Women

ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ILO – International Labor Organization

IOM – International Organization for Migration

NACTAL – Network of Civil Society Organizations against Child Trafficking, abuse and Labor

NAPTIP – National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NPPATPN – National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria

NRM – Guidelines on National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNICEF – United Nations Children Fund

UNODC – United Nations Office and Drugs and Crime

WOTCLEF – Women Trafficking and Child Labor Eradication Foundation

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 Problem Statement

In recent times, the international community has been confronted with the arduous task of addressing the prevalence of human trafficking in the Global North and South. This multifaceted transnational phenomenon has manifested in the form of forced labor, sexual exploitation, forced marriage, indentured servitude, forced begging, and the removal and sale of human organs. Pushed by factors such as poverty, unemployment, political crises, armed conflict, corruption, familial pressure and discriminatory gender norms on the one hand; and pulled by the prosperity and economic prospects in destination countries on the other, thousands of individuals are annually trafficked worldwide (Lee, 2013; Jordan, 2002; Segrave, Milivojevic & Pickering, 2018; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006). Although data on human trafficking is unreliable (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005), it is estimated that millions of men, women, and children are annually trafficked within and across borders (USDOS, 2019).

While this complex transnational phenomenon has been conceptualized and analyzed by scholars and policymakers as modern slavery, prostitution, human rights violation, a migration issue, a consequence of globalization, and a transnational organized crime (Lee, 2013), the global consensus is that human trafficking is an atrocious act that violates human dignity and freedom. In fact, the gravity of human trafficking is evidenced in the multitudinous anti-trafficking policy responses on national, regional and global levels.

The current global anti-trafficking regime is predominantly rooted in the criminal justice approach as codified in the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Segrave, 2009). Nonetheless, there is a continuous call for countries to shift from this traditional security approach to a human rights approach in

their response to human trafficking (Jordan, 2002; Obokata, 2006; Lobasz, 2009). Of particular importance in the human rights approach is the view that victim protection and assistance should be the cornerstone of any meaningful efforts to address the problem (Pearson, 2002: Haynes, 2004). Here, it is argued that trafficked persons' security, human rights, and welfare should be highly prioritized when they are rescued. This is particularly cogent given the exploitation, physical and mental abuse they are subjected to when they are trafficked.

The concept of protection and assistance has largely been pursued through rehabilitation – a process considered integral to the recovery and reintegration of trafficked persons. In fact, effective rehabilitation is reckoned to address some of the factors that initially push individuals into human trafficking and therefore, reduce their susceptibility to re-trafficking when rescued (Jobe, 2010; Macy & Johns, 2011). Typically, rehabilitation consists of services like emergency shelter, necessities like food, clothing, and personal hygiene products, physical health care, mental healthcare and counseling, legal counsel, education and job training, vocational and life skills training, family reunification, microcredit, and so on depending on survivors' specific needs (Adams, 2011; Crawford & Kaufman; 2008).

In the discourse of global trafficking, Nigeria has gained a reputation as one of the major origin, transit, and destination countries for human trafficking (Aborisade & Aderinto, 2008, Elabor-Idemudia, 2003; Okojie, 2009; Uduji, Okolo-Obasi & Asongu 2019). For example, Nigerian nationals, especially women and girls, were reportedly the most identified trafficked persons in the EU in 2015, and they were identified in over 40 countries in 2017 (USDOS, 2018). Nigerians are trafficked domestically and internationally to countries like Mali, Senegal, South Africa, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Italy, the Netherlands, Cape Verde, Tunisia, UAE, Austria, Russia, and Spain (Osezua, 2016; Carling, 2006; Agbu, 2003). Data on the pattern and scope of human

trafficking are inconclusive and difficult to track due to the clandestine nature of the act and lack of coordination in data collection, recording, and dissemination (Feingold, 2010; Warren, 2010). However, Nigeria's anti-trafficking agency, the National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic in Persons (NAPTIP) reports that it had received a total of 6,572 cases of human trafficking between 2003 and 2018 in Nigeria (NAPTIP, 2018).

Furthermore, women and girls are the most identified trafficked persons according to NAPTIP. In the agency's 2017 report, a total of 1,890 survivors were rescued, and females constituted 76.3% (1,443) of all rescued survivors for the year in view. This is consistent with UNODC's 2016 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons which indicates that females constitute approximately 71% of all trafficked persons worldwide. Indeed, given that women are usually situated at the intersection of horizontal and vertical inequalities (Kabeer, 2015), and their capabilities to fend for themselves are often limited by a variety of patriarchal gender norms, women become particularly vulnerable to human trafficking.

Like most countries, it is therefore not surprising that Nigeria initially embraced a criminal justice approach in addressing this problem. In 2003, the state enacted the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act and established NAPTIP to spearhead its policies on prevention and prosecution. However, the agency was also given the mandate to protect and assist identified traffic survivors in Nigeria. This mandate is executed in close collaboration with several civil society organizations that administer rehabilitation programs.

1.2 Research Objectives

The consensus is that trafficked persons need external intervention to escape trafficking, and they need to be provided with a continuum of comprehensive rehabilitation services that will facilitate their re-entry into society as self-sufficient and productive individuals (Macy and Johns, 2011; Crawford & Kaufman, 2008; Muraya & Fry, 2016; Aron, Zweig & Newman, 2006). Conversely, some scholars have called attention to the futility of rehabilitation services for sex trafficking survivors due to cultural norms and the minimal possibility of social acceptance of these women in their communities (Fredrick & Kelly 2000; Mahendra et al., 2001). Indeed, some traffic survivors who access rehabilitation or assistance services are still known to have re-engaged in trafficking; thus raising questions on the processes of rehabilitation and the extent of its influence on survivors' empowerment and reintegration (Jobe, 2010).

While there is a significant body of work on the types of services survivors need to access in order to recover and lead productive lives post-trafficking (Macy & Johns, 2011; Muraya & Fry, 2016), research on the outcome and effectiveness of these programs are limited (Heffernan & Blythe, 2014). Dell et al. (2019) argue that rehabilitation programs and services may be superficially effective but there is a need for concrete evidence on the outcome of existing programs so as to build better and responsive programs tailored to the needs of survivors.

In fact, Skilbrei & Tveit (2007) have argued that only limited efforts have so far been directed at analyzing state and civil society rehabilitation programs in Nigeria. Besides, we still do not know how well stakeholders effectively fulfill their obligations to traffic survivors. The few studies that have examined the issue of rehabilitation have centered on the pathways of survivors' entry into rehabilitation (Aderinto & Aborisade, 2008); survivors' adjustment patterns while

undergoing rehabilitation; and the obstacles to effective rehabilitation service provision (Aborisade & Aderinto 2008). Similarly, Adejumo, Olu-Owolabi, and Fayomi (2015) examined survivors' perceptions and satisfaction with rehabilitation services while in the program. More recently, Ikuteyijo (2018) examined the role of the state and civil society in prosecution and rehabilitation, but with minimal analysis of the processes and outcomes of rehabilitation. The implication is that we still know very little in terms of the empowerment and reintegration outcomes associated with rehabilitation programs in Nigeria.

Yet, the National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria emphasizes the provision of "appropriate and relevant services that will empower survivors for effective reintegration into their various communities" (4). Against this background, the specific objectives of this thesis are:

- To critically examine the state and civil society's conceptualization of human trafficking and their efforts at the rehabilitation of female survivors of human trafficking in Nigeria.
- To critically explore the extent to which the state and civil society's collaborative efforts at rehabilitation contribute to the empowerment and reintegration of female survivors of human trafficking from the beneficiaries' perspectives.
- To consider the theoretical and practical implications of this research's findings for human trafficking rehabilitation in developing countries.

Within the context of this study, empowerment would be defined as "the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1999: 435). Kabeer's conceptualization rests on three major dimensions of empowerment: Resources, Agency, and Achievements. This conceptualization is especially useful as it goes

beyond the simplified transfer of economic resources common in development projects (Batliwala & Dhanraj, 2007), to capture the prerequisites, processes, and outcomes of empowerment. More so, Surtees' (2017) definition of reintegration will be adopted as it captures the essential components of the reintegration process. She defines reintegration as "the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience including settlement in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal, social and economic development, and access to social and emotional support" (10). This definition offers a holistic framework which simplifies, yet takes account of the multifaceted outcomes of the complex process of successful reintegration among traffic survivors.

1.3 Significance of Study

The increased importance of combatting human trafficking is evidenced in its incorporation into the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals as a target under three distinct goals – Goal 5: Gender Equality; Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth; and Goal 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions. Indeed, it is a critical issue in gender and development; having been identified as a bane to the wellbeing, prosperity, and dignity of women globally. In response to its perceived severity, a plethora of policy and literature on the fundamental anti-trafficking themes of prevention, protection, and prosecution have been produced.

However, within existing literature, there is a perceptible underrepresentation of the rehabilitation and reintegration aspect of human trafficking (Schloenhardt & Loong, 2011). Hence, Nigeria presents a particularly unique case to investigate human trafficking rehabilitation programs as a major source, transit and destination country of human trafficking with thousands

of its women affected yearly. The ability (or inability) of state and civil society rehabilitation programs to achieve their raison d'être in relations to victim assistance and reintegration is highly critical especially as a survivors' experiences with rehabilitation and reintegration organizations has been identified as a determining factor for re-trafficking (Jobe, 2010). It is therefore essential to assess the programs' nature, intents, processes, quality, and impact on the lives of affected women and girls to determine if and what revisions are necessary to strengthen existing programs.

This research is relevant as it makes a constructive contribution to the growing body of literature on human trafficking rehabilitation and reintegration by evaluating existing Nigerian governmental and civil society schemes aimed at addressing human trafficking. A key analytical strategy employed in this research is the inclusion of the perspective of stakeholders that are rarely privileged in the process of knowledge production on this subject – rehabilitated survivors of human trafficking. Their inclusion offers an insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the programs, and the opportunity to investigate programs' outcomes. Finally, the findings from this study can offer theoretical and practical implications that could potentially inform rehabilitation policy and practice in developing countries.

CHAPTER TWO- LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Definition and Conceptualization of Human Trafficking in Global Discourse

Since human trafficking came to the fore as a global challenge, scholars and policymakers have articulated various definitions and conceptualizations of the phenomenon; with each underscoring its different aspects in varying degrees based on their ideological underpinnings (Lee, 2011). Thus far, there is no comprehensive and generally accepted definition of human trafficking due to deep divisions among stakeholders on human trafficking's true nature, scope, and reality (Fitzpatrick, 2002). Nonetheless, the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons offers a general working definition which has been employed as a point of departure for understanding human trafficking in its complexity, and a model for several domestic anti-trafficking policies and laws (Abramson, 2003).

Article 3, paragraph (a) of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children defines Trafficking in Persons as:

> The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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 labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

This definition comparably stands as the most popular and authoritative, having been cited constantly by scholars, activists, and governments as the primary source for defining human trafficking. Although the development of the Protocol marked a milestone in a universal understanding of human trafficking, it has been routinely criticized as being vague,

incomprehensive, and a source of uncertainty and contention (Doezema, 2002; Abramson, 2003; Shoaps, 2013). For instance, Allain (2015: 273) contends that the United Nations Protocol definition is a "flawed piece of drafting", so ambiguous that it raised more questions than it answered. Its obscurity she insists, set the stage for disparate interpretations and implementations by states in their domestic trafficking legislations – legislations which often digressed from the original intent of the Protocol drafters. For Warren (2007), the definition is confusing in its failure to adequately define and characterize exploitation, and its narrow focus on women and children also creates a synonym between vulnerability, femininity, and children. This gendered focus consequently makes trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and prostitution the focal point of anti-trafficking measures, and excludes men from being identified as victims that can access essential protection services because they do not fit the "perfect victim" identity (Shoaps, 2013).

Contestation on the definite nature and constitution of trafficking is indicated by the various conceptual frameworks that have been enunciated by scholars and policymakers over the years in anti-trafficking discourse. First, human trafficking has been conceptualized as modern slavery. Comparison has been drawn between human trafficking and the ancient transatlantic slave trade, and it has been tagged 'the rebirth of 17th-century slavery in the 21st century' (Bales, 2000). This position is substantiated by the almost indistinguishable characteristics of both phenomena such as forced captivity, the threat of or use of violence to exert control, human commodification for economic gain, forced labor, and physical, psychological and sexual abuse (Craig et al., 2007).

Anti-slavery activists who have been instrumental in promoting 'human trafficking as a form of modern slavery' maintain that slavery abolition was unsuccessful as it still thrives today, albeit in new forms such as debt bondage, sex slavery, forced labor and so on (Lusk & Lucas, 2009). This

strand has however been critiqued for imposing the slavery identity on individuals (migrants and non-migrants) who are socially imagined as free (Davidson, 2010). For instance, they point to debt-bonded brothel prostitution in Southeast Asia, a supposed form of modern slavery which does not always feature the elements of violence or the total absence of wages, and whose 'victims' often return to the act even after rescue by anti-trafficking groups (Feingold 1998; Soderlund, 2005). They also cite migrant domestic workers who work overtime for their employers in harsh conditions but are not subjected to physical and sexual abuse (Soderlund, 2005). From this school's perspective, bringing these workers under the umbrella of slavery irrespective of their unique circumstances would be a mislabeling because human trafficking is not intrinsically slavery, but a means by which it can occur (Davidson, 2010).

Second, human trafficking has been conceptualized as a standard example of the globalization of crime. Within this school, human trafficking is portrayed as a consequence of the increased integration and interdependence of individuals, states, and organizations around the globe due to technological advancement in communication and transportation (Brewer, 2009). It is argued that the forces of capitalism and the integration of the Global North and Global South have created an asymmetric dependency relationship, and a climate conducive for crime in the latter (Findlay, 2008; Iyanda & Nwogwugwu, 2016). Thus, developing countries suffer gross exploitation within this system, and witness an exacerbation of poverty which pressures their citizens, especially women, to migrate in search of economic opportunities to sustain their households (Kempadoo, 2003). This desire to migrate makes them susceptible to trafficking by unscrupulous individuals who exploit their vulnerability and lure them with false prospects of a better life.

The third and most popular is the conceptualization of human trafficking as prostitution. Although broadly championed by feminists, there is polarity among them; partly due to disagreements on the degree of agency and consent exercised by women involved in human trafficking for sexual exploitation (Bromfield, 2016; Smolak, 2013). In fact, the issue of agency and consent was the most controversial aspect of the deliberations and negotiations in the drafting sessions of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Doezema, 2002). Delegates at the drafting session were divided into two camps based on their views on prostitution: The Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) comprised of radical feminists and prostitution abolitionists, and the Human Rights Caucus made of sex workers' rights activists. The CATW asserted that prostitution in its entirety, whether coerced or voluntary, is an inherent exemplar of heteropatriarchal masculinity which exploits, debases, victimizes, objectifies and commodifies women (Barry, 1995). Prostitutes are seen as 'interchangeable' with plastic blow-up sex dolls 'complete with orifices for penetration and ejaculation' (Barry 1995 cited in Doezema, 2001: 26). Accordingly, no woman can consent to migrate for the purpose of sex work, and even when she opts to migrate for this purpose, the rationality of her decision is grossly obscured by the poverty and destitution in her home country (Doezema, 2002; Kelly, 2002). They, therefore, lobbied for the elimination of 'consent' as a determinant of the occurrence of trafficking for sexual exploitation as no woman can consent to travel for sex work.

Conversely, sex workers' rights activists argue that the problem of human trafficking has been grossly exaggerated by abolitionists and indeed the international community who maneuver images of victimized and traumatized women to justify their prostitution abolition objectives (Kempadoo, 2005). They argue that sex trafficking and sex work are dissimilar, and the latter

should be legalized and appropriately regulated like any other kind of labor to protect the rights of sex workers (Doezema, 2002; Chapkis, 2003). They insist that if a woman is not forced to engage in prostitution, then trafficking did not occur. Thus, rather than view women as passive and vulnerable, they should be regarded as rational sexual beings with the ability to make decisions about using their bodies for commercial sexual transactions. According to this school, prostitution is not a form of feminine oppression, but the absence of regulation in the sex industry predisposes sex workers to exploitation and human rights violation (Doezema & Kempadoo, 2018).

Fourth, human trafficking has been considered a migration problem. This lens emphasizes border security, migration controls, push factors in origin countries, and international cooperation to curb irregular migration (Avdan, 2012; Grewcock, 2007). Often, trafficked persons are conflated with illegal migrants who gain unauthorized entry into Western destination countries in search of economic opportunities (Lee, 2011). Although human trafficking and migrant smuggling have been recognized as separate acts under international law, they are intertwined in a complex relationship which often makes it difficult to differentiate them (Naim, 2005).

The UN Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air defines human smuggling as "the procurement in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or permanent resident." It therefore follows that human smuggling is primarily concerned with voluntary illegal transportation of persons across borders while the purpose of human trafficking is forced exploitation of persons within and across borders. In reality, undocumented migrants often experience some form of exploitation in the course of being smuggled; with some ending up trafficked (Tyldum, Tveit, & Brunovskis, 2005). Some

trafficked persons initially consent to be smuggled across borders for non-exploitative labor but are forcefully subjected to exploitative labor at the destination country. Also, trafficked persons do not compulsorily cross borders illegally: some have authorizations to enter a destination country but end up being trafficked, while some are trafficked within countries (Kelly, 2002; Carling, 2006).

The conflation of trafficked persons and illegal migrants can also be attributed to the absence of a standard framework for the identification and categorization of these two groups by immigration authorities in destination countries (Lobasz, 2009; Lee, 2011). From the criminal justice lens, the former are innocent susceptible women coerced into sexual exploitation, and the latter are 'criminal' economic migrants that have consented to break immigration laws (Kinney, 2013). However, as a result of weak categorization strategies, trafficked persons are often criminalized as threats to national security (Friesendorf, 2007; Lobasz, 2009). Rather than acknowledge survivors' vulnerability and human rights, states tend to prioritize law enforcement and deportation to contain these "threats". In fact, it has been argued that the real stimulus behind most international efforts at combatting trafficking is largely states' apprehension of the threat that human trafficking and smuggling pose to their sovereignty and security (Gallagher, 2002). After all, the fight against human trafficking has been named an integral part of the European Union's framework for border regulation and security against illegal migration (Huysmans, 2000; European Commission, 2005).

Furthermore, human trafficking has been conceptualized as a transnational organized crime. The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children was drafted and passed as a supplementary protocol to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2000. According to Warren (2007:245),

"The situating of the trafficking protocol within the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime ties it to a specific field of criminalizing interventions. By definition, we are dealing with the netherworld of organized crime that illegally smuggles and traffics people for profit". The trafficking industry is estimated to make about $32 billion annually from the exploitation of human beings (UNODC, 2012).

More so, globalization and the attendant breakthroughs in communication and transportation technology has been cited as fuel for increased transnational criminal activities like human trafficking, money laundering, drug trafficking, and arms trafficking (Bales, 2005; Apap, Cullen & Medved, 2002; Miller, 2006). The European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation (EUROPOL) therefore perceives human trafficking to be a "low risk – high reward enterprise for organized crime" which must be addressed expeditiously by international law enforcement (EUROPOL, 2003:2).

Lastly, human trafficking has been conceptualized as a violation of human rights and dignity. Every stage and form of trafficking constitutes a violation of the rights of trafficked persons. According to Lee (2011: 32), trafficking violates trafficked persons' "right to life and security of person; right to be free from slavery or servitude; right to freedom of movement; right to be free of torture or cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment; right to health; and right to free choice of employment" as stipulated in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of 1950. The passing of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol has also been interpreted as a response to global distress on human rights violations implicated in irregular migration (Abramson, 2003). Although the Protocol is not a human rights treaty, it acknowledges that trafficked persons are subjects of human rights abuse and it makes provision for their protection and assistance at the international

and national levels. Article 2(a) of the Protocol categorically states that it aims to protect and assist survivors of human trafficking with full respect for their human rights. Ratifying states are therefore encouraged to incorporate human rights protection measures in their national legislations rather than prioritize criminal justice and migration control to the detriment of survivors. Such measures include privacy protection, information on legal proceedings, access to assistance services, freedom from arbitrary deportation, and so on. Nonetheless, international recognition of the need to protect survivors' fundamental human rights has not resulted in a flawless implementation of the Protocol's provisions (Jordan, 2002). Often, survivors are still subjected to human rights abuse after rescue, and denied protection and assistance services especially in Western destination countries with strict immigration laws and tight border control (Pearson, 2002).

The ambiguity surrounding human trafficking is also evident in the irregularity of its use and application in international policies and academic investigations. Since the phenomenon came to the fore, descriptive terms like "alien smuggling, trafficking of aliens, illegal immigrant smuggling, human trafficking, trade of human beings, and commodification of human beings" have been used over the years (Salt, 2000: 33). This undoubtedly has far-reaching implications on knowledge production and policymaking on human trafficking, especially in the areas of prevention, prosecution, survivor identification, survivor assistance and reintegration (Davidson, 2005).

Closely linked to this problem is the availability and quality of data sources and statistics on human trafficking. Wijers & Lap-Chew (1997) attribute the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics and evidence on human trafficking to its ambiguous inconsistent definition, and its surreptitious nature. Besides, Tyldum & Brunovskis (2005) criticize sources of existing estimates

on the scope of human trafficking for being biased. For example, a significant number of existing literature on human trafficking are sourced from non-governmental organizations and experts whose data legitimacy is based on their reputation and authority in the field rather than the methodological rigor of their data collection and analysis (Feingold, 2010). Also, most government and non-governmental organizations do not often base their statistics on a representative population of human trafficking survivors especially as only certain types of survivors (e.g those with social networks) are more likely to contact these organizations for assistance (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005).

More so, non-governmental agencies who are involved in developing and implementing policy recommendations may also compromise data produced to promote their organizational, national or funding agencies' objectives (Tyldum, 2008). For example, Shah (2011) and Moore (2015) note that human trafficking is a profitable business for NGOs who augment traffic numbers to attract global attention and financial resources while promoting their anti-prostitution agenda. They also indiscriminately use the "trafficking" term for both trafficked persons and sex workers to exaggerate the trafficking problem.

Kempadoo (2003) notes that despite the apparent discrepancies in the global estimates on the number of trafficked persons, scholars have only expressed mild disapproval or simply accepted these figures because it is the sacred subject of trafficking. Even though these "guesstimates" are constantly repeated in trafficking discourse, it does not prove their accuracy or validity due to the aforementioned politics and complexities in human trafficking conceptualization, victim identification, and statistics compilation (Abramson, 2003; Tyldum et al., 2005).

2.2. From White Slavery to Human Trafficking: A Historical Trajectory

Human trafficking has taken different patterns since its emergence, and mobilizations against the phenomenon have occurred in waves. Segrave (2009) traces the emergence of the earliest form of human trafficking to the late nineteenth century. In this period, human trafficking featured forced and voluntary migration of European girls and women to non-Western countries like India, Argentina, South Africa, Italy, Belgium, Russia and other parts of Europe for sexual and non-sexual labor (Guy, 1992; Fisher, 1997). This process of labor migration was termed the 'white slave trade" or 'white slavery'. It has been argued that white slavery was a 'cultural myth' (Doezema, 2000); an instrument used to instigate moral panic in the West over the forced prostitution of 'pure' Anglo-American women by the 'depraved uncivilized non-white Other' (Walkowitz, 2013; Irwin, 2012). In this period, 'white slavery' became synonymous with sexual slavery (Smolak, 2013), and the predominant constructed image was that of young innocent white women involuntarily subjected to sexual slavery by Asian, African, Latin American and Eastern European men.

Kempadoo & Doezema (1998) assert that the uproar educed by 'white slavery' in Western society was manipulated by prostitution abolitionists and moral reformers for their propaganda. Before the advent of 'white slavery', abolitionists, moral reformists, religious bodies and social purity organizations had campaigned for the eradication of prostitution and the rehabilitation of prostitutes. These groups opposed the then-popular notion of prostitutes as "fallen women" (Guy, 1991: 13), "sexual deviants, and spreaders of diseases" (Walkowitz, 2013: 40). Rather, they viewed all prostitutes as unwilling victims of unrestrained male lust regardless of their voluntary participation and campaigned heavily for the revocation of the British Contagious Diseases Acts

(CDA) which had legalized prostitution and merely mandated registration and occasional examination of prostitutes for sexually transmitted diseases.

With the onset of 'white slavery', the abolition campaign gained further momentum. Wilkovitz (1980) and Smolak (2013) point to reformists and abolitionists' strategy of categorizing voluntary prostitute with 'white slaves'. They collapsed the divide between sexually immoral prostitutes and innocent "white slaves" in order to create the empathic image of vulnerable coerced prostitutes. According to Smolak (2013), "the 'white slavery' scare sought to defend womanhood, an "ideal" often associated with helplessness, passivity, and notions of freedom from any association with sexual desire, initiative, or responsibility" (5). Indeed, Doezema (1999) contends that abolitionists' construction of prostitutes as victims was aimed at arousing public sympathy and political action against prostitution. Their campaigns consequently led to the promulgation of the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic and the 1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic. Article 1 and 2 of the 1910 Convention respectively state:

> Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes, shall be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offense may have been committed in different countries.
>
> Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has, by fraud, or by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority, or any other method of compulsion, procured, enticed, or led away a woman or girl overage, for immoral purposes, shall also be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offense may have been committed in different countries.

Questions on the actual prevalence of "white slavery" in the 19th century have been documented by scholars like Billington-Greig (1913) and Pivar (2002) who assert that contrary to abolitionist 'white slavery' campaigns, there were relatively few cases of supposed 'white slavery' in the

period, and most prostitutes did not identify with the coerced victim image. Wahab (2002); Donovan (2006); and Joslin (2002) opine that these attempts to control women's bodies, sexuality, and mobility through legal and social reforms, were largely compelled by panic over women's increased migration and economic autonomy.

The frenzy around 'white slavery' quelled after 1914 due to the First World War and the attendant reduced migration flow (Doezema, 1999). However, "white slavery" reemerged on the international agenda in the form of human trafficking in the 1980s (Segrave, 2009). Human trafficking transcends the old-time migration of European and American women to non-western countries. Today, the migration pattern involves the movement of men, women, and children from an impoverished region or country to a wealthier one with perceived peace and prosperity, and a thriving labor market (Jordan, 2002). Global focus is on traffic from Africa, Asia, and Latin America to Western countries; traffic from Eastern and Central Europe to Western Europe and America; and traffic within states' borders (Gallagher, 2010; Lee, 2013; Davidson, 2010). In contrast with "white slavery" which had sexual exploitation as its focal point, human trafficking includes the "exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (UN, 2000).

The 'white slavery' movements of the 19th century offer a rich contextual background for understanding the contemporary human trafficking discourse. Since human trafficking came to the fore, feminists have been engaged in intense ideological debates on its definition and the ideal policy stance to be adopted (see section 2.1). On one side of the ideological divide are neo-abolitionists who carry on with the anti-prostitution idea that "all forms of sexual exploitation including prostitution, pornography, sex tourism, and mail order bride selling" is trafficking and

human rights violation regardless of the women's consent (CATW, cited in Abramson, 2003; 481). Prostitution is seen as an institution of female subordination where women's bodies are treated as cheap disposable commodities (Chapkis, 2003). Considering the disadvantageous political, economic and cultural climate in trafficked persons' home countries, scholars like Tiefenbrun (2001) contend that true consent is impossible even when trafficked persons migrate voluntarily because no one can consent to slavery.

One of the prominent umbrella organizations for neo-abolitionists is the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) which has been very influential in the development of dominant policies and legislations on human trafficking today. The typical victim image in the abolitionist campaign is a vulnerable woman with limited economic choices deceived into migrating for a prospective job by traffickers and subjected to sexual exploitation (Andrijasevic, 2007). Similarly, Hyland (2001) identifies more categories including women who consent to migrate for work in the sex industry but are misinformed on the working conditions; women who are kidnapped and smuggled across borders for exploitative labor; and women who are sold by their families. Riding on the notion of trafficked women as helpless victims of evil traffickers within organized criminal networks (Hughes, 2002), abolitionists emphasize the criminalization and prosecution of traffickers and male patrons. Warren (2007) concludes that neo-abolitionists approach human trafficking from the human rights perspective where victim protection and the destruction of the sex industry are paramount.

At the other end of the divide are sex workers' rights activists who differentiate between voluntary prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Rooted in traditional liberal theory, this group acknowledges women's autonomy over their bodies and their ability to willing engage in sex work as a means of obtaining empowerment and equal economic opportunities as

men (Kempadoo, 2003; Kempadoo & Doezema, 2018; Doezema; 2002). They argue for the recognition of sex work as a legitimate form of labor and maintain that the criminalization of sex work constitutes sexual discrimination against women in the labor market. Within trafficking debates, therefore, they acknowledge that women may not always consent to sex work but women who make informed choices to should be legally permitted to migrate across borders for commercial sex work. In fact, Demleitner (2001) argues further that women frequently exercise their free will by entering agreements with smugglers to migrate for sexual labor within the trafficking context. According to Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) a prominent organization in this school, "traffic in persons and forced prostitution are manifestations of violence against women and the rejection of these practices, which are a violation of the right to self-determination, must hold within itself the respect for the self-determination of adult persons who are voluntarily engaged in prostitution" (GAATW, 1994, cited in Doezema, 1999: 33).

Lastly, within the sex workers' rights camp, some scholars have moved beyond sex work to assert that trafficking can serve as a means to a better life for women especially in dire socio-economic conditions (Abramson, 2003). They argue that migrants and trafficked persons are oftentimes aware of the exploitative labor conditions in destination countries but still opt to migrate in order to escape poverty in their home countries. In light of this, they call for legal recognition of the right of individuals to engage in consensual exploitative labor as opposed to overprotective anti-trafficking laws (GAATW, 1999 cited in Abramson, 2003). Other scholars like Inglis (2001) advocate for cultural sensitivity in the implementation of anti-trafficking laws especially in contexts where female commodification for religious purposes or filial piety are ancient practices deeply rooted in tradition.

2.3. A Human Rights Approach to Human Trafficking: Victim Protection and Assistance

The two dominant approaches that have been applied by policymakers, non-governmental advocates, academics and law enforcement agents in addressing human trafficking are the criminal justice and human rights approach (Jordan, 2002; Bruch, 2004; Brunovskis & Tveit, 2016; Zimmerman, 2005). The former encompasses the prosecution of traffickers, border securitization, migration control, and victim criminalization, while the latter is focused on the protection and assistance of traffic survivors who are considered to have suffered human rights abuse in the course of trafficking (Amiel, 2006). Although the United Nations Human Trafficking Protocol is largely a criminal justice instrument it acknowledges that human trafficking constitutes a violation of human rights (Segrave, 2009).

Fitzpatrick (2003) reveals how these conflicting approaches to human trafficking were inherent in the drafting processes of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol. According to her, the Trafficking Protocol was drafted by an Ad hoc Committee of predominantly criminal lawyers, migration control and crime control agents who were lobbied by human rights advocates to include human rights provisions to the dominantly criminal justice protocol. In essence, the human rights elements in the Protocol were secondary 'belated' inclusions (Gallagher, 2001). As such, Fitzpatrick (2003) argues that the Protocol ought to be primarily regarded as a crime and migration regulation treaty with human rights appendages.

Furthermore, Rijken (2009) considers human trafficking to be a cause and effect of human rights violations. As per the UN Trafficking Protocol's definition (see section 2.1), exploitation and coercion are the cruces of human trafficking and the exploitative acts delineated in the Protocol violate and constrain trafficked persons' dignity, autonomy, privacy, choices, and security –

rights which are protected under international human rights laws (see Table 1). Hence, she argues that a multi-disciplinary human rights framework undergirded by victim protection and assistance is imperative in addressing human trafficking. This view is backed by Krieg (2009) who suggests that the human rights framework is relevant on a diagnostic and prognostic basis. The former entails regarding the processes and motives of human trafficking as human rights violation; while the latter is concerned with the implementation of certain measures such as the provision of adequate housing which are considered human rights when survivors are rescued.

Furthermore, Obokata (2006) asserts that a human rights approach is effective in uncovering the human rights issues implicit in the various stages of trafficking such as torture, malnourishment, physical confinement, etc. (see Table 1), and also in developing appropriate strategies for state and non-state actors to respond to the phenomenon – including victim protection. He considers the human rights framework to be favorable because it is sympathetic to the plights of traffic survivors, and it frames them as victims of human rights abuses rather than immigration lawbreakers. Also, the human rights approach draws attention to the underlying causes and effects of trafficking including socioeconomic factors like poverty and discrimination in trafficked persons' origin countries, and the callous conditions under which they are recruited, transported, and forced to work in the destination country. In the same light, Obokata (2006: 387) posits that states are obligated under international human rights laws to: "1) prohibit trafficking and related acts; 2) investigate, prosecute and punish traffickers; 3) protect victims of trafficking, and 4) address the causes and consequences of trafficking". However, Rijken (2009) argues that states' efforts at fulfilling the third and fourth obligations are rather lax.

Table 1- List of Human Rights Violated in Human Trafficking

Criminal Violations	Rights	Instruments
1. Torture, rape, beating, - physical can also be mental/ threat of violence, psychological	Right not to be tortured or submitted to cruel and/or degrading treatment	Art 5 UDHR Art 7 ICCPR CAT entire convention
	Right to be free from physical violence (rape, sexual assault, domestic violence, forced prostitution, trafficking	Art 3 UDHR Art 6 ICCPR CEDAW entire convention especially Art 2,5,15 & 16.
2. Forced drug or substance abuse	Right to personal autonomy Right to enjoy psychological, physical and sexual health	Para 97 BPFA Art 12 ICESCR
3. Threat of reprisals to family members back home	Right to personal autonomy	Art 12 UDHR
4. Forced abortion, no access to contraceptives; women's rights of reproduction and control of her body being denied	Right to personal autonomy	Para 97 BPFA
5. Deprivation of food, malnourishment, lack of access to medical and health services	Right to enjoy psychological, physical and sexual health	Art 25 UDHR Art 12 CESCR
6. Physical Confinement, confiscation of passport/identity papers, isolation (prohibited from engaging in social contact, interception of letters)	Freedom of choosing residence and moving within own country	Art 13(1) UDHR Art 12(1) ICCPR
7. Overwork, long hours, no rest	Right to work - freedom from forced labor	Art 8(3) ICCPR ILO Convention No 29 - entire convention
	Right to just and favorable conditions	Art 23(1)UDHR
8. bad conditions of work, poor health & safety measures	Right to safe and healthy working conditions	Art 23(1) UDHR Art 7 CESCR Art 11(f) CEDAW
9. no payment, delayed payment	Right to just and favorable remuneration	Art 23(3) UDHR
10. Violation of contract by employers	Right to equal pay for equal work	Art 23(2) UDHR
10. extraction of big fees, payment, debt-bondage	Freedom from slavery	Art 4 UDHR Art 8 ICCPR UNSC entire convention UNCAS entire convention

	Right to be free of imprisonment for debt or failure to fulfill a contract obligation	Art 11 ICCPR

Adapted from Global Alliance against Traffic in Women (GAATW), *Human Rights and Trafficking in Persons: A Handbook* (Bangkok: 2000).

Article 2 of the Trafficking Protocol states that one of its fundamental aims is the protection and assistance of victims with the utmost consideration of their human rights. Details of this aim are contained in Article 6 where the following provisions are outlined: Protection of the privacy and identity of traffic victims; information on relevant legal proceedings; opportunities for the representation of victims' concerns and opinions in legal proceedings against their traffickers; co-operation between state and non-state actors in the provision of services relevant to the physical, psychological, social recovery of traffic victims in a non-discriminatory manner including "appropriate housing; counseling and information in a language that victims can understand; medical, psychological and material assistance; and employment, educational and training opportunities" (3).

Under the Trafficking Protocol's 7th Article, states are also required to consider adopting appropriate measures that would permit survivors to remain temporarily or permanently in their territories on humanitarian and compassionate grounds where necessary. This is hinged on the principle of *non-refoulment* (originally a refugee law) which prohibits states from returning asylum seekers to a country in which they may be in danger of persecution on account of their race, religion, gender, nationality or political opinions (Jayasinghe & Baglay 2011). Applied to human trafficking, survivors are reckoned to be in danger when they are repatriated back to their home countries because of the possibility of reprisal attacks from their traffickers or their criminal networks, especially when they owe them money (Carling, 2006; Adams, 2011). Non-

refoulement has largely been applied in human trafficking via the issuance of temporary or permanent residence permits to survivors of trafficking but this often contingent on survivors' functionality in the state's law enforcement objectives (Pearson, 2002).

Article 8 of the Trafficking Protocol also obligates destination states to facilitate the voluntary return of traffic victims to their states of origin and stipulates that traffic origin states are required to facilitate and accept the return of their nationals who are survivors with due consideration of their safety. Failure to do these amounts to a violation of survivors' rights to freely return to their state of origin (Obokata, 2006).

Excluded from the Trafficking Protocol but recently embraced by countries like Belgium and the Netherlands, and recommended under the EU Directive on Short Term Permits is the "reflection delay" (Pearson, 2002). As opposed to detention and immediate deportation, the reflection delay affords suspected traffic survivors a reflection period ranging from 45 days to 3 months to legally remain in the destination country, recover from their ordeal, and access assistance services while they decide on their next steps. This period allows victims to deliberate and decide on their willingness to testify in court against their traffickers. However, Brunovskis (2012) highlights how applications for this residency permit are infrequent and victims are hardly informed of this provision by officials in both countries as they believe it prolongs the investigation and prosecution process.

Another aspect of the human rights framework is that it focuses on the causes and consequences of human trafficking with the aim of eradicating it (Rijken, 2009). In effect, this would entail addressing the root causes of human trafficking from the demand and supply sides (push and pull factors). The systemic factors in origin countries such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy,

uneven wealth distribution, political crises, and gender inequality need to be tackled with relevant policies in collaboration with other states. Also, Rijken believes that the pull factors in destination countries such as their stable economies and their demand for cheap labor (usually in exploitative conditions), can be managed by loosening the strict immigration laws around migrant workers to protect their rights.

At any rate, the feminist school rejects the traditional security approach to trafficking in favor of the human rights approach (Lobazs, 2009). According to Lobazs (2009), feminists have continually advocated for security scholars to reconsider their focus on the security threats of human trafficking to the state entity in favor of the threats it constitutes to the individual (trafficked persons). Feminists approach the problem of trafficking from the standpoint of victims' traumatic experiences, given that the traditional security approach only aggravates the problem by enacting strict border policies and indiscriminately deporting vulnerable survivors. By emphasizing the human rights violations in human trafficking and using survivors' accounts of their traffic experiences to amplify the severity of human trafficking, feminists portray trafficked persons as victims in need of protection rather than violators of immigration laws.

Although the importance of the human rights approach to trafficking has been widely acknowledged among state and non-state anti-trafficking actors, Askola (2007: 149) argues that it remains trapped in the discursive realm with little 'consensus, capacity, political will, and pressure' on their part to translate the human rights approach into definitive policies. Similarly, Aradau (2008) asserts that states are gradually incorporating the human rights framework in their national policies but their nascent attention to this approach is born of their realization that traffic survivors are in fact pivotal to the prosecution of traffickers. Hence, victim protection and assistance is beneficial to states' law enforcement objectives especially because victims'

testimonies are typically the most potent form of evidence that can be used in the conviction of traffickers (Kriej, 2009).

According to Segrave et al. (2009), traffic survivors are treated as disposable objects to be used as a means to an end in criminal justice. The ideal victim is one who is willing to co-operate in criminal justice proceedings and whose profile fits the stereotype victim image. Pearson (2002) goes further to reveal how criminal justice proceedings are often indifferent to survivors' psychological conditions, and often re-victimize them. For example, the intense and intimidating process of investigation and cross-questioning during trial requires trafficked women to give detailed and repeated accounts of their exploitative experiences to a hostile defense counsel, defendant, and audience. Also, defense attorneys may intentionally agitate victims and disprove their testimonies in several ways. For instance, they may take a moralist stance, and declare the witnesses' story dishonest based on their history as sex workers; or suggest that they have ulterior motives (residence permit and other government assistance) for testifying against their trafficker (Haynes, 2004). Witnesses' testimonies may also be labeled unreliable by defense lawyers due to their inability to answer certain questions, recollect some minute details like chronology, and timing of events (Pearson, 2002).

Hence, several scholars have maintained that most traffic destination countries subordinate victim protection and assistance to their law enforcement objectives (Desyllas, 2007; Brunovskis & Tveit, 2016). The United States' Trafficking Victim Protection Act stands as the most critiqued victim protection policy in this light (Hartsough, 2002; Riegler, 2007). The Act permits the granting of the "T Visas" to victims of trafficking which permits holders to reside and work temporarily (about 4 years) in the United States. However, to be considered for this special visa, victims have to consent to work with law enforcement agents against traffickers. Srikantiah

(2007:159) states that "the T visa is a hybrid: it both provides humanitarian assistance to individuals who are victims of a severe form of trafficking and satisfies interests in prosecuting traffickers by requiring victim compliance with requests for assistance in investigations". The U.S Citizenship and Immigration Services has an annual limit of 5,000 T Visas but only a few hundred are ever issued to victims yearly (Destefano, 2007).

Furthermore, Karvelis (2013) argues that even after the identification of traffic survivors, there is no guarantee of residency permits or asylum. Because destination countries are preoccupied with curbing national immigration law violations through highly restrictive asylum policies, traffic survivors are often deported or 'voluntarily' returned home before they can apply for asylum or held in detention centers for years while their asylum applications are processed with no guarantee of approval (UNODC, 2012). Plambech (2014) has attributed these pervasive asylum denials to the conflation of trafficking and illegal migration by immigration authorities in Europe, and the European governments' apprehension that asylum approvals can serve as a pull factor for more traffic victims. They also present the assisted return of victims as a humanitarian act on their part as the victims were supposedly 'forced' to leave their countries. Hence, assisted voluntary return is seen as a better option than asylum.

On her part, Musto (2010) sees the collaborative efforts of NGOs and law enforcement agents in the provision of protection and assistance services as *carceral protectionism.* That is, "the invention and maintenance of a specific brand of anti-trafficking protection– one which melds the logic of law enforcement and human rights and where social justice for trafficked persons is imagined along interconnected, co-constitutive humanitarian, carceral and professional pathways" (Musto, 2010: 385). Basically, she claims that NGOs have shifted from their rights-based approach to align with the state's criminal justice objectives by encouraging traffic

survivors under their care to cooperate with law enforcement agents against their traffickers. She observes that NGOs have failed to challenge the very structural inequalities that affect survivors of trafficking in destination countries such as the anti-immigrant labor policies but rather focus on the provision of "short term, biomedical, individualized, and juridically bounded tactics of rescue" that bring victims superficial relief (Musto, 2010: 385). Indeed, Krieg (2009) notes that the recognition of victims' needs within a primarily criminal justice system produces several limitations that are inimical to the overall interests of traffic victims.

On the whole, Smith & Mattar (2004) state that the ideal anti-trafficking approach is one that evenly accommodates the prosecution demands of criminal justice and the protection requirements of human rights using a multi-sectorial collaborative structure. In their opinion, joint efforts by the government and its agencies, civil society, non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, and law enforcement agents will ensure that: 1) adequate anti-trafficking laws and policies are developed and implemented 2) a reliable knowledge base is developed to facilitate knowledge sharing among stakeholders 3) traffic victims are properly identified and rendered relevant assistance and 4) effective public awareness strategies are created to prevent trafficking.

While there is general agreement on the need for a human rights approach to human trafficking, Piotrowicz (2007) argues from a legal perspective, that it is inappropriate to regard human trafficking as a human rights violation because it is a crime committed by non-state actors against private individuals just like rape or murder. He insists that the state has to be involved for human rights violations to occur, and applying human rights law to human trafficking contradicts the legal responsibility of non-state actors under international human rights law. Nonetheless, human trafficking is still regarded as a human rights violation and a punishable crime but the

liability of individuals (i.e. the trafficker) has not been established under international human rights law.

2.4 Rehabilitation as an Instrument of Protection and Assistance

Conventionally, comprehensive and sustained rehabilitation services are considered pivotal to ensuring traffic survivors' wellbeing, empowerment and reintegration into society (Macy and Johns, 2011; Crawford & Kaufman, 2008). Baker et al.'s (2010) prostitution exit model has been applied to human trafficking in order to understand the exit experiences of trafficked persons but its application implies an erroneous synonymy between prostitution and human trafficking (see section 2.1). Regardless, Baker et al (2010) identified a host of barriers to exiting prostitution and grouped these under four (4) categories: 1) Individual factors: self-destructive behaviors, traumatic upbringings, mental health problems, psychological injuries/stress, substance abuse, physical health problems, and unfamiliarity with assistance services; 2) Relational factors: strained familial relationships, minimal formal and informal support systems, threats from pimps and drug dealers; 3) Structural factors: unemployment, limited skills, lack of basic needs (food, shelter), illiteracy, poverty, and criminal record; and 4) Societal factors: discrimination/stigma.

More so, they advanced a six-step model to capture the complex process of exiting prostitution. These are *immersion (*the stage where they are completely engulfed by prostitution with no thoughts of leaving)*; visceral awareness and conscious awareness* (the progression from a subconscious to a fully conscious state of dissatisfaction with their current situation)*; deliberate planning* (deliberate efforts to access formal and informal assistance services)*; initial exit* (active use of assistance services)*; reentry* (relapse into sex work)*;* and *final exit* (ultimate exit from the

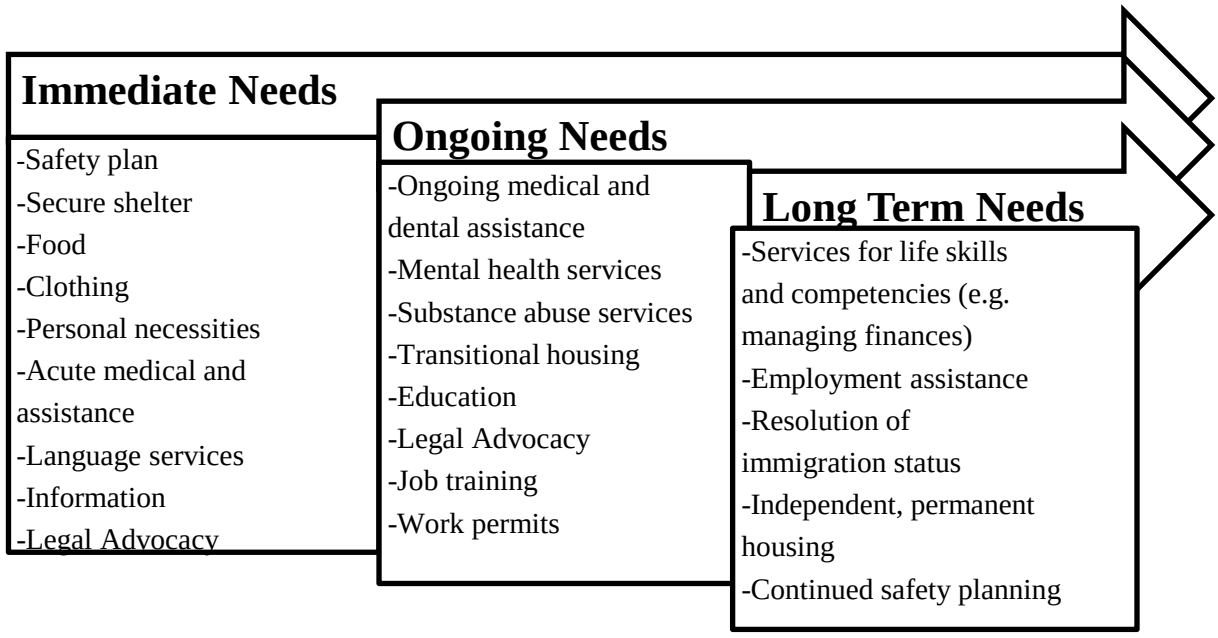
sex industry after multiple exits and reentry). However, the authors acknowledge that the process is complex and far from unidirectional and uniform among sex workers.

After exiting trafficking, assistance is considered a necessity due to the debilitated state of most survivors' physical and psychological health when they are rescued. Raymond & Hughes (2001) and Abas et al (2013) have revealed that trafficked persons encounter multiple traumatic experiences over an extended period including rape, physical or when they escape assault, sexual exploitation, unsafe work conditions, threats of violence, isolation, and malnutrition. Consequently, they often suffer from grave physical and psychological conditions even when they exit trafficking (Oram, Ostrovschi et al., 2012). Such conditions include chronic body pains, fatigue, weight loss, skin infections, sexually transmitted infections like HIV/AIDS, gonorrhea, syphilis, chlamydia, genital warts, urinary tract infections, herpes, and hepatitis A, B, C; as well as mental health issues like depression, anxiety, insomnia, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), suicidal thoughts, memory loss, panic attacks, hostility, and even substance addiction (Flowers, 2001; Clawson et al., 2009; Oram, Stockl et al., 2012; Abas et al., 2013; Zimmerman et al., 2006).

As such, survivors of trafficking often have complex and diverse needs that assistance service providers strive to satisfy when they exit trafficking (Dell et al., 2019). Nonetheless, Aron et al. (2006) have discovered that each person's needs vary depending on factors like the legality of their status in the destination country, the agency they exercised while being trafficked (forced or voluntary), their command of the local language of the place of traffic, and even their method of exit from trafficking (e.g. law enforcement raid or voluntary exit via service providers or friends).

Rehabilitation typically consists of services like emergency shelter, basic necessities like food, clothing and personal hygiene products, physical health care, mental healthcare and counseling, legal counsel, education and job training, vocational and life skills training, family reunification, microcredit and so on (Adams, 2011; Crawford & Kaufman; 2008). However, Macy & Johns (2011); Muraya & Fry (2016); and Aron et al (2006) classify survivors' needs into emergency, immediate or short term needs; ongoing or intermediate needs; and long term needs (see Figure 1). Their short term needs include safety, secured shelter, basic necessities like food, clothing and toiletries, emergency medical care, information, language interpretation, etc.

Figure 1 - Changing Needs of Traffic Survivors and Comprehensive Service Provision



Source: Adapted from Macy & Johns (2011:90) and Aron et al (2006:13)

Ongoing needs include mental healthcare, ongoing physical health care, transitional housing, vocational/job training, language needs, legal advice, etc. As survivors begin to recover and exert their agency and independence, their long term needs take the form of life skills and competencies, employment assistance, permanent housing, language skills, education and job training, family reunification, and financial assistance. While these needs are altered in time and space, Macy & Johns (2011) maintain that accommodation, physical and psychological health care, and legal advocacy are central in every stage.

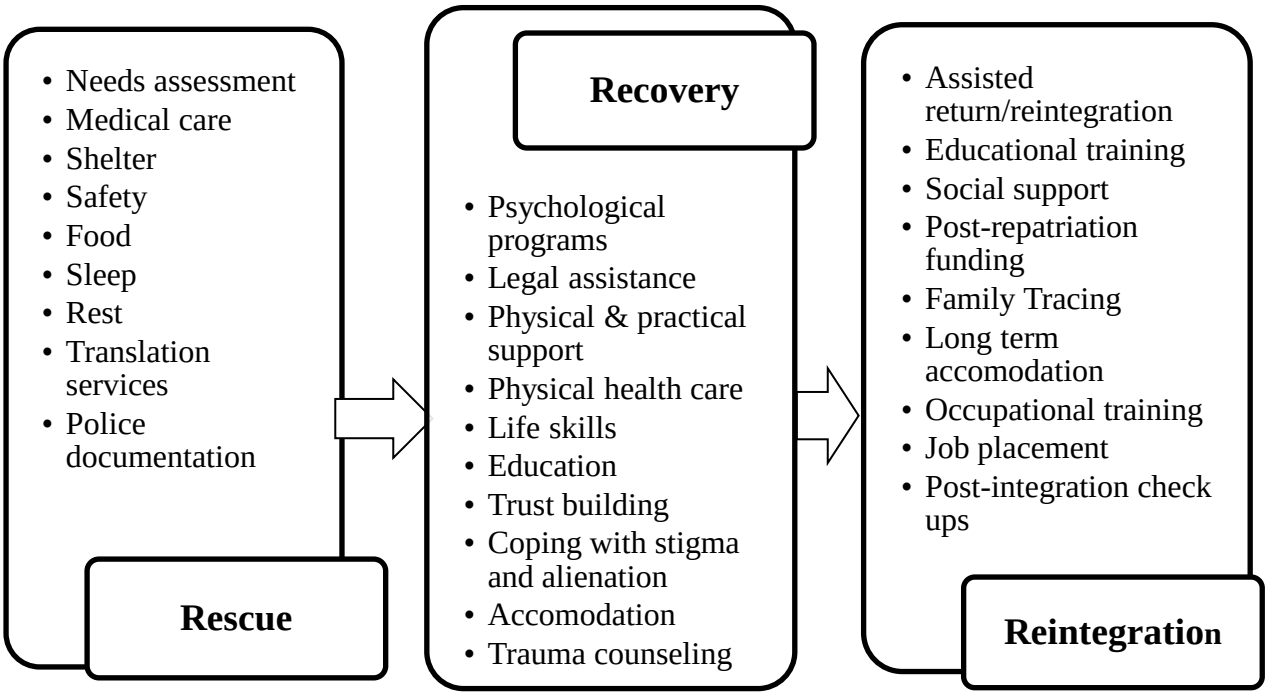
Furthermore, Macy & Johns (2011) recognized that the field of aftercare/rehabilitation service provision for traffic survivors is nascent and there is a need for practice guidelines for service providers. To this end, they proposed a seven (7) step service delivery framework for organizations caring for international traffic survivors. This includes: 1) Commencing with a sensitive and comprehensive needs assessment for clients 2) Prioritizing the confidentiality and safety of clients to protect them from their traffickers 3) Providing coordinated case management and comprehensive services for clients via multiagency collaboration 4) Adopting trauma-informed methods to ameliorate clients' violent traffic experiences (this involves using empowerment philosophies in managing clients, enabling clients' make choices and take control, emphasizing their strength and self-sufficiency, and protecting them from additional physical and emotional trauma) 5) Providing services in the survivors' native language 6) Providing services in a culturally sensitive manner 7) Providing specialized shelters for traffic victims as opposed to housing them with victims of rape, domestic violence, etc.

The absence of some of these elements was identified as challenges and barriers to effective service provision by Caliber (2007). Based on her qualitative study with service providers and recipients of rehabilitation services, it was discovered that the absence of specialized shelters for

traffic victims, poor language interpretation services, poor coordination with law enforcement agents, limited resources, and lack of client confidentiality often made service provision hectic.

Finally, Muraya and Fry (2016) classify aftercare/assistance services for traffic victims into three stages: rescue, recovery, and reintegration (see Figure 2). Rescue can occur through law enforcement and NGO raids, as well as escape. This is followed by the provision of their basic needs by service providers such as emergency housing, food, clothing, etc. The recovery stage encompasses services like legal assistance, medical and psychosocial care, and accommodation which are geared towards recuperation. Reintegration is the final stage which entails reinserting the individual into the society after careful appraisal of their ability to cope, and its effect on their recovery process. Services aimed at achieving successful reintegration include education, vocational skills training, finance management, life planning, decision making, problem-solving, emotional intelligence, interpersonal communication training, and post-program monitoring (Frederick, 2005; Macy & Johns, 2011).

Figure 2 – Stages of Aftercare Service



Source: Muraya, D., & Fry, D. (2016). Aftercare services for child victims of sex trafficking: A systematic review of policy and practice. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 17, 204–220

2.5. The Residential Approach to Human Trafficking Rehabilitation

Residential rehabilitation has become a widely embraced model of assistance among protection and assistance providers worldwide as it enables traffic survivors to access all the necessary rehabilitation services at a singular location (Surtees, 2008). The residential model has been praised for providing survivors with a safe, supportive and private living spaces; a comforting and empowering community of other women with shared traffic experiences; and greater access to information, resources and services (Rosenberg, 2006; Bjerkan & Dyrlid, 2005). However, Surtees (2012) discovered that the shelter model of rehabilitation had negative impacts on survivors in Eastern Europe. First, survivors believed that shelters were the most conspicuous form of assistance and this was problematic due to the negative social attitude towards human

trafficking and external assistance. Second, the shelter model was described as invasive and controlling because survivors were required to disclose personal information that was at odds with their culture, abide by rules and regulations and also be isolated from their family and friends. Third, some survivors claimed that the shelter arrangement aggravated their conditions because they were confined with other traumatized individuals, had to endure tense relations with them and be constantly reminded of their traffic identity.

Gallagher & Pearson (2005:3) refer to this isolation within shelters as "shelter detention", and analyze it from a legal and policy perspective. They rule that shelter detention is illegal as it violates fundamental principles of international law even though it is often justified as a means of providing shelter, support, and safety. Their findings reveal that detention of trafficked persons is unaddressed in the UN Trafficking Protocol but the United Nations *Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking* (a non-legal binding instrument) prohibits detention of trafficked persons' without their consent. Moreover, it can be considered a violation of the rights to freedom of movement, and the right to liberty and the prohibition on arbitrary detention. This especially holds when detention is not proportional to the interest the state is claiming to protect or when detention is arbitrary and unsupported by national laws.

Furthermore, Surtees (2008) and Gallagher & Pearson (2005) question the authenticity of the survivors' "consent" that rehabilitation organizations use to justify their detention in the shelters. They suggest that the consent forms that trafficked persons are required to sign before admission into shelters should not be taken at face value due to the conditions under which they are obtained. For instance, Gallagher & Pearson (2010) remark that trafficked persons may consent to detention due to ignorance on their legal rights and their ability to decline or their lack of knowledge on the availability of other assistance options. Moreover, trafficked persons are

usually traumatized and shocked when they are rescued and so are less likely to fully comprehend the implications of their consent especially when they do not have other assistance alternatives at that point. Also, the closed shelter model is perceived to be necessary to prevent survivors from running away but Surtees (2008) notes that asides from the service providers' concern about survivors' safety and the model's cost-effectiveness, law enforcement agents are also anxious about losing potential witnesses in court cases. More so, Gallagher and Pearson (2005) detect a gendered dimension to detention since it is mostly women and children who are deemed vulnerable and in need of protection.

Brunovskis & Surtees (2007) argue that closed shelter rehabilitation is not conducive for every category of traffic survivors. For example, survivors who have economic obligations to their families would not be able to commit to residential rehabilitation programs as they would be unable to earn money for their families while enrolled. Similarly, some families may be skeptical about allowing survivors who just returned from an exploitative ordeal to be whisked away again to a secret location where they would have minimal communication with them yet again. Brunovskis & Surtees (2008) maintain that the closed shelter rehabilitation model was originally devised for foreign nationals and high-security risk cases. As such, rehabilitation organizations need to conduct an ongoing individualized risk analysis of survivors to determine the applicability of this model.

2.6. What is Empowerment in the Context of Human Trafficking Rehabilitation?

The term 'empowerment' has continually been contested in development discourse. Several scholars including Kabeer (1999) have acknowledged that empowerment has defied a clear-cut

definition and measurement method. Kabeer attempts to define empowerment by describing it as "the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability" (1999: 435). Kabeer's conceptualization which is employed in this study rests on three major dimensions of empowerment: Resources, Agency, and Achievements. Resources refer to economic, material and human resources which individuals' access to improve their lives' choices. Agency, on the other hand, relates to the power of individuals to decide on their life goals and act towards achieving it (mainly understood as decision-making); and achievements refer to the tangible outcomes of the process of empowerment.

Dominant rehabilitation best practice guidelines maintain that an empowerment framework is essential in the design and implementation of assistance to traffic survivors (Macy & John, 2011; Muraya & Fry, 2015). Indeed, one of the central goals of rehabilitation assistance to traffic survivors is empowering them to take control of their lives and be self-sufficient (Caliber, 2007; Aron et al, 2006). It has been argued that women who are trafficked, in fact, exercise agency before they are trafficked by seeking out ways to escape poverty through migration. However, Kelly (2002) argues that their coping strategy (migration) becomes a source of vulnerability and disempowerment due to structural constraints like gender inequality which make them susceptible to trafficking.

It is common knowledge that trafficked women are subjected to various levels of violence and control by their traffickers (Zimmerman et al., 2006). They lose control of their lives and bodies as they are physically, sexually and psychologically abused; forced to work with little or no remuneration; humiliated; intimidated with threats of and use of violence; isolation; imprisonment; manipulation and other forms of control (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2005). In truth, dominant anti-trafficking campaigns have constantly represented trafficked women as innocent,

suffering, traumatized, vulnerable and devoid of agency, although this has been tagged as a political/ideological strategy (Doezema, 1999; Andrijasevic, 2007; Muston; 2010: also see section 2.2). As Kabeer (1999) has suggested, employing the term "empowerment" insinuates that individuals who seek to be empowered were once denied freedom and choice (disempowered). Put differently, empowerment is a "process of change"; for empowerment to take place, disempowerment has to have occurred in the first place (Kabeer, 1999: 437). This condition is evident in the experiences of trafficked women as indicated above.

Ideally, adopting empowerment strategies in assistance programs requires rehabilitation organizations to inform survivors of their assistance options and engage them in every aspect of their recovery program especially in decision making so as to improve their chances at reintegration (Surtees, 2007). In other words, it involves treating survivors as independent adults and thereby building their confidence and will to lead unassisted lives in society (Jordan, 2002). For instance, an empowerment strategy is offering guidance and working through problems with survivors rather than sidelining them and handling the issues for them. Kvinnoforum (2003:24) regards it as "facilitating the process where trafficked persons cease to be victims and start being agents in control of their lives".

Also, economic empowerment is one of the integral elements in comprehensive rehabilitation programs. Survivors are usually exposed to vocational skills training, financial literacy, business management support, formal education, job placement, and business startup grants (Surtees, 2012). Surtees (2012:11) defines economic empowerment in the human trafficking rehabilitation context as the process of "trafficked persons equipping themselves with the skills, resources, and confidence to economically support themselves and their families and, in the longer term, contribute to the economic well-being of their communities". She states that "it involves

enhancing the learning and earning capacities of individuals through strengthening human capital, building interpersonal skills, facilitating access to financial capital and enhancing social networks" (Surtees, 2012: 25).

Economic empowerment is often the preoccupation of survivors once they exit trafficking and it is also pivotal to their self-confidence, social recognition, and integration (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2013). Surtees (2012) also argues that there are several factors which mediate the outcome of rehabilitation organizations' efforts at empowering beneficiaries economically – some personal and some systemic. Survivors' conditions like stress, anxiety, trauma, lack of confidence, inadequate work experience and qualifications; and systemic factors such as limited employment opportunities, stigmatization, etc. can jeopardize their economic empowerment and long term reintegration.

2.7. The Process of Reintegration among Survivors of Trafficking

Surtees (2017: 10) defines reintegration as "the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience including settlement in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal, social and economic development, and access to social and emotional support". Ideally, traffic survivors are rescued and provided with assistance services to enable them achieve reintegration either at the destination country where they are rescued, in their home country where they are repatriated or in an entirely new country depending on their needs and circumstances (Surtees, 2013). It is a complex long term often non-linear process that requires dedicated provision of services that cater to the physical, psychological, social, and economic

needs of traffic survivors (see section 2.4). Surtees (2017) stresses the need for individualized reintegration plans, as well as the irregularity of reintegration outcomes among survivors based on the peculiarities of their pre-traffic and post-traffic needs. As such, some survivors may require more or less reintegration support; some may reintegrate faster than others, and some may require regular assessments and continuous support post-reintegration.

Although there is an increasing focus on traffic survivors and their human rights in human trafficking literature, the major attention is on their exploitative traffic experiences as opposed to their experiences when they return and the opportunities and challenges they face in reintegration (Surtees, 2017). Extant studies show that the major preoccupations of traffic survivors when returning home is social acceptance by the families and communities, and having substantial economic resources to cater for themselves and their families without worrying about debts (Lisborg & Plambech, 2009). In fact, as Surtees (2017) and Lisborg & Plambech (2009) noted, not all traffic survivors perceive reintegration into their home countries as the ultimate goal after they exit trafficking. In their study with commercial sex workers and sex trafficked persons in Norway, Skibrei & Tveit (2007) discovered that both groups had fears and reservations about returning to Nigeria to settle. Their reluctance to return and reintegrate were based on poverty, inequality, and lack of opportunities in their home country; fear of criminalization and detention; stigmatization in the society; fear of retaliation and revenge from their traffickers (especially if they have unsettled debts); and lack of a reliable social network to return to like a family. Apparently, commercial sex workers and sex trafficked persons were also highly skeptical of the government's ability to provide the necessary reintegration assistance due to its corrupt nature. Similarly, Lisborg & Plambech (2009) state that traffic survivors were divided on their attitudes to reintegrating in their home countries before their return. They observed three major categories

of survivors: those determined to return; those who were uncertain about returning; and those who were reluctant due to pending debts and stigma from failed migration and/or prostitution.

Furthermore, Crawford & Kaufman (2008) noted that there is insufficient empirical data on the reintegration outcomes of rehabilitation/assistance programs. Based on their systematic study of random samples of a Nepalese NGO's case files, they posit that rehabilitation programs are effective in achieving reintegration for traffic survivors. Survivors in their study had been exposed to a variety of vocational skills training and family visits during their rehabilitation. Upon program completion, 85% of program beneficiaries successfully returned to their communities; 55% were generating income via small scale businesses; 59% got married, and 79% were in good health.

Lisborg & Plambech (2009) also investigated the outcome of rehabilitation and reintegration assistance among Thai and Filipina traffic survivors. First, over six (6) months after reintegration, respondents still had a mixture of feelings ranging from worry, happiness/optimism, anger, fear, sadness, and embarrassment. Second, the majority of survivors' claimed that their financial status was worse than it was pre-trafficking, while some indicated that it was the same as before they were trafficked or better than it was pre-trafficking. Third, the dynamics of familial relationships varied among survivors as some faced stigma from their families, some felt betrayed by them for trafficking them, and some had strained relations due to their prolonged absence.

Brunovskis & Surtees (2013) shed more light on the conditions and challenges of family reintegration for returned traffic survivors. They argue that survivors' families are crucial factors that can determine the success or failure of their reintegration but it has been treated as a

secondary consideration in literature. Indeed, survivors have been known to decline assistance services because they would be unable to care for their families when enrolled or because the programs are unable to assist their families as well. Brunovskis & Surtees (2013) also identified sources of tension between survivors and their families such as when survivors don't meet their families' financial expectations; when families fail to provide survivors with the measure of empathy and support they anticipated to facilitate their recovery; and when survivors' express problematic behaviors like anger and irritation to family members which stress their relationships.

Furthermore, the process of reintegration is often negatively affected by certain personal circumstances of survivors that may have emerged pre and post trafficking. Surtees (2008b:13) describes survivors with such factors as "difficult cases" that require special reintegration assistance due to the complexity of their needs. They include survivors with advanced mental health conditions, dependent family members and children, substance addiction, disabilities, serious physical ailments, no family support, safety and security issues, social exclusion, and previous violent experiences.

Another obstacle to seamless reintegration for survivors of trafficking is the nature of the environment in which they attempt to reintegrate (Surtees, 2008c). This environment encompasses their families and their larger community. In instances where survivors' families were instrumental in their trafficking or in cases where they are unreceptive of survivors when they return, it often had a negative impact on their recovery. Surtees (2008c) also highlights systemic obstacles in survivors' origin countries that may hamper their reintegration irrespective of assistance services they may have accessed. These include structural factors such as lack of

employment opportunities, high cost of living, and underdeveloped infrastructure and institutions which often situate survivors in the very conditions which precipitated initial migration.

However, some scholars have contested this conventional wisdom on reintegration by drawing attention to its futility for traffic survivors. Mahendra et al (2001) argue that there is minimal possibility of social acceptance or reintegration of trafficked women due to cultural norms that ostracize and stigmatize women that have been trafficked. According to their study in Nepal, traffic survivors are seen as unrepentant societal pollutants, and a source of disgrace to themselves, their families and community at large. It is important to note the findings of the study emerged within the specific context of Nepal and the extent of its generalizability to other countries is debatable.

More so, Lisborg (2009) observed that the recent proliferation of rehabilitation programs for survivors of human trafficking has not necessarily resulted in empowerment and reintegration for traffic survivors because poorly designed and implemented programs often have no substantial impact on the survivors' lives and in some cases, aggravate their already vulnerable conditions. Lisborg, therefore, calls for survivors' self-articulated needs to be the core of rehabilitation programs. On this basis, he argues that rehabilitation programs should have five fundamental elements: Offer survivors flexible, individualized, rights-based support; offer labor-market-relevant skills training to facilitate survivors' economic empowerment; offer survivors information on safe and legal migration options as remigration is common among them; make efforts to reach and assist 'invisible' survivors who 'self-returned' outside the formal repatriation system, and offer assistance services to survivors at any point after their return even after an initial decline.

It is also important to note that some traffic survivors that have accessed rehabilitation and reintegration assistance may still be re-trafficked. Jobe (2010) attributes this occurrence to survivors' characteristics such as their young age, substance addiction, and membership of marginalized gender or ethnic groups. Survivors may also be susceptible to re-trafficking at the point of exiting trafficking especially when law enforcement agents are corrupt; when they remain in the same community where their traffickers can locate them easily; when they owe debts; and when they experience stigmatization. Most importantly, inadequately funded and designed rehabilitation programs that are ill-equipped to meet survivors' complex needs also set them up for re-trafficking.

In addition, for a myriad of reasons, survivors of trafficking do not always welcome formal rehabilitation and reintegration assistance (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). In certain instances, survivors view rehabilitation as an impediment rather than a form of assistance. For instance, rehabilitation and reintegration assistance can be refused when survivors believe it will interfere with their plans to re-migrate or prevent them from earning an income to provide for their families. It is also considered unnecessary when their social network of family and friends can provide them with the recovery support they require (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). Therefore, rehabilitation is not a compulsory process that survivors of trafficking undergo in order to recover. They accept and decline this form of formal assistance based on their personal circumstances and the social context within which they are located at a particular time.

2.8. Conceptual Framework

This study adopts a post-colonial feminist analytical framework to understand the historical and current debates on the nature of human trafficking and the representation of 'Third world' women within human trafficking discourse. This lens is consequently pivotal to the analysis of the institution and processes of human trafficking rehabilitation in Nigeria, and its relationship with the reintegration and empowerment of female traffic survivors.

2.8.1. Post-Colonial Feminist Theory

In their analysis of the evolution of feminist development theories, Schech & Haggis (2000) highlight the importance of the post-colonial feminist lens in unraveling the universalism and essentialism inherent in Western feminist development scholarship and practice. Specifically, the post-colonial feminist lens problematizes Western feminists' representation of 'Third world' women as the Other – "tradition-bound victims of timeless patriarchal cultures" in need of the help of their modern liberated Western counterparts to attain freedom (Schech & Haggis 2000: 102). This critique emerged in response to earlier mainstream feminist theories on the role of women in development including Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD).

Embedded in liberal feminism, the Women in Development (WID) School spearheaded the critique of modernization development theory and practice in the 1970s which they considered to be gender-neutral (Ramamurthy, 2000). Ground-breaking scholars like Boserup (1970) argued that development policies and programs had disregarded women and underestimated their valuable role in fostering development in developing countries. In *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (1970), Boserup faulted masculinist development policymakers and practitioners

for their universalist approach to developing countries. Development agencies' focus on men as the principal force in the public sphere had erroneously marginalized Third World women in welfare assistance programs and technology transfer. By highlighting the nuanced patterns of the sexual division of labor in developing countries, Boserup and other aligned thinkers like Rogers (1980) and Tinker (1990) advocated for integrative development strategies that would eliminate masculine bias in development agencies; address patriarchy in Third World societies; educate women on their indispensable role in development; increase their productive capacities; grant them easier market access, and provide job opportunities.

Women and Development (WAD) propounded the second wave of feminist development ideas which were at odds with WID's arguments. Central to WAD's ideas was the argument that women were already incorporated into mainstream development, and it was this very inclusion that set the stage for the discriminatory and unequal experiences of women in development schemes (Parpart et al., 2000). WAD feminists saw Third world women's unfortunate plight as a consequence of the combined forces of patriarchy, imperialism, and capitalism (Schech & Haggis, 2000). Informed by Marxism and dependency theory interpretations of capitalism and development, development was seen as yet another exploitative tool for the furtherance of imperialism in developing countries. This school highlights how capitalism perpetuates and profits from patriarchy and sexual division of labor as Third world female labor is exploited by Western capitalist corporations in the public sphere in the name of liberation and economic autonomy (Tiessen et al., 2011).

Socialist development feminists pursued further theorization by critiquing WAD's central logic. Framing their ideas as Gender and Development (GAD), they faulted WAD's purely economist explanation for gender relations and women's experiences which ignored sexual inequality

(Ramamurthy, 2000). Scholars like Elson & Pearson (1981), Pearson (1992) and Fernandez-Kelley (1984) approached women and development from a different perspective, by examining gender relations (between men and women) as opposed to focusing on women only (cited in Ramamurthy, 2000). They emphasized gender and labor as social constructs and showed how women's structural location at the intersection of gender and class accounts for their oppression. Rather than see gender relations as rigid in every context, GAD scholars posit that gender relations are unique and dynamic, and societal privilege can alternately rest on men or women depending on contexts (Parpart et al., 2000).

More so, GAD feminists argue against WID's unitary category of 'woman' which can simply be included in development through technical measures (Benera & Sen 1981 in Ramamurthy, 2000). This technical change they insist, "was embedded in a global and historical economic order – capital accumulation under colonialism, that had in the past privileged some groups and exploited others" thus it will not suffice (Ramamurthy, 2000: 244). The WID approach was also accused of essentializing Third world women while excluding their voices and lived experiences from mainstream development.

These feminist development ideas were faulted by Third world feminist scholars such as Mohanty (1988), Minh (1989), and Spivak (1999). They recognized the discursive colonialism in Western feminists' representation of 'Third world' women as a singular monolithic group, sharing uniform experiences of patriarchy across class, cultural, ethnic, and racial divides. Mohanty (1988) argues that Western feminists' texts on Third world women are framed by Eurocentric universalism which homogenizes and trivializes the intricacies of their variegate experiences of oppression. She posits that this mode of production and representation makes

Western feminists implicit accomplices in the structural power relations between the West and the Third world. In this frame:

> The average third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and being "third world" (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc.)…in contrast to the (implicit) self-representation of Western women as educated, modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions (Mohanty, 1988: 337).

This binary analysis, therefore, mirrors the dominant classification of Third world countries as inferior, backward and underdeveloped, and Western countries as progressive industrialized and developed. As a matter of fact, Spivak contends in *Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism* that "the emergent perspective of feminist criticism reproduces the axioms of imperialism" (1985: 243).

Specifically among African feminists, the core principles and notions of Western feminism have repeatedly been rejected due to their perceived reinforcement of cultural imperialism and colonialism (Atanga, 2013). For instance, Western feminism is seen as a threat to the traditional order of gender and familial relations in African society especially as certain strands are anti-men, anti-children, and pro-lesbianism. Western feminists (including African feminists in diaspora accused of ideological borrowing) have also been criticized for assuming an omniscient stance in the issues that affect African women without having a full grasp of their social realities (Okome, 1999; Mama, 2001; Fokwang, 2006). Largely speaking, Western and African feminism may be underpinned by the common goal of improving women's conditions in society but African feminism in its various models is unique given the realities in the African context (Atang, 2013).

For most African feminists, the subject of feminism is approached conservatively while allowing for the revision and retention of traditional African values (Chigwedere, 2010). In a bid to indigenize or Africanize feminism, various Nigerian scholars have proposed new ways of conceptualizing feminism which incorporate the values of collaboration, compromise, negotiation, and gender inclusion to allow for joint efforts between both genders in improving the conditions of women in the society (Nkeala, 2016). These include Womanism (Ogunyemi, 1985), Stiwanism (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994), Motherism (Acholonu, 1995), Femalism (Opara, 2005), Nego-feminism (Nnaemeka, 2003), Snail-sense feminism (Ezeigbo, 2012), etc. These theories speak directly to African women and their experiences as they navigate patriarchy, neocolonialism, globalization, and other forms of oppression (Nkeala, 2016). All in all, "contemporary African feminism…involves rewriting the identities of African women not only as passive victims of male dominance and patriarchy or as preoccupied with the concerns of their 'Western' sisters, but as active social, economic and political agents in the development of their countries…" (Atanga, 2013:309).

Scholars have also engaged with the post-colonial feminism framework to theorize about human trafficking and the sex work industry to challenge essentialized notions and representations of non-western women. Doezema (1999 & 2001) unveils the imperialist undertones inherent in modern accounts of human trafficking. She argues that non-Western women are depicted in the dominant trafficking discourse as naïve, disempowered, and ignorant women, subdued by culture in their poor and backward countries and lacking agency to voluntarily engage in sex work. Doezema (1999) and Whyte (2013) also identify intersections between the prevalent abolitionist narratives of the 19th century "white slavery" and contemporary human trafficking. From their perspective, anti-trafficking campaigns have revived the "white slavery" victim rhetoric of

young, helpless, and innocent girls deceived by false promises of a better life abroad, and ultimately condemned to violence and death.

Kempadoo (1998) also identifies racism and imperialism to be implicit in some Western feminists' ideology on human trafficking. In particular, she analyzes Barry's work: *The Prostitution of Sexuality: The Global Exploitation of Women* (1995) which locates non-Western women in traditional pre-industrial societies where they are marginalized and subjugated within the patriarchal structure, as opposed to liberated independent Western women in progressive industrialized societies. Doezema (1999) and Desyllas (2007) also notes that the prevalent propaganda only fleetingly recognizes the role of Western development policies and Western men in perpetuating poverty and traffic but mostly portrays the traffickers to be foreign third-world men and women collaborating with corrupt inept government officials to traffic innocent third world women. For Lucas (2013), this racism can be traced back to the 'white slave traffic' era where the term 'white slavery' in itself, connotes an exclusion of colored women from the narratives around sex slavery in the 19th century. Colored women were assumed to be wanton, immoral, lustful, unvirtuous and prospective prostitutes as opposed to white women who were decent and principled.

The analytical value of this conceptual framework lies in its ability to deconstruct the taken for granted assumptions about 'Third world women' being trafficked while privileging their own unique experiences and realities. It allows me to go beyond the mainstream image of trafficked women as passive, docile, powerless, and vulnerable (Andrijasevic, 2007) while permitting an objective and non-essentialized view of these women's expectations, perceptions, and experiences in rehabilitation. Ultimately, the framework will tease out insights on their empowerment and reintegration as it relates to the rehabilitation programs through which they

were assisted after exiting traffic. In addition, it will allow for a critical understanding of the conceptualization, practices, and goals of rehabilitation programs in Nigeria through a deconstruction of the dominant languages and attitudes of Nigerian stakeholders' in the rehabilitation of female traffic survivors.

CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Justification for Selected Methodology

This study attempts to address extant empirical gaps in the assessment of human trafficking rehabilitation programs in Nigeria by privileging program beneficiaries' expectations, perceptions, and experiences. The study adopted qualitative methods in data collection and analysis. Qualitative research approach has been recognized to permit research with people in their naturally occurring settings and emphasize the personalized meanings that they inscribe on phenomena occurring within their milieu (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Spicer, 2004). Hence, this method allowed for a holistic interpretation of the subjective perceptions and experiences of both rehabilitation service providers and traffic survivors on the issues of rehabilitation, empowerment, and reintegration. Eckstein (1975:121) regards this focus on interpreting meanings as "*verstehen* – understanding the meaning of actions and interactions" from individuals' perspectives. By employing this method, the research was primarily rooted in the participants' authentic viewpoints rather than the researcher's preset constructs and categories.

More so, Spicer (2004: 299) has attested that qualitative methods are beneficial in "capturing complexity and processes, as well as diversity and contradiction in the human and social world within local settings". Specifically, it accommodates the exploration of unanticipated concepts and processes that emerge during the research process and allows social actions to be investigated within the specific contexts in which they are embedded. While quantitative methods have been valued for their supposed rigor and scientific superiority, qualitative methods can be used to uncover meanings, relationships, and interactions that may not be captured by the use of quantitative methods.

Hammersley (1992) asserts that the selection of research methods ought to be dictated by pragmatic considerations such as the purpose and circumstance of the research rather than a researcher's prior methodological and philosophical commitment. Seale (1999: 472) concurs with this by asserting that researchers ought to consider social research as a "craft skill" independent of paradigm and philosophical debates with the sole aim of developing advanced knowledge on the studied phenomena. Moreover, extant works on human trafficking rehabilitation and reintegration have also adopted qualitative methods (see Aron et al., 2006; Gallagher & Pearson, 2008; Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007; and Rosenberg, 2006). As such, this study adopted qualitative methods for both data collection and analysis.

3.2. Justification for Selected Study Area

My fieldwork took place in Lagos State, one of the fastest-growing, and currently the largest city in Africa with over 21 million residents (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016). It has also been regarded as the commercial and financial capital of Nigeria with one of the busiest seaports and airports which connect it to the outside world. Due to its infrastructure and vibrant economic activities, Lagos has been a top destination for rural-urban migration (Aluko, 2010). Consequently, it has functioned as a transit point for international human trafficking, and a destination point for domestic human trafficking in Nigeria (UNODC, 2011; Aderinto & Aborisade, 2008).

Furthermore, amongst the eight (8) zonal commands of NAPTIP, the Lagos Zonal Office has the largest rehabilitation shelter capacity with about 60 bed spaces. The staff interviewed in this zonal office also remarked that Lagos receives the highest number of traffic cases weekly. In

fact, the Lagos international airport (Murtala Mohammed International Airport) serves as the main point of reception and identification of repatriated traffic victims by IOM, NAPTIP, and other partners. It is from Lagos that repatriated trafficked persons are then transported to their various points of origin across the federation. Lagos also has a substantial representation of non-governmental organizations active in the prevention, prosecution and protection aspects of anti-trafficking.

Considering its strategic location and the prevalence of anti-human trafficking institutions in the region, Lagos serves an appropriate area for a study which aims to uncover anti-trafficking stakeholders' conceptualization and implementation of human trafficking rehabilitation, and their rehabilitation programs' relevance in the empowerment and reintegration of traffic survivors.

3.3. Data Collection Process

Qualitative data was collected between May and August 2019. This was achieved primarily by using in-depth semi-structured interviews (see Table 3). In-depth interviews are particularly suited for sensitive topics where participants may feel uncomfortable giving information in settings with multiple persons present like focus groups (Kapiszewski, MacLean & Read, 2015). It also provides access to unique ideas, opinions, experiences, meanings, and interpretations from participants' verbal and non-verbal responses (Soss, 2006). Besides, Byrne (2004) states that qualitative interviews are advantageous for research concerned with exploring the voices and experiences of marginalized groups as it captures their experiences in their own language. In a nutshell, it enables the researcher to achieve measures of depth and complexity unobtainable with other research tools in quantitative methods.

Table 2: Overview of institutions that were interviewed

Government Agencies	Civil Society Organizations	International Agencies
National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)	Genesis House Rehabilitation Center (Freedom Foundation)	International Organization for Migration (IOM)
	Peace Villa Rehabilitation Center (Real Woman Foundation)	
	Home of Sharon Rehabilitation Center (Sought After Foundation)	

Interviews were conducted with thirteen (13) rehabilitated traffic survivors between the ages of 21 and 46 who were rehabilitated at least one (1) year prior to the commencement of the study. Also, five (5) rehabilitation officials were interviewed including a representative from the International Organization for Migration; a representative from NAPTIP; a representative from Genesis House Rehabilitation Center (Freedom Foundation); a representative from Peace Villa Rehabilitation Center (The Real Woman Foundation); and a representative from Home of Sharon (Sought After Foundation) were included in the study (see Table 2). All interviewed representatives from rehabilitation organizations were individuals directly involved in the development and implementation of rehabilitation programs hence they constituted "information-rich" sources. According to Patton (2002, 242) "information-rich cases" are cases from which one can learn a great deal about matters of importance and therefore worthy of in-depth study.

Interviewees were selected through purposeful and snowball sampling. Purposeful sampling technique allowed for the selection of "information-rich" individuals and organizations which

had the most relevant knowledge and experiences on the subject of study. For a research subject with scarce and barely accessible population, snowball sampling strategy proved useful in recruiting participants (Morgan, 2008). In fact, Romney et al (1986) noted that where purposive sampling is carefully undertaken to ensure information-rich respondents, a small sample of four is sufficient to meet the research objective. Although snowball sampling has been faulted for creating selection bias due to the researcher's dependence on interviewees for recruitment, a constant consciousness on the patterns and types of samples that were generated throughout data collection helped to manage potential bias that may result from the sampling strategy.

Table 3: Field Activities and Methodological Tools

In-depth Interviews	**Document Analysis**	**Participant Observation**
13 semi-structured individual interviews with rehabilitated survivors of human trafficking	National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NPPATPN) 2008	200 observation hours in a rehabilitation center.
Semi-structured interview with rehabilitation staff at NAPTIP	Guidelines on National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NRM) 2015	
Semi-structured interview with repatriation and reintegration staff at IOM	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act 2015	
Semi-structured interview with rehabilitation staff at Genesis House	NAPTIP Data Analysis Report 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018.	
Semi-structured interview with rehabilitation staff at Peace Villa	Civil society organizations' brochures, pamphlets, recruitment documents, handbooks for survivors, and consent forms	
Semi-structured interview with rehabilitation staff at		

Home of Sharon		
TOTAL: 18 in-depth interviews		

State and civil society rehabilitation service providers were asked uniform sets of questions on their conceptualization of the problem of human trafficking; their strategies and processes of rehabilitation; as well as the perceived opportunities and challenges confronting them in the implementation of their rehabilitation policies. On the other hand, inquiries with rehabilitated survivors of trafficking were centered on their expectations from the programs before commencement; their actual experiences within these programs; and their perceptions of the program after completion, especially concerning their empowerment. To ensure consistency within both groups of participants, each group was asked common sets of questions uniformly. While the interviews were guided by the constructed interview guide, participants were encouraged to discuss unique issues that were most important in understanding their specific cases.

In addition to primary data, the research also involved the use of secondary data relevant to the investigation of human trafficking rehabilitation in Nigeria. These included rehabilitation policy documents of NAPTIP and civil society organizations, website contents, news articles, reports, brochures, pamphlets, and recruitment documents (see table 3). These secondary sources gave insight into the way the state and civil society use language to create social meanings and influence the dominant knowledge on human trafficking in Nigeria. This is important because the way an issue is represented in text and speech "shapes the practical ways that people and institutions define and respond to them" (Tonkiss, 2004: 375).

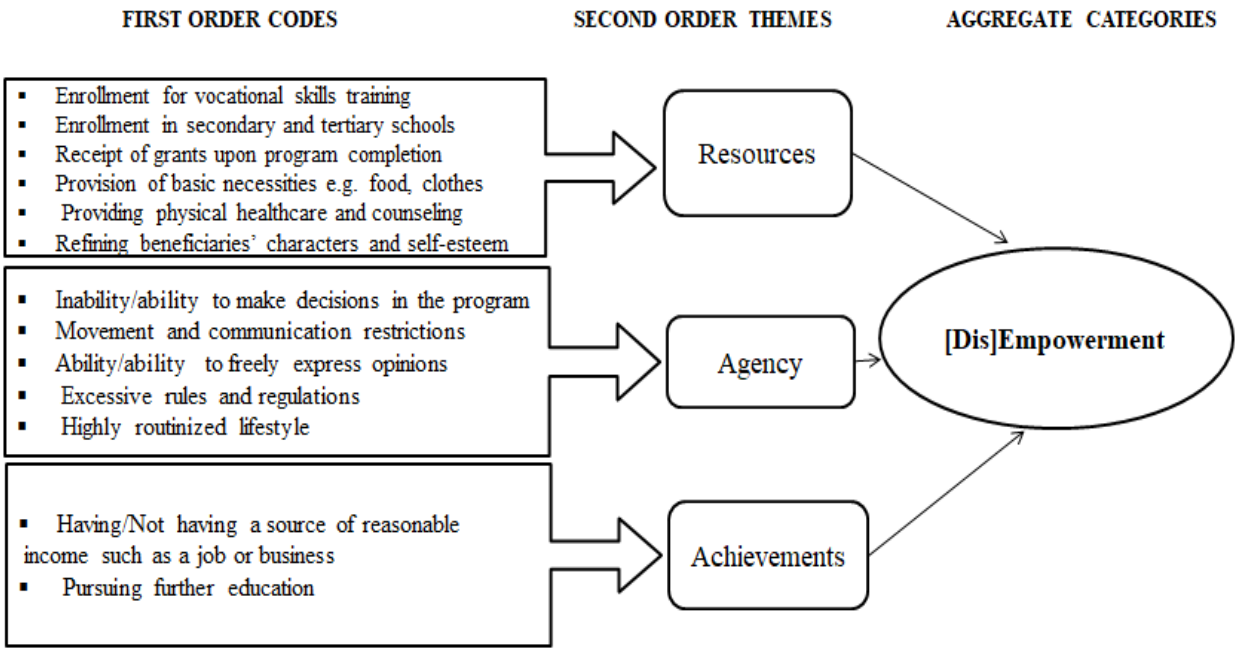
Furthermore, participant observation was conducted at a rehabilitation organization through an internship position which also granted access to civil society stakeholder meetings. This was carried out to gain some contextual knowledge on the processes of rehabilitation and to better situate the research participants' responses on their rehabilitation experiences and perceptions. The 200 hours of participant observation entailed observing inter-organization relations, the nature of interactions between staff and resident survivors, kinds of services available to survivors, activities survivors are expected to undertake, etc. This enabled me to observe situations described by study participants in interviews while being conscious of parities and disparities.

3.4. Data Analysis

A total of eighteen (18) in-depth semi-structured individual interviews were systematically analyzed. All interviews were conducted in English language, and they lasted for 30-50 minutes on average. Interviews were conducted in-person at participants' preferred locations, and for traffic survivors who were uncomfortable meeting face to face, telephone interviews were arranged at their convenience. With participants' consent, the interviews are digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim in the field. Bailey (2008: 128) has stressed the importance of comprehensive transcriptions that "capture features of talk such as emphasis, speed, tone of voice, timing and pauses" as accurate data analysis is hinged on these elements. For participants who did not grant permission to record interviews, meticulous notes were taken to capture their views instead. To complement interview data, detailed field notes containing descriptive and reflective information on observations of contexts, events, behaviors, personal thoughts and ideas were kept.

With regards to data analysis, transcribed interviews and notes were thoroughly first read several times without taking notes or ascribing any interpretations to them in order to become familiar with the data. Open coding was then conducted by rereading, disintegrating, examining, and comparing texts to identify and name relevant themes enclosed within the data (Seale, 2004). This process produced first-order deductive and inductive codes. Derived first order codes were then examined to determine their connections with each other, and consequently grouped to produce second-order themes (axial coding). These were further analyzed by identifying a core category that illustrates the relationship among all other themes and grouping them under it accordingly (see Figure 3). To ensure rigor in the coding process, selected codes were those which occurred frequently within several participants' accounts. The anonymity of respondents was also prioritized in the analysis process by discarding actual names and assigning identification codes.

Figure 3: Sample of Data Analysis: Empowerment Dimensions of Rehabilitation Programs



3.5. Critical Reflection on Fieldwork

3.5.1. Reflexivity: Power and Representation

As a researcher undertaking qualitative work, it is important to engage with the questions of representation as they relate to the processes and outcomes of my research. This has conventionally been approached through the process of reflexivity – a widely employed methodological tool for validating and legitimizing qualitative research. Reflexivity is concerned with the ways in which the researcher's subjectivity interacts and impacts the process of knowledge production (Pillow, 2003). In essence, the process of reflexivity involves continuous self-analysis on the part of the researcher, on the influence of her positionality (as defined by history, race, gender, class, religion, ethnicity, age, sexuality, and experiences) on the entire research process. The prevalence of reflexivity in qualitative research is situated in postmodernists' critique of traditional ethnographic research methods which assumed a colonial Eurocentric gaze in the representation of the Other (Robertson, 2002). This increased concern on the legitimacy and validity of representation in research has spurred qualitative researchers to ask the following critical questions: "Who benefits from our representations? Are our representations valid? Do they matter? Who can research whom, when, and how?" (Pillow, 2003: 175). The result of reflexivity, therefore, is the exposure of the processes involved in the construction of knowledge and the dissection of interpretations derived from research to determine their accuracy and validity (Wasserfall, 1997). Pillow (2003) identifies four (4) predominant strategies for operationalizing reflexivity in the social sciences – that is reflexivity as recognition of self; reflexivity as recognition of other; reflexivity as truth; and reflexivity as transcendence. In consideration of the foregoing, it was only logical for me to apply the principle of reflexivity in the gathering, analysis, and reporting of my research data so as to produce to the greatest extent

possible, an undistorted research work. Central to this process is self-reflexivity: knowing myself, recognizing, and being conscious of my subjectivity in my research. Essentially, this requires an examination of my positionalities and assumptions:

I was born in the mid-1990s to middle-class Nigerian parents in Ghana but I was raised in Nigeria before immigrating to Canada for graduate studies. As such, I had imbibed the norms, values, and traditions of the Nigerian society my whole life. This is not to ignore the fact, however, that Nigeria encompasses heterogeneous groups; each with its peculiar histories and cultures. Thus, I can only then boast of being versed in a fragment of Nigeria's diverse cultural ensemble. More so, even though I am from south-eastern Nigeria, I grew up in the metropolitan city of Lagos: a fast-paced, densely populated commercial city in south-western Nigeria. Being from a middle-class family, I was not isolated from the dire socio-economic conditions which characterize the Nigerian society. From corruption to limited resources and the absence of basic social amenities, life often proved difficult for the average Nigerian. In all of this, religion played a major role in my upbringing as I attended a Christian Catholic elementary school, and my family and I are still invested heavily in the church community. These attributes and experiences have come to define me – a young, Black, middle-class, educated Nigerian woman going into the field from a Canadian university. These various identity categories overlapped and often shifted in meaning and influence throughout my fieldwork in Nigeria.

The selection of my research topic and my study area was admittedly influenced by my Nigerian nationality and my predilection for researching a phenomenon that has continuously put Nigerians in a negative light in the international sphere. As an international student in a Western university, it seemed only natural as a show of patriotism to dedicate my research to a key issue that affects thousands of people in my home country. For instance, Nigerians were the most

identified victims of human trafficking in the EU in 2015 (USDOS, 2018) and the Nigerian government identified it as a source of significant embarrassment to the nation (NAPTIP, 2008). Additionally, I was drawn to the subject as a result of the disproportionate representation of women in human trafficking. UNODC's *'Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016'* indicates that females constitute approximately 71% of trafficked persons globally. Being a woman, perhaps this interest was a product of solidarity with Nigerian women like me who have been denied equal access to opportunities and freedom in various aspects of life. Thus, my investigation was inspired by the desire to represent a marginalized group of which I could claim membership along various identity constructs. It was also a practical decision: I assumed that my familiarity with the culture would help me navigate the hurdles inherent in fieldwork. Beyond that, there is a dearth of literature on human trafficking rehabilitation in Nigeria; hence, it was an opportunity to contribute knowledge to this topic, while advancing my academic career.

Katz (1994) states that when conducting fieldwork, the researcher creates her field of inquiry by mapping out an artificial space distinct from the existent geographical area for a period of time, within which she can conduct research. Also important for the researcher is the displacement or separation from her familiar settings in order to be perceptive enough to detect behaviors, patterns, and practices relevant to her research. Going back to Nigeria for research, made the implementation of this idea difficult. I had only been separated from my field for 7 months before returning to conduct research. The question became: "How can I displace myself within a field where I was raised and educated my whole life?" The 'insider' position has been praised for allowing easier access within the field and more trustworthy representation of participants (Berger, 2013). Nonetheless, I strove to avoid the associated pitfalls by donning the 'outsiders' lens during the course of my fieldwork in order to navigate the field objectively (however

possible that maybe). This was to avoid the tendency of being biased or so close to the culture and subjects of my study that extraordinary things appear ordinary to me.

At this juncture, however, it is salient to note the redundancy of the traditional insider-outsider binary. Merriam et al. (2001) capture the fluidity of the insider-outsider positionality as researchers negotiate the power dynamics in the field. They argue that life experiences of members of cultural communities are 'mediated by the interaction of a complex set of variables such as gender, social class, age, political affiliation, religion, and region' (Banks, 1998 in Merriam et al., 2001: 411). According to them, there are multiple bases upon which the differences or similarities between the researcher and researched are constructed, and their positionalities in relation to each other can be altered based on time and settings. Given this stance, I would assume the *indigenous-outsider positionality* because I left Nigeria for graduate studies in Canada, and went back for research (Merriam et al., 2001: 412). While reflexivity was originally concerned with preventing Eurocentric representation of research subjects by the privileged external researcher, it is still relevant for an *indigenous-outsider* like me. This is because there are still unequal power relations between my research subjects and I despite our shared identities.

3.5.2. Before Entering the Field

Before commencing fieldwork, I had preconceived notions about the problem of human trafficking which were informed by extensive literature review and dominant media narratives. For example, I had understood human trafficking to be a gruesome phenomenon that caused victims to be abused, defeated, and vulnerable. This inspired questions on the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs in assisting this 'powerless' population. This notion was further

reiterated during the process of my ethics review where the Research Ethics Board problematized my proposed research as "high risk" due to the possibility of psychological and social risk to my research subjects. This assumption influenced the selection of my research method, the selection of interview locations, the kind of questions that could be asked (in order to avoid psychological stress), and the way these questions were asked. For example, I avoided questions on trafficking experiences among traffic survivors to prevent emotional harm among respondents.

Being a Development Studies scholar, I was particularly concerned with social justice and wellbeing for a group I envisaged to be excluded in society. As a result, my work was based on privileging the voices of the marginalized (traffic survivors). Also, in my data collection, analysis and writing, I often felt compelled to represent my research subjects in a way that aligned with the Western academia's perception of the Other – Trinh (1991: 68) refers to this as representing "the Other for the Master". I found myself looking for these preconceived attributes in them; after all, this is how they *should* be. Recognizing these tendencies, I made deliberate effort to represent the reality of my study participants especially as my presumptions were not relevant in all cases.

3.5.3. In the Field

I entered the field as an autonomous researcher save for my affiliation with a Canadian university. From getting an internship placement in the field to gaining access to my participants, the Canadian student identity was influential in various aspects of my field experience. Within Nigerian society, utmost respect is accorded to Nigerians who have traveled and lived outside the country. It is viewed as prestigious, and returnees are often regarded as sophisticated. Being

familiar with this societal norm, I brandished my Canadian school name particularly when trying to access NGOs to pique their interest in my research. This resulted in warm receptions from NGOs and even questions on scholarship opportunities for staff and clients within the organizations. I was perceived to hold opportunities also for international exposure for the NGOs as they all insisted I give due credit to their organizations in my work. Looking back, this may have resulted in textbook answers to my questions in their bid to give possible international donors a good impression of their organization. To manage this, I interviewed former beneficiaries of the organizations' programs and their responses were duly compared with those of the rehabilitation officials to detect consistencies and disparities in the accounts of the two groups.

Furthermore, I inadvertently took on the identity of my internship organization as I became more involved in their daily operations within and outside the organization. At stakeholder meetings I was introduced as a member of the organization and the perceptions that other stakeholders had of my internship organization may have affected my image as well. For instance, I first visited NAPTIP unofficially with Genesis House (my internship organization) but my second visit was done independently. Regardless of this, I was still well-received by NAPTIP due to the amicable relationship between both organizations. On my second visit, I also had a research approval letter from the Director General at the agency's headquarters in Abuja. This was accompanied by a direct order to the zonal commander to accommodate my research needs. Hence, I was seen as an important personality and the staff was cautious around me; perhaps trying to ensure that I do not give the Director-General a negative report about their zonal office. Again, this may have affected the responses of the staff interviewed in NAPTIP. For example, when asked about challenges the agency faces in rehabilitation, the NAPTIP staff said: "I cannot report my

organization to you…just know that every organization has its challenges". To mitigate this barrier, I supplemented NAPTIP's interview data with that of survivors as well as extant external evaluation reports on the organization.

More so, identifying with Genesis House may also have affected the way I was perceived by rehabilitated traffic victims. In certain cases, mentioning Genesis House placed them at ease during the interview due to their past relationship with the organization. Some imagined that I was a permanent staff and only gave subtle hints on the organization's incompetence to avoid being in their bad books. For example, a respondent remarked: "I would not want to say what I saw there because if I say it I will offend someone or make them lose their job". Conversely, others perceived me to be an external evaluator and so they were vocal about their grievances with the organizations. Also, for women who had unpleasant experiences with them, they may have seen me as an ally with the 'evil' organization.

Additionally, my participants and I were of the same race and nationality since I went back to my home country. The connection based on shared history and experiences as Nigerians was still present. I was still *one of them* despite coming back to the country as a foreign student. There were unspoken words that were mutually understood by default; feelings of oneness; and a desire on their part to facilitate the ambitions of a *sister* or *daughter*. This shared identity may have made my research participants more receptive and trusting of me in the interviews. My 'cultural intuition' as an indigenous-insider also facilitated my data gathering and analysis (Pillow, 2003).

More so, being a student in Nigeria helped my research because students are often regarded as young and dependent individuals who should be assisted financially or in-kind irrespective of their level of education. Particularly, the program director at Genesis House was eager to support

my research and continually referred to me as her daughter. The program manager and I also happened to attend the same church so she regarded me like family. To my knowledge, this served as an advantage for gaining access.

My gender also played a significant role in the quantity and quality of data collected. As earlier stated, human trafficking mostly affects women in Nigeria and because of its sensitive nature, anti-trafficking organizations were extremely protective of traffic survivors. Being a female researcher made it easier for organizations to accommodate my research requests since I was the same gender as the survivors. In my interviews with rehabilitated traffic victims, we also bonded over our shared gender entity and age group. As I am, 92% of them were between the ages of 20-30. I believe this made me relatable and enabled them to open up to me on their experiences. A common phrase was "…you know as a young lady".

Thus far, the shared identities between my research subjects and I have been highlighted. However, as Pillow (2003) has explained, having this shared identity as an insider in the field does not blur the unequal power relationship between the researcher and the researched. For example, while we were all Nigerian women, we all did not belong to the same socio-economic class nor did we have mutual trafficking experiences. I was privileged to be a researcher from a foreign university with the power to represent while most of the rehabilitated traffic victims were O level holders with minimal standards of living. In fact, because I came back from Canada, they assumed I was rich and expected financial assistance after participating in the interviews. One participant requested that I pay her pending tuition fee to enable her to graduate. This perception of me could have made participants exaggerate their predicaments in their interviews so as to solicit pity and money from me. This required me to be attentive to inconsistencies in responses. In addition, some respondents' unknowingly corroborated the accounts of other respondents who

had passed through the program at the same time with them. Hence, confirmation from multiple sources helped to validate some important information. Nonetheless, respondents still exerted power over me by choosing the venue and time of the interviews, choosing what questions to answer and how to answer them.

3.5.4. Research Challenges and Limitations

In the course of conducting my research, there were various challenges encountered due to the sensitivity of my research. Primarily, gaining access to rehabilitated traffic survivors was cumbersome because they are not a readily accessible population. As such, I was dependent on rehabilitation organizations to gain access to them. This often delayed the pace of my research because most organizations were reluctant to have their services 'evaluated' by their former beneficiaries. I am aware that there was a risk of selection bias due to my reliance on organizations for access but I was cognizant of the pattern of data that was being obtained. For instance, there was a probability that the organizations only gave me access to their success cases to boost their image. However, I was able to get more referrals from program beneficiaries themselves to balance the data sources.

More so, in some instances where contact details were shared, beneficiaries were still not reachable via their phone numbers, some were skeptical and declined, and some only agreed to telephone interviews. This affected the sample population of my study. I was able to interview 5 rehabilitation officers and 13 rehabilitated victims of trafficking in Lagos only; hence, my study cannot claim to be representative of all Nigerian stakeholders in human trafficking rehabilitation. However, findings from the study may contribute theoretical and practical insights that could reshape the conceptualization and practice of rehabilitation in developing countries with a similar

economic, political, social and cultural context as Nigeria. For future research, a nationwide study could be conducted to strengthen its generalizability and discover other nuances.

Another challenge was the poor infrastructure in Nigeria which affected the data collection process. Despite gaining access to NAPTIP for an interview, I was unable to get further information such as real-time statistics. At the time of my visit, there had been no power supply in the agency's office for two months and their computer systems were not functioning. Therefore, obtaining current data beyond what I was told in the interviews was impossible. Hence, interview information was supplemented with their policy documents and annual reports, and statistics from their website.

3.5.5. Ensuring Rigor in the Research Process

Although there are few consistent methods of evaluating qualitative research to ascertain its integrity, I have adopted Lincoln & Guba's (1985) evaluation criteria to layout the processes and decisions that shaped my research work in order to facilitate its assessment. Their evaluation criteria rest on the principles of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These would briefly be juxtaposed with my research processes below:

- **Credibility:** This principle addresses the accuracy or truthfulness of the researcher's accounts of her research participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Strategies relevant to this principle in my research include purposeful sampling to ensure that only 'information-rich' cases were selected in the study; reflexivity/disciplined subjectivity as indicated above; persistent observation of the rehabilitation processes at my internship; triangulation of multiple sources and use of direct quotes from participants; and peer debriefing to confirm the interpretations imposed on my data.

- **Transferability:** This principle refers to the extent to which research findings are applicable beyond the original study context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While this is largely uncommon in qualitative research due to small samples and emphasis on participants' subjective meanings within a specific setting, I employed detailed thick description of the study context and process (data collection, analysis, and interpretation). This can enable receiving researchers to apply the research design to other contexts to determine its transferability.
- **Dependability:** This refers to the durability of the research findings over time and space (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I adhered to this principle by ensuring consistency in the interpretations given to participants' accounts; maintaining detailed field notes throughout data collection; recording of interviews; and submitting my work to analysis by an auditor (supervisor). These will allow other researchers to evaluate the accuracy of interpretations given to my respondents' accounts.
- **Confirmability:** This is concerned with ensuring that the data and interpretation of the findings are derived from respondents' data rather than the researcher's biases, imaginations, and interests (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In other words, it is focused on the researcher's objectivity. As shown in previous sections, I clearly accounted for my biases and interests in the research process such as my nationality and gender. I also have audit trail products such as my raw data, data analysis description, and process notes. Also, I have kept a detailed journal on the research findings and challenges to facilitate my research's evaluation.

CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT AND STUDY AREA

4.1. Brief Overview of the Political and Economic Landscape of Nigeria

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country, and the seventh most populous country in the world with a population of about 202 million (World Bank, 2019). In 2018, the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was worth 397.30 billion US dollars with an annual growth rate of 1.9% (World Bank, 2018). This vast population and economic resources have earned it the title of "Giant of Africa" (Osaghae, 1998). Since the discovery of crude oil in the mid-1950s, the resource has been the mainstay of the Nigerian economy as it constitutes about 40% of the country's GDP (Idemudia, 2012). Indeed, Nigeria boasts of the largest natural gas reserve in Africa and it is also Africa's biggest crude oil exporter. Its petroleum export revenue represents around 95% of its total export revenue (Idemudia, 2012). Its proven natural gas and crude oil reserves are 5,675 billion cubic meters and 36,972 million barrels respectively (OPEC, 2018). In addition to its vast oil and gas reserve, its other natural resources include gold, tin, copper, iron ore, coal, limestone, zinc, lead, columbite, etc. Its economy also thrives on other sectors like agriculture, industry, service, mining, manufacturing, construction, and tourism.

Unfortunately, this abundance of human and natural resources has not benefitted the Nigerian masses nor translated into political and socio-economic development in the country (Agbigboa, 2014; Idemudia, 2012). The economy's overdependence on the exportation of crude oil for national revenue heightens its volatility and susceptibility to oil price fluctuations in the international market. In fact, the economy is currently recovering from a recession which it endured in 2016 as a result of plummeted oil prices. Despite Nigeria's resource wealth, the country is still confronted with various developmental challenges especially as 90% of its oil

wealth is accumulated by only 1% of its population due to corruption (Idemudia, 2012). Nigeria currently ranks poorly at 158 out of 189 countries on the UNDP's Human Development Index (UNDP, 2019). In other words, Nigerians have barely progressed in accessing the three main dimensions of human development which are: long and healthy life, access to knowledge (education) and a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2019). The majority of Nigerians are plagued by insecurity, poverty, absence of basic social amenities, unemployment, and various other socio-economic problems. This lack amid plenty or the "resource curse" has been attributed to weak governance and mismanagement of resources, its undiversified economy, insufficient infrastructure, weak unrepresentative national institutions, and the neoliberal global economic system (Idemudia, 2009; 2012; Lawal & Oluwatoyin, 2011).

4.2. Historical and Contemporary Nature of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

Aghatise (2002) traces the genesis of human trafficking in Nigeria to the second half of the 1980s when the Nigerian populace was hit by the consequences of the Structural Adjustment Programs introduced by the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida. By the 1990s, domestic and international human trafficking had been instituted in response to the economic hardship (Akinyele & Dietz, 2019). Within Nigeria, women and children were trafficked from rural areas to cities like Lagos, Calabar, Kano, and Port Harcourt. On the international level, Nigerians were sourced from all parts of the country and trafficked to other African, Middle Eastern and European countries. While northern Nigerians were mainly trafficked to Algeria, Egypt, UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, the destination countries for southern Nigerians were mostly America and European countries like Italy, United Kingdom, Spain, Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium (Otoide, 2019). Nigerian minors and women (mostly married and divorced) were reportedly enticed to migrate with the promise of low-skilled employment offers

in European farms, factories and offices (Aghatise, 2002). Popular data on human trafficking in Nigeria lists Edo state as the major source of trafficked persons in Nigeria. Some estimates report that about 80% of girls and women trafficked into Italy from Nigeria are from Edo State (Okojie et al., 2003). Thus, Edo girls and women have acquired the perceived reputation for international prostitution and trafficking since the 1980s (Osezua, 2013; 2016).

Today, thousands of Nigerians are still being trafficked domestically and internationally to countries like Mali, Senegal, South Africa, Libya, Benin, Cape Verde, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, UAE, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Russia, Spain, etc. (Okeshola & Adenugba, 2018; Carling, 2006; Olateru-Olagbegbi, 2006). The state authorities hardly have definitive statistics on the number of trafficked persons but NAPTIP reports that it received a total of 6,572 human trafficking cases within the country from 2003 to 2018. Nigerian men, women, and children are represented in varying degrees in the different forms of trafficking. Men, for instance, are mostly victims of trafficking for forced and bonded labor in mines, quarries, and plantations. Similarly, women and girls are mostly represented in trafficking for sexual exploitation, forced marriage, and domestic servitude, while boys are mostly victims of forced begging and forced labor (USDOS, 2018). However, representation within these categories often overlap.

While a significant number of trafficked persons have historically originated from Edo state, recent Islamic extremist activities and displacement in Northeastern Nigeria has also triggered a significant flow from the region (Adepelumi, 2015). Nigerian traffic networks vary from highly organized and structured criminal organizations, to loosely structured informal groups (Carling, 2006). Within these criminal networks, there are several actors which play crucial interdependent roles. The recruiter who directly contacts the potential candidate or her family members connects her to a pimp, and arranges her journey; the transporter or smuggler who facilitates trans-border

movement; corrupt and complicit law enforcement and immigration officials in the home, transit and destination countries; and the *madam* or pimp who bears the financial costs incurred in smuggling the women, and controls them in destination countries (Okojie, 2005; ACCORD, 2017). In this context, it is pertinent to note that there is no linear pathway to human trafficking as trafficked persons can be kidnapped and forced into trafficking, and deceived to believe they are migrating to enter into legal employment. Others are sold or forced by their family into trafficking or voluntarily engage in the act despite the risks involved.

Moreover, a peculiar characteristic of human trafficking in Nigeria is the use of voodoo or *juju* by traffickers as a mechanism of psychological control and intimidation against trafficked persons (van der Watt & Kruger, 2017). This typically involves subjecting recruited women to spiritual oaths in traditional shrines before their departure using their blood, pubic hair or fingernails. This is done to ensure that victims are compliant, fearful, and committed to their pimp especially in terms of repaying the exorbitant fees associated with transporting them from Nigeria to their destination (Millet-Barrett, 2019). It is also used to ensure that the trafficked women conceal the identity of their traffickers and pimps if they are apprehended by state authorities (Carling, 2006). Breaking this oath or spiritual contract allegedly results in the harm or death of victims and even their family members back home. It is under this pressure that victims migrate via air and/or various overland routes across the Sahara and the Mediterranean Sea to Europe, the Middle East and other parts of Africa.

4.3. Push Factors of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

In a country where 11,009 of its female citizens arrived in Italy via the Mediterranean Sea in 2016 alone (IOM, 2017), it is important to understand the factors that predispose these women

and girls to traffic. Since the early years after its independence, Nigeria has been besieged by numerous developmental challenges which it still grapples with as a developing nation today (Lawal & Oluwatoyin, 2011). In this climate, women and girls are located at an intersection of vertical and horizontal inequalities that constrain them and limit their capabilities to ensure their wellbeing (Kabeer, 2015). Indeed, Elabor-Idemudia (2003: 116) notes that "trafficking in persons is fueled by development processes marked by class, gender, and ethnic concerns that marginalize women in particular from employment and education". These systemic constraints have ensured that human trafficking has become a national menace in the country.

First, a major factor that accounts for the prevalence of human trafficking among Nigerian women is poverty. Although Nigeria is a wealthy country with an abundance of natural and human resources, it has been tagged the poverty capital of the world with 46.7% of its population (86.9 million) living on less than $1.90 daily in extreme poverty (World Poverty Clock, 2018). With a low human development index, a large percentage of Nigerians are unable to lead lives of freedom and dignity due to the adverse socio-economic realities of the country (UNDP, 2018). High levels of inequality and poverty are reflected in Nigeria's low life expectancy, high infant and maternal mortality rate, food insecurity, high illiteracy rate, poor sanitation, and poor infrastructure (Okon, 2012; Omotola, 2008). The economic disparities within Nigeria; and also between Nigeria and major destination countries encourage trafficking especially as the customary flow entails movement from an impoverished region/country to a wealthier one with a superior socio-economic climate (Okeshola & Adenugba, 2018). The desire to escape the unfavorable conditions in the country is then exploited by traffickers to recruit and ensnare women in trafficking. Okojie (2009) makes a valid argument that the high demand for cheap

labor and sexual services by “exotic” women in destination countries also stimulates and perpetuates trafficking.

Although poverty affects both genders, women are disproportionately affected. This is partly because, in rural areas, sexual division of labor traditionally dictates that men dominate the public sphere (Gonäs & Karlsson, 2006). On the other hand, women are situated in the rural and urban informal economic sector or relegated to the private sphere where their reproductive labor in the household is largely un-monetized (Kabeer, 2015). Although women are transcending this normative division of labor to enter into the formal labor market, even this does not amount to substantial remuneration for them compared to men. These result in the marginalization of women in decision making, education, health services, paid labor, and productive capital. Diana Pierce (1990) conceptualizes these as the feminization of poverty, that is, the disproportionate impact of poverty on women in comparison to men. Adepoju (2004) asserts that Nigerian women make up the majority of Nigeria’s poor population and 50% of rural Nigerian women are poor. Thus, it is women who feel more pressured (especially due to their children and household needs) to take low paying jobs with poor work conditions or migrate to regions with labor demands to work as domestic laborers and sex workers in order to care for their families.

Second and closely linked to poverty, is the high rate of unemployment in Nigeria which constitutes a major development challenge. Nigeria has an unemployment rate of 23.1% with over 20.9 million unemployed people (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). The supply of labor far exceeds the demands especially due to the absence of an effective national employment and job creation policy, the unfavorable business environment in the country, and poorly trained graduates produced from the weak educational system (Longe, 2017). The situation is bleaker for females who are not afforded equal access to education and training and are therefore further

disadvantaged in the job market (Okojie, 2009). Consequently, the absence of economic opportunities for Nigerian youths, and their desire to survive compels them to seek a better life in other countries. The inherent dangers in illegal migration and the possibility of being trafficked are thus regarded as insignificant to their ultimate goal of survival.

Third, poverty and unemployment are predominantly the results of political corruption and mismanagement of resources by Nigerian leaders. The Corruption Perception Index currently ranks Nigeria as the 144th least corrupt nation in the world (Transparency International, 2018). Indeed, since its independence in 1960, corruption has been institutionalized in the public and private sectors under civilian and military regimes (Agbu, 2003). Nye describes corruption as "behavior which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (1967, 419). This includes acts such as nepotism, cronyism, bribery, fraud, and public funds embezzlement (Agbigoa, 2014). As a result of corruption, the government fails to channel resources to appropriate socio-economic development projects for the citizenry's benefit, thus forcing them to seek alternate survival options. Corruption among law enforcement agencies in Nigeria also influences and facilitates trafficking (Agbu, 2008). The Nigeria Police Force, the Nigerian military, the Nigeria Immigration Service and NAPTIP officials have been accused of complicity and corruption through acts like providing forged travel documents and permitting movement of identified trafficked persons across borders (ACCORD, 2017).

Fourth, gender inequality and discriminatory gender norms in Nigeria play a decisive role in the trafficking of women and girls. Nigeria is a patriarchal society where women are to a large extent, marginalized in the exercise of political, economic and socio-cultural rights (Ekhator,

2015). In fact, Nigeria's labor laws do not prohibit gender discrimination in employment (Adejugbe & Adejugbe, 2018). For instance, the Nigerian Labor Act of 2004 does not guarantee equal pay for men and women nor does it permit women to work overnight shifts undertaking manual labor. Hence, the laws impede women's active participation in the labor market, to the detriment of their financial autonomy and the nation's economy as a whole.

Marginalized by culture, women are often regarded as subordinate and inferior to men, and therefore unworthy to participate equally in the formal labor market, own property, acquire an education, exercise authority and make decisions on their wellbeing (Makama, 2013). In addition to limiting the capabilities of women and girls, these gender norms justify their objectification and commodification for human trafficking. For instance, in Edo state, Osezua (2016: 42) notes that female children in this major trafficking center are regarded as "products of *half-current* (an expression of a man's inferior sexual prowess), and women are treated as *transitory beings"* and acquired properties. In some parts of Nigeria, spending resources on a girl child's education, for example, is viewed as "a bad investment" since they will eventually be married off (Okojie, 2009: 161). This has a major influence on some families' decisions to traffic their female children for financial gain, and even women's perceptions of themselves.

Fifth, terrorism induced displacement has rocked the northeastern part of the country and this has aggravated the vulnerability of women and girls in the region to human trafficking. Since 2009, the northeast and neighboring countries like Chad, Niger, and Cameroon have witnessed the insurgency of Boko Haram, a religious extremist group that has terrorized civilians in northeastern Nigeria through abductions, executions, and suicide bombings. This has resulted in the internal displacement of over 2 million Nigerians and created 232,378 Nigerian refugees (UNHCR, 2018). This displacement has worsened poverty and living conditions of affected

peoples and exposed them to multiple risks of violence, exploitation, and human trafficking when they flee from their villages and towns, and also within IDP camps (USDOS, 2018). Traffickers reportedly target women and girls in these regions and capitalize on their despair and desperation for opportunities. While Boko Haram abducts and subjects girls and women to sexual slavery and forced marriage, Nigerian military personnel and IDP camp officials have also been accused of sexually exploiting vulnerable women and girls in the camps in exchange for food; and recruiting them for forced marriages and sex trafficking (USDOS, 2018)

In addition to the foregoing push factors, Nigerian societies with high levels of human trafficking victims like Edo state place emphasis on luxury and material status. Osezua (2016) identified greed and the insatiable desire for affluence as a determining factor for the trafficking of women and girls. This also pushes families to encourage their children to migrate or downright sell them to traffickers. Mostly, women who become successful send remittances back home to their families, which are used to often build houses and attain improved living standards (Carling, 2006). This often entices poor families and individuals to follow the same route to prosperity. Plambech (2014b) also reports that successful migrant women who are able to obtain residence permits in Europe occasionally visit their home towns displaying wealth and luxury goods, thus giving prospective migrants a hope of a better life in Europe. According to Becky, a prospective migrant in Edo state, "the women who return to Nigeria, oh man! They look sexier than ever…that is what we Benins are seeing" (cited in Plambech, 2014b: 41). Some of these successful women who were former victims, then ascend the traffic hierarchy to become *madams,* recruiting and sponsoring vulnerable women to Europe (Iacono, 2014).

4.4. Domestic and International Response to Human Trafficking in Nigeria

4.4.1. Governmental Response

Signatories to the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children like Nigeria are required to design and implement policies to prevent and combat trafficking in persons, ensure victim protection and assistance, and support cooperation among states to achieve the overall objectives of the Protocol. In addition to other relevant legal frameworks on trafficking (see Table 4), the Nigerian government ratified the UN protocol on June 28, 2001, and it was one of the leading parties in drafting the first ECOWAS Initial Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons. Given the grave realities of human trafficking in the country and its outlined obligations under the international and regional agreements it had ratified, the Nigerian government enacted appropriate legislation and policies (see Table 4), established implementing agencies, and currently supports anti-trafficking initiatives by other stakeholders (Okogbule, 2013).

The country's first tangible anti-trafficking endeavor was the enactment of the 2003 Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act (the Trafficking Act), which made Nigeria the first West African country to pass an anti-trafficking law with a national scope (Chatham House, 2017). The law also made provision for the establishment of the National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP). The agency is charged with the "co-ordination of all laws on traffic in persons and related offenses; collaboration with other agencies or bodies, both nationally and internationally to eradicate traffic in persons; elimination and prevention of the root causes of human trafficking; and coordination of the rehabilitation of trafficked persons" (Okogbule, 2013: 71). This law was later amended and re-enacted into the 2015 Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition), Enforcement and

Administration Act to increase the penalty for trafficking offenders, bolster the agency and its role against human trafficking in the country. This amendment was a response to some identified flaws in the earlier law such as the degree of punishments for offenders.

In a similar vein, Edo state which has been recognized as one of the major source points of trafficking in Nigeria also instituted some legal measures to address human trafficking (see Table 4). In 2000, the Edo state House of Assembly amended its existing Criminal Code to criminalize human trafficking. More recently in 2018, the state passed a new law called the Edo State Trafficking in Persons Prohibition Law and established the Edo State Taskforce Against Human Trafficking to curb human trafficking and illegal migration (Otoide, 2019).

Table 4 - Relevant Legal Frameworks for Human Trafficking in Nigeria

1	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (*Sections 17, 34, 42*)
2	The Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act, 2015
3	National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (2008)
4	Guidelines on National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NRM) (2015)
5	Child Rights Act (2003)
6	Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act (2015)
7	The Labor Act (1990)
8	The Immigration Act (1990)
9	Edo State Trafficking In Persons Prohibition Act (2018)
10	Criminal Code (Sections 223, 224, 365, 366, 369)
11	Penal Code (Sections 275, 278-280)
12	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948
13	United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (Article 3)

14	United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000
15	Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1990
16	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1981 (Article 6)
17	African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Enforcement) Act, 2004
18	ECOWAS Declaration and Plan of Action Against Trafficking in Persons, 2001
19	Forced Labor Convention (1930)
20	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women , 1970 (CEDAW)
21	Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (No. 182)

With zonal commands in nine states across the federation, NAPTIP works in collaboration with the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development, the Nigeria Police Force, the Nigeria Immigration Service, Defense Intelligence Agency, and Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (Olateru-Olagbegi, 2006). The agency's primary units are the department of investigation and monitoring; counseling and rehabilitation; legal and prosecution; and research and program. From 2003 to 2014, NAPTIP prosecuted and convicted of 220 traffickers, sentencing offenders to a maximum of seven years' imprisonment and a minimum of N2,000,000 (2 million naira) fine as stipulated by law. The agency also rescued and repatriated 8,006 victims between 2003 and 2015 (AP, 2015). In 2017, NAPTIP entered a partnership with the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI) to further ensure that victims are adequately protected and assisted with reintegration when rescued or returned (ACCORD, 2017).

Although largely reliant on the federal government to fund its operations, the agency has also been a beneficiary of international bodies like the European Union, UN GIFT, and the

governments of the UK, Canada, France, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, etc. Nigeria has also signed bilateral agreements with some key destination countries like the 2004 Nigeria-UK Memorandum of Understanding, the Nigeria-Finland Memorandum of Understanding, the 2000 Nigeria-Italy Memorandum of Understanding, the Nigeria-Spain Agreement on Immigration Matters, etc. These agreements mainly foster cooperation between party states to exchange relevant trafficking intelligence and information, combat human trafficking and illegal migration, ensure orderly repatriation and rehabilitation of survivors, and provide technical assistance to the Nigerian immigration service (Olateru-Olagbegi and Ikpeme, 2006).

Despite the laudable efforts of the Nigerian government against trafficking, there are several shortcomings and obstacles to success that have been identified over the years. First, the human trafficking law in Nigeria has been criticized for being too lenient. In other words, critics argued that the penalties for offenders do not match the severity of the crime of human trafficking (a minimum of five years' imprisonment and a minimum fine of one million naira ($2,777) for convicted criminals) (Duru & Ogbonnaya, 2012). The 2003 anti-trafficking law prescribes imprisonment with the option of fine for offenders (to be determined by the judge) but this was amended in the 2015 anti-trafficking law which eliminates the right of judges to replace imprisonment with fines. However, judges still have not refrained from punishing offenders with fines according to the 2017 report of the UN Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CMW). Allegedly, judges are still unfamiliar with the 2015 anti-trafficking law, and they may be swayed by bribes in favor of the traffickers. It is believed that the fine option defeats the whole purpose of conviction as it makes the crime seem trivial and can encourage the prevalence of trafficking (Olateru-Olagbegi and Ikpeme, 2006).

Furthermore, while there is a substantially solid anti-trafficking legal framework in Nigeria, the enforcement of its provisions by NAPTIP is feeble due to several bureaucratic constraints. NAPTIP is largely hampered in carrying out its investigation and prosecution functions due to lack of funds from the federal government. The result of this is a very low rate of traffickers' prosecution and conviction. Julie Okah-Donli, the Director-General of NAPTIP expressed the implications of lack of funds on NAPTIP's mandate:

> Our challenges are enormous; our funding is inadequate for this kind of job we are expected to do …we have not really had our own vehicles, the ones we have are old and rickety and our officials are using their own vehicles to work [to carry out investigation and apprehend offenders] … we ought to have more cases of conviction… Right now, we can only boast of 323 cases (Punch, 2017).

This reality corresponds with UNODC's 2018 Trafficking in Person's Report which reports that although sub-Saharan Africa is a major source region of global traffic flow, its rate of conviction is low in comparison with other parts of the globe due to impunity caused by weak institutional capacity. According to NAPTIP's annual data analysis report for 2018, the agency had received a total of 5,796 cases since its inception till March 2018, and it had investigated only 3,588, and convicted only 289 (NAPTIP, 2018).

As indicated earlier, NAPTIP is largely a federal government-funded agency. The high level of corruption in the various levels of the Nigerian government, the government's weak political will, and the bureaucratic processes in budget approval and allocation in the federation greatly affect the funds available to the agency to execute its duties (Aborisade & Aderinto, 2008; Carling, 2006). Although the Nigerian government's annual budget for anti-human trafficking programs far exceeds that of other governments in the region, the scope and dimension of trafficking in the country outweigh its annual budget. The United States' Trafficking in Persons Report (2011) also highlights that the total funds received by NAPTIP from the government

annually are substantially lower than the projected funds in the national budget. According to USDOS, "The government allocated approximately 1.69 billion naira ($5.56 million) to NAPTIP in 2016 … as of December 2016, the national assembly had only reported disbursing 1.27 billion naira ($4.17 million) of the 2016 funding to NAPTIP, and NAPTIP required approximately 1.3 billion naira ($4.27 million) for personnel costs alone." (USDOS 2011 cited in ACCORD, 2017: 58). The absence of adequate funds makes the agency heavily reliant on foreign donations to build staff capacity, provide rehabilitation and reintegration services to victims, and maintain its operational facilities.

The problem of funding also affects the provision of protection and assistance services to rescued victims. In a 2017 interview, the Director-General of NAPTIP remarked: "We have no fewer than 5,000 victims awaiting rescue from Mali alone; every day we get people coming from Libya, Spain, Italy…every day they come in their hundreds and we are at a dilemma" (Punch, 2017). Only 47 of the 777 persons identified by NAPTIP as traffic survivors received reintegration assistance due to limited funds (USDOS, 2014). The result of this is perilous, as hundreds of physically and psychologically traumatized persons are unable to access essential aftercare services to aid their reintegration into the society. Moreover, the Nigerian human trafficking policy has been criticized as leaning more towards criminal justice and prosecution, than protection of victims' human rights and trafficking prevention (Ikuteyijo, 2018).

Lastly, the Nigerian anti-human trafficking policy has been criticized for only 'scratching the surface' of the problem. Although most of the programs or campaigns are focused on discouraging migration and creating awareness on the perils inherent in irregular migration and trafficking, they have been faulted for portraying all forms of migration as bad in a bid to discourage Nigerians from migrating (Hein de Haas, 2006). The anti-trafficking initiatives, on

the other hand, fail to address the root causes of irregular migration and trafficking – abject poverty and absence of economic opportunities for the citizenry (Musto, 2010). They, therefore, offer only temporary solutions that are not sustainable in eliminating trafficking in the country.

4.4.2. Civil Society Response

In Nigeria, local non-governmental organizations have also played huge roles independently, and in collaboration with the government and international organizations to eliminate human trafficking in Nigeria. In fact, prior to the establishment of the Nigerian anti-trafficking law and NAPTIP in 2003, several civil society organizations in Nigeria had already begun playing active roles in various capacities like data collection and information dissemination, awareness creation, advocacy, and the rehabilitation of traffic survivors (Okojie, 2005; Olaniyi, 2003). One of such prominent organizations worthy of mention is the Women Trafficking and Child Labor Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF), which was founded in 1999 by Titi Atiku Abubakar, wife of the former vice-president of Nigeria, based on her discovery that Nigerian women were heavily involved in sex trafficking in Italy. This pioneer anti-trafficking organization clamored for a national law prohibiting human trafficking, and to this effect, WOTCLEF sponsored a private bill to the National Assembly in 2001 which resulted in the enactment of the 2003 Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act. The organization has a strong reputation for its awareness campaigns around the country and its provision of aftercare services to trafficked and abused children (WOTCLEF, n.d.).

In addition, WOTCLEF established the Network of Civil Society Organizations Against Child Trafficking, abuse and Labor (NACTAL) which currently serves as a converging platform for the exchange of expert knowledge, and the coordination of members' anti-trafficking activities

across Nigeria. Other leading NGOs in anti-trafficking in Nigeria include Idia Renaissance, Genesis House, The Real Woman Foundation, the Edo State Skill Acquisition Centre and so on.

NGOs have no doubt made commendable strides in preventing trafficking and in the provision of aftercare services to human trafficking survivors but still, they face practical issues in executing their mandates. Limited fund is constantly identified as an impediment to NGOs' effectiveness (Adejumo, Oluowolabi & Fayomi, 2015). The Nigerian government does not grant funds to the NGOs in the anti-trafficking sector. Hence, they are reliant on internally generated funds and grants from external donors like foreign governments, international organizations like the EU, UN agencies or funds, and other foreign aid agencies. This dependency has various implications on the level of impact they can make in combatting trafficking and the types of anti-trafficking projects they are able to execute. Nwogu (2014) describes the Nigerian anti-human trafficking fund model as 'not fit for purpose' because of the top-down approach of funding agencies which do not consult with the practitioners or implementing agents on ground to truly ascertain what areas need to be focused on. Hence to be awarded funds, these NGOs have to align their programs and objectives with donors' priorities or abandon their original strategies to be eligible to receive funds.

Also, some donors' objectives and strategies are reflections of the foreign policy or interests of their home countries. Migration and human trafficking is a highly politicized issue, especially with Western countries implementing strict border control policies to limit the entry of 'perceived threats' into their territory (Rizer & Glaser, 2011). In line with this, anti-trafficking funding would be focused on containment programs like 'voluntary' returns, prosecution of traffickers, and awareness creation to prevent migration (Yea, 2020). Indeed, as Dupuy et al. (2012) noted, 'many local NGOs [have become] top-down groups nourished from abroad, rather

than local products of a popular, grass-roots civic movement… money from the outside turned civil society into a vulnerable, externally oriented community'.

Furthermore, the Danish Immigration Service reported a lack of cooperation and coordination among stakeholders, particularly in traffic prevention. During its human trafficking facts-finding mission in 2009, they observed a disconnection between NAPTIP and civil society especially as the former was reportedly unenthusiastic about cooperating with NGOs that were not registered under the agency. Some NGOs also accuse NAPTIP of refusing to acknowledge the importance of partnering with NGOs because they are concerned with taking all the glory for any progress made, increasing their national and international profile, and acquiring funds for themselves (Cherti, Pennington and Grant, 2013).

4.4.3. International Organizations' Response

Several UN specialized agencies and UN Funds and Programs are also strategic stakeholders in the Nigerian anti-trafficking sector. The most noteworthy are the International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Office and Drugs and Crime (UNODC), United Nation's Children Fund (UNICEF), and International Organization for Migration (IOM) (De Haas, 2006). All of these organizations have collaborated in various capacities with the Nigerian government and civil society by providing technical and financial assistance, conducting advocacy, and designing and implementing anti-trafficking projects.

The IOM signed a cooperation agreement with the Nigerian government in 2002 to facilitate its efforts to manage migration and combat trafficking through assistance in migration policy, migration health, operations and emergencies, and immigration and border management (IOM, n.d.). Some of their projects in Nigeria include the IOM's Assisted Voluntary Return and

Reintegration (AVRR) program which aids human trafficking victims and other irregular migrants abroad to return to Nigeria by offering transportation assistance, protection, and reintegration support. Other programs include Expanding Land and Sea Border Data Systems in Nigeria (ELSBDS I & II), and Enhancing Air Border Data Systems in Nigeria I (EABDS I) aimed at enhancing the skills of Nigerian immigration officials in managing cross-border movement (IOM, 2019). IOM is also engaged in unrelenting advocacy and knowledge dissemination to the public.

UNICEF is equally a force to reckon with in combating human trafficking in Nigeria. UNICEF approaches human trafficking from the angle of children by focusing on preventing child trafficking and assisting child victims (UNICEF, n.d.). In the past years, UNICEF worked in collaboration with the government and civil society to raise awareness on child trafficking, advocate for greater collaboration between stakeholders, and build the capacity of relevant national institutions (UNICEF, 2007). One of its key projects was the UNICEF-SIDA funded Child Protection and Anti-Child Trafficking Program (2003-2006) which established youth resource centers in nine states in Nigeria to serve as a platform for addressing the root causes of child trafficking. These centers provided children and youth with leadership and life skills development, vocational training, relevant information on issues like health, recreational facilities, job placement schemes, microcredit schemes and so on.

Furthermore, the ILO is particularly concerned with human trafficking as it relates to forced labor/modern slavery in Nigeria. ILO has intervened through measures like training for immigration officials, the judiciary, labor officers, and police; financial assistance to the government for migration labor programs, and conducting capacity building workshops for victims of human trafficking (ILO, 2016). Nigeria is a signatory to several ILO conventions like

the 1930 Forced Labor Convention, the 1957 Abolition of Forced Labor Convention, and the 1999 Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention which are important in combating trafficking (Olateru-Olagbegi & Ikpeme, 2006; Cynthia & Bukoye, 2015). The 2010 Special Action Program to Combat Forced Labor is an example of an ILO project which was established in partnership with the Nigerian government and the European Union to foster cooperation between Nigeria and destination countries, create awareness on trafficking, convict traffickers, and protect survivors of trafficking.

Beyond collaboration with the Nigerian government and civil society, the IOM, UNICEF, ILO, and UNODC also design and execute joint projects on human trafficking, and disseminate critical knowledge and good practice strategies (Aronowitz et al., 2006). However, the efforts of these international agencies are not without flaws. For example, the IOM has been flagged for not prioritizing migrants' protection and disregarding the human rights of the various categories of migrants they engage with (Pécoud, 2018). The IOM's Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) program, for instance, has been critiqued for being superficially 'voluntary', and merely a mechanism for serving the strict migration policies of European countries. Gammeltoft-Hansen & Sorensen (2013) also argue that the IOM has 'commercial interests' in the regulation of international migration. Broadly speaking, these agencies are dependent on bilateral and multilateral donations from Western governments to fund their initiatives and programs and even support projects of local NGOs. Unfortunately, their projects' objectives are often subject to donor interests in order to secure funding.

CHAPTER 5: HUMAN TRAFFICKING REHABILITATION IN NIGERIA: STAKEHOLDERS' CONCEPTUALIZATION AND STRATEGIES

5.1. The Nigerian Government and Civil Society's Conceptualization of Human Trafficking

Any meaningful investigation around human trafficking in Nigeria would need to first examine stakeholders' prevalent perspectives of the phenomenon. This is because there can often be a linkage between the dominant conceptualization of human trafficking by the government and civil society, and the policies and strategies established to protect and assist traffic survivors in Nigeria. Since human trafficking has defied a universal definition and conceptualization (see section 2.1), it follows that the way this problem is understood and addressed by rehabilitation service providers would differ across board.

Inspired by the definition in the Palermo Protocol but contextually adjusted, section 50 of the Nigerian Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act 2015 defines human trafficking as:

> All acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across Nigerian borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harboring of a person involving the use of deception, coercion or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding the person, whether for or not in involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive), in forced or bonded labor, or in slavery-like conditions.

The Act also defines a traffic victim as:

> A person trafficked voluntarily or involuntarily for the purpose of exploitation such as child labor, commercial sex, pornography, armed conflict, drugs, sex with animals/objects, etc., rituals, organ harvesting/sales, baby harvest/sales, seduction, servitude, debt bondage or slavery by the use of deception, coercion, force or fraud.

The perception of trafficked persons as victims of coerced exploitation warrants a human rights framework to bring their protection and assistance to the fore (see section 2.3). Therefore, stakeholders conceptualize human trafficking as a violation of human rights. The National Policy

on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons (NPPATPN) describes human trafficking as *the worst form of human degradation, deprivation, and violation*; an act which *violates the fundamental human rights of the victims as enunciated in the Constitution of Nigeria.* Throughout this document, the human rights of trafficked persons are emphasized, and it is the desire to protect and preserve their human rights that drives this protection and assistance policy. Its synonymy with slavery is also highlighted within the policy document. Human trafficking is described as *a euphemism for the obnoxious 18th-century slave trade proscribed by international laws* (i*) […] and trafficked persons are labeled victims of infamous and inhuman modern slavery* (1).

Furthermore, the Nigerian human trafficking Act emphasizes *the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, and abuse of power or position of vulnerability* as a prerequisite for the occurrence of trafficking. In order words, the lack of consent on the part of the victim is delineated as a determinant of trafficking. However, the act also states that a trafficked person is one who is *voluntarily or involuntarily* engaged in the various forms of exploitation that are understood to constitute human trafficking. The wordings of the Act indicate that the government‘s conceptualization of human trafficking mirrors that of prostitution abolitionists/radical feminists. Like prostitution abolitionists, the Nigerian government believes that any individual who is engaged in prostitution, forced labor or other forms of exploitation, irrespective of their consent or lack thereof, are trafficked. Indeed, Section 13 of the Act states *that the consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in the definition of trafficking in persons in this Act shall be irrelevant where any means set forth in the definition* [force, deception, and coercion] *has been used*. This is position reflected in the response of a civil society rehabilitation officer,

[R16]: We can‘t even differentiate whether she was forced or she gave consent. The bottom line is that she was trafficked. Some of them were deceived, some wanted a better life and that is why they gave consent and were willing to go. At the end of the day, she probably didn‘t know she was going to be prostituted but she decided to go because they told her she was going to do a job or offer some kind of service. So whether they gave consent or they were deceived, it is all trafficking.

Here, there is no acknowledgment of the possibility of consent or the exercise of agency on the part of individuals who migrate within or outside the country for sex work or other forms of labor. Rather, trafficking is oversimplified by biased assumptions, and consent is overshadowed with the narrative of force and deception. By insisting that the real responsibility lies with the traffickers and that all trafficked women are vulnerable, their agency is downplayed. When their agency is brought into play, it is often described as an act of avarice. For example, NAPTIP‘s Fact Sheet (n.d.) on human trafficking describes the recruitment process as *very deceitful as the traffickers do not show the victims the reality of trafficking. Most of them are lured by false promises; some are escorted by relatives while some are trapped out of sheer greed knowing fully well the implications of their actions.*

Typically, all trafficked persons are viewed as victims of force, deception, and coercion (Outshoorn, 2005; Desyllas, 2007). As has been asserted by scholars, the current Nigerian anti-trafficking regime seems to have capitalized on/exploited the image of ‗vulnerable‘, ‗innocent‘, ‗duped‘ victims who are subjected to pain, exploitation, violence and all forms of human rights abuses (Andrijavesic, 2007; Musto, 2008). As a matter of fact, the Nigerian government believes stakeholders are obligated to *re-instill confidence in these traumatized and dehumanized victims* [who are] …*exposed to various health risks, abuse and neglect* (NPPATN, 2008: 4). Doezema (1999) refers to this image as a ‘cultural myth’ while Douzinas (2007) terms it ‘pedagogy of

pity' – i.e. constructing and promoting a stereotypical image of the trafficked person to promote ideological agendas (see section 2.2).

Here, the traffic victim is customarily a Third world woman deceived/ kidnapped, constrained by poverty and disempowered with no option than to migrate for work in the sex industry (Kempadoo, 2001; Shah, 2004). Consequently, the 'Other women' are viewed as a homogenous suffering oppressed group in need of rescue, protection and care from the 'indispensable' NGOs, the state and Western feminists (Agustin, 2005; Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998; Mohanty 1991). Along this line, Desyllas (2007) has also argued that the voices of Third world migrant laborers are stifled in the dominant traffic narrative which is constructed and promoted by the West.

What does this mean for the protection and assistance of trafficked persons in Nigeria? The Nigerian government and civil society have imbibed this human trafficking ―knowledge‖ promoted by the West and have employed its racialized framework in managing their own women against whom this very narrative was constructed. By viewing trafficked Nigerian women through this powerless and 'agency-less' lens, they are infantilized and restricted in the name of protection and assistance. Like Western governments and NGOs, their Nigerian counterparts construct trafficked women as the 'damaged Other' to justify their intervention (Doezema, 2001).

This is not to deny or trivialize the experiences of human trafficking victims who are indeed subjected to inhuman and atrocious treatments by traffickers. Rather, the aim is to show the need for critical policies that are based on a holistic understanding of the complexities inherent in the pathway to trafficking as well as the multiple experiences of these women as opposed to subjective stereotypes. As would be seen subsequently, there are trafficked women who

welcomed protection and assistance from the NGOs and the government due to their traumatic experiences but there were also women who did not see themselves as victims and declined these assistance services. A rehabilitation official stated: *we received over 100 of them last week at the airport but not one of them agreed that they were victims and there is nothing we can do about that* [R14].

Also related to Nigeria's anti-trafficking stakeholders' abolitionist/radical feminist stance is the tendency of some rehabilitation officials to demonize men as deceptive beings with the goal of damaging survivors' lives. One rehabilitation official attributes traffic survivors' rebellion and resistance within the program to their exposure to men; she asserted that:

[R10]: Some of them have been exposed to sex, men, and money so to get them to concentrate and focus now on something that is a long term vision is hard. For example, they have to leave the shelter to go to school or their vocation training centers…in the process of going from one place to another, there may be one man that will come and say why are you wasting your time in rehab…I will take care of you…beautiful girl and they start luring them away with money.

One of the beneficiaries of the rehabilitation programs corroborated this attitude amongst rehabilitation staff when managing survivors enrolled in rehabilitation programs:

[R3]: Any lady that has had contact with a man is no longer a baby. You don't tell them you don't touch a man and a man must not touch you. Any lady you see with breasts is not a kid anymore. There was a lady, *Jennifer who confided in them that a man was interested in her near the place she was going for an internship. They deceived her to confide in them and when she told them, they stopped her from going to work and they chased her from the home.

More so, trafficked persons tend to be pathologized in the process of protection and assistance as can be gleaned from the press statement of a senior NAPTIP official regarding rehabilitation; you cannot just release people who are *highly traumatized* and *unhealthy* into the society like that. What makes me very worried is because these victims are *very angry, bitter* and they are

potential criminals without empowerment [emphasis added] (Aluko, 2019). This presents traffic survivors as defective – individuals whose mindsets and behaviors must be healed through rehabilitation for them to function normally in society (Harrington, 2005). Indeed, all rehabilitation and reintegration service providers in this study had a synonymous mission – bringing about change in survivors who pass through their programs. When survivors conform and shed the 'traffic character', they are rewarded with the relaxation of restrictions like one of the respondents who stated*, we didn't go outside…for like 9 months we didn't go outside the house because they really want to see how you can change. When they see that your behavior is changing then they will start taking you out, introducing you to people, etc*. [R6].

In addition to this, the Nigerian government has recognized human trafficking as a migration problem. The trafficking Act states that the *importation and exportation* of persons across the country's borders with the intention of forcing or inducing the person into prostitution and other forms of exploitation is an offense. In kind, NAPTIP recently announced the introduction of a migration regulation scheme approved by the federal government which will require unskilled laborers such as maids, nannies, aspiring footballers, and auxiliary nurses to acquire clearance certificates from the agency before leaving the country. In a recent interview, the Director-General of NAPTIP declared, *at the counters in the airports henceforth, before anyone is given a boarding pass, they must show clearance certificate from NAPTIP. Otherwise, they should not be checked in. We will sue the airlines. They are not even meant to travel out for unskilled labor. It is illegal* (Aluko, 2019). In another interview where she condemned the rampant illegal migration and trafficking of Nigerians, she also remarked that *migration is a positive phenomenon only if regulated and coordinated.*

From the foregoing, human trafficking is understood to be multi-dimensional in Nigeria and this is captured in the Trafficking Act and other relevant documents. The government and civil society have thus adopted various strategies to combat human trafficking's different manifestations. One of such strategies – victim protection and assistance will be examined; bearing in mind the conceptualization of the phenomenon by stakeholders in Nigeria. As would be seen in the following section, the Nigerian government and its partners have depoliticized human trafficking by embracing a technocratic approach to this development challenge. Rather than address the fundamental socio-economic factors that predispose its citizens to human trafficking such as poverty, unemployment, corruption, and gender inequality, the government's strategy superficially addresses the effects of human trafficking through its protection and assistance programs.

Moreover, the Nigerian government appears to combine both security and human rights approaches in its response to human trafficking. While the government actively pursues the prosecution of traffickers (even with the assistance of individuals they trafficked) in accordance with recommendations from international trafficking instruments, Nigerian trafficked persons are dominantly handled with the human rights approach. In contrast with European governments which are known to favor the security approach in dealing with foreign trafficked persons, the Nigerian government, in this case, is concerned with its citizens. Hence, the detainment, prosecution, and deportation of traffic survivors are not feasible here as in the West. Rather, the Nigerian government seeks to guarantee the security and welfare of its people as is required in Chapter II, Section 14(2) (b) of the Nigerian Constitution of 1999 (NPPATPN, 2008). Through its rehabilitation programs, the government promotes *the protection and advancement of the*

rights, security, dignity, and welfare of the Nigerian people while pursuing its law enforcement objectives against traffickers (NPPATPN, 2008: 4).

5.2. Victim Protection and Assistance: Nature and Pattern of Collaboration between the Government and Civil Society in Nigeria

The Nigerian government has acknowledged that human trafficking is a human rights violation. Consequently, it has made commendable strides in designing relevant policies, instruments and implementation frameworks for the protection of trafficked persons in Nigeria. In addition to the obligations of NAPTIP to trafficked persons in the national anti-trafficking law, the Federal Executive Council approved the National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NPPATPN) in November 2008 to guide NAPTIP's rehabilitation mandate. The government labeled the provisions of this policy document as 'international standard procedures and best practices' (i) applicable nationally and internationally to guide service providers in the empowerment and reintegration of survivors. The policy specifies the strategies for protection and assistance; the role of stakeholders in their implementation; as well as survivors' rights and obligations. Twelve (12) fundamental rehabilitation procedures and execution strategies are outlined in the document including the reception of trafficked persons, identification, sheltering, healthcare, counseling, family tracing, return/repatriation, integration, empowerment, follow-up/aftercare, disengagement and preventive measures (see Table 5).

In 2011, this policy was followed by the Strategic Implementation Framework (SIF), defined by NAPTIP and its partners as "a roadmap for fast-tracking the implementation of the National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria" (NAPTIP, n.d). The framework serves as a standard for service quality and delivery among service providers in Nigeria. The government also made provisions for the establishment of the Victims of

Trafficking Trust Fund (VTTF) which is funded via government intervention funds, confiscated assets of traffickers, and donations from development agencies and non-governmental organizations. As contained in Article 67 of the anti-trafficking act, the purpose of the Trust Fund is to provide compensation, restitution, and damages for trafficked persons and also fund protection services.

With zonal commands in nine states across the federation, NAPTIP provides assistance services in collaboration with ministries and agencies like Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development, National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI); a host of non-governmental organizations, and international agencies such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Salvation Army. The National Referral Mechanism (NRM) established in 2015, serves as the guide for this strategic multi-sectoral collaboration in protection and assistance. The guiding principle of the NRM is the formation of a strong referral network that would enable stakeholders to capitalize on each other's strengths in service provision so that survivors can be referred to appropriate institutions with the capacity to address their needs. Adopting a survivor-centered human rights approach, the NRM aims to improve survivors' access to services. It states that care plans are to be designed jointly with survivors but as would be seen subsequently, the extent to which this is implemented is in question. Also, the NRM enjoys stakeholders to offer each other specialized support in the dispensation of their obligations to traffic survivors.

Table 5: Rehabilitation Services Provided

NAPTIP	Civil Society Organizations
Survivor Referral	Survivor Referral
Psychosocial support and counseling	Psychosocial support and counseling
Shelter provision	Shelter provision
Micro-credit and grants*	Healthcare
Healthcare	Literacy and education
Legal support	Vocational and entrepreneurship training

Family tracing* Follow-up/aftercare	Life skills building Mentorship Follow-up/aftercare

*In unique cases, civil society organizations can provide asterisked services as well.

5.3. Government and Civil Society Collaboration: Opportunities and Challenges

True to the intent of the National Referral Mechanism, the process of rehabilitation is executed jointly by government ministries and agencies, CSOs, and international development agencies. In fact, they are all interlocked in a symbiotic interdependent relationship in service provision for survivors (see Figure 4). Stakeholders maximize each other's strengths and seek to address their weaknesses in order to provide holistic assistance to survivors.

NAPTIP, IOM, the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), NCFRMI, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), and Port Health collaborate in the receipt, profiling, and identification of survivors of trafficking when they are rescued within Nigeria or repatriated to Nigeria (see Figure 4). This partnership is clearly captured in the modalities of the IOM's service provision to repatriated traffic survivors under the EU-IOM Joint Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration in Nigeria. The initiative caters to stranded Nigerian migrants, and the IOM works in collaboration with the aforementioned agencies to profile and assess migrants at the countries in which they are stranded, as well as at their point of entry into Nigeria. This profiling helps to identify persons with vulnerabilities such as survivors of trafficking, torture, and slavery. The Nigerian Port Health works with IOM's medical team to screen returnees and provide immediate medical assistance and psychosocial aid while giving them a brief orientation session on available assistance options. The IOM's protection team also cooperates with NAPTIP's rehabilitation and counseling team in the management of identified traffic survivors. Although the identification of trafficked persons is often a complex feat, the Nigerian

government established that a person can be considered trafficked if: i) he/she was sold in exchange for money ii) he/she was put in debt bondage iii) his/her travel documents were seized by agents, employers or traffickers iv) his/her freedom of movement was restricted v) he/she was subjected to suffered violence or threat against their families vi) the person's traffickers gained any form of benefits (e.g. economic) at their expense through the use of force, deceit, and other forms of exploitation vii)he/she has suffered physical, mental and/or sexual abuse viii) he/she had no prior knowledge of the exploitative nature of the job they were promised (NAPTIP, 2008).

The provision of shelter for survivors solely rests on NAPTIP and NGOs with shelter facilities. NAPTIP has shelters in its eight (8) zonal commands in Abuja, Lagos, Benin, Uyo, Enugu, Kano, Sokoto, and Maiduguri. These shelters are closed transit/temporary with a maximum stay of six (6) weeks, excluding those cooperating with NAPTIP in the legal prosecution of their traffickers. The length of stay in the shelters is determined by the peculiarities of each case. For example, survivors who were coerced into trafficking and suffered severe trauma may stay for up to 6 weeks in the shelters to recuperate while some survivors who were aware of the probable dangers before being trafficked or who were intercepted by law enforcement before arriving at the final destination may want to stay for just 1-2 weeks or decline shelter stay because they do not necessarily consider themselves 'victims'. This latter group is best understood in the context of the National Director of Counseling and Rehabilitation's comment on shelter stay in NAPTIP: "…we insist that victims that come back must stay for at least six weeks in our shelters whether they like or not in order for us to condition their behaviors and to prepare them for their expected new life" (NAPTIP, 2010 cited in Vanderhurst, 2017). Hence, some survivors are willing to

remain in the shelter and others who resist this mandatory residence in NAPTIP's shelter (this resistance is discussed later in this section).

There is also no gender or age restriction in NAPTIP's shelter as male and female survivors are admitted irrespective of their age. Services rendered in NAPTIP's rehabilitation shelters include counseling, legal services, and medical care (see Table 5). The latter is provided in partnership with public hospitals and sometimes the IOM, especially when the medical conditions are beyond what the agency can handle.

While NAPTIP indicates the provision of vocational skills training for survivors on its website, the rehabilitation department indicated that there is currently no functioning equipment for the vocational skills training in the Lagos facility. Consequently, NAPTIP relies on NGOs with the necessary capacity to train survivors with vocational skills and/or education. Survivors who express interest in getting an education or vocational training beyond the government's capacity are referred by NAPTIP to partner NGOs that run residential and non-residential programs (see Figure 4).

Three of such NGOs are faith-based female residential organizations operating closed or a combination of open and closed shelters. The first was Genesis House. The organization's mission is to rehabilitate, educate, empower and reconcile ex-sex workers, sexually exploited, and/or trafficked young black women with their families and society as productive citizens. The shelter admits women aged 18-25 years for a voluntary 12-18 months program comprised of 24 hours shelter facility, education, skills acquisition training, business and entrepreneurship training, psychosocial and spiritual development, adult literacy, computer training, mentorship,

family tracing, and job placement. Vocational skills taught in the shelter include hairdressing, fashion designing, baking, jewelry making, makeup, and arts and crafts.

Second, Peace Villa (The Real Woman Foundation)'s mission is to heal, develop and empower women aged 13-25 abused through trafficking and prostitution so that they become responsible adults and helpful to others who may experience the same abuse as them in the society. The rehabilitation program is for 6 months, and beneficiaries undergo personal and spiritual development (including prayers and fasting), counseling, vocational training, and medical care in a closed shelter facility. They receive training in catering, makeup, bead making, and fashion designing.

Lastly, Home of Sharon (Sought After Foundation) provides shelter, empowerment, and succor to young women between the ages of 18 and 30 who have gone through abuse, prostitution, and trafficking. The program which lasts for 3 months to 2 years consists of three stages: Rehabilitation, Reformation and Reintegration. Beneficiaries are provided with counseling, medical care, education, vocational skills, mentorship, spiritual deliverance, and business skills in a Christian environment. Beneficiaries are trained in hairdressing, dressmaking, hat making, bead-making, and catering.

All NGOs included in this study are the foundation arms of Christian churches. Therefore, their rehabilitation programs are strictly designed and executed on the basis of Christian principles. Survivors admitted into the programs are required to conform to Christian values, and engage in spiritual activities like Bible study, daily devotion, fasting, deliverance sessions etc. Thus the programs are conservative and beneficiaries are expected to live righteously; shedding all sin and worldly desires. Overall, the healing process of survivors' is largely approached with emphasis

on their spirituality and relationship with God who is able to give them a second chance. For instance, a rehabilitation officer explains the importance of spiritual activities as a Christian program: *since we are a faith-based organization, we conclude with fasting and prayers and then we are able to address some spiritual issues like the oaths they swore before they were trafficked. It entailed them shaving their private parts for rituals so we are able to tackle that angle with prayers and fasting.*

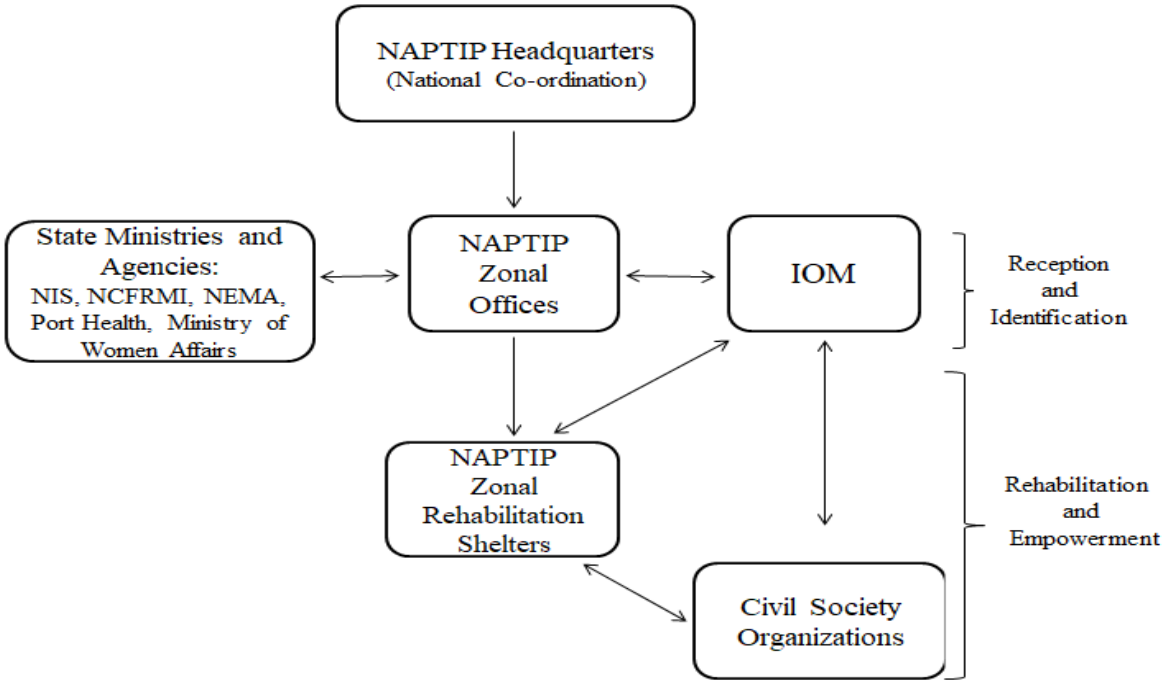
These spiritual activities are aimed at reconfiguring their minds to embrace alternative 'legitimate' means of wealth creation asides from migration which makes them susceptible to trafficking. As would be seen throughout this work, most respondents' comments on their rehabilitation experience were interlaced with appreciation for the role the program played in helping them abandon their old lives and embrace a new life in God – a life where re-migration is not imagined. Vanderhurst (2017) and Zimmerman (2010) have highlighted the strong relationship between Christianity and the gendered moral stance against human trafficking for sexual exploitation and prostitution by governments and non-governmental organizations in Nigeria.

Throughout the duration of the program, the principal referring organization maintains close contact with the NGOs; monitoring their referral's progress, visiting regularly, and intervening whenever necessary to ensure they get optimum services. One of the rehabilitation officers remarked:

[R14]: One thing I like about NAPTIP is that they are also involved and they are always there for the girls as well…they follow up. They are involved like a partnership in talking to the girls…in working through the rehabilitation process with them. When we have challenges we call NAPTIP. If any of the girls have challenges, NAPTIP recalls them back to their shelter and they have their counselors who talk to them. We have two girls who at a point, said they were not ready to go to school or that the school is not taking care of them…they are not eating as they

want to…they are tired…the program is taking so long…they are not doing again etc. So NAPTIP told us to send them back. By the time they were through with them, (I don't know whatever they did to them) but when they came back, they were like "I am sorry mummy, I won't do it again, we are ready to go to school". In fact, one of them just graduated. So it has been a good collaboration.

Figure 4- Multi-Sectorial Partnership Co-ordination



More so, upon program completion, the NGOs transfer the women back to the referring organizations such as NAPTIP, IOM, and the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development. These organizations have the responsibility of tracing families, reintroducing the survivors to their families and communities, and providing economic empowerment packages. The empowerment packages usually consist of grants, rented store spaces, equipment for skills they learned in rehabilitation, and rented apartments. It is usually for those that acquire vocational skills in the NGO shelters. However, one of the NGOs was operating on an

international fund that made provisions for the direct transfer of empowerment packages to survivors. A rehabilitation official describes what it means within her organization:

[R17]: When we talk about empowering them because they need to get back to society, they need accommodation. The process of integration means that materials are bought for them by the referring agency or by Sought After. That is, if they learned hairdressing, we buy them the dryer and everything they need in the shop…drying kit…weaving kit…washing kit. We buy them all the materials that they need. We rent a shop for them and then we rent accommodation for them. Usually, we rent for between 1-2 years so that after that they will be empowered to be able to pay the rent themselves. So that is what the process entails.

The IOM, in particular, does not transfer cash to its beneficiaries. Speaking on its empowerment and reintegration package for trafficked persons, an IOM officer mentioned that:

[R15]: IOM doesn't give them cash. If you decide for example you want to run a supermarket, when you get a shop you want to rent, you transmit your tenancy agreement to IOM. We make payments for that person through the landlord. The same thing applies for supplies: you get the invoice and we pay the vendors because we know that from experience, most times when you give cash, the tendency is for it to be used for things other than the economic reintegration.

To ensure that its reintegration assistance is impactful, the IOM also collaborates with government ministries which lend their expertise in establishing program beneficiaries' businesses based on their core competence. For instance:

[R15]: The IOM draws expert teams from specific government agencies. For example, people that want to go into agriculture businesses, we have people from the Ministry of Agriculture providing them with support in the drafting of their business proposals. All these ideas came about [due] to some mistakes we made in the past where people will say "oh we want to go into fishery…we want to get 10,000 fingerlings" and that is provided. Nobody thinks about the size of the pond these fingerlings are going to grow in, then halfway into the project, they will be like "oh my God the fishes are too big" or there is only one pond. This is not expertise that is within our domain but by bringing in people from government agencies, they can say "the pond of that size can't take 10,000 fingerlings" and so on.

Furthermore, NAPTIP asserts that traffic survivors who choose to enroll in civil society organizations' programs for skills acquisition are guaranteed automatic empowerment packages. One rehabilitation officer gives insights into the process of transferring rehabilitated survivors to NAPTIP after program completion:

[R18]: The reason why we work with NAPTIP is that they would have carried out several investigations and interviews to trace their families and figure out what is next after the 6 months. We notify NAPTIP on the particular time they would be completing the program and the time they would be released. Of course, while they are still here, NAPTIP is still doing their own work: trying to get family members to unite them or if the girls choose to stay on their own, how to get an apartment for them. Usually, NAPTIP does the final empowerment. They get a shop for them, give them equipment for the vocation they learned and then they pay for some time…for maybe a year or two and then they monitor their progress in society.

Beyond collaboration among government and civil society institutions, individuals and private organizations also play vital roles in the rehabilitation process in Nigeria. All NGOs involved in the study attested to a close partnership with philanthropic individuals and private companies who donate in cash and kind to facilitate the rehabilitation programs. Individual sponsors can choose to sponsor girls interested in education (sometimes from the secondary to tertiary level). One sponsored respondent stated:

[R12]: They asked me if I wanted to go back to school and I told them yes. Then she told me that I should pray that I might have someone that will sponsor me. Within a few weeks, she told me that someone wanted to sponsor me and I should just get myself prepared. I was enrolled in a boarding school and my sponsor paid for everything.

Specifically, in Genesis House, private companies also offer internship positions to eligible beneficiaries who use this as an avenue to hone their vocational skills in the business world. This has been very profitable as beneficiaries with high performances are often retained as full staff after they complete the program. One respondent who was trained in fashion designing was

placed and retained in an internationally recognized fashion company owned by one of the shelter's directors due to her diligence. Also, some private faith-based universities aligned with the NGOs' visions offer partial and full scholarships to girls who have outstanding academic records. According to a rehabilitation officer:

[R18]: With Redeemers University…if we have more than one child in the school, we have the privilege of paying part tuition. We have a girl presently that is on scholarship at Covenant University. So if they are performing very well…brilliantly…we might have the opportunity to be given scholarships.

Rehabilitation is obviously an important aspect of the counter-trafficking efforts of the government and civil society in Nigeria. Nonetheless, there are several identified challenges that stakeholders face in service provision. The most obvious challenge highlighted is limited funding. NGOs emphasized the funding challenges they face, especially as they do not receive any funds from the government. For example, one of the NGOs had to stop the provision of formal education due to lack of adequate funds. Limited funds also affect the shelters' capacities and it has resulted in inaccessibility of rehabilitation services for persons who are HIV and Hepatitis C positive, pregnant and with children. Only one of the NGOs admitted the aforementioned categories of survivors as others claimed that they did not have the necessary capacity to cater to their needs. This is distressing because these conditions have been identified as dominant among survivors (Surtees, 2008), hence, a good number of individuals would be denied rehabilitation services due to the shelters' limited capacities. This was emphasized by one rehabilitation official who stated:

[R17]: I am dealing with girls that have been rescued from human trafficking, child labor, prostitution and drug addiction. So once you are dealing with these categories of people, you cannot rule out HIV/AIDS. The only thing we have done is that we have put precautions in place. If you go to the rehab, we have it on the notice board…Don't share blades…do not share

needles. We make sure our staff is made to educate them and we put all the necessary instructions there because this is what we do and we can't run away from that.

Furthermore, weak institutions have affected the effective operationalization of the NRM. For instance, the poor state of public hospitals and limited expertise on mental health means that even when trafficked persons are referred to these institutions, they are not able to access quality services. A rehabilitation officer observed that:

[R15]: There is a national referral mechanism but the issue is the institutions…do they have the capacity to do what is expected of them in the NRM? It is not enough to refer people. If there is a medical case, can the person go to a general hospital and get treated at no cost? Do we have the structures to support severe mental health cases beyond Nigeria's major cities? Are counselors trained well enough to provide [survivors] with quality assistance? There is a limit to what foreign development agencies can do. They can't run the Ministry of health…they can't take over the health structure in the country. These are things that should be integrated into the structures.

More so, none of the programs had adequate accommodations for male survivors like their female counterparts. The government's temporary shelter accommodates male survivors for a short period but due to the absence of vocational training in this shelter, they are deprived of empowerment opportunities. None of the NGOs have facilities for male survivors although they indicated that it was under consideration. The founder of one NGO remarked: "I have a passion for men too…it is like no one is really thinking about men…it is a burden to me". This system is often justified with the fact that females are the most trafficked population but there are still a significant number of males that are trafficked and have no access to essential assistance services. 447 male survivors were rescued in 2017 according to NAPTIP but these assistance services are hardly available to them. This issue is captured by Shoaps (2013) who attributes it to UN Protocol's focus on women, and consequently sex trafficking which rarely affects men.

Finally, rehabilitation organizations identified uncooperative traffic survivors as a challenge especially when they waste resources by exiting the program midway or when they put up resistance by being verbally abusive to staff, lying, attempting suicide and escape from the shelter. A rehabilitation officer referred to a survivor who had attempted suicide three times in the shelter. On the third attempt which involved ingesting a pesticide, they were forced to hand her back to NAPTIP in order to reunite her with her family. This occurred two months to the end of her one year program and there were no tangible results despite expended resources. On one of my visits to NAPTIP, I also witnessed how a survivor attempted to deceive the staff into releasing her to a male friend posing as her elder brother. This claim was backed up by an elderly man impersonating her father over the phone. Further investigations proved that all these claims were false, and the staff insisted that these deceptions make it difficult to protect survivors. A survivor confirmed this challenge by describing an incident that occurred in one NGO shelter: *One day somebody wanted to break the matron's head with an iron bell. The girl had anger issues and the matron was actually talking to her. Only for us to just see her carrying bell that she is going to hit the woman. That day was hell for everybody in the house* [R5].

5.4. Empowerment or Disempowerment: Survivors' Expectations, Perceptions, and Experiences.

To gain better insights into the processes of rehabilitation in Nigeria, I privileged the voices of beneficiaries of these programs. As expected, survivors had varying expectations, experiences, and perceptions of the program. Their expectations from the rehabilitation programs ranged from having a home, family, and love, to acquiring skills and education so as to improve their chances

in life. While these expectations were partially fulfilled for some, others' expectations were surpassed. The following are some program beneficiaries' expectations:

[R13]: I needed a place I can call a home… protection…I needed a family. Family includes everything. Once you have a family…you have love, you have everything. Being in the home, you have love…tough love. We were made to show love and care for each other because that is what family is all about.

[R8]: I was expecting that if I finish there, by God's grace, I will have my own business

[R1]: I wanted to learn a skill and further my education.

[R4]: [R4]: I just knew I needed help. I wanted an education. That was my major expectation coming to the home…In fact, the home really tried for us. I wasn't expecting all this. Even when I went home my people were surprised because I didn't know I will be able to finish secondary school again after what the woman did to me. I gave up going to school again until I went to the home.

Furthermore, the experiences and perceptions of survivors in the rehabilitation homes were analyzed using Kabeer's empowerment framework and findings reveal that the programs do not completely embody the three dimensions of empowerment. Each empowerment dimension is examined here:

5.4.1. Resources

Resources are a strong feature in the rehabilitation programs. Program beneficiaries confirmed the provision of standard rehabilitation services such as shelter, food, clothing, counseling, medical care, vocational skills, education, mentorship, family tracing, grants, and follow-up services. However, their satisfaction with these services differed. A satisfied survivor commented on the services:

[R8]: One thing I know about home is that education there is standard. You will hardly see a girl from the home attending a public school. I am not sure there is any top secondary school or university in Nigeria you will mention that you will not find one of their girls. There was enough

food…standard food. They are also good too with health because in the home you don't take any medicine without being tested. The doctor will come and test you. I am not trying to hype the home but I think to me, it is the best.

Another interviewee complained that:

[R10]: The way they handle things there is not what they told us…you understand. What they say is different from what we see there. You see this food menu they paste on the wall…you will see fried rice and chicken and all those fake lies as if truly we are really eating something good. All that is a pure big lie. It does not work there. When the oyinbo (white people) will come they will say "wow you guys are enjoying yes!" Then they donate money. There are times we only eat in the evening time by 3 pm. You dare not complain. Who born you? If you say it and visitors go then they will deal with you.

This divergence in the respondents' views might be due to the fact that the respondents are beneficiaries from two different programs and thus highlights the fact that there might be a significant difference in the level and quality of support that the different homes provide which can also exacerbate inequality among trafficked survivors and impact their level of empowerment.

Table 6 - Demographics of Traffic Survivors for Empowerment
Total Respondents *n* = 13

Gender	
Female	100%
Age	
20-25	46%
26-30	15%
31-50	15%
Undisclosed	24%
Current Educational Qualification	
O Levels	61%
Diploma	8%
BSc.	8%
Degree in progress	23%
Survivors who believe they benefitted from the program	92%
Survivors who believe they did not benefit from the program	8%
Recipients of Vocational Training Only	54%
Recipients of Formal Education and	46%

Vocational Training	
Vocationally Trained Survivors that didn't receive Empowerment Package Post-Program	43%
Survivors that indicated the absence of Agency	69%
Survivors with stable jobs **Survivors with irregular odd jobs** **Survivors with small scale businesses** **Survivors pursuing further education** **Survivors with no source of income**	15% 32% 15% 23% 15%

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

With regards to the influence of the program on their economic empowerment and feeling of being empowered, most beneficiaries (i.e. 92%) agreed that the program had in one substantial way or the other transformed their lives and equipped them with economically relevant skills critical to their survival (see Table 6). First, beneficiaries repeatedly claimed that the program instilled positive values and improved their self-worth. In addition to healing and restoring hope, the programs taught principles such as contentment, budgeting, anger management, problem-solving, spirituality, emotional intelligence, confidence, self-esteem, forgiveness, tolerance, and love. These values have refined and enabled them to navigate their new lives in society.

Furthermore, some of the beneficiaries (i.e. 46%) received formal education and they considered it to be the ultimate empowerment tool: three participants are currently pursuing higher levels of education beyond what they attained while enrolled in the program. In fact, those who received formal education in the program also benefitted from vocational training when they were on school break, albeit at a more relaxed pace. It is important to note here that the length of stay for survivors receiving a formal education is determined by the length of their school programs and not the official program length. Beneficiaries who learned skills (54%) also believed it equipped them to be economically independent to support themselves and their families (see Figure 5 & 6). The programs also ensured that they learned more than one skill at a time. However, 43% of

beneficiaries who acquired skills were not given the promised empowerment package after completing the program. These cases were referrals from NAPTIP and this omission had negative impacts on their income-generating capacity after the program. The empowerment package is obviously a key resource that sets the stage for trafficked persons to take control of their lives after their ordeal and make essential decisions for their wellbeing.

Figure 5 - Program Beneficiaries in Vocation Skills Training Sessions (Catering and Arts & Crafts)

Source: ***http://therealwoman.org/media-centre/photo-gallery/***

Figure 6 - View of beneficiaries' learning space and some of their hand-made products

Source: Author's fieldwork photos

5.4.2. Agency

The second dimension of empowerment is agency which can be operationalized as decision making in the programs. There is a strong indication that this is largely deficient in the processes of rehabilitation. A recurrent theme in respondents' accounts of their experiences in the

rehabilitation homes was the constraints around their freedom and exercise of agency. Most program beneficiaries had the freedom to choose their vocational skills of interest, although a few stated that the decision to attend school or learn a skill was made by the staff on their behalf. They asserted that in addition to their heavily routinized lifestyle and strict rules in the home, they had no freedom of expression, communication, and movement while in the program (see Figure 7). Hence, survivors were restricted from communicating regularly with their families and friends, and some remained enclosed in the shelter for up to 6 months without stepping out. They also attested to their inability to express opinions and grievances about the program while enrolled for fear of reprisal. In fact, punishments were used as a means of control by some staff and two participants revealed that they were physically abused while in the program. The following are some comments on constraint:

[R1]: You know we are like chickens that they caged…people don't discuss with us and they don't give us a chance to discuss with people…

[R4]: My worst experience was when I want to eat something I don't get it…when I want to wear what I want…I don't get it…when I want to go somewhere…maybe see my family…make calls…I don't get it. You know…it just pissed me off…when I'm all alone getting angry, I just regret and ask myself why I didn't go with my friends back to Europe…why didn't I run away…Do you understand?

[R6]: I wasn't in control of my life. It was not possible. YOU CANNOT! Left to me, it is only when I am in school that I am a bit free. Everything was being regulated. I was under so many rules and regulations…I was not in control of my life. They made all the decisions for me. In fact, most of the ladies there were having issues with the manager and the rest of the staff

[R9]: You can't misbehave in that place because if you do, we have security that would lock you up. Not in a cell but we had a room where they keep people that misbehave for 2 days. They just give the person food once. If the person does not eat well, then her sense will come back to normal.

These measures adopted by rehabilitation organizations in the management of traffic survivors defeats the purpose of rehabilitation because they can replicate the very conditions which

survivors have just escaped in trafficking. Just as certain acts implicit in human trafficking like confinement and torture constitute a violation of human rights; these rehabilitation practices can equally be considered human rights violations. For example, the movement restrictions, physical violence, and decision making constraints infringe on survivors' rights to freedom of movement and residence within the country, right to freedom from physical violence, and right to personal autonomy respectively (GAATW, 2000).

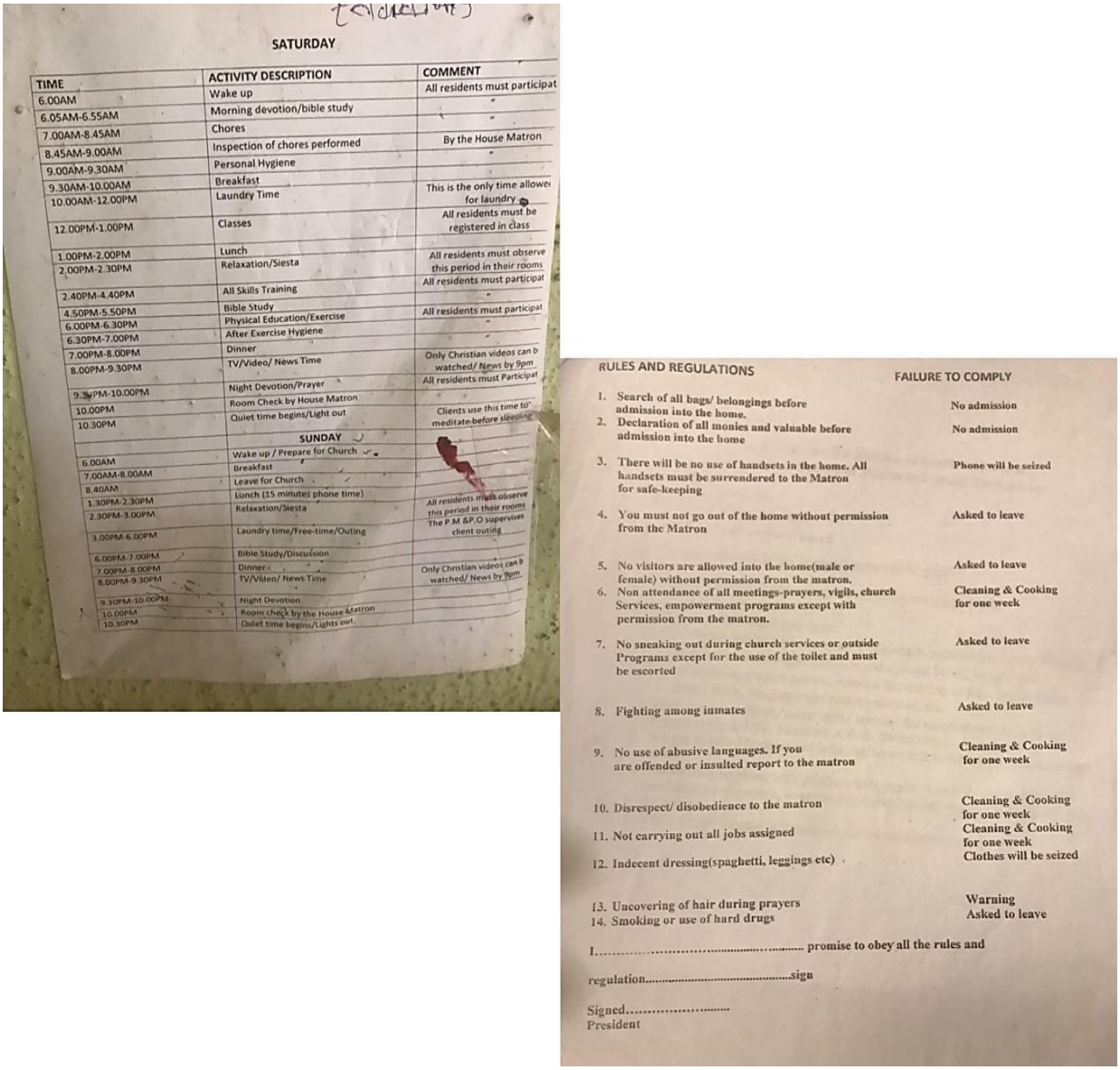
However, rehabilitation organizations often justify the restriction of movement and communication of survivors by citing security concerns and insisting that these restrictions from the "outside world" would ensure that they focus on the transformative process of rehabilitation and avoid the 'distractions of men and frivolities'. As earlier stated, the programs' focus on the power of men to obstruct survivors' progress points to their abolitionist/radical feminist position which does not always benefit survivors' recovery. In fact, the locations of the shelters were not publicized for survivors' security. In NAPTIP for instance, the shelter was in a 'secret' location separate from the administration office. Even the administration office was heavily guarded and access was contingent on an appointment with staff. These strict security measures were observed at varying levels in the non-governmental organizations as well.

They also argue as one rehabilitation official put it, that *we run an institution; you can't just go out and come in anyhow so there are rules that govern behaviors* and *it is a correctional home so things have to change from the way they used to do it* [R5] (see Figure 7). These restrictions also have to be considered against the backdrop of the faith-based organizations' conservativeness and their desire to keep program beneficiaries on the straight and narrow path to avoid a relapse into trafficking. This ultimately would entail several behavioral, communication and movement restrictions.

In reality, these closed shelter models were originally devised for foreign nationals and high-risk cases (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2008). Survivors are also expected to abide by decisions made on their behalf without having an input, and this goes against the rights of trafficked persons to be involved in the design of their care plans (NAPTIP, 2014). A respondent also declared that in one shelter, all monies were seized by the staff because they believed that possessing money would facilitate escape from the shelter. Any commodity the survivors needed outside the home could only be bought by staff on their behalf.

Also, these constraints account for trafficked persons' constant decline of rehabilitation assistance. As one rehabilitation officer stated, 15 girls were once referred from NAPTIP to the home but only one of them agreed to fully enroll in the program after they were informed of the rules on movement and communication. Also, a survivor stated that she was rescued with five other women from the UAE but they all declined the rehabilitation program after realizing that they would be confined for one year. She only chose to stay to avoid the shame of returning home from the UAE with no money. These restrictions can, therefore, deter trafficked persons from accessing essential services to facilitate their reintegration. Moreover, these constrained environments can mirror the trafficking experience of some survivors, prevent them from developing the ability to make informed strategic decisions for their lives, and therefore defeat the programs' purpose of empowerment. As Eyben, Kabeer and Cornwall (2008) state, it goes beyond the provision of quality services; the ways in which the services are delivered have to empower beneficiaries as well. Non-involvement of survivors in decision making and the indiscriminate application of the closed shelter model even with indigenes and minimal risk cases, therefore, need to be reevaluated.

Figure 7 - Example of Schedules and Rules in the Rehabilitation Homes



SATURDAY

TIME	ACTIVITY DESCRIPTION	COMMENT
6.00AM	Wake up	All residents must participat
6.05AM-6.55AM	Morning devotion/bible study	"
7.00AM-8.45AM	Chores	"
8.45AM-9.00AM	Inspection of chores performed	By the House Matron
9.00AM-9.30AM	Personal Hygiene	"
9.30AM-10.00AM	Breakfast	
10.00AM-12.00PM	Laundry Time	This is the only time allowe for laundry
12.00PM-1.00PM	Classes	All residents must be registered in class
1.00PM-2.00PM	Lunch	
2.00PM-2.30PM	Relaxation/Siesta	All residents must observe this period in their rooms
2.40PM-4.40PM	All Skills Training	All residents must participat
4.50PM-5.50PM	Bible Study	"
6.00PM-6.30PM	Physical Education/Exercise	All residents must participat
6.30PM-7.00PM	After Exercise Hygiene	"
7.00PM-8.00PM	Dinner	"
8.00PM-9.30PM	TV/Video/ News Time	Only Christian videos can b watched/ News by 9pm
9.30PM-10.00PM	Night Devotion/Prayer	All residents must Participat
10.00PM	Room Check by House Matron	
10.30PM	Quiet time begins/Light out	Clients use this time to meditate before sleeping

SUNDAY

6.00AM	Wake up / Prepare for Church	
7.00AM-8.00AM	Breakfast	
8.40AM	Leave for Church	
1.30PM-2.30PM	Lunch (15 minutes phone time)	
2.30PM-3.00PM	Relaxation/Siesta	All residents must observe this period in their rooms
3.00PM-6.00PM	Laundry time/Free-time/Outing	The P.M &P.O supervises client outing
6.00PM-7.00PM	Bible Study/Discussion	
7.00PM-8.00PM	Dinner	
8.00PM-9.30PM	TV/Video/ News Time	Only Christian videos can b watched/ News by 9pm
9.30PM-10.00PM	Night Devotion	
10.00PM	Room check by the House Matron	
10.30PM	Quiet time begins/Lights out	

RULES AND REGULATIONS — FAILURE TO COMPLY

1. Search of all bags/ belongings before admission into the home.	No admission
2. Declaration of all monies and valuable before admission into the home	No admission
3. There will be no use of handsets in the home. All handsets must be surrendered to the Matron for safe-keeping	Phone will be seized
4. You must not go out of the home without permission from the Matron	Asked to leave
5. No visitors are allowed into the home(male or female) without permission from the matron.	Asked to leave
6. Non attendance of all meetings-prayers, vigils, church Services, empowerment programs except with permission from the matron.	Cleaning & Cooking for one week
7. No sneaking out during church services or outside Programs except for the use of the toilet and must be escorted	Asked to leave
8. Fighting among inmates	Asked to leave
9. No use of abusive languages. If you are offended or insulted report to the matron	Cleaning & Cooking for one week
10. Disrespect/ disobedience to the matron	Cleaning & Cooking for one week
11. Not carrying out all jobs assigned	Cleaning & Cooking for one week
12. Indecent dressing(spaghetti, leggings etc)	Clothes will be seized
13. Uncovering of hair during prayers	Warning
14. Smoking or use of hard drugs	Asked to leave

I..... promise to obey all the rules and regulation.....sign

Signed.....
President

Author's Fieldwork photos

5.4.3. Achievement

Finally, the achievement dimension of empowerment was assessed based on the current state of survivors who underwent rehabilitation. Of the 13 survivors interviewed in this study, 15% of survivors had stable well-paying jobs, 23% were pursuing higher education, 15% had small scale businesses based on acquired skills, 32% engaged in irregular odd jobs, and 15% had no stable

source of income. Therefore, the outcomes of the programs were varied from one individual to the other. Individuals who had no stable source of income were those who received partial assistance without the empowerment package at the completion of their program. This suggests that comprehensive rehabilitation services can facilitate empowerment, and partial assistance may be futile in realizing the outcome of empowerment among trafficked persons. On the subject of partial assistance, an affected beneficiary recounted her experience:

[R12]: I feel that whatever they start, they should finish it. For instance, the house they got us, it took so many months before they finally got us the house. And when the landlord gave us quit notice, they didn't respond. We were stranded outside. The girls that they had groomed, they all went back to the street. They all went back to prostitution. They said they don't have money to pay rent, they have to hustle…you understand? It is not only in my time. The ones before me, they gave them quick notice then. Those ones too went back to their old life. I know it is not easy but if you are grooming someone, finish it to the end.

CHAPTER 6: "MOVING ON": SURVIVORS' REINTEGRATION EXPERIENCES POST-REHABILITATION

6.1. Reintegration Opportunities and Challenges: Rehabilitation Programs' Roles in Reintegration

As has been reiterated thus far, the purpose of providing rehabilitation assistance to survivors of human trafficking is to facilitate their economic and social reintegration into society after their traffic experiences. By focusing on the reintegration of survivors, I hoped to increase understanding of the associated outcomes of these rehabilitation programs from the perspective of survivors who are living independently in the society post-rehabilitation. Surtees (2017) imagines that successful reintegration can be gleaned by examining survivors' physical and mental wellbeing, safety and security, economic wellbeing and opportunities, living conditions, interpersonal/social relationships, education and training opportunities, the wellbeing of families and dependents, legal status and protection, and fair representation in legal processes against their traffickers. In investigating survivors' reintegration experiences and outcomes, this study prioritizes survivors' physical and mental wellbeing, safety and security, economic wellbeing and opportunities, living conditions, interpersonal/social relationships, and education and training opportunities (see Table 7). The outcome of legal status and protection was omitted since all survivors were indigenes of Nigeria with authorized residency in the country. Also, none of the respondents included in the study were involved in any legal processes to convict their traffickers hence their fair representation in legal processes could not be assessed.

Table 7 – Surtees' Reintegration Framework and Descriptions of Outcomes

Reintegration Outcomes	Description of Reintegration Outcomes
Physical and mental wellbeing	Healthy physical condition and a general sense of physical well-being, as well as mental well-being, including self-esteem, confidence, and self-acceptance

Safety and security	Being physically safe and well, including safety from exposure to threats or violence
Economic wellbeing and opportunities	A satisfactory economic situation – for example, the ability to earn money, support family members and so on – as well as access to economic opportunities, which might include employment or income generation activities.
Living conditions	Access to a satisfactory place to live
Interpersonal/social relationships	Positive and healthy social relations with friends, family, spouses/intimate partner and the community.
Education and training opportunities	Access to school re-enrolment, educational and training opportunities

Source: Surtees, R. (2017). Supporting the Reintegration of Trafficked Persons. A Guidebook for the Greater Mekong Sub-Region. Bangkok, Thailand: NEXUS Institute, UN-ACT, and World Vision.

The theorized relationship between rehabilitation and reintegration was affirmed by survivors who had undergone rehabilitation within government and civil society programs. A majority of respondents believed that the programs had directly and positively influenced their lives and all they have been able to achieve. Some of the respondents had these to say:

[R1]: The program really helped me reintegrate because if not for that home, I don't know where I would have been now. They helped me. Now I am married and I have a son. Even in my community where I am living now, people respect me. They can't even think or smell that I passed through those things [trafficking] nor rehabilitation. Nobody can even smell it, so they give me respect. So when I look back, I say if not for God I wouldn't have gotten to this extent. It is a success story. God blessed me…at least I have work, a husband and a child. Marriage is not an easy thing but with the things I learned in the home I can cope. I don't have complaints. Even when issues arise, I know how to deal with it. So that is my success story.

[R9]: Now that I am back home, the program helped me to focus on my main purpose and my aim. I am more focused and the house opened my eyes to so many things that I didn't know before. I can save more, read more, pray more. Now I can do things on my own and I don't wait for anybody before doing anything. When I came out of the home, I went for a 3 months computer program and next I applied for a job to keep me busy and next I got admission into the university.

As can be observed from the general comments on the impact of the programs on their current lives in the society, the programs appear to have strategically placed survivors in a position where they can autonomously lead their lives and cater to their wellbeing. Majority of survivors' perspectives mirrored the comments above, save for a respondent who lamented saying:

> The program didn't help me reintegrate oh! I had not finished with them….they just threw me away and abandoned me and I am not depending on them. The program did not give me support in society like a house, work, etc. as they promised. They didn't help me. How can you send me away empty-handed? You promised to get me a house…these were their promises…you promised to set me up in a very good way that after I finish school and come back you will employ me like maybe for teaching…what I went to school to do.

The disparities in these comments point to survivors' varying experiences within and across programs. This could be a result of different strategies from one program to another, the availability of program resources at the point when they were enrolled or each individual's unique recovery rate. This, of course, does not level the playing field for survivors when they exit the programs and attempt reintegration in society. To gain a more critical understanding of the reintegration outcomes of survivors, it was crucial to go beyond their general comments and assess their level of reintegration using Surtees' (2017) reintegration outcome framework indicated above. These outcomes are examined below:

Table 8 - Demographics of Survivors for Reintegration

Total Respondents *n*= 13

Economic wellbeing and opportunities	
Respondents with jobs	46%
Respondents who deemed themselves financially stable	23%
Respondents with financial constraint	77%
Respondents with limited access to food	62%
Physical and mental wellbeing	
Survivors with no physical health complications	92%
Survivors with confidence and enthusiasm for life	92%
Respondents unhappy with the current state of life	69%

Education and training opportunities	
Respondents pursuing education	23%
Safety and security	
Respondents with traffic-related safety issues	0%
Interpersonal/social relationships	
Respondents with good familial relationships	85%
Respondents with strained familial relationships	15%
Respondents residing with immediate family	48%
Respondents with a very strong level of engagement with the community	15%
Respondents with a somewhat strong level of engagement with the community	62%
Respondents with a somewhat weak level of engagement with the community	23%
Respondents with community groups membership	92%

6.1.1. Economic Wellbeing and Opportunities

The economic wellbeing of survivors is a decisive factor in their reintegration since lack of economic resources often accounts for the trafficking of individuals in the first place. Hence, as can be seen in the preceding chapter, this was a fundamental basis for stakeholder collaboration across sectors. Traffic survivors identified their economic empowerment and wellbeing as their foremost concern after exiting trafficking, and in some cases, the reason for enrolling in rehabilitation programs (see section 5.2). Thus, it is paramount to assess the extent to which the vocational training and empowerment packages that survivors accessed while in the programs enhanced their ability to support themselves and their families.

Of all survivor respondents, 46% were employed in jobs that ranged from irregular odd jobs to stable well-paying jobs. They held positions such as accountant, matron, sales attendant, elementary school teacher, receptionist, and secretary. The highest monthly salary reported was 100,000 naira ($361 CAD) while the lowest was 12,000 naira ($43 CAD). Two survivors owned

businesses where they beaded clothes and sold non-perishable food items. Monthly, both businesses generated 7,000-8,000 naira ($25-29 CAD) and 20,000 naira ($72 CAD) respectively. Two (2) survivors who were not provided with empowerment packages at the end of their rehabilitation programs had no stable source of income from either a job or business. When asked about her strategies for survival, she replied: *I don't have a good job, I don't have somewhere I get money from…I don't have something I depend on* [R3]. However, one of the above mentioned noted that she was going to move on without the empowerment package as she was scheduled to commence a job as an assistant hairstylist with a monthly salary of 8,000 naira ($29 CAD). Nonetheless, she still complained about being helpless due to the partial assistance she received:

As I am now, I am not doing well because I was expecting the empowerment so I can move on. Since there is no empowerment and I have no money, I am just staying at home. So even now that I am going to start this job, I am still feeling somehow because they are not going to be paying well and I am not feeling okay.

While all the jobs and businesses were not directly linked to the skills obtained during rehabilitation, respondents still believed it was beneficial in various ways to their wellbeing. Respondents commented on the impact of the skills on their economic wellbeing, saying:

[R7]: I have a job now as a receptionist but before I got it, it was the skills I learned that helped me survive. I learned so many things like tie and dye, batik, how to weave bags, wrap books with *ankara* fabrics, and also beads making. It helped me a lot because after I finished with my program I started teaching people. They call me here and there to teach beads and crafts and they were paying me before I now finally got this job.

[R2]: Today I singlehandedly take care of my daughter by the grace of God with the handwork they taught me. I bead clothes, I design clothes. I design bags and slippers…I sell them. That's what I use in taking care of my daughter and that's what I use to pay my house rent. And with the spiritual lessons they have taught me about God (that when you are in pain or need, you go to Him), I still put that into action and it is really helping me.

Based on the responses above, it is easy to conclude that the vocational skills are absolutely effective in enhancing survivors' economic wellbeing and opportunities. However, (R7) who praised the vocational skills for sustaining her before she secured a job also commented on the relevance of the skills in the labor market and this may be a similar challenge faced by other survivors:

When I was doing beadwork, what I had then was a call to teach bead making maybe once in two months. So I was looking for a job. I went to so many places. You know beadwork is not a skill that they can use to employ you in many places so life was not easy but I remained focused and kept on believing God.

In fact, only 23% of respondents insisted that they were financially self-sufficient and comfortable to meet their basic needs. One of such remarked, *I feel very happy as it is now by God's grace. I feel I am basically living life on my own, paying all the bills. I am not depending on anyone for any support…I feel fine by God's grace* [R11]. Others (i.e., 77%) expressed the difficulties they experienced daily due to limited economic resources. This is unsurprising given the low incomes on which they have to subsist every month – most of which amount to living below the United Nations' poverty line of $1.90 daily. Below are some challenges respondents currently face as a result of limited economic resources:

[R9]: There are a lot of things that I am struggling with! For example, for feeding now, sometimes I would just be at home and I won't be able to eat anything. These men will just come and try to lure me with money because they think I don't have anything and by helping they ask me for something else (sex). There was even a time I won't lie that I was really sick and I didn't have money for treatment but I was still working. There was this man who usually comes to the bar and restaurant I was working at and he said I should come and sleep with him and he will give me money. I had no choice that day. I did it and I was able to get 5,000 naira ($18 CAD). Till today anytime I see the man I can't look at his face…I regret it.

[R3]: I just started my business…I am managing it. I am a single mother so I don't profit much like that. So maybe at the end of the month, I find out that from the little things I am doing, my profit is maybe like 7-8,000 naira. I just manage it. It can't cover all my expenses. I have a child

with me but the little free food I get from people…I gather it up to pay my baby's school fees and take care of her.

[R4]: After I finished the program and came home to my dad, I still left the house to work for a woman as her housemaid but she was not paying me well and I left. I still went to work for another person as a maid again and they still were not paying me well.

[R10]: The money is not enough o…by the time family calls you…you also have to make your hair…before you know it, you will have change left. I'm just managing.

[R1]: That is why I am weak now…I don't even know…you know as a lady you will buy some things for yourself. So before I even buy everything…which one will remain for me again? If I see help maybe I can move on but that money is not okay for me.

[R9]: I face challenges like finance. And some things I do…nothing good is coming out of it but I have to be trying and trying.

The statements from respondents reveal that most are in a precarious position in terms of their access to economic resources and opportunities. Indeed, it can be observed that the push factors that led to their migration and trafficking still weigh heavily on them, thus putting them at the risk of re-trafficking. However, none of the respondents indicated that they would like to migrate or return to their previous lives if they were given the opportunity. In R4's words, *I would rather stay like this than to go back. It is hell there…I didn't enjoy it. I was even praying to God to make a way to let me leave before they deported me*. For some (i.e., 62%), resources are so strained that they are unable to meet basic needs such as food. Respondents who highlighted their financial difficulties explained the gravity of their situations below:

[R9]: Sometimes I eat twice a day. It is not because I am not hungry. I just control my eating so that I will not get used to it and be spending my money on food too much. Because I have trained myself like that, the day I don't have anything in the house to eat, I just go to bed like that.

[R1]: Sometimes I don't eat a whole day because I don't have money…sometimes I eat plenty

[R4]: I eat twice a day…sometimes once when I don't have money. When I don't have money at all I stay hungry the whole day.

It appears that accessing economic resources like vocational training during the rehabilitation does not guarantee financial independence or opportunities for survivors when they commence their reintegration into society. Surtees (2012) points out that rehabilitation assistance and survivors' economic outcomes can also be affected by intervening factors like survivors' characteristics and the structural characteristics of their environment in which they reintegrate. This is likely the case among survivors who are grappling with scarce economic resources.

6.1.2. Physical and Mental Wellbeing

As trafficked persons are often known to suffer serious physical and mental conditions due to the circumstances under which they are trafficked, rehabilitation organizations ensure that their health is prioritized once they are enrolled in the program. All survivors (i.e., 100%) praised the efficiency of the organizations in counseling and nurturing their mental health while attending to any physical discomforts they experienced. In a respondent's words, *even though you say you have a headache there, none of us in the home takes over-the-counter drugs. Before you take any drug the doctor will come and test you. We have 3 hospitals then that we usually go to* [R10].

Thus, it is not surprising that the majority of respondents (i.e., 92%) reported that they had no enduring physical health complications after exiting the program. This had positive impacts on their sense of wellbeing and their ability to earn an income. When questioned on their health, some remarked on their health after leaving the house saying *I am not the type that falls sick* [R2] or *I have not fallen sick since I left the house* [R10]. However, one respondent was still suffering from complications from a sexually transmitted infection and did not have resources to get proper medical care. She complained saying:

[R4]: I don't do regular medical checkup but I went once and I was told I have Pelvic Inflammatory Disease. I treated it though and they gave me medication but I was still seeing the

symptoms. I did another scan and I am yet to collect the results because I have not balanced them the money for the scan…8,000 naira ($29 CAD). It is a private hospital. I have been unable to do that because I don't have money.

Unfortunately, R4 was not the only respondent whose access to healthcare after rehabilitation was compromised by the unavailability of money. Some survivors admitted that when they occasionally fall ill, they resort to self-medication as a cheaper alternative to visiting the hospital for proper treatment. For example, R13 stated: *the hospital treatment is costly but for the chemist, you just carry small money there and they will give you whatever drugs you want.* R5 also said*: When I am ill I have to treat myself. There is no money to go to the hospital.*

Furthermore, to understand the level of survivors' mental wellbeing, they were asked about their general perceptions of themselves and their contentment with life. The majority of respondents (i.e., 92%) expressed their self-confidence and zest for life while linking it to the assistance they accessed via the rehabilitation programs. R12 remarked: *They taught me how I can stand as a woman among my mates and I can now stand and speak for the people that have failed. I can fight for girls like me. They have shown me many things so it's awesome. I now feel that I know my worth and I am not worthless.*

This enthusiasm and self-confidence were missing in only one respondent who felt she had failed to achieve what was envisioned for her by the rehabilitation organization. According to her:

To me, I am even avoiding the staff because I see myself as a shame. The director had so much trust in me…she expected a lot from me and in the end, I did not give her what she wanted. She was always pushing me to move forward and be better but in the end, I didn't. I know one day I will make her proud. I have been avoiding them because we have a Whatsapp group for girls that were once in the house but I avoid them all.

With regards to contentment with their current of life and the progress they had achieved since leaving the program, respondents had varying levels of satisfaction. Most respondents (i.e., 69%) linked their unhappiness and discontentment to their economic conditions. As Surtees (2017: 51) notes, "economic well-being also impacts personal identity, self-esteem and social recognition" which are all key indicators of survivors' mental wellbeing. Respondents explain their perspectives on life below:

[R2]: I am unhappy. Number 1 is that I am not in school and number 2 is my salary is very poor with my family situation.

[R6]: I am somehow happy, Although there are some things I am supposed to have at this stage like money, clothes, and so on.

[R5]: I am somehow unhappy because sometimes I feel as if I could have moved on and gone far as a person in this life. But sometimes why I feel bad is that I don't have any money. I am just sitting like that…no help…nobody…so I will just be feeling bad. But as long as life continues I will be okay.

For some respondents, their state of satisfaction and happiness with life was tied to their families' wellbeing; especially those who are the primary providers in their family. They were mainly concerned with supporting their families and their lack of substantial income made this difficult. The needs of their families' put additional stress on them and could potentially affect their reintegration process. Their concerns are captured below:

[R5]: *Sighs* I am unhappy because the way I was when I traveled is the same way I am now. The time that I traveled, the house was very dry and I was very angry. I told my family that the years are going on and I am getting older…I can't stay like that and be watching them with no money. I did not tell anybody where I was going but they knew that I traveled. I did not know it was that kind of work that I would be doing but God rescued me through the NAPTIP people. Now that I am back they are happy but I still feel somehow because there is no money for me to help them. I am a grown-up girl how can I …..I am feeling bad, that's my problem. At least by now, I should be doing something big.

[R3]: I am the one carrying my family. I have a younger sister that is in a government home but the home has decided to bring her back to us and we should check for a school around because there is somebody that wants to sponsor her to school. As she is coming out now it is like an extra burden and responsibility for me because my father does not do anything. I have to be the one taking care of her so it is just tough on me and I'm tired.

From the foregoing, it is clear that most survivors enjoyed physical wellbeing after exiting the program. However, their ability to maintain their physical and mental health was significantly affected by the unavailability of funds to obtain adequate medical assistance when ill on the one hand and to cater for other aspects of their welfare on the other hand. This in itself constitutes a threat to the ability of survivors to earn money and successfully reintegrate (Surtees, 2017).

6.1.3. Education and Training Opportunities

Creating opportunities for formal education training is one of the backbones of comprehensive rehabilitation programs especially as it is a means towards the end goal of economic wellbeing for traffic survivors. 69% of respondents stated that they desired to get an education while they were in rehabilitation. However, only 46% were able to achieve this with the help of the rehabilitation organizations. Most respondents were trained through secondary school and even after completing the rehabilitation programs, some (i.e., 23%) are currently pursuing further education on the tertiary level. Two survivors are in the 2nd and 4th year in pursuit of their bachelor's degrees, while one survivor is enrolled in a polytechnic. One respondent who finished her university education asserted, *I started secondary school there but now I am a university graduate. At least nobody can collect my certificate from me now.*

Others who had begun their secondary school education in the rehabilitation home desired to go to the tertiary level but were constrained by funds or unforeseen circumstances. For R13, she had to sacrifice funds she had saved up for school to treat a sick family member:

> Everything was okay but when I came out, I planned to go back to school. I was working as a salesgirl then to gather money while looking for admission. So there was a time my mum was ill…someone gave her poison but she went to the hospital. I had to use the money I had saved working as a salesgirl to pay the hospital bill. I had to finish that before I can be able to gather money for my education again.

In particular, two respondents blamed their inability to attain tertiary education on the rehabilitation organizations they passed through. According to them, they were beneficiaries of philanthropic individuals who committed to sponsoring their education to any level while they were enrolled in the rehabilitation program. However, the rehabilitation organization severed communication between them and their sponsors when they completed the program:

> [R11]: I had like 3 sponsors but nobody gave me the sponsor's numbers for me to be able to locate them…it was a man and two women. Even on the day of my graduation when I was leaving the house, two of my sponsors were at the ceremony. Before leaving I requested for their numbers from the director but she refused. That year, I got admission but I lost it. I told the director and she said I should budget money to write exams again the next year but my family was like if they are not able to ask me how everything is going on now, how am I sure if I get admission, they will be able to sponsor me…I didn't even have the sponsor's number.

> [R8]: When people come up to say that they want to sponsor somebody. They will take the girl there, but they would not want the girl to have the contact of the person sponsoring her. They will be the ones to have the sponsor's contact. The sponsor will call and ask…how is the lady? They will say she is doing well whereas the girl may have even left the house. They will just unfairly deal with her and the girl will walk away sorrowfully. The sponsor will be told she is doing well and they will keep on bringing money (I hope you are recording this one). It happened to me too. The sponsor was sending money to their account but they were leaving me stranded in school while telling the sponsor I was doing well. Since I left I have not been able to communicate with my sponsor. A girl [R10] had 3 sponsors but [R10] could not go to university…today [R10] is in the village. [R10] was thrown back to the village even though she had 3 good sponsors that are capable to sponsor her. Whenever [R10] asks for the contact of her sponsor they will not give it to her. Why must it be so?

Both respondents were beneficiaries of the same rehabilitation program. It is unclear why this policy stands in the rehabilitation organization but one can speculate that perhaps the management wanted to maintain control over every aspect of the program or facilitate their misappropriation of funds or avoid situations where the beneficiaries solicit other forms of help from their benefactors beyond their education. While 46% of respondents obtained formal education when they were enrolled in the programs, only a few could afford to proceed with higher education after the program in light of their financial predicaments. Thus, their inability to pursue higher education could potentially serve as a disadvantage for them in the labor market and affect their long term reintegration process.

6.1.4 Safety and Security

One major source of fear and anxiety for traffic survivors is their safety and security after exiting a traffic situation. Traffic survivors and their families have been known to suffer threats or reprisal attacks from traffickers. The safety and security of survivors may even be compromised within their families (especially when their families facilitated their trafficking) or in their larger community. Hence, when providing survivors with assistance services, caution is exercised to ensure that they recover in a safe and stable environment.

However, as Brunovskis & Surtees (2008) have pointed out, the vulnerability of traffic survivors to this envisaged danger is often exaggerated by rehabilitation organizations and other service providers working in anti-trafficking. This is because they had come across several cases where this danger was non-existent. None of the respondents in this study reported that they had any security or safety issues such as threats or violence from their traffickers, families or

communities. All but three respondents indicated that their residences had good security. Those who stated that they had no security described it as a function of poor infrastructure rather than threats of violence or physical attacks from individuals based on their trafficking experience.

Nonetheless, they were still wary of trusting people based on their past experiences in trafficking. This can be observed from their comments on trusting people in their community:

[R6]: I do not trust anybody. They say affliction should not rise a second time. I just have to be very careful with what I do and where ever I go to and whoever I move with.

[R2]: I trust them a bit but I don't want to involve myself in anything so I just…I don't have friends...the only friend I have is my neighbor.

[R9]: Trust keh? In this Nigeria? You can't trust anybody oh!

It can be gleaned that survivors did not highlight threats to their safety and security from their traffickers, families or immediate community. Like Surtees (2017) argues, the cases of traffic survivors with active threats to their safety and security when they exit trafficking are few. Nonetheless, some survivors in this study altered their behaviors out of caution or fear of possible danger.

6.1.5. Interpersonal Interactions/Relationships

Survivors' relationships with their families and friends after trafficking are a key determinant of their reintegration success because a supportive social environment can facilitate their recovery and vice versa (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2013). This is also an important aspect of consideration given the high risk of stigma and ostracism among traffic survivors who attempt to reintegrate.

Family tensions based on lack of financial resources, strained interpersonal relationships and trafficking stigma are also not uncommon.

85% of respondents confirmed that they currently had good relationships with their families while only 15% were not on cordial terms with theirs. In fact, 48% of them were residing with their immediate families while others lived alone or with friends. In terms of their general interactions with their communities, 15% described their level of engagement as very strong; 62% as somewhat strong, and 23% as somewhat weak. 92% of all respondents were members of community groups where they interacted with other members weekly. This was mainly through church gatherings on Sundays. A respondent describes her good relationship with other community members:

I interact with my neighbors well. I am an easy-going person and people like me a lot and help me a lot. One time I fell sick and they all contributed money to take me to a private hospital. I easily make friends. In fact, my neighbor is a hairdresser and I join her to make hair when she has a heavy workload.

Furthermore, survivors spoke on their relationships with the opposite sex after rehabilitation and how it has been impacted by their trafficking experience. Some stated that they had an unpleasant view of men and themselves and this affected their desire for affectionate relationships, while others had recovered and were set to get married. Their views are captured here:

The experience affected me. It took so many months like maybe a year before I was able to adapt and enter a relationship…starting afresh…it was kind of difficult but now I am fit for marriage and ready. In fact, when I traveled in December I went for my introduction ceremony.

It affected me at some point. I was just looking at men anyhow…like they don't deserve me giving myself to them. I had to change though it affected me sometimes.

I am stiff towards men…I am still that way. There was a time someone warned me in my area that three men wanted to rape me because of the way I am acting towards them. They asked me out and I didn't want to accept. But in the future, I hope to marry the right one when he comes.

My past was not affecting me because nobody knows my past here except if I tell you. The only way it affected me is I was not thinking that someone like me will get married at that point.

My challenge is men because some of them will come and be telling you about love and all but it takes the grace of God to use to know whether this person is a good person for you or not. I am just being careful.

The nature of the relationship that survivors have with their families, the opposite sex and larger community is a strong determinant of the success or failure of their reintegration process (Surtees, 2017). Warm, receptive and empathic relationships go a long way in aiding the often difficult process of reentry into society after a traumatic ordeal and vice versa. As most survivors generally had good interpersonal relations, this was advantageous for their reintegration.

6.1.6. Living Conditions

Immediately after leaving the short term rehabilitation homes, the next housing arrangement or environment that survivors move into is important to the success of their reintegration. Typically rehabilitation organizations initiate the family reunification process for survivors eligible to return to their families. Like a respondent affirmed, *after the program, they dropped us at NAPTIP and our parents came to pick us at their office* [R5]. For survivors who are unable to return to their previous communities due to probable dangers arising from traffickers or their family members, some rehabilitation organizations arrange for alternative accommodation arrangements or allow survivors to decide on their next moves. A respondent recounted her experience when the program ended, *I left the home in December and they got us the apartment. We were 4 working outside so they got us an apartment close to our workplace. They paid for*

just 1 year…after 1 year they left us on our own [R2]. All respondents confirmed that they had comfortable living arrangements either at their original communities or in a new setting. Most lived in one-room apartments that had at least two of the following amenities: power supply, water supply, and good security.

Also one of the rehabilitation organizations once operated a transition home where survivors who graduated from the program could be closely monitored and eased into society. A respondent describes the home:

[R6]: [The transition home] is another part of the rehabilitation home. When you graduate you will be staying there but you will now be paying rent and other bills. All the girls that graduate from the rehab will be there but they no longer have the home now. Now when you finish you go to your house but then we had it. In the house, we had a matron monitoring us but the matron's work is just to make sure you come back before 8 pm because by 9 pm they lock the gate. Then we do morning devotion and night devotion. It is just to keep on monitoring us and make sure we are doing well…It is not compulsory to stay. If you want to go back to your people they will reunite you. Even if it is in the east or anywhere, they will send someone to take you home and from there they will get your family contact and also be communicating and asking after the person. I was there for a year.

As mentioned, post-program monitoring and follow up is an essential part of the complex process of reintegration. Reintegration is often achieved years after exiting trafficking and within this time, survivors are bound to encounter challenges and setbacks that could threaten their reintegration process. Therefore, even after program completion, rehabilitation providers would do well to maintain communication with their beneficiaries, make occasional visits, and in necessary cases assist them in addressing challenges beyond their control. Some respondents shared their differing experiences with post-program monitoring:

[R8]: If you have a challenge that is more than you, you call them and they are there for you anytime. So far as you didn't go back to your old ways and there is a challenge you are going through, they are there for you. They put people in charge to monitor me.

[R11]: They always call me because I was close to the manager. So she is the one that always calls me or I call her that I am just staying at home…that I am not doing anything. So she will just tell me that I should not wait for the empowerment so I have to go and do…I should go and join some of my friends that they are doing hair like an apprenticeship. She is the one that gave me the advice…so I will start next month.

[R4]: Follow up? That one, they didn't do anything. Even when I got myself pregnant… they didn't ask about me again. It is anytime they want something from me that they will call me…I will not lie to you. Like now, that she called me for you. Only when they want me to narrate the story of my life they will call me. I will not lie to you, that is the only way they ask about us.

Again, respondents were beneficiaries of different rehabilitation programs and so this may account for their differing experiences with post-program monitoring. Respondents also alluded to the constant change in rehabilitation staff and their inability to contact the staff that had guided them through rehabilitation because they were no longer with the organization. Rehabilitation officials also complained that their efforts at post-program monitoring are hampered by survivors who change their contact details and become inaccessible when they leave the program. Although some survivors enjoyed post-program monitoring, those who were unable to benefit from this long-term management for any of the reasons stated above may have faced some setbacks with no formal assistance from the rehabilitation organizations. As such, their reintegration process may have been compromised.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND EMERGING ISSUES

This study explores the conceptualization of human trafficking by the Nigerian government and civil society, and the influence of these stakeholders' collaborative efforts aimed at the rehabilitation, empowerment, and reintegration of female survivors of human trafficking in Nigeria. Based on the findings from this research, some emerging issues are worth underscoring. First, findings from the study highlight the multiple ways in which the issue of human trafficking is conceptualized. Consistent with Lee's (2011) and Fitzpatrick's (2002) assertion, human trafficking is a multidimensional issue such that there is contention among policymakers and academics on its definition and conceptualization. This is evident in the multiple ways in which Nigeria's trafficking stakeholders approach the issue: that is, as prostitution, a human rights violation, modern slavery, and a migration issue. All of these influence both the government and civil society's attitudes and actions towards the management of female survivors of trafficking.

Most relevant to the issue of protection and assistance of traffic survivors is the conceptualization of human trafficking as a human rights violation and prostitution. First, the coercion and exploitation inherent in human trafficking informed stakeholders' perception of human trafficking as a human rights violation, and essentially set the stage for the introduction of the National Policy on the Protection and Assistance to Trafficked persons in Nigeria. Second, the conceptualization of human trafficking as prostitution from the prostitution abolitionists' viewpoint, also impacts both the government and civil society's program design and implementation. In particular, by blurring the divide between voluntary and involuntary trafficking, survivors of trafficking are reduced to subjects of rehabilitation with little to no agency in their recovery process (Doezema, 1999; Kempadoo, 2005).

Also worth noting is the hybrid nature of the Nigerian government's approach to addressing human trafficking. Dominant trafficking discourse describes a polarity in the way trafficked persons are handled by the state when they exit trafficking – that is the criminal justice approach versus the human rights approach (Brunovskis & Tveit, 2016; Lobasz, 2009). In the case of Nigeria, the government enforces the criminal justice approach through the criminalization and prosecution of traffickers; sometimes with survivors serving as witnesses. However, unlike Western countries that are known to make victim protection and assistance contingent on their cooperation with law enforcement, the Nigerian government considers assistance to be an obligation to its citizens who are trafficked. While the government predominantly wields a security language in its attempt to curb trafficking even through migration regulation, human rights protection is still a major feature in its anti-trafficking scheme. Therefore, there is a need for a possible reconceptualization of the criminal justice-human rights binary especially for developing countries where their citizens constitute the majority of trafficked persons globally.

The second important contribution of the thesis is that it unveils the multi-sectoral partnership approach to the protection and assistance of traffic survivors in Nigeria. As Dell et al (2019) have asserted, the provision of comprehensive survivor assistance programs often requires synchronization of efforts across various agencies and organizations. This was the discernible backbone for traffic survivor protection and assistance in Nigeria. By providing institutional support to partner organizations based on their core competencies, and referring survivors to other organizations within the anti-trafficking network base, trafficked survivors tend to manage to navigate the complicated processes of protection and assistance. Some extant studies have indicated that there is a disconnection between the NAPTIP and civil society in their anti-trafficking efforts (Cherti, Pennington & Grant, 2013; Danish Immigration Service, 2009).

According to these works, NGOs felt marginalized, in competition and unsupported by NAPTIP. Hence, there were no existent opportunities for knowledge sharing and collaboration. However, findings from this study diverge from this view but recognize the challenges facing the partnership such as limited funding, weak institutional and staff capacity, absence of gender mainstreaming, and survivor resistance.

Third, this thesis provides insights into the ability of rehabilitation programs to empower traffic survivors. There is some agreement that human trafficking rehabilitation programs ought to adopt empowerment mechanisms to promote the recovery and independence of survivors in the long run (Macy & John, 2008; Caliber, 2007). Using Kabeer (1999)'s empowerment framework, it was observed that the three dimensions of empowerment are not adequately addressed in the government and civil society rehabilitation programs in Nigeria. From survivors' perspectives, the programs are indeed beneficial as they have described it as their source of healing, transformation, and hope for the future. The majority of survivors interviewed agreed that the programs empowered them to lead self-sufficient lives after exiting trafficking, especially with the provision of essential services like counseling, medical care, vocational and life-skills training, mentorship and education which constitute the Resources dimension of Kabeer's (1999) framework. Like Surtees (2012) observed, economic empowerment (through the provision of vocational training, life-skills training, and education) was the major preoccupation of most survivors and a fundamental reason for their enrollment in the programs.

However, the dimension of agency appears to be inadequately supported by governmental and civil society rehabilitation programs. In fact, this deficiency reveals a tension between the Nigerian governments' securitization and human rights approach to human trafficking as elements of both approaches are evident in the rehabilitation programs. The use of closed

shelters, the infantilizations of survivors as passive objects of rehabilitation, and the lack of support for male survivors suggest that they are still some significant gaps between rehabilitation strategies and the empowerment of survivors in Nigeria. Indeed, Surtees (2007), Macy & John (2011), and Jordan (2002) have suggested that empowering survivors through measures like decision making improves their self-esteem, confidence and ensures better chances at successfully reintegrating into society. Unfortunately, this is largely absent in the government and civil society programs. The implication is that while the efforts to use rehabilitation to empower survivors seem to have had some positive impact in terms of providing resources, the nature of the rehabilitation programs might actually be disempowering survivors by treating them either as passive objects of rehabilitation or completely neglecting them (i.e., male survivors). It is therefore clear that there is a need to rethink rehabilitation strategies in Nigeria if they are to become more effective.

The Achievements dimension of empowerment which refers to the programs' outcomes varied. Survivors who received comprehensive assistance were pursuing further education or had small scale businesses and jobs, while those who were not given empowerment packages were disadvantaged in starting up their lives after the program – most of them in the same dire conditions that led them into trafficking in the first place. Incomprehensive rehabilitation services, therefore, limit the survival capacity of trafficked persons and make them susceptible to re-trafficking. The implication is that the political-economic context of rehabilitation has a significant impact on the ability of rehabilitation programs to deliver on their empowerment promise

The fourth implication of the study relates to the debates on the reintegration of rehabilitated survivors. Using Surtees' reintegration framework, it was demonstrated that the levels of

reintegration among survivors was wide-ranging. For example, only a small percent of respondents could be considered as fully reintegrated i.e., has attained reasonable levels of economic and social wellbeing. The majority of rehabilitated survivors were still trapped in the same limited opportunity environments that preceded their trafficking experiences. The most prominent of these challenges among respondents was the lack of substantial economic resources to cover their basic needs like food and healthcare. This, in turn, had a negative impact on their mental health, especially their self-esteem and general happiness. Thus, survivors' economic and mental wellbeing are intricately linked, and their reintegration outcomes were affected by the interaction of the former and latter.

However, no survivor reported stigmatization within their families or communities nor complete abstinence from interpersonal relationships. Although some survivors were wary of social interactions and relationships at the initial stages of reintegration**,** they subsequently overcame, or are on the path towards overcoming these reservations**.** This might suggest that perhaps there is a significant level of social acceptance among traffic survivors in their communities (both survivors who returned to their pre-traffic communities and those who relocated to a new community post-rehabilitation). Regardless, it is clear that their traffic experiences, directly and indirectly, influenced the levels of interaction within platonic and affectionate relationships. Evidence from this study, therefore, supports conventional knowledge that rehabilitation assistance facilitates the reintegration of traffic survivors (Muraya & Fry, 2008; Macy & Johns, 2008: Crawford & Kaufman, 2008; Surtees, 2008, 2012, 2013, 2017). While reintegration success was not reported among all rehabilitated survivors, the small percent of survivors who believed they were reintegrating successfully is an indication of the positive impact of comprehensive rehabilitation on reintegration.

Finally as previously noted there is a need to contextualize efforts aimed at analyzing the effectiveness of human trafficking rehabilitation programs. The process and outcome of rehabilitation cannot be examined in a vacuum. The political and socio-economic conditions within the state also influence the level of reintegration and empowerment beneficiaries are able to achieve through these programs. For instance, Nwogu (2014) showed that the probable disparities between the funds allocated to NAPTIP by the federal government and the funds it actually receives for its operations are due to corruption. This assertion holds up when the poor state of NAPTIP's facilities is juxtaposed with the huge sums of money it is supposedly allocated in the national budget annually. This issue of corruption and mismanagement of national funds at various levels of government likely account for the lack of facilities for vocational skills training in NAPTIP and the inability of NAPTIP to provide the necessary empowerment packages to rehabilitated persons. Also important to note is the fact that Nigeria is currently the poverty capital of the world. Therefore, even though traffic survivors have been empowered through skills, education, and grants; they are still largely trapped within a harsh economic environment with limited employment opportunities, a fiercely competitive labor market, and inadequate infrastructure for business survival.

Besides, it is also clear that individual idiosyncratic factors that are beyond the influence of the rehabilitation program such as survivors' survival skills, financial literary, business acumen, their families' needs can also influence the extent to which rehabilitation programs are effective. As Surtees (2008b) has noted, "difficult cases" often have poor reintegration outcomes except they are provided with extra special assistance services – a luxury that is largely unobtainable in the Nigerian context. These structural and individual factors may explain why reintegration, though complex, was only achievable in very few cases in this study.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This thesis contributes to the emerging empirical knowledge on the relationship between rehabilitation, empowerment, and reintegration in human trafficking discourse. In particular, it engages in a critical analysis of the relevance of state and civil society human trafficking rehabilitation programs in ensuring empowerment and reintegration among female traffic survivors in Nigeria. Consequently, it adds to the debate around the importance of rehabilitation in assisting human trafficking survivors to recover and lead productive lives.

The study unearths the multidimensional conceptualization of human trafficking by the Nigerian government and civil society, as well as their cross-sectorial approach to anti-trafficking. In Nigeria, human trafficking is viewed as prostitution, a human rights violation, a migration issue and a modern form of slavery. These perspectives on human trafficking also bear on stakeholders' strategies in curbing the menace and managing traffic survivors. For instance, the government's conceptualization of human trafficking as a human rights violation is largely responsible for its establishment of a victim protection and assistance program through the National Policy for the Protection and Assistance of Trafficked Persons in Nigeria. The implementation of this policy rests heavily on partnership and collaboration between the government, civil society, private organizations, and individuals.

Furthermore, the fundamental purpose of the instituted rehabilitation programs is to empower and equip survivors to reintegrate through the provision of essential services like accommodation, healthcare, counseling, vocational skills training, education, life skills training, grants, and post-program monitoring. My analysis of the extent to which these multi-stakeholder-run programs empower survivors revealed that the programs simultaneously

empower and disempower survivors who pass through them. The analysis of the empowerment components of these programs through Kabeer's (1999) empowerment framework shows that the survivors are empowered by resources like education, vocational and life skills training, grants, etc. which are provided through the program. However, the ways in which these services are provided stifle the agency of survivors especially as their freedom of movement, communication, expression, and decision making are constrained within the program. Also, the empowerment outcome among survivors ranged from possessing small scale businesses and jobs, to pursuing higher education after the program or having no source of income at all.

More so, the reintegration patterns of rehabilitated survivors living independently in the society were examined to determine the extent to which the programs aided their recovery and reintegration. On this front, findings show that only a few survivors had successfully reintegrated after exiting the rehabilitation programs. Most survivors were financially constrained to cater for their wellbeing and their families' especially in the areas of accessing healthcare, food, and higher education. Be that as it may, stigma and ostracism were not a challenge among survivors and they had varying but fairly cordial interpersonal relationships with their families, communities, and the opposite sex. Survivors also did not face threats to their security and safety as a result of their trafficking experience but often exercised caution in their association with friends and men.

What are the implications of these findings for the theoretical debates about human trafficking and for the efforts to address the problem in developing countries like Nigeria? The evidence presented here suggests that rehabilitation when effectively implemented can result in empowerment and reintegration for traffic survivors. However, weak implementation, partial assistance (as was the case for some beneficiaries), and possible idiosyncratic and systemic

intervening factors can hamper the realization of reintegration and empowerment among most survivors. In light of this, there is a need for Nigerian anti-trafficking stakeholders to reconceptualization trafficking and rehabilitation. This would entail differentiation between voluntary and coerced trafficked persons, reshaping the construct of victims as helpless, passive and powerless, and consequently giving survivors the right to exercise their agency in their rehabilitation process. Similarly, the hybrid nature of the government's approach to human trafficking – that is its criminal justice-human rights framework suggests that the dichotomy between both approaches in dominant literature is not applicable in human trafficking origin countries like Nigeria where the government is handling its nationals rather than survivors from other countries.

Furthermore, to improve the quality of services and the impact of state-CSO partnerships, there is a need for more funding and capacity building for national institutions and CSO facilities. This is important because weak institutions reduce the prospects of success among survivors and also marginalizes certain groups of survivors including those that are mothers, HIV positive, pregnant, and male. In fact, the rehabilitation programs also need to make adequate provision for the inclusion of male survivors of trafficking. While females are the majority of human trafficking survivors in Nigeria, there are no tangible protection and assistance services for males outside the government's short-term care. It is also essential that beneficiaries are able to anonymously evaluate program services and staff periodically so that they are involved in important decision-making processes on program structures and implementation.

Additionally, this study highlights the importance of contextualizing inquiries into the influence of human trafficking rehabilitation on empowerment and reintegration. In essence, the process and outcome of rehabilitation cannot be examined in a vacuum. The socio-economic conditions

within the state also influence the level of reintegration and empowerment beneficiaries are able to achieve with the programs. In the case of Nigeria, the state's economic strength, political climate, labor market, and the general standard of living are important considerations in assessing the extent to which the government and civil society's efforts at rehabilitation facilitate the empowerment and reintegration of female survivors of trafficking.

While this thesis presents relevant theoretical and practical knowledge on the intricacies of human trafficking rehabilitation in Nigeria, there are some limitations to this study. First, the study is a qualitative study based on a small sample of 18 participants (5 rehabilitation officials and 13 traffic survivors) and it was conducted in only one state in Nigeria. Also, only one out of nine zonal offices of the government agency, NAPTIP was examined. Therefore, the study's representativeness and generalizability to the whole of Nigeria is weak. Future investigations in this study area would benefit from a national study that can include all areas with high incidences of human trafficking in the country as well as the various NAPTIP zonal commands and civil society organizations in the areas.

Second, in the attempt to assess the influence of the Nigerian government and civil society's rehabilitation programs on the wellbeing of traffic survivors, the study only focuses on survivors that passed through the programs. This misses out on the opportunity to compare the empowerment and reintegration status of survivors who were rehabilitated and those who either refused or were unable to access these services. This would give a more holistic understanding of the influence (or lack thereof) of these programs on the wellbeing of traffic survivors. This is an important consideration for future research in the area of human trafficking rehabilitation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR REHABILITATION STAFF

Organization name:

Date:

1. Can you tell me about this organization: its mission and objectives?
2. How does the organization understand human trafficking?
3. How does the organization understand or conceptualize rehabilitation?
4. How are victims recruited for rehabilitation?
5. What are the organization's processes and services of rehabilitation?
6. What is the degree of choice or input that clients have in their individual rehabilitation process?
7. Is there a differentiation between the treatment of women forced into the trafficking and those that chose to engage in sex work?
8. At the completion of the program, what happens to your clients? (is there a post-program start up package? Job placement?)
9. Do you have an evaluation or follow up system with clients after their completion of the program?
10. How does your program address the issue of stigmatization and ostracism that clients are bound to face when they are reintroduced into the community? (From family and the wider community
11. What is the success rate for clients?
12. What challenges do you face in the rehabilitation of victims and in monitoring their progress in their various communities after rehabilitation?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR SURVIVORS – PART A

Demographics

Name

Age

Gender

Ethnicity

Education

Marital status

Location

Year of rehabilitation

Date

1. Immediately after you were rescued or deported, what were your needs?
2. When you were admitted into the rehabilitation center, what were you expecting to gain from rehabilitation?
3. How would you describe your experience in the rehabilitation center?
4. Which of your needs were met by the rehabilitation center or which services did you receive?
5. How helpful were the services you received?
6. How long did you get help from the rehabilitation center?
7. Were you able to make your own decisions and feel in control when you were in the program?
8. Did you feel safe and supported with the rehabilitation center?
9. Did you have any problems with the help/services offered?
10. Do you feel that the rehabilitation program has helped you to reintegrate into the society?
11. Do you currently face any challenges that you wish the rehabilitation program addressed?
12. Did the rehabilitation center keep in touch with you and monitor your progress after the program?
13. Do you feel that the rehabilitation program empowered you?
14. If you could make any changes to the program you passed through, what will you change?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR SURVIVORS – PART B

1. Employment and income level

Do you have a business? YES [ ] NO [ ]

Do you have a job? YES [ ] NO [ ]

If yes, is this business or job related to the skills obtained during rehabilitation? YES [ ] NO[ ]

What is your monthly income? _____

What is your monthly expenditure? _____

2. Physical and mental health of victims (access to healthcare)

When sick, where do you get treatment?

-Government hospital [ ]

-Private hospital [ ]

-Chemist [ ]

-I treat myself [ ]

Please give a reason for your choice

Have you ever been unable to get medical treatment due to lack of money?

YES [ ] NO [ ]

3. Housing conditions of victims

What kind of house do you live in?

Does your house have:

Water supply YES [ ] NO [ ]

Power supply YES [ ] NO [ ]

Good security YES [ ] NO [ ]

4. Access to food

How many times a day do you eat?

Once [ ]

Twice [ ]

Thrice [ ]

Have you ever been unable to eat due to lack of money?

5. Happiness and contentment

Do you think the rehabilitation program improved your life? YES [ ] NO [ ]

How would you describe your level of happiness with your life?

Very happy [ ]

Somewhat happy [ ]

Somewhat unhappy [ ]

Very unhappy [ ]

Can you explain why?

If given the opportunity to reengage in trafficking, will you do it again?

YES [ ] NO [ ] MAYBE [ ]

6. Relationship with immediate family

Do you live with your immediate family? YES [ ] NO [ ]

Do they still have a relationship with your family or have they neglected you? YES [ ] NO [ ]

7. Interaction with and trust in community members

How would you describe your sense of belonging in your community?

Very strong [ ]

Somewhat strong [ ]

Somewhat weak [ ]

Very weak [ ]

Do you trust the people in your community?

A lot [ ]

A little [ ]

Not at all [ ]

8. Membership of, and participation in community groups

Are you a member of any community groups like churches and street associations?

YES[ ] NO [ ]

Do they attend community events and functions? YES [ ] NO [ ]

9. Marital status

Are you married? YES [ ] NO [ ]

Do you consider yourself fit for marriage?

Has your past experience affected your relationships or stopped you from getting married?

YES [ ] NO [ ]

APPENDIX D: VERBAL INFORMED CONSENT SCRIPT FOR SURVIVORS

Date:

Study Name: Empowerment and Reintegration: Survivors' Perceptions of Human Trafficking Rehabilitation Programs in Nigeria

Researchers: Nnenna Okoli (Principal Investigator).
MA Development Studies, York University.
nnennao@yorku.ca

I am a graduate student at York University, Canada working with my research supervisor, Professor Uwa Idemudia in the Development Studies program. I am conducting a research study on the impact of human trafficking rehabilitation programs in Nigeria which I invite you to take part in. I will like to interview you and get information on your rehabilitation experience, and what you expected from the rehabilitation program versus what was delivered. I would like to ask you some questions to understand how the rehabilitation program has empowered you to cope in your community and also some questions about your income, access to health care, access to food, housing and other questions about your livelihood. On average, this process should take about 45 minutes to 1 hour.

Risks and Discomforts: You may feel discomfort, upset, anxious or depressed as a result of answering some of the questions. If you are uncomfortable, you are free to not answer or to skip to the next question. Also, if you choose to stop the interview, it will be terminated immediately. Should you need it, free and readily accessible counseling resources will be provided after participation. There is also a risk of being judged based on your past experience . This has been avoided by conducting this interview in a private setting. All identifying information that can link your responses to you as an individual will also be destroyed properly.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: This research will help to assess the impact of human trafficking rehabilitation programs in Nigeria so that improvements can be made for the benefit of other trafficking victims.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff, and the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Data will be collected with handwritten notes and an audio recorder. Your data will be safely stored in a password protected computer and a locked file cabinet, and only research staff/research team members will have access to this information. By August 1st, 2034, the electronic data will be deleted from all drives and hard copies will be destroyed with a paper shredder. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me Professor Uwa Idemudia either by telephone at 416 736 2100 Ext: 33155 or by email at idemudia@yorku.ca. This research has received ethics review and approval by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

_____ _____

Name and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR STAFF OF REHABILITATION ORGANIZATION

Date:

Study Name: Empowerment and Reintegration: Survivors' Perceptions of Human Trafficking Rehabilitation Programs in Nigeria

Researchers: Nnenna Okoli (Principal Investigator).
MA Development Studies, York University.
nnennao@yorku.ca

Purpose of the Research:
The purpose of this research is:

- To critically examine the role of civil society in the rehabilitation of female victims of human trafficking in Nigeria.
- To investigate the effectiveness of civil society rehabilitation programs and the extent to which they contribute to the reintegration of rehabilitated persons.
- To consider the theoretical and practical implications of this research's findings for human trafficking rehabilitation programs in Nigeria.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: As a participant in this research, you are expected to respond to questions honestly, and to the best of your knowledge. For the interview, you will be asked some questions on your organization's understanding of rehabilitation, and the components and techniques of rehabilitation employed at your organization. This should be a single session with a follow up only if necessary. On average, this process should take about 30-45 minutes.

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any risks or discomforts from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: This research will help to assess the impact of human trafficking rehabilitation programs in Nigeria so that improvements can be made to improve their effectiveness for the benefit of other trafficking victims.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff, and the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Data will be collected with handwritten notes and an audio recorder. Your data will be safely stored in a password protected computer and a locked file cabinet, and only research staff/research team members will have access to this information. By August 1st, 2034, the electronic data will be deleted from all drives, and hard copies will be destroyed with a paper shredder. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact Professor Uwa Idemudia either by telephone at 416 736 2100 Ext: 33155 or by email at idemudia@yorku.ca. This research has received ethics review and approval by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____ consent to participate in Empowerment and Reintegration: Survivors' Perceptions of Human Trafficking Rehabilitation Programs in Nigeria conducted by Nnenna Okoli. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Participant

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Principal Investigator

Additional consent

1. **Audio recording**

- I consent to the audio-recording of my interview(s).

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Participant Name: