

International
Labour
Organization

Baseline Study

Forced Labour and
Human Trafficking
in Kwara, Kano,
Cross River
and Lagos States
in Nigeria

**Action Programme against Trafficking in
West Africa (PATWA)**

**BASELINE STUDY ON FORCED LABOUR AND
HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN KWARA, KANO, CROSS RIVER
AND LAGOS STATE IN NIGERIA**

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Cross River and Lagos States in Nigeria**

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FOREWORD

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Trafficking in human beings has become a global phenomenon known in contemporary times as the 'slavery' of the 21st century. While details of the phenomenon are partially known, the proportion it has assumed in recent years is still unfolding. Up to 4 million people are reportedly trafficked annually, the majority of whom are women and children (US Department of State; EU Organised Crime Situation Report). However, increasing numbers of men and boys are targeted by traffickers for forced labour exploitation and other practices. The latest ILO report on forced labour indicates that 2.5 million persons are estimated to be trafficked at any point in time, of which minimum one third are trafficked for economic purposes (ILO, 2005, *A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour*, p. 46).

In the anti-trafficking community, there appears to be increasing consensus that the present focus on sexual exploitation of women and girls is too narrow and that additional resources need to be made available to investigate the labour dimension of human trafficking. ILO research has shown that there are at least 660,000 forced labourers in Sub-Saharan Africa, of which 130,000 are victims of trafficking. Many anti-trafficking programmes in the region focus on trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, ILO estimates reveal that 80% of forced labour in the region is for economic exploitation and only 8% for commercial sexual exploitation.

The International Labour Organization's Special Action Programme to combat Forced Labour (SAP-FL) has since 2004 implemented the Programme of Action to combat trafficking in West Africa (PATWA) to address the structural aspects of the demand and supply of trafficking in persons and its consequent forced labour in West Africa. The project adopted ILO Convention, No. 29 (1930) on Elimination of all Forms of Forced Labour for implementation. This Convention defines forced labour as "*all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily*".

In order to adequately address the issue of human trafficking and forced labour in Nigeria, PATWA project embarked on the collection of data on the twin phenomena by conducting baseline research to determine their prevalence, the root causes and consequences. A consultant conducted the studies in collaboration with partner non-governmental organizations and state Ministry of Labour and Productivity officials. This document is the result of the research conducted in four pilot states of Nigeria consisting of Kano, Kwara, Lagos and Cross River. It is our hope that the collated findings will enable the building of a network of actors who will work with PATWA team to raise awareness on migration-related risks, provide concrete alternatives for vulnerable groups, monitor migration trends from communities in Nigeria and help to rehabilitate victims and returnees.

Mrs. Sinanzeni Chuma-Mkandawire
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Sierra Leone and Liberia.

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BASELINE STUDY ON FORCED LABOUR AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN KWARA, KANO, CROSS RIVER AND LAGOS STATES IN NIGERIA

1.0 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Introduction and Objectives

The baseline study in the four states was part of a larger research project initiated by the Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour and Trafficking (SAP-FL) of ILO-DECLARATION. The overall objective of the study was to generate multi-varied baseline data on forced labour and trafficking in persons. The data generated included the level or prevalence of forced labour and human trafficking in the four pilot states, their root causes and the cultural perceptions and attitudes of the rural and urban community members toward migration-motivated forced labour and human trafficking. Through the data analysis, an understanding of the nature, mechanisms and trends in human trafficking and forced labour was developed. In addition, the study sought to examine, analyse and explain how existing law and policies regulating migration and trafficking influence the movement of employment-motivated migrants.

1.2. Methodology

A descriptive survey research design was used and both primary and secondary sources of data were collected using Focus Group Discussion (FGD), semi-structural interviews, individual interviews and questionnaires for parents, students, traditional rulers and returnees who were the main respondents in the study. Three non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in collaboration with the Ministry of Women Affairs assisted in the collection of data in each of the four focus states. Records of reported and documented cases of trafficking/forced labour were obtained from the anti-trafficking units in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and the Nigeria Immigration Services (NIS).

1.3. Key Findings

Records of the volume of inflow and outflow of trafficked persons were available for Lagos and Kano states which have relatively sophisticated and efficient anti-trafficking units. Official records from the two states showed that

- Both Lagos and Kano states were destination states for internally trafficked victims of forced labour.
- The records also indicated that Cross River and Kwara states served as source states for victims of forced labour trafficked to both Kano and Lagos states.
- More female children, 18 years and below were trafficked in the states than adults, 18 years and above.
- The nature and range of socio-economic activities and services, population size and its demographic composition (e.g. urban/rural/and male/female composition) the topography, level of education are major determinants of both the pattern and magnitude of migration trafficking and forced labour.
- There was a strong and sustainable relationship among migration for employment, pattern and magnitude of trafficking (inflow and outflow in the four states), and forced labour.
- Kano, which is a densely populated state with substantial socio-economic activities, and a major international airport, recorded 17648 males and 31126 females trafficked out of the state in 2004 while within the same period a total of 744 females and 219 males were trafficked for different forms of forced labour in the same state.
- There were 76 males and 126 females in recorded cases of forced labour victims for Lagos state between 2003 and 2004, and it was observed to be substantially lower than the realities of forced labour experienced and reported by rapid assessment surveys by Lagos-based NGOs over the years.
- Children were trafficked for different forms of forced labour among which were domestic work,, farm work, and street begging in the four states. There were emerging cases of trafficking physically challenged children for forced labour in Cross River state.
- Friends and parents of trafficked victims were suspected and indeed reported to aid the trafficking persons as they were the main sources of information for trafficking and they made arrangements for the migration of forced labour victims.
- Traffickers used a wide range of means to travel out of the four states with their victims. Among the means were land (bus, car, lorry and motorcycle) air (plane) and water (boat).
- Victims were lured into trafficking by promises of employment opportunities, better life outside their immediate environment, holy pilgrimage and better education in the destination states.
- Parents released their children presumably willingly to unsuspecting traffickers because of lack of money, to augment the family income, and inability to cater for too many children. However, 49.7 percent of children released by their parents to traffickers never returned home.
- Sixty eight percent (68%) of children that were released by their parents were yet to complete their educational programmes. Most of the children released were in the primary schools (47.5 percent) and junior secondary schools (36.7 percent).
- Children were released to traffickers because the parents did not have money to pay the school fees (72.2 percent), and parents lack of interest in education (13 percent).
- Successful migration was shown to depend in part on social capital or the density of

human contacts available for manipulation by a potential migrant in order to facilitate the mechanism of movements and to arrange employment. The denser the volume of social contacts as in Lagos and Kano states, the greater the probability of attracting movement.

- Real facts about the experiences of victims of forced labour and trafficking were not told to members of the communities and as such victims' distorted stories served to motivate other potential victims of forced labour and trafficking. The large number of illiterates in the different communities prevented a critical and rational assessment of reported experiences with the results that appropriate lessons facts and consequences of forced labour do not emerge to serve as deterrence to potential victims.
- Images of the life styles of trafficked persons who visit the rural communities intermittently (and who distorted the realities of their experience) served to encourage other persons and their parents who as a result willingly gave out their children to trafficking.
- Cultural perceptions and traditional practices especially of fostering are strong and form a sort of convergence in the four states. Such perceptual and culturally-induced traditional convergences about child fostering not only militate against combating forced labour and trafficking, they are also being exploited by traffickers to recruit children for forced labour.
- In a multi-cultural society such as Nigeria, perceptions and culture-based traditional practices of fostering diffuse fast and deep among members of the communities.
- Migration in the four states was in response to existing imbalances and inequalities of opportunities, and structurally induced poverty and a thriving culture of socio-economic deprivation. These propelled families to search for better job opportunities, higher wages and better living standards.
- Work (in the form of labour) and trafficking (buried in the cultural tradition of fostering), have been factored into the enculturation/development of children in the 4 states. These processes are now perceived as vital time tested part of every day living.
- The interplay (or nexus) of values, culture and perception of forced labour and human trafficking should be analysed and interpreted in the context of the demographic characteristics and educational levels of the rural communities including their traditions and their beliefs about children, values of work and role of money and material goods as symbols of social status.
- The need for a forced labour impact assessment study (FLIAS) as a precondition for implementing policies and programmes that are (child/women) labour intensive in nature.

1.4. Recommendations

Since forced labour and human trafficking have been found to be associated with the search for employment and better conditions of living, government should embark on policies and implement programmes of integrated rural/urban nature. These programmes would be aimed at discouraging internal (domestic) migration which is the bane and roots of causes of exploitative forced labour. Such rural/urban integrated development policies would include the establishment of small but viable cottage industries to provide employment opportunities in the rural communities. Emphasis should also be redirected to the practical implementation of the philosophy and objectives of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) in a way that the opportunity cost of schooling to parents would be such that would not encourage them to

'willingly' give their children out to unsuspecting traffickers. The following additional actions and activities are recommended:

- i. The many multi-sectoral and integrated poverty alleviation programmes contained in the NEEDS reform package should be implemented transparently so as to achieve their objectives especially within the rural communities.
- ii. There is need to enforce existing policies on population especially those which relate to population control: the fact that some parents give out their children to unsuspecting traffickers because the 'children were too many'. The need to control the number of children is therefore imperative.
- iii. Data collection from institutions like the police and immigration were either not available or these institutions operated a bureaucracy which made securing data extremely difficult.. The institutions should be re-oriented to providing relevant data as and when requested for.
- iv. The rate at which students in tertiary institutions indirectly attract and use under-aged children is very high in contrast to efforts to combat forced labour. Tertiary institutions should be especially targeted for enlightenment and sensitization.
- v. Policies on agriculture should be evolved and implemented only after an in-depth Forced Labour Impact Assessment Study (FLIAS) might have been carried out. FLIAS should be adopted as a policy instrument like the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) mandated for any industrial establishment to curb environmental pollution.
- vi. Adult and non-formal education should be intensified especially in rural communities to strengthen the enlightenment campaign against forced labour and human trafficking especially among parents and traditional rulers.

1.4. Recommendations

2.0 INTRODUCTION

2.1. Project Background

The International Labour Organization (ILO) since its creation had put the elimination of exploitative labour on its priority agenda and had within the last twenty years linked exploitative child labour with trafficking in persons. The ILO had put in place pragmatic instruments and adopted mechanisms to ensure that member States of the United Nations introduce legislations to eliminate the twin scourge of exploitative labour and trafficking in persons.

The baseline study on forced labour and human trafficking in Kwara, Kano, Cross River and Lagos States of Nigeria was undertaken as part of the *Action Programme Against Forced Labour and Trafficking in West Africa which was initiated by the special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour and Trafficking (SAP-FL) of ILO-DECLARATION.*

Forced labour and human trafficking in Nigeria have acquired disturbing dimensions with socio-economic, moral and cultural consequences to the individual as well as national development. Such consequences remind one of the period of trans-Atlantic slave trade. Trafficking in human beings and forced labour are clandestine global enterprises that affect almost all countries reaping enormous economic profits for traffickers and their local collaborators. In this global trade, Nigeria serves as a source, transit and destination country, thus making her a major player in the forced labour and human trafficking chain.

Article 3(a) of the United Nations 'Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (2000)' defines trafficking as:

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

Within the context of the global definition of trafficking given above, member States including Nigeria within the organs of the United Nations started to develop and adapt (domesticate) the UN protocol on trafficking to meet the challenges of forced labour and human trafficking. Part of Nigeria's responses to the twin phenomena was the establishment of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic in Persons (NAPTIP) in 2003. NAPTIP is the national legal framework for combating the scourge of trafficking in persons and its associated menace of forced labour in Nigeria.

Under the ILO Convention No 29 (1930) on Forced Labour, forced or compulsory labour means all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself (or herself) voluntarily Article 2(i). The penalty offered need not be in the form of penal sanctions, but might also take the form of loss of rights or privileges (ILO 2001:9-10). Another ILO convention 1975 (No 105) stipulated that 'forced labour should not be used for the purpose of economic development or as a means of political education, discrimination, labour discipline, or punishment for

having participated in strikes (Article 1). For example, ILO Global Report (2005) on forced labour reminds us that:

Child labour amounts to forced labour not only when children are forced, as individuals in their own right by a third party to work under the menace of a penalty, but also when a child's work is included within the forced labour provided by the family as a whole (p6).

Prior to and after the establishment of NAPTIP, individuals, groups, international donor agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in particular, have been at the forefront of identifying the root causes, and other factors facilitating the mechanisms which sustain the phenomena. NGOs like the Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation WOTCLEF, Women Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON), Idia Renaissance, Girls Power Initiative and Global Rights, Partners for Justice have been forefront agents fighting against the trafficking of persons especially women and children and its associated forced labour problems in Nigeria. The International Labour Organizations (ILO) United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), International Organization for Migration (IOM) the Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity, Federal ministries of Women Affairs and Youth Development and its variants in the states including the National Immigration Service (NIS) and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) are other major agencies fighting to combat trafficking in persons and forced labour in Nigeria.

The combined efforts of these agencies and organizations have been instrumental in raising public awareness and in identifying factors that influence trafficking in persons as well as providing greater insights into the magnitude and scope of forced labour and human trafficking in persons in Nigeria. Their efforts have also shed more light on the recruitment strategies and route embarked upon by traffickers. While data on trafficking in persons and forced labour are notoriously scarce and emerging, available information, as obtained during the focus group discussions, shows that the major causes of trafficking in persons and forced labour are:

- The high level of poverty in the state
- Cultural values and traditional practices
- Ignorance of the risks involved
- Insufficient training and lack of access to educational opportunities
- The desire of families and their children to migrate in search of economic and social well-being
- High demand for cheap and submissive child labour through traditional migration of adults within the framework of economic activities
- Inadequate or weak implementation of national legislation on trafficking and forced labour
- Inadequate control of the nation's many borders
- Weak institutional mechanisms
- Lack of political leadership at the grass root level
- Preponderance of informal economy
- Breakdown of family social safety nets leading to the abuse and exploitation of the traditional practice of fostering
- Corruption in all its manifestation in the TIP ring

2.2. Nature of Unemployment and Forced Labour

In order to understand the employment context of forced labour, trafficking and migration in the four states, it is important to list some salient features of Nigeria's unemployment situation as contained in the *National Modular Child Survey Report, 2000/2001*. The nature of unemployment and its related factors influence the pattern and magnitude of forced labour and trafficking. Below are some of these salient factors:

- *The incidence of open unemployment is disproportionately concentrated among people in the age-group 15-24 years;*
- *A higher proportion of the openly unemployed are young persons who have completed primary education;*
- *Usage paid employment which is the line of work much sought after by most of the openly unemployed has increased only slowly;*
- *There is a tendency for the incidence of open unemployment to occur with acute shortage of Manpower in a wide range of occupation.*

The same report listed factors that determine the type and supply of labour into which individuals are trafficked. These are:

- *The size of the population, the rate of increase, the proportion of it that falls into the category known as working age;*
- *The population of working age that is in the labour force;*
- *The proportion of the labour force that has the educational and skill levels needed for either self-account or usage-paid employment;*
- *The ability or otherwise of the suppliers of labour to meet their subsistence needs without supplying their labour.*

In addition, information shows that there is a co-existence of both internal and external trafficking in Nigeria and that while initial emphasis had been placed on combating external trafficking and its impacts, there is an increasing recognition to also address the problems of internal trafficking and to identify its relationship with migration in Nigeria. Added to these is the need to back up speculations about and experiences in trafficking with reliable empirical data, as most of our knowledge about trafficking in persons and forced labour has been mostly speculated (needed to be backed up with reliable data) while reliability of data on fundamentally clandestine activity like trafficking is hard to come by. Information from NAPTIP/UNICEF study of Anti-Child Trafficking Network Project in eleven endemic states indicated that the major purposes of outflow in persons are for forced labour (domestic) and prostitution. Other purposes were adoption, pornography, engagement in armed conflict and organ harvesting. Females were found to out-numbered males for all the purposes except in forced labour. The study also identified both inflow and outflow routes. The main inflow routes and sources were countries in the West and Central African regions such as Benin, while the main outflow routes and destinations were identified as Gabon and Cameroon (which received victims from Akwa-Ibom and Cross River. Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Niger, Mali and Libya received victims mainly from Edo State. The study also indicated that a substantial number of victims were repatriated from Italy, Libya and Spain: The NAPTIP/UNICEF study was limited to eleven endemic southern states. This gives a less than comprehensive picture of the extent of trafficking in persons and forced labour situation in Nigeria. The present study complements some of the findings required to develop a comprehensive understanding and strategy against forced labour and trafficking in persons.

2.3. Desk Review of Available Literature on Human Trafficking

Oloko's (2005) desk review, the NAPTIP/UNICEF (2004) study and others related to it identified gaps in the existing knowledge on forced labour and trafficking in human beings in Nigeria. The desk review and mapping of existing responses to the issue was undertaken preparatory to the present study. Knowledge gaps in previous studies were identified in the desk review and included the following questions and suggestions:

- a. Trafficking in persons has been attributed to poverty on the supply side. Is poverty a necessary and sufficient casual factor? What is the interplay between poverty and cultural factors? And even greed.
- b. What are the profile and value orientations of those girls/families that have successfully resisted trafficking? The determinations of such factors are important for the direction of action programmes. To what extent can these families be upheld and assisted to continue to resist trafficking?
- c. Do families/females succumb to trafficking because of customs, which are oppressive to women? How can these customs be ameliorated?
- d. What is the level of awareness of trafficking in human beings at the grass-roots level? Is the level of awareness increasing?
- e. What is the level of awareness among the grassroots of the negative effects of trafficking? The findings of the studies are inconsistent as to the extent to which girls know or suspect the real purpose of which they are trafficked. The determination of this issue has implication for the success of poverty alleviation measures that are being commended by virtually all the studies on the phenomenon.
- f. It is important to determine the value-orientation which facilitates and resists trafficking on the supply side in order to mount sustainable action programmes.
- g. What are the effects of trafficking in human beings on several groups in the community?
- h. Are traffickers of women and children cartels or individuals? To what extents do both operate? There is as yet no consensus in the extent of studies on the issue that have obvious implication for the strategies that need to be mounted to combat trafficking.
- i. The routes of trafficking in human beings have been described in detail. What can be done to control, curtail and eradicate trafficking on these routes? What arrangement has the Nigerian government made with countries through which persons are trafficked?
- j. Trafficking in human beings for sexual exploitation and prostitution has received far more attention than trafficking for other kinds of forced labour such as domestic and agricultural work.
- k. Apart from the identification of sources of trafficking for agricultural and domestic work, including Akwa Ibom and Cross River, not much is known about the attributes of the other types of forced labour such as the supply and demand factors, working conditions of trafficked person, terms of employment, industry profiles, the structure of trafficking, the routes of trafficking, identity of traffickers and so on.
- l. The scant literature on trafficking of persons for commercial agricultural work suggests that middlemen constitute traffickers whilst trafficking for domestic work is intertwined with traditional placement or fostering children, as well as involvement of middlemen.
- m. Studies on trafficking for agricultural and domestic work need to be focused on sending and receiving communities as well as the various ways in which the rights of children are violated.

2.3.1. Workshop Presentation of the Review:

These gaps contained in the desk review were quite significant in the further understanding of issues of forced labour and human trafficking. This study will provide more information on some of the gaps identified especially as they relate to the four focus states.

The desk review was presented at a workshop comprising of 50 participants that represented various interest groups in the fight against forced labour and trafficking in persons.

The workshop provided a forum to harmonize the activities of the different organizations and agencies and streamline their apparently different views of trafficking in persons and forced labour. The workshop also discussed some of the national responses to the scourge. The interactions generated in the workshop established a network among the participants to ensure their ownership and sustainability of the project.

The Project Advisory Committee (PAC) considered the recommendations of the stakeholders' workshop. Based partly on the recommendation of the desk review and the collective experiences and recommendations of the participants in the workshop, the PAC recommended that baseline studies be carried out in four states of the federation two states in the North and two in the south. The states are located in four of the six geo-political zones of the country viz. Kwara (North Central) Kano (North West), Cross River (South-South) and Lagos South West. The states were not randomly chosen. Their choice was based on their uniqueness either as source, transit or destination states in the complex and clandestine business of trafficking in persons as well as on their linkages to each other in the process of recruiting, transporting or harbouring of victims of human trafficking.

2.4. Objectives of the Study

- (i) To examine the nature and trend of forced labour and trafficking of men, women and children in Kwara, Kano, Lagos and Cross River states of Nigeria.
- (ii) To determine and analyse the cultural perceptions and attitudes of Nigerians in the four states towards the issue of forced labour and trafficking in persons.
- (iii) To determine the relationship between cultural perceptions and attitudes towards forced labour and trafficking persons.
- (iv) To assess how cultural perceptions and attitudes are related to traditional values of fostering and trafficking.
- (v) Examine the relationship between migration and trafficking.
- (vi) Explain how law and policies regulating these influence the mobility of those seeking employment.

The study also explored the possible relationship among the objectives stated above and reasons why potential victims of forced labour resisted trafficking and related factor in the study states.

2.5. Scope and Coverage

2.5.1 Scope

The study identified and analyzed the nitrating socio-economic, political, demographic and structural factors and developmental policies that underpin forced labour and human trafficking in the four focal states. In particular the study documented patterns of migration and trafficking from, to and through the four states and related the complex interacting factors within the state which encouraged members of the communities to be vulnerable to the push, pull and facilitating conditions of trafficking and forced labour.

2.5.2 Coverage

The study was carried out in four states of the federation, representing four geo-political zones in the country. These are Kwara in the North Central zone, Kano in the North West zone, Cross River in the South-South zone and Lagos in South West zone. From each of the four states, the study was conducted in selected local government areas comprising of urban and rural communities. Below are short descriptions of the communities.

In **Kano State**, the communities covered in the study involved three senatorial districts of Kano North, Central and South consisting of Gaya, Wudil, Warawa, Kobo, Rimin Gado, Nassarawa, Gwarzo, Tarauni and Fagge Local Government Areas. These are largely peasant and farming communities where, for the most part of the year, the land is dry and arid with very few months of rainfall (between June and October) in between. Many youth in the rural areas engage in subsistence farming during the rainy season and as soon as the harvest is over they migrate to the cities in search of menial jobs to sustain them during the dry season.

Kano State is an Islamic state located in the Northern region of Nigeria with high belief in the traditional system of worship. Islam as a religion does not believe women should have a say in any gathering and whatever is said by the men should be acknowledged and accepted with no obligation or objection from the women. Therefore, the women folk are over-shadowed by these Islamic beliefs; they have no right to object to control of their men folk. This reinforces the opportunities for women trafficking by men through pilgrimage to Mecca and other countries of sub-Saharan Africa for prostitution, e.g. Libya, Morocco, Algeria and the Middle East (like the United Arab Emirate), and some are trafficked to Europe and other Asian Countries.

In **Kwara State**, several communities involved in the study include Kwara North, Kwara South, and Kwara Central Senatorial Districts specifically Pategi, Lafiagi, Afon, Otee, Ilorin South and Ilorin West, Erinle Offa, and Omuaran. Some of the communities have very porous borders with Republic of Benin and traffickers often use the route for the trafficking of woman and youth to that country for onward transportation to destination countries in Europe. The communities are part of a state located in the North western region of the country that has a long history of trafficking in persons that dates back to 1992. It is an Islamic state where the first cases of trafficking in persons were reported in the same year to International Women's communication Centre (IWCC) by Saudi Arabian returnees who went to perform the yearly Hajji to Mecca and Medina. They came with two trafficked persons to narrate their bitter experiences on trafficking and wished that IWCC could do something about it.

In **Lagos State**, the city of Lagos and environs were chosen for the baseline study. Lagos is sending, transit and destination city for victims of trafficking and forced labour because of its peculiar urban and sub-urban nature. Rural communities along the border areas of Lagos with Republic of Benin serve as source and transit and constitute major routes for trafficked victims and forced labourers. For example, in communities in Badagry (an environs of Lagos) which are close to Seme, a border town between Nigeria and Republic of Benin, there is a lot of movement of trafficked victims in and out of Nigeria because of the porosity of the borders. The Lagos metropolis, which is the commercial nerve centre of the country, constitutes a key area for receiving these victims. There is evidence of huge migration tendencies from other neighbouring countries in West Africa as well as other parts of Nigeria into Lagos. Most of these migrants are usually exploited as cheap labour and most of them are victims of trafficking. Yet, there is ignorance among the populace as to the long-term effects of human trafficking and forced labour not only on the victims but also on the society at large.

Cross River is a coastal state located in the southern part of Nigeria. It has many beaches which serve as exit routes to other West African countries like Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon. With near absence of effective security network at these beaches, illegal migration to plantations in Equatorial Guinea and Gabon for exploitative labour thrives with unimpeded regularity. Prominent among these beaches are those in Etung LGA in the Cross River Central Senatorial District and Nsidung, Ikang, Obufa Esuk in the Cross River Southern Senatorial District.

Communities like Ekorin in Yakurr LGA of Cross River State Central Senatorial District have very high levels of youth unemployment. This provides a fertile ground for constant trafficking of young persons to Ondo State where they are engaged in Cocoa Plantation and stone crushing industries under exploitative and often forced labour situations. An absence of educational engagement especially among parents with little education increases incidence of child trafficking in these communities. Moreover, the high poverty level in the state leaves people with little or no choice against irregular migration. The initial reaction to migration opportunities is always a readiness to take a plunge to the unknown with the hope of a better life.

2.6. Research Methodology

A descriptive non-randomized research design was used in this study. The choice of this design was informed by the nature of the objectives of the study, which required both qualitative and quantitative data. In addition, to ensure that adequate answers to questions are generated about forced labour and trafficking in persons, methods other than the traditional methods of random sampling had to be adopted. It is only through both qualitative and quantitative data using non-random-sampling method that we can find the answers to the multiple empirical questions that are at the core of forced labour and trafficking in persons.

Both primary and secondary sources of information were used to obtain data on forced labour and human trafficking in the four states. Data was collected through the use of appropriate questionnaire. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were headed with key informants (e.g. parents, traditional rulers, returnees and students) in order to understand the values, orientation, perceptions and attitudes of rural and urban dwellers towards forced labour and human trafficking.

Where it was deemed necessary and appropriate as in Kano and Lagos states, a snowball method was used to obtain more information from respondents especially the immediate relations and friends of returnees.

2.6.1. Training

A four-day training workshop was conducted for twenty (20) field officers from the participating NGO's in the four focus states. The training session provided a forum to intimate the field officers with the objectives of the study, questionnaire design, development, administration and retrieval, interview format and strategies. In general, the training session afforded the participants the opportunity to strengthen their capacities for instrument development, administration and retrieval vital element in data collection processes.

2.6.2 Data Collection

The relevant non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the four states collected the data for the study. See table below:

Table 2.1: List of Participating Organization for Data Collection by State

STATE	PATICIPATING NGOs
Cross River	Centre for Training and Development Activities (CETDA), Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation, (WOTCLEF
	Dream Boat Foundation
Kano	Women Development Network (WODEN) Foundation for Women Health Research and Development (FORWARD),
	Child Development Focus of Nigeria (CDFON).
Kwara¹	International Women Communications Centre (IWCC
	Baobab for Women's Human Rights
Lagos	Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria
	Project Alert on Violence against Women
	Impact for Change and Development Women Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON)
	Women's Advocate, Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC)

Data was collected in the months of February and March 2005 followed by data analysis that involved using percentages and proportions. Data was collected from a total of 669 respondents including parents, traditional rulers, students and returnees as summarized in Table 2.2.

¹The NGOs worked in close collaboration with officials of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity in the collection of data

Table 2.2: Respondents by State and Sex

STATE	RESPONDENT														
	Returnees			Parents			Traditional Leaders			Students			TOTAL		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
C/River	30	34	64	25	19	44	16	=	16	=	=	=	71	53	124
Kano	26	72	98	73	21	94	15	6	21	=	=	=	114	99	213
Kwara	27	58	85	44	54	98	24	1	25	=	=	=	98	113	211
Lagos	2	-	2	39	43	82	12	-	12	12	13	25	65	56	121
Total	85	164	249	181	137	318	67	7	74	=	=	=	348	321	669

2.7. Challenges/Constraints in Data Collection

Studies in forced labour and human trafficking are basically complex in nature and hence, have built-in dangers. Problems associated with such studies are compromised in a society like Nigeria where the issues at stake strike at the very core of traditional belief - cultural and religious practices and attitudes rooted in the prevailing ethnics of the community. Most of the challenges and constraints reported were not unrelated to the belief that important aspects of customs and traditions were being investigated. In the four states respondents were sceptical and reluctant to supply necessary information. Some questioned the authority of the field officers to ask information about the movement of members of the community. Other challenges and constraints included.

- The lack of sufficient finance to compensate some informants and to visit some strategic informants identified through snowballing method.
- Institutionalized bureaucratic procedures that made repeated visits for data collection necessary.
- Securing the attention and booking appointments with some key respondents e.g. Mai-Angwa (community leaders) in Kano State.
- Convincing respondents that forced labour and migration for trafficking are different from their perception of business.
- Difficulties in retrieving questionnaires even after repeated visits.

3.0 DATA INTERPRETATION

3.0. Socio-Economic Status of the Study States

I. Cross River State

Cross-River is a South-South oil producing state with predominantly Christian population. It is a coastal state with an export processing zone and a growing tourist industry. Cross River State is one of the endemic states for trafficking and forced labour and as such it is a source transit and destination state. It is a rural community with many porous borders.

II. Kano State

Kano is a North-Western state which consists of predominantly Muslim communities where non-formal Islamic educational system is emphasized and encouraged parallel with formal education. Kano, the capital city of the state is the commercial nerve net of the north. It is the administrative headquarter of the state, and houses an international airport. It is a densely populated state with an estimated 281 persons per kilometre with industries dotted around the Kano metropolis thus providing employment opportunities.

III. Kwara State

Kwara is a North-Central state with mostly rural dwellers and a large Muslim population. It is thinly populated with extensive agricultural potentials and agro-based industries. The state's ethnic composition (Yoruba's and Hausas) provides a framework for cohabitation of different perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and traditional practices of trafficking in persons and forced labour. Kwara is a land-locked state and serves mainly as a source state for trafficking.

IV. Lagos State

Lagos is a major South-West state which once served as the administrative headquarters for Nigeria and remains the nation's most important commercial centre and industrial complex. It has the busiest and largest sea and air ports. It is a coastal state with a high concentration of factories and industries. Lagos is a predominantly urban state with an estimated 1,712 persons per square kilometre. These characteristics make Lagos a state with many 'pull' factors thus serving as both transit and destination state.

3.1. Findings

The first objective of the study was to examine the nature and trend in forced labour and trafficking of men, women and children in Kwara, Kano, Cross River and Lagos states. However before we analyze the data on the nature and trend, it is first necessary to have a general context in which forced labour and trafficking occur. The now familiar pull and facilitating paradigm which is being used to explain why individuals move away (migrate) from one place to the other can be understood in terms of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of both the current and intended locations of the migrants. These characteristics define the initial and ultimate motives to move.

Some of the general and specific characteristics of push and pull factors facilitating human trafficking in the four study states are contained in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1: Human Development Indices of the Study States

STATE	Life Expectancy	Adult Literacy	Mean Yrs at School	Educational Attainment	Real GDP per Capital	Adjusted Real GDP	HDI
C/River	57.8	69.4	3.27	47.36	2,626	2.626	0.513
Kano	57.1	12.1	0.73	8.31	6,926	6.926	0.489
Kwara	45.9	40.0	3.00	27.67	1,020	1.020	0.183
Lagos	61.4	65.0	3.92	44.64	2,034	2.034	0.489

Table 3.2: Rural/Urban Composition of the Study States

STATE	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
C/River	1,432,022	74.9	479,275	25.1	1,911,297	100
Kano	3,493,622	60.1	2,317,208	39.9	5,810,470	100
Kwara	886,228	57.2	662,184	42.8	1,548,412	100
Lagos	361,136	6.3	5,363,980	93.7	5,725,166	100

3.3 Some Peculiarities Of The States: (From Focus Group Discussions)

I. Cross River State

The target groups in Cross River state, especially the parents, did not see human trafficking as illegal and the giving away of children is regarded as an extension of the normal traditional fostering system not withstanding the inherent exploitative tendencies which were of little consideration to the parents. Other respondents regarded trafficking in persons as “an avenue to reduce the burden of catering for a large family with limited resources”. In fact trafficking in persons and forced labour were regarded as better alternatives to their present situations

Youth in Ekori were noted to migrate to Ondo State where they were involved in exploitative (forced) labour in cocoa plantation and stone crushing industries on payment of stipends. Victims of such forced labour never told the true stories of their experience. Victims did not willingly submit themselves to traffickers but were one way or the other deceived.

Victims of trafficking were trafficked to Lagos from where they moved to other countries like Benin Republic, Gabon and Burkina Faso for the purpose of prostitution. Border control is weak and there was lack of proper documentation of cases of trafficking in persons and forced labour by the NIS and NPF. In Calabar there was an emerging case of trafficking disabled persons (deaf) across the country for begging. Funding of projects to combat trafficking in persons and forced labour remains the major challenge in Cross River State as it remains a major source and transit state.

II. Kano State

Migration in Kano State (in and out) was related to poverty and lack of job opportunities. There was a general public perception that the people were marginalized and neglected and traffickers were out to help them out of poverty. These perceptions facilitated both push and

pull factors. Traffickers took advantage of the annual Holy pilgrimage to traffic a large number of persons - men, women and children, especially outside the country. Both inflow and outflow trafficking were reported for Kano State. The predominantly Muslim population and its strong tradition believe in and propagate religious practices that unintentionally put women and children especially into vulnerable situations to trafficking.

III. Kwara State

Poverty, family breakdown and general economic situations compounded by the predominantly Muslim tradition which frowned on the equality of the genders were responsible for the prevalence of trafficking in persons and forced labour in Kwara state which is a major source state in the north central geo-political zone of the country. The predominantly rural communities in Kwara state with limited infrastructure and high level of poverty facilitated migration and made the issue of domestic (house) help a normal affair.

iv. Lagos State

Lagos State is uniquely and predominantly urban and a commercial centre such that inflow of trafficked victims into the capital city from different parts of the country was encouraged by the real or imagined existence in the state of job opportunities. It is the major recruitment and trafficking centre for artists and sportsmen, women and youth out of Nigeria via Lagos. The unique problem in Lagos is that of domestic servitude and child domestics.

3.3.1 Human Development Index (HDI)

Table II above summarizes key components and measures of Human Development, which together translate into longevity, knowledge and income purchasing power of individuals and communities. Longevity is measured by two educational stock variables: adult literacy and mean years of schooling. The third factor is the income purchasing power based on real GDP per capita adjusted for the local cost of living (purchasing power or PPP). Human development indices (HDI) summarized in table II give an insight into the conditions which in part both define and reflect poverty and other factors which trigger off migration and make individuals to be vulnerable to or resist trafficking in the four states. Human development is calculated to show the position of a state or country in relation to a final target expressed as a value between 0 and 1. HDI is vital in determining vulnerability to migration and trafficking in particular situations and in states or countries. A state with Human Development Index (HDI) below 0.5 is considered to have a low level of human development, those between 0.5 and 0.8 a medium level and those above 0.8 a high level. Table II shows that only Cross River State has an HDI of 0.5 that is above the minimum level while Lagos, Kwara and Kano had 0.489, 0.183 and 0.161 HDI's respectively below the stipulated minimum of 0.5.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 provide a human development and demographic framework to understand and situate migration, trafficking in persons and forced labour in the four states. Table 3.2 shows that Cross River and Kano are predominantly rural with rural population of 74.9 percent and 60.1 percent respectively. While Kwara State relatively comprises of more urban settlements (42.8%) than Cross River or Kano, Lagos State is predominantly urban with over 90 percent of the population living in the urban areas.

Furthermore, information contained in the National Policy on Population for sustainable Development (2004), the African Economic Outlook (2002/2003) and the Population Census (1991) provide the general national context of Nigeria as listed below:

- Area 923,768 square kilometres
- Population estimated 126million 2003
- Annual population growth rate 2.9 per cent
- Projected population 179 million (2015)
- 44 percent of Nigerians are under 15 years of age
- Dependency ratio of 89 dependants to 100 persons in the productive ages of 15-64years
- 75.1 percent live in rural areas
- 24.9 percent live in urban areas
- Life expectancy at birth 51.6 years
- Crude death rate is 15 per 1000
- Total fertility rate (TFR) is 5.2
- 70 percent of Nigerians live below poverty line
- GDP per capita (PPP US \$)860 (2002)
- Per capita income is \$310
- Adult literacy 66.8%
- Combined gross enrolment ration for primary, secondary and tertiary schools 2001/2002.45%
- Life expectancy index. 0.44%
- Education index. 0.059%
- GDP index. 0.36%
- HDI index. 0.466%
- 54 percent of Nigerians are poor (and 85 percent of the extreme poor live in rural areas). These factors have been shown to contribute significantly to both migration and trafficking with forced labour implications.

The framework highlighted above provides a means for understanding migration motivated by both push and pull factors. From the information supplied above, most Nigerians (75.1%) live in rural area, with poor facilities to maintain a decent living standard. The imperative to escape (migrate) from rural to urban is therefore understood. Below is a summary of information obtained from a study carried out by *The Voice of the Poor* (World Bank, 2000). The relative differences in the facilities available in rural and urban areas as shown below explain why populations in rural communities tend to migrate to the urban areas in search of those facilities and opportunities which are lacking in the rural areas. In other words the differential opportunities for employment and facilities, which positively favour the urban areas, facilitate migration from the rural to urban areas (UNICEF 2002).

Rural Areas	Urban Areas
Lack of portable water	Lack of piped water
Inadequate access to education	Unemployment
Inadequate access to health	Inadequate access to education
Lack of rural feeder roads	Inadequate access to health
Unavailability of markets	Irregular electricity
Lack of electricity	Lack of agriculture
Lack of processing machines	Lack of good roads

The summary gives us only an insight into the reality of life and living in, by contrast, rural and urban communities. When the information contained in the summary is combined with the national and state characteristics given earlier in table II and III (i.e. Human Development

Indices and study States by rural/urban composition), we begin to understand the possible impacts of the net effect of the push factors on the direction and magnitude of migration.

The intensity of these push factors especially in Kwara and Cross River states can be better understood with reference to the information contained in table III - study states by rural urban composition. The table also shows that a high proportion of population in Kano, Kwara and Cross River states live in the rural community. The rural/urban disparities in distribution of social amenities reported by the research team in each of the states in question suggests that people migrate from rural to urban areas as a result of:

- Poverty in the rural areas including lack of facilities to meet the basic necessities of life
- The desire to meet and interact with significant individuals in the cities
- Gendered discrimination especially against women from which most women escape
- Boredom
- The search for employment opportunities
- Lack of official guideline/policy on interstate migration

Rural Areas	Urban Areas
Lack of portable water	Lack of piped water
Inadequate access to education	Unemployment
Inadequate access to health	Inadequate access to education
Lack of rural feeder roads	Inadequate access to health
Unavailability of markets	Lack of electricity
Lack of electricity	Lack of agriculture
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4.0 ANALYSIS BASED ON ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

4.1. Pattern of Migration

Available resources in both the source and destination states dictate the push, pull and facilitating factors in the four states. The relative availability of these resources promotes the decision trend and magnitude of migration.

As indicated earlier, forced labour and trafficking especially of men, women and children followed a rural to urban direction (depending on available resources and opportunities) or it could also follow a rural to rural pattern depending on the existence and magnitude of the push/pull factors.

Administrative Records from Police and Immigration:

For Kano and Lagos states, records were obtained from both Police and Immigration. There were no records obtained from both the Police and Immigration for Kwara State. For Cross River State, only the Police supplied some data, and it was in respect of children involved in forced labour out of the state. Even though records were obtained from both the Police and Immigration in respect of Lagos State, the figures contained therein could not be said to have represented the volume of trafficking in persons for forced labour or other purposes.

The clandestine nature of trafficking in persons, the relatively low level of awareness about Trafficking in Persons/Forced Labour and their impacts, the lack of many trained personnel among the law enforcement agencies contribute to the inability to obtain data especially from law enforcement agents.

4.1.1 The Case of Kano State

Immigration records for example show that for the years 2003 and 2004 a total of 963 persons (219 males and 744 females) migrated out of Kano State and were engaged in forced labour in the destinations. During the same period, 48,774 persons (17,648 males and 31,126 females) were trafficked out of Kano State for purposes other than forced labour.

This latter figure was on the high side because on a re-analysis it was found that many of those classified as being trafficked out of the state were among those who travelled out for the annual pilgrimage in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. However it should also be noted that traffickers especially in Kano State had successfully exploited the annual pilgrimage to Mecca to traffic children, men and women for different exploitative purposes e.g. prostitution, begging and all forms of domestic work. Hence the high proportion of the outflow of the trafficked through Kano State. This leaves one with the notion that persons from other states are using Kano as transit centre from where they finally travel out or are trafficked out of the state.

Table 4.1a: Inflow for Forced Labour by Year (Kano State)

STATE	KANO STATE					
	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
2003	108	255	-	-	108	255
2004	106	486	5	3	111	489
TOTAL	114	741	5	3	219	744

Source: Nigeria Immigration Service, Kano

Table 4.1b: Inflow for Forced Labour by Year (Lagos State)

STATE	LAGOS					
	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
2003	2	10	12	20	14	30
2004	6	12	23	33	29	45
TOTAL	8	22	35	53	43	75

Source: Nigeria Immigration Service, Lagos

From the inflow data for both forced labour and trafficking, it is clear that Kano State in particular serves as both a transit and a destination state. The metropolis of Kano town in particular has characteristics which enable it to serve the dual purposes. The perception that the town has facilities for employment as domestics, beggars (Almajiri's), prostitutes, and other forms of forced labour pulls individuals to Kano. The international airport in Kano also provides an added avenue for trafficked individuals to be moved out of Kano.

According to the 1991 official population census figures and projections, Kano State has a 6:4 ratio of rural/urban dwellers. The population data also indicates 3.5 million male to 2.3 million female gender compositions. This explains the high, estimated 281 people per kilometre for the state and 361 people per kilometre for Kano metropolis. All these dictate not only the pattern of migration from the rural to the urban area but also the magnitude of both males and females who are subsequently trafficked into all forms of forced labour.

In other words, the pattern and magnitude of migration of communities reflect not only the demographic characteristics and facilities in the communities but also are indicative of the socio-economic inequalities and disparities that constitute the push, pull and facilitating factors in the particular communities. Mapping communities in the state and identifying the different available resources and facilities that constitute the push and pull factors could complement information obtained in this study.

The peculiar characteristics of the four states summarized in tables 3.1 and 3.2 and complemented by the Nigerian context given on *pages 16 and 17* of this document provide a framework relevant for the interpretation of the data obtained in the study. The framework provides as much and richer information to articulate the data and objectives of the study than resource mapping which alone could not have provided a rational, more comprehensive and demographic interpretation of data obtained in the study.

4.1.2. Magnitude & Trend of Forced Labour

Table 4.2 shows the magnitude and trend of forced labour in two of the four states for 2003 and 2004. Figures for Kano State, according to Immigration records show that children below 18 years of age were trafficked into Kano and that no individuals 18 years and above were trafficked into Kano for forced labour. In 2004 a total of 592 children (106 males, 486 females) below 18 years of age and only 8 adult persons (5 males and 3 females) were trafficked into Kano for forced labour.

	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
2003	108	232	-	-	108	232
2004	106	486	5	3	111	489
TOTAL	214	718	5	3	219	721

Table 4.2. Forced Labour among Indigenes of Kwara state in other States in Nigeria

STATE	2003						2004					
	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total		Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
C/RIVER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KANO	108	255	-	-	108	255	106	486	5	3	111	489
LAGOS	2	10	12	20	14	30	6	12	23	33	29	45

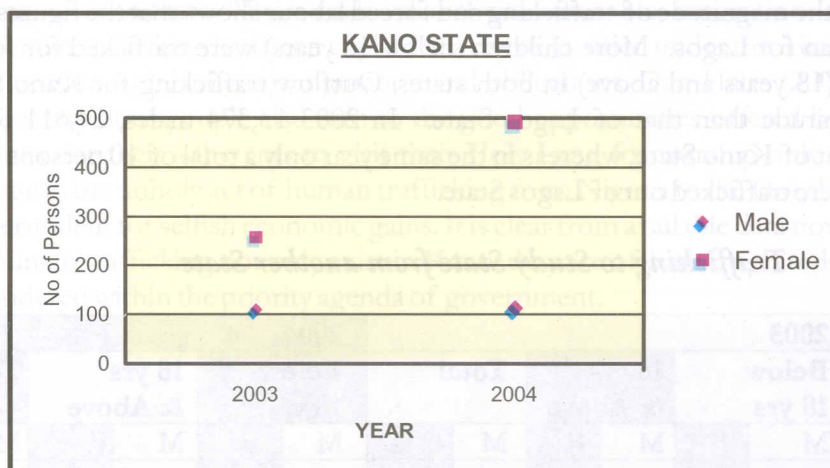
Source: Nigeria Immigration Service

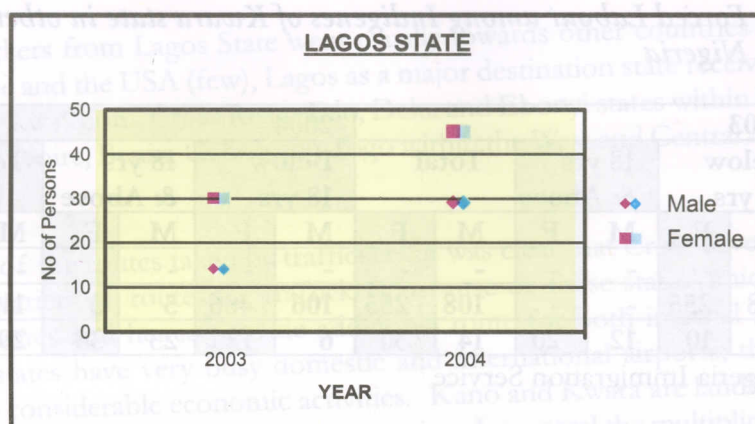
Table 4.3. Forced Labour among Immigrants from other States to Kwara state

STATE	2003						2004					
	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total		Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
C/RIVER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KANO	276	734	315	469	591	1,203	1,442	1,053	519	636	1,961	1,689
LAGOS	10	22	31	50	41	72	6	16	29	38	35	54

For the year 2003 only 12 children (2 males and 10 females) were recorded by the Nigeria Immigration Service to have been trafficked for forced labour. In the same year, 32 adult persons (18 years and above) were trafficked into Lagos for forced labour. In year 2004, 18 children and 46 persons 18 years and above were involved in forced labour.

Fig 4.1. Trend of Trafficking for Forced Labour from two of the Four Study States





Records for the two states show that there was an upward trend in the magnitude of trafficking for forced labour.

4.2 Comparative Analysis of Kano and Lagos States

Table 4.4. Outflow Trafficking from Study States to Other States

STATE	2003						2004					
	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total		Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
C/RIVER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KANO	108	255	13,266	24,356	13,374	24,611	106	486	4,168	6,029	4,274	6,515
LAGOS	-	2	3	5	3	7	-	1	-	7	0	8

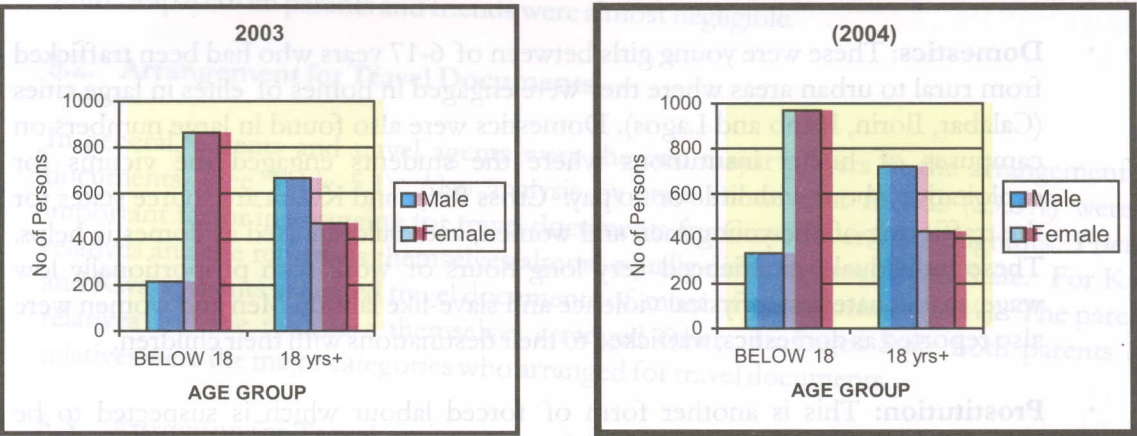
In the comparative analysis of the two states (Kano and Lagos) for which data were available, we find that the magnitude of trafficking and forced labour shows that the figures were higher for Kano than for Lagos. More children (below 18 years) were trafficked for forced labour than adults (18 years and above) in both states. Outflow trafficking for Kano State was of higher magnitude than that of Lagos State. In 2003 13,374 males, 24,611 females were trafficked out of Kano State, whereas in the same year only a total of 10 persons (3 males and 7 females) were trafficked out of Lagos State.

Table 4.5. Trafficking to Study State from another State

STATE	2003						2004					
	Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total		Below 18 yrs		18 yrs & Above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
C/RIVER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KANO	215	865	666	469	881	1,334	334	968	721	432	1,055	1,400
LAGOS	-	-	19	213	19	213	4	11	15	20	19	31

Similarly Table 4.5 shows that the figure for inflow trafficking to Kano State (2,215) is almost ten times the figure for Lagos State, which is only 232. However, there is a common pattern in terms of age and sex distributions of the victims. In both states the female victims outnumbered their male counterpart among the children below 18 years. Conversely more male victims were noticed for the age 18 years and over.

Fig 4.2a. Inflow Trafficking by Age Group (Kano State)



Focus on Kano State

This finding is interesting because until recently not much attention has been on Kano, as a *'hot bed'* for forced labour and trafficking in persons. All information about forced labour and trafficking had been regarded as speculative or disguised under the annual pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia. In other words, denial had characterized any suggestions about forced labour and trafficking in Kano State. Where such a denial was untenable, suggestions about forced labour and human trafficking had been explained away or justified under the Almajiri Quranic system of education or by religious injunction and obligations. Dan-Haire (2003) remarked that 'some unscrupulous people also turn to the good opportunities offered by both Islam and Christianity for their adherents to visit their Holy Land for worship only for some of them to engage in the unholy act of human trafficking from Nigeria to the Holy lands in Saudi Arabia and Jerusalem for selfish economic gains. It is clear from available data now that forced labour and human trafficking not only exist in Kano, they are of high magnitude which now must be considered within the priority agenda of government.

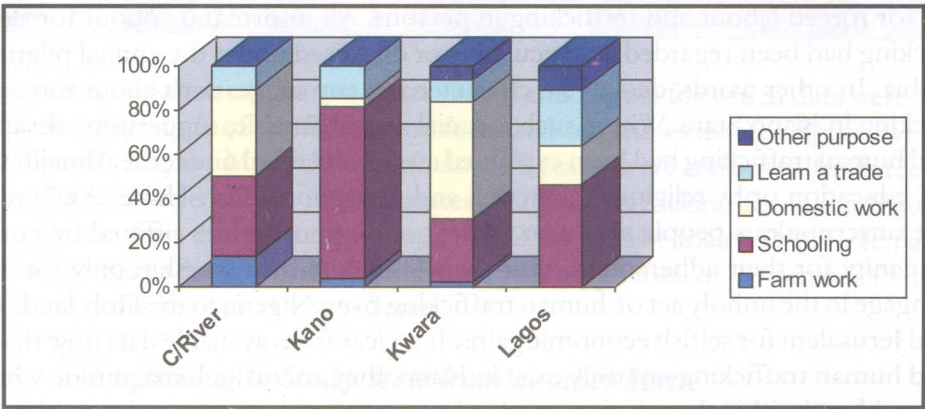
5.0 ANALYSIS BASED ON SURVEY RESULTS

In order to properly understand the nature and the trend of forced labour and human trafficking, we need to know the sources of migrants information about migration, how and on which basis they took their decision to travel, how arrangements to travel were made and by whom, what attracted migrants to travel and the routes taken during migration and the final destinations. Before these we should identify the forms of forced labour in the four states.

5.1. Forms of Forced Labour in the Four States:

- **Domestics:** These were young girls between of 6-17 years who had been trafficked from rural to urban areas where they were engaged in homes of elites in large cities (Calabar, Ilorin, Kano and Lagos). Domestics were also found in large numbers on campuses of higher institutions where the students engaged the victims for exploitative labour with little or no pay. Cross River and Kwara are source states for the trafficking of the young men and women, and children used as domestic helps. These individuals experienced very long hours of work with proportionally low wage, inadequate rest, physical violence and slave-like labour. Men and women were also reported as domestics, trafficked to their destinations with their children.
- **Prostitution:** This is another form of forced labour which is suspected to be widespread in the 4 states but to which respondents preferred to be silent about in their responses.

Fig. 5.1: % Distribution of Parents by Purpose for Which Children Were Released for Trafficking



- Fig. 5.1 reveals that the percentage of parents that listed other purposes not classified in the questionnaire was 6.5 and 11.4 for Kwara and Lagos states respectively. It is most likely that prostitution constituted one reason for which persons were given away by parents, but none of the parents was prepared to be liberal with the truth about giving away their children for prostitution.
- **Child begging:** The three main categories of child beggars found in Lagos, Kano and to a less extent in Kwara states led blind parents or relatives who were encouraged to beg in order to support their religious education, and who acted as fronts for parents especially mothers who were usually hidden from public view but supervised them

from a close distance. An emerging form of forced labour was reported in Cross River State where dumb children were recruited and trafficked by some religious organizations, and used for begging in different parts of the country.

From Fig 5.2 below, friends and parents were the two major convincing sources of information to migrate. However friends were the most convincing sources of information (83.9 percent) for migrants in Cross River State. For Kano, influence of the parents (73.4%) overweighs those of friends (12.8%). For Kwara and Lagos, the contribution of other sources apart from parents and friends were almost negligible.

5.2. Arrangement for Travel Documents

In general, parents and travel agents were the two major players in the arrangement for documents, (See Table 5.1). Also analysis by state shows that friends (23.8%) were an important factor in arranging for travel documents for Cross River State migrants. Friends, relatives and the returnees themselves almost equally did it in Cross River State. For Kano and Kwara, agents arranged travel documents of most of the returnees (39%). The parents, relatives and the returnees themselves arranged others. In Lagos State both parents and relatives were the major categories who arranged for travel documents.

5.3. Attraction for Travel

Apart from Kano State for which two-third majority of the returnees was attracted by holy pilgrimage in Mecca, money was the most attractive thing as indicated by returnees in Cross River and Kwara states with 65% and 69% respectively. Other attractions include education and job opportunity abroad.

It could be further argued that the major attraction to travel in destination state or town may be employment opportunity (56.3per cent), as the victims could easily be convinced of getting money with good employment in the destination state or town.

Table 5.1. % Distribution of Returnee Victims of Trafficking by Certain Characteristics

		STATE				Total
		C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	
MOST CONVINCING SOURCE OF INFORMATION TO TRAVEL	Advert	1.6	5.3	4.9	0.0	4.2
	Friends	83.9	12.8	43.9	50	42.1
	Parents	14.5	73.4	47.6	50	49.2
	Club	0.0	4.3	1.2	0.0	2.1
	Others	0.0	4.3	2.4	0.0	2.5
ATTRACTION TO TRAVEL	Money	65.1	7.4	69.4	0.0	44.9
	Job Opportunity	9.5	4.9	5.6	0.0	6.5
	Education	6.3	0.0	11.1	0.0	5.6
	To learn a trade	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
	Better Life	3.2	1.2	2.8	0.0	2.3
	Holy Pilgrimage	0.0	65.4	0	0.0	24.5
	Others	11.1	19.8	9.7	0.0	13.9
	Nothing	0.0	1.2	1.4	0.0	0.9
ASSISTANCE RECEIVED	Money/Financial	81.5	25.6	45	0.0	52.2
	Travel Documents	3.7	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.9
	Transport Cost	1.9	0.0	0	0.0	0.6
	Dress/Gifts	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.5
	Others	7.4	46.5	20	0.0	22.9
	None	5.6	27.9	26.7	0.0	19.7
ARRANGEMENT FOR DOCUMENTS	Self	23.8	13.8	6.8	0.0	11.9
	Agent	9.5	38.8	26	0.0	29.5
	Oga/Madam	0.0	2.5	0	0.0	1.1
	Parent	4.8	23.8	37	50	27.3
	Relative	28.6	13.8	1.4	50	10.8
	Friend	23.8	0.0	8.2	0.0	6.3
	Others	9.5	7.5	20.5	0.0	13.1
DECISION TO TRAVEL	Willingly	75.0	88.5	79.3	100	82
	Not willingly	25.0	11.5	20.7	0.0	18
PAYMENT FOR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS	Parents	20.8	56.7	51.2	50	50.2
	Friends	25	3.1	17.1	0.0	11.2
	Relatives	25	22.7	1.2	50	14.6
	Religious Organ	8.3	6.2	15.9	0.0	10.2
	Social Club	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
	Myself	16.7	11.3	14.6	0.0	13.2

5.4. Willingness to Travel

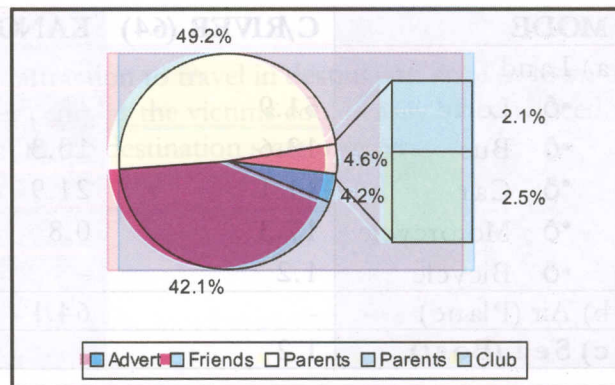
Table 5.1 indicates that across the states, at least 3 out of every 4 returnee victims decided to travel willingly. The few others were either forced or deceived into the trip.

One has to be very cautious in interpreting the data on willingness or unwillingness to travel. On what basis, one may ask, does a migrant take a decision willingly? On personal experience, false or accurate information received from parents, friend- returnees or on the basis of mere ignorance? These are vital questions and answers to which could not be obtained from the data. Given the high level of illiteracy in the rural areas and the other circumstances surrounding migrants from the rural areas, it is appropriate to assume that the willingness to migrate recorded in Table 5.3 could be attributed to the combined factors of illiteracy/ignorance, and false information from returnees who came to their communities interlineally to distort the realities of their experiences.

In fact, analysis of transcribed focus group discussions (FGDs) in the four states indicated that the willingness to travel was based partly on information received by those who had travelled on several occasions and who came back to provide false information about their experiences. The need to migrate might also have been informed by the prevailing tradition of the people. Hence in order to have a true understanding of whether or not migrants decided willingly or unwillingly to migrate we need to factor in the demographic characteristics of the communities, the traditional beliefs and cultural perception which the people hold about migration as an economically enhancing process.

Fig. 5.2. Most Convincing Source of Information for Travelling

In fact, the true picture emerges when we consider the other variables associated with the final migration. For how can we imagine a situation where friends, parents and relations actively supported a migration project through the supply of information, arranging for the payment to travel documents and transportation only for the migrants to indicate that he/she decided 'willingly' to migrate? It is just illogical given the multiple contexts and players in the migration project:



5.5 The Usual Routes

C/River: Traffickers in Cross River State usually went through Ondo and Ogun states to work in cocoa plantations and stone crushing industries. Alternative routes involve going through Lagos to Benin Republic, Gabon and Burkina Faso or through Lagos to Cameroon.

Kano: Most traffickers in Kano flew to Ghana and Saudi Arabia.

Kwara: The route taken by traffickers in Kwara State was to Lagos, Kaduna, Osogbo, Kano, Abuja and Saudi Arabia.

Lagos: Traffickers from Lagos State went usually towards other countries particularly Europe and the USA (few), Lagos as a major destination state receives migrants from Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Edo, Delta and Ebonyi states within Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire, Benin, Gabon and Togo within the West and Central African sub-region.

From the analysis of the routes taken by traffickers, it was clear that Cross River and Lagos states provided a variety of routes for traffickers because of these states' unique features. Both are coastal states and hence provide additional route for both internal and external trafficking. Both states have very busy domestic and international airports; they both are border states with considerable economic activities. Kano and Kwara are landlocked states, though they both have border towns to other countries. In general the multiplicity of routes available and used are dictated by types of trafficking (internal or external) and were reflected in the variety of modes used by traffickers in the four states.

5.6. Mode of Travelling

Table 5.2 summarizes the different modes used by traffickers. Three major modes were identified: land, air and sea. Traffickers in Cross River State used a wide range of means for trafficking their victims than the three other states. These routes reflected the special topography of the states. Lagos has only one recorded mode for trafficking its victims the air; while in Kano and Kwara states land and air routes are used. In general however the use of land through bus, lorry, car, motorcycles, is more common in the four states.

Table 5.2 *Mode of Travelling Used by Traffickers*

MODE	C/RIVER (64)	KANO (89)	KWARA (74)	LAGOS (2)
a) Land				
• Lorry	51.9	-	-	-
• Bus	13.6	13.3	50.0	-
• Car	11.1	21.9	14.5	-
• Motorcycle	17.3	0.8	6.6	-
• Bicycle	1.2	-	1.3	-
b) Air (Plane)	-	64.1	25.0	100.0
c) Sea (Boat)	1.2	-	-	-

5.7. Role of the Parents

Knowledge of the reasons why parents gave away their children to traffickers for forced labour and what parents expected their children to do after giving the children away are vital to a comprehensive understanding of forced labour and human trafficking. Also of importance to this study are destinations of the children. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below summarize this information.

Table 5.3: Reasons for Releasing Child for Forced Labour by Parents

REASON	C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	Ave Over 4 States
To increase family income	11.6	26.9	19	11.9	16.6
Lack of money to send him to school	74.4	50	46.6	54.8	56.2
Too many children in family	9.3	7.7	5.2	9.5	7.7
Others Purposes	4.7	15.4	29.3	23.8	19.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The main reason why parents gave away their children to traffickers was the lack of money to send their children to school. In Cross River State 74.4 percent of the parents could not send their children to school because of lack of money. Parents in Kano, Kwara and Lagos states representing 50.0 percent, 46.6 percent and 54.8 percent respectively gave the same reason for giving away their children. Other reasons given included: to increase family income (16.6%) too many children (7.7%) Responses of parents in the states are summarized in Table 5.3. A large number of the parents (19.5 percent) indicated “*other reasons*” why they gave their children away to human traffickers. Overall it is fair to conclude that poverty was the root cause of parents giving their children away to human traffickers.

Table 5.4: % Distribution of Parents by Purpose for Which Children Were Released For Trafficking

Purpose of release	C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	Ave Over 4 States
Farm work	13.6	3.7	1.6	0.0	4.5
Go to School	36.4	77.8	29.0	45.5	42.4
Domestic work	38.6	3.7	53.2	18.2	33.3
Learn a Trade	11.4	14.8	9.7	25.0	14.7
Other purpose	0.0	0.0	6.5	11.4	5.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Parents in the four states also gave away their children to traffickers for different purposes among which were to do 'farm work' (4.5%), go to school (42.4%), do domestic work (33.3%), to learn a trade (14.7%), and for purposes not disclosed (5.1%). See Table 5.4.

It was interesting to note that prostitution was not mentioned as a purpose for which parents gave away their children. This is not surprising because it would be difficult for parents to acknowledge in public that they gave their children away for the purpose of prostitution especially in a culture where prostitution as a 'trade' and prostitutes are regarded as social

misfits and abomination. The reality however is that some children were given away by their parents to traffickers invariably to engage willingly or unwillingly in prostitution. Prostitution may account for a large percent of the 5.1 percent of parents who did not disclose the reasons for which they gave their children away to traffickers.

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Table 5.5: Destination of the Victims

DESTINATION OF THE VICTIMS	C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	Ave Over 4 States
Another Town within State in Nigeria	22.7	53.8	30.6	38.6	34.1
Another Town outside State in Nigeria	77.3	34.6	67.7	43.2	59.1
Another Country	0.0	11.5	1.6	18.2	6.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Children that were given away by their parents in the four states were taken to different destinations: Among these destinations were to another town within the same state (34.1 percent), another town outside the state. (59.1 percent) And another country (1.7 percent) the variations in the figure for the four states are summarized in Table 5.5, which indicates in general that the destinations of children were within the country. The table indicates also that 77.3 percent of children given away by their parents in Cross River State were taken outside the state while 67.7 percent of children given away by their parents in Kwara State were also found in other towns outside the state. These data confirm widely held opinion that both Cross River and Kwara states are predominantly source states for traffic in persons within Nigeria.

This data confirm the widely held opinion that both Cross River and Kwara states are predominantly source states for traffic in persons within Nigeria.

5.8. Major Characteristics of Parents of Victims

5.8.1 Size of Family:

For male parents, the data shows that the more the number of wives, the more likely the parents would release their children. Also there is a high correlation between the family size and the practice of releasing children for forced labour or other purposes. As high as 77 percent of the family with 10 or more persons, are in the practice.

Table 5.6. % of Parents Who Gave Away Their Children by Social Characteristics

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS		% OF PARENTS
NO. OF WIVES IN FAMILY	1 wife	50.6
	2 wives	72.1
	3 wives	57.6
	4 wives +	75.0
SIZE OF FAMILY	1 - 3 persons	0.0
	4 - 6 persons	45.5
	7 - 9 persons	53.8
	10 or more persons	77.2
LOCATION	Urban	41.3
	Rural	70.5
STATE	C/River	100.0
	Kano	30.9
	Kwara	61.4
	Lagos	53.7
	Average over 4 States	55.8

5.8.2 Place of Residence:

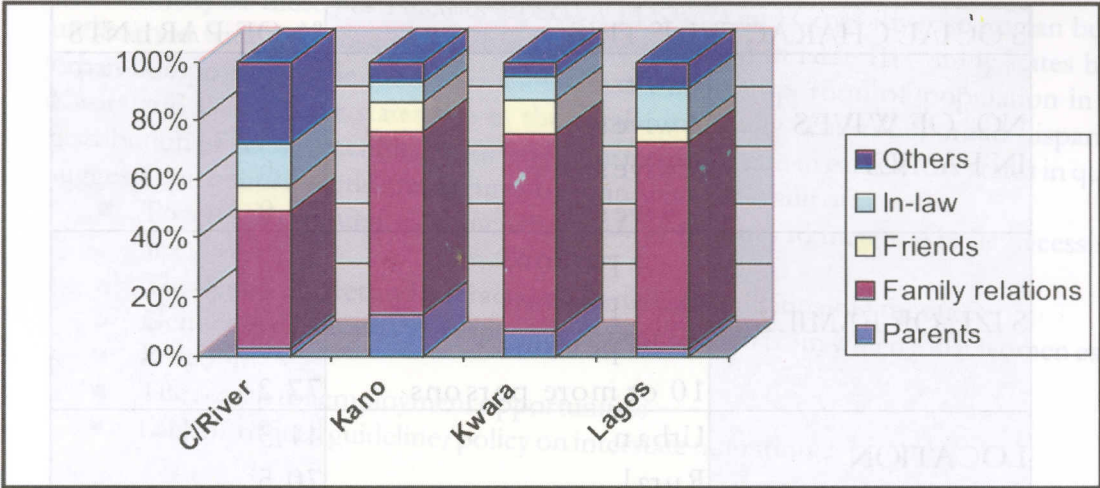
The incidence of release of the children to another family was more in rural areas (70.5%) than in urban (41.3%).

Analysis by state shows that the practice was more rampant in Cross River than any of the other three states of study. All the parents (100%) in sample in Cross River had at one time or the other released their children to another family. Kwara and Lagos followed with 61% and 54% respectively. The practice was not as common in Kano State with only 31% of the parents in the category.

5.9 Who the Traffickers Are

Fig 5.3 describes the relationship between the parents of the victims and the traffickers. In all, family relations account for over 60 percent of those involved in the trafficking of the victims. Other significant key players are the friends and in-laws to the parents. There are traces of contribution of the *aged parents/grand parents* in States like Kano and Kwara. These are the elderly parents/grand parents who should be helped by asking little ones to stay with them as domestic help.

Fig. 5.3: Relationship of the Traffickers to the Parents of Victims



The returnees encountered in the four states exhibited certain characteristics, which are illustrated in Table 5.7. The absolute numbers (in bracket) are numbers of returnee victims encountered.

Table 5.7.% Distribution of Returnee Victims by Social Demographic Characteristics

SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS		STATE				Total (249)
		C/River (64)	Kano (98)	Kwara (85)	Lagos (2)	
Age Group	Below 10 yrs	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	2.0
	10-19	60.9	44.9	45.9	0.0	49.0
	20-29	35.9	26.5	28.2	0.0	29.3
	30-39	1.6	13.3	11.8	100.0	10.4
	40-49	1.6	10.2	11.8	0.0	8.4
	50 yrs +	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.8
Sex	Male	46.9	26.5	31.8	100.0	34.1
	Female	53.1	73.5	68.2	0.0	65.9
Education	None	0.0	22.2	8.0	0.0	11.3
	Pry	25.0	33.3	38.7	0.0	32.5
	JSS	21.9	26.7	13.3	0.0	20.8
	SSS	53.1	14.4	22.7	50.0	28.1
	Tertiary	0.0	1.1	4.0	50.0	2.2
	Others	0.0	2.2	13.3	0.0	5.2

The table shows that the total number of returnees was 249, of which 66 percent were female. The bulk of the female returnees were from Kano State - (73.5%), followed by Kwara and Cross River states which recorded 68 percent and 53 percent respectively. Lagos State recorded only 2 returnees all of whom were males. This may be due to under-reporting on the part of Lagos.

Table 5.7 also summarizes the formal educational levels of the returnees. Kano State produces the highest percentage of returnees (22.2%) without any formal education. Kwara State joined with 8 percent of the returnees in the same category. In all, over 32 percent of the returnees had primary education, 20.8 percent had junior secondary education and 28.1 percent had senior secondary education. Only 2.2 percent had tertiary education. Other educational levels not indicated accounted for 5.2 percent and these were found in Kwara and Kano.

These data show that the educational backgrounds of the returnees cut across the different levels of Nigerian educational system, and those with primary school background accounted for as much as 32 percent (i.e. 75 out of the 249 recorded returnees). The role of formal educational background in trafficking in persons still remains an issue here if as high as 28.1 percent had senior secondary school background and yet was successfully trafficked.

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6. CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The second objective of this study was to analyze the cultural perceptions and attitudes of populations in the communities in the study states particularly the vulnerable ones toward forced labour and trafficking in persons. An analysis of the cultural perceptions requires an understanding of the concept of culture. For this study, culture involves shared symbols, language, beliefs, and code of conduct (i.e. cultural practices) and their creation through shared meanings (i.e. cultural interpretation). In other words, culture includes all that has worked in the past (tradition) and which has become a shared knowledge that is transmitted from generation to generation.

From information and data discussed up to this point, it is clear that the majority of the respondents live in a culture of poverty that motivated the migrating of some of their rural community members. The vulnerable groups from this study were women, children and men especially children 18 years and below whose rights and freedom had been violated. The vulnerable groups were also the adults especially females who were above 18 years and who were also victims of forced labour and human trafficking. These vulnerable groups of Nigerians did not perceive themselves as being subjected to activities inimical to their education, health and psychology given the power of the tradition over them and the circumstances that shape their behaviour. Ignorance and poverty influenced how they saw themselves, organized their worldview and perceived their existence and their work. Their perceptions and attitudes were moulded by the requirements of their culture and tradition. Forced labour to them was work required to discipline them physically and mentally. It was the vaccine they needed against laziness. The cultural context of the vulnerable group did not define any form of work as hazardous or time-bound. To them such a definition, if it existed, was outside the tradition of the communities.

This cultural imperative along with ignorance was such that as we saw earlier, parents were prepared to give away their children to traffickers irrespective of the stage/level of education the children had reached. The paragraph that follows attested to this.

Table 6.1. Characteristics of Children When Released for Trafficking

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN WHEN TRAFFICKED		STATE				Total
		C/River	Ka no	Kwa ra	Lagos	
Class of Child when taken	Primary	38.7	75	60.5	28.6	47.5
	JSS	54.8	6.3	26.3	45.7	36.7
	SSS	6.5	18.8	13.2	25.7	15.8
Why child was not in school	Lack of money to pay school fees	91.7	54.5	77.3	55.6	72.2
	Lack of interest in education	0.0	27.3	9.1	22.2	13
	Too young	8.3	9.1	13.6	11.1	11.1
	Mother widowed	0.0	9.1	0.0	11.1	3.7

7. MOVEMENT EXPERIENCES OF THE RETURNEES

7.1. Crossing the Border

The returnees used different travelling means to cross the borders. These included trekking (9.4%), bicycle/motorcycle (9.4%), private vehicle (3.1%), boat/canoe (3.1%). However, majority of the returnees used commercial buses (25%) while 9.4% indicated other sources to cross borders to their destinations.

A high percentage (40.6%) of the returnees indicated that none of the means of crossing the border listed used in the questionnaire were applicable to their situations. This must be acknowledged to constitute an omission in the design of the items. This omission was based on the assumption that crossing of borders would not involve using air travel as most of those returnees who, indicated 'not applicable' might actually have crossed the border by air. The two returnees from Lagos State are good examples.

Table 7.1: % Distribution of Returnees by Mode of Crossing the Border

DES TINATION OF THE VICTIMS	C/River	Ka no	Kwara	Lagos	Ave Over 4 States
TREKKING	33.3	5.6	0.0	0.0	9.4
BICYCLE/MOTORCYCLE	16.7	11.1	0.0	0.0	9.4
PRIVATE VEHICLE	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	3.1
COMMERCIAL BUS	16.7	33.3	16.7	0.0	25
BOAT/CANOE	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1
OTHERS	16.7	5.6	16.7	0.0	9.4
NOT APPLICABLE	0.0	38.9	66.7	100.0	40.6

7.2. Travel Experience

Most of the returnees agreed that the experience was friendly even though there were some incidence of sexual harassment and physical beating. For example, 69.5 percent of them indicated that their experiences were friendly, 19.8 percent experienced sexual harassment, 6.6 percent physical beating and 4.1% other types of experiences.

Table 7.2: % Distribution of Returnees by Experience on the Journey

ON-THE-JOURNEY EXPERIENCE	C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	Ave Over 4 States
Friendly	62.9	89.7	53.6	100.0	69.5
Physical beating	5.7	1.1	13.1	0.0	6.6
Sexual harassment	28.6	4.6	28.6	0.0	19.8
Other experiences	2.9	4.6	4.8	0.0	4.1

These results in Table 7.2 above may not be the complete reality. The literature (Chutikul 1995, Budapest 1999) showed that in most cases, victims were usually under very strict instruction not to disclose the negative aspects of their real experiences. In some cases victims were drugged and made to take oaths and to undergo certain rituals with voodooos. This may explain the usually high number of returnees who said that their experiences were friendly. More than one-quarter (28.6%) of the returnees from Cross River and Kwara states indicated that they experienced sexual harassment.

Except for returnees encountered in Cross River for which over three-quarters spent between one to two days on board, the travel duration for most of returnees for other states ranged from between 5 to 8 hours. About a quarter (24.7%) of the returnees encountered in Kwara State also indicated that they spent at least 3 days for travelling.

In most cases, victims were usually under very strict instruction not to disclose the negative aspects of their real experiences. In some cases victims were drugged and made to take oaths and to undergo certain rituals with voodooos. This may explain the usually high number of returnees who said that their experiences were friendly.

Table 7.3: Percentage Distribution of Returnees by Other Experiences

EXPERIENCES OF THE RETURNEE		STATE				Total
		C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	
TRAVEL DURATION	Below 5 hrs	3.7	73.2	10.4	0.0	27.0
	5-8 hrs	3.7	21.4	36.4	50	22.8
	9 - 12	7.4	1.8	1.3	0.0	3.2
	13-23 hrs	3.7	0.0	0.0	50	1.6
	1 - 2 days	75.9	3.6	27.3	0.0	33.9
	3 days +	5.6	0.0	24.7	0.0	11.6
WHERE KEPT ON ARRIVAL	Open place	60	3.6	24.1	0.0	33.1
	Warehouse	0.0	3.6	1.7	0.0	1.5
	Unknown place	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.5
	Master s house	0.0	10.7	6.9	0.0	5.1
	Hotel	4	0.0	1.7	0.0	2.2
	Other place	36	82.1	62.1	0.0	56.6
ANY JOB DONE	Did job	92.2	68.9	86.7	100	81.6
ANY CONTACT	With Law Enforcement	71.9	73.5	57.6	50	67.5
TYPE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT	Police	85.1	4	63.5	0.0	43.4
	Immigration	12.8	52	11.5	100	29.7
	Customs	2.1	42.7	25	0.0	26.3
	Others	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.6

One-third of the returnees confirmed they were kept in open places on arrival at their destinations. Over 56.6 percent of the returnees were kept in other places which were not specified by the returnees, presumably under strict warning by their traffickers; some returnees indicated that they were kept in unknown places (1.5%) and in warehouses (1.5%). Those that were kept in relatively comfortable places were below 7 percent. These included those kept in the master's house (5.1%) and hotels (2.2%).

Across the states, at least 70% of the returnees were made to do one job or the other. However, not in all cases were they made to do the job promised them before travelling. Interviews with some who were not promised jobs (43.1%) appear to have a clear idea of jobs they intended to do but which they were reluctant to disclose. About two-thirds of the returnees had access to medical facilities at work but the same proportion worked for over 8 hours per day and experienced various dangers in their various jobs. Most rampant was the health problem and environmental hazards. Sexual harassment was also mentioned by female returnees from Cross River and Kwara states. It was surprising that a large number of the victims -15.7% - encountered other forms of dangers, which were not disclosed

7.3. Home Coming Experience

7.3.1. Reason for Returning:

The reasons given by the returnees vary from state to state. For Cross River State, the most common reason was the fact that the returnees completed the assigned jobs. Others were fed up and had to return on their own wish. For Kano State, about half of the returnees came back home as a result of arrest by law enforcement agents. About 30 percent returned on their own wish and parents influenced the return of about 10 percent of the returnees. About half of the returnees from Kwara State returned on their own wish and equal proportion of the returnees either returned on parents wish or as a result of arrest.

Table 7.4 % Distribution of Returness by Reason for Returning

REASON FOR RETURNING	C/River	Kano	Kwara	Lagos	Ave Over 4 States
Maltreatment	4.7	0.0	4.3	0.0	2.7
Threatened	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	1.4
Afraid	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Disappointed	6.3	0.0	1.4	0.0	2.3
Fed up	6.3	3.5	2.9	50	4.5
To start own business	4.7	0.0	0.0	50	1.8
Arrested	0.0	48.8	7.2	0.0	21.3
Own wish	14.1	31.4	49.3	0.0	31.7
Parent wish	3.1	10.5	7.2	0.0	7.2
Maltreatment	4.7	0.0	4.3	0.0	2.7
Others	12.5	5.8	21.7	0.0	12.7

7.3.2 Experience Sharing:

Except for Kano State in which only about 11% wished to share their experience, at least 70 percent of returnees from Cross River and Kwara states and the two returnees from Lagos State were willing to share their experience with people.

The larger groups for the focus group discussions included women, traditional rulers, youths, transport workers, returnees, students and domestic helpers (Lagos State only). The broad guiding questions posed in the larger groups included the following:

- What did they know about human trafficking?
- What did they envisage as the causes of human trafficking and forced labour?
- What had they noticed of human trafficking? Has it ever been noticed?
- Why and manner to curb human trafficking and forced labour?
- What plans can be put in place to rehabilitate the returnees?
- What kinds of punishment would be appropriate for human traffickers?
- What is government's role in all this?

Below are the findings of the discussions held with the various target groups:

8.2 Women's Focus Group

The women groups for the focus group discussions were: National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS) and their collaborating agencies: Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF) Nigeria chapter and Project African Women against Human Trafficking (PAWAT). Most of the women in the FGD had limited knowledge of human trafficking and forced labour in Lagos for instance, they were aware of incidences of human trafficking but many were ignorant of elements constituting the main issues and some of them did not know when they encountered cases of trafficking and forced labour. The women expressed the need to be enlightened on the issues of human trafficking. There was an understanding of the fact that human trafficking and forced labour showed down the democratic process and affected the development of their society. From the FGD, it was also apparent in Kwara state that in times women were the trafficked and easily found ways to acquire candidates for forced labour at home and abroad. Most of the women however agreed on these points:

8. FINDINGS OF THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

8.1 Introduction

In a qualitative analysis of focus group discussions (FGDs) held with various target groups, broad trends emerged regarding people's views about human trafficking and forced labour. In most of the FGD conducted, there was evidence of an understanding of human trafficking and forced labour. The basis for it as agreed upon by most discussants is poverty and its attendant factors, unemployment and bad governance. Cultural factors were also seen to affect people's perception of the reasons for human trafficking and forced labour. While in some states, human trafficking and forced labour were seen as being motivated by unfortunate family circumstances, in others, human trafficking and forced labour were seen as chiefly motivated by the need for adventure and the lure of greener pastures. One unmistakable factor that was basic to most of the discussions is the lack of awareness by the victims of the processes and consequences of human trafficking and forced labour. In most instances, they are lured by the prospect of earning their wages in hard currency especially for those going abroad and the prospect of living a better life by those who seek employment outside their states of origin. Above all, human trafficking is generally seen as 'modernized slavery'.

The target groups for the focus group discussions included women, traditional rulers, youths, transport workers, returnees, students and domestic helpers (Lagos State only). The broad guiding questions posed at the target groups included the following:

- What did they know about human trafficking?
- What did they envisage as the causes of human trafficking and forced labour?
- Whether any incidence of human trafficking has ever been noticed?
- Way and manner to curb human trafficking and forced labour?
- What plans can be put in place to rehabilitate the returnees?
- What kinds of punishment would be appropriate for human traffickers?
- What is government's role in all this?

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1. Human trafficking begins with the false impression given to some category of people e.g. (rural dwellers) of good jobs and nice rewards if they would agree to work outside their present homes. These categories of people after being taken from their homes are made to do all sorts of jobs by their employers all in the name of finding greener pastures.
2. Even when a trafficking victim is aware of the nature of the job and the type of place one is being taken to work, she/he may not know the implication of what they are to be used for.
3. They all understood human trafficking as the movement/transportation of people from one area to another for reasons not really known to the victims. Promises of good jobs, better life or rather, and greener pastures are often used to recruit the victims who upon arriving at the homes of their employers are forced against their will to work under deplorable conditions. This is when reality dawns on them
4. Human trafficking includes abuse of women, child marriage, prostitution and denying women the right to education. In terms of forcing people to marry against their will, this sometimes happens when the victim is kidnapped and taken to an unknown place.
5. Human trafficking is understood to be a crime but most people do not know the gravity of the crime. The women requested for more advocacy and better enlightenment of the general public on the issues of human trafficking and forced labour so that they can better understand the repercussions, gravity and criminality of the phenomena.
6. Women were seen as victims of trafficking as well as traffickers and they are also affected in a negative manner both emotionally and psychologically. Women can be found in Hotels as prostitutes, in the market as underage hawkers, and as underage domestic servants. All in all the women agreed that in most cases the trafficked women are not only deprived of their earnings, but in extreme cases, they fall prey to the dreaded HIV/AIDS.

8.3 Traditional Leaders

Most FGD conducted with Traditional Leaders revealed some important foresights into human trafficking and forced labour. In Cross River State, the traditional leaders regarded human trafficking as a form of modernized slavery. The level of illiteracy and ignorance, lack of love and attention, and carelessness in monitoring on the part of the parents, who encourage their children to travel outside the state in search of greener pastures were found to be among the root causes. The traditional leaders also pointed out the rich “rewards” the returnees bring to their parents attract a lenient attitude from their parents as well as admiration from their peers. Human trafficking is also fuelled by peer pressure and influence and the spirit of adventure on the part of the trafficked victims, plus the inability of parents to fund the education of their children and wards which make them turn a blind eye to human trafficking where their young ones are concerned.

The traditional rulers in all the four states are aware that human trafficking is a serious problem and they are trying everything possible to eradicate it in their communities. In Kwara State the traditional leader was aware of the problem only because his domain was used as a through-fare being close to the Nigeria/Benin border. In Kano State, they stressed the compulsory registration of the girl child in primary schools and the delay in early marriage of the girl child as a solution to the problem. The traditional rulers and community leaders in

Kwara North talked about the cultural beliefs of the people that girls should not go to school, and instead are given out into early marriages or to be maids outside their community for economic gains. They discussed the wrong use of young girls taken to Mecca during the Hajj by arrangement and used as prostitutes to service men and as domestic servants. During the Hajj, young men were also used as errand boys, beggars and were forced into being accomplices to thieves. The money earned through these dubious means was most often never paid in full to the youths. They received a mere pittance and in some cases nothing at all while the “masters’ received the bulk of the money.

In conclusion, the traditional leaders stressed education and enlightenment as the only way to bring enlightenment to this group of people and would like to see the government make education free at all levels. And in a situation whereby after junior secondary school, students prefer to learn a trade, the environment should be conducive for such people. The leaders called on the Nigerian government to do everything possible to help them, in terms of re-integration of returnees, job creation for the returnees so as to halt the outward movement of youths to serve as slaves in foreign countries.

8.4 Youth Groups

The FGD among the Youths in Lagos focused mostly on their advocacy work in their attempt to combat human trafficking and forced labour. The negative effects of human trafficking they felt was as a result of the harsh condition of the country, resulting in the youths leaving the country for greener pastures, where they fall victims of forced labour/trafficking. The Youths felt that ignorance was largely responsible for this mindset and the youth should be enlightened to know that there is a Nigerian law in place to protect the rights of the child. On their part, they intended to create awareness to let the youths know the implications of human trafficking. The intervention groups at the council levels would be of great help mapping out certain areas where human trafficking is endemic in Lagos like Epe, Badagry, and Agege etc. These are areas where domestic servants are usually sought for.

Other intervention methods would include going to the community heads e.g. Baale, traditional leaders and some other people to talk about human trafficking and child labour. Using handbills, posters and discussion groups on human trafficking, the youths would demonstrate how trafficking would affect their future. Their target audience would be general and varied, and the campaign a continuous process.

In Calabar, Cross River State, the Youth FGD was recorded amongst the returnees. In the opinion of trafficked persons or returnees the major driving forces were seen as the leaders in the communities whom the traffickers pay homage by bringing them gifts at the end of the year in order to placate them. The result is that they can carry on their business as usual without any threat from the community leaders. In their opinion human trafficking is seen as a serious societal ill that needs to be addressed. They saw it as a modernized slave trade that has been camouflaged as providing work for the less privileged in society. This same view was shared by returnees from Kwara State who blamed their frustration on their immediate families for failing to instil in them the necessary discipline to keep them from falling prey to unscrupulous nets or gangs. Some of the returnees said it is better for them to engage in commercial sex outside Nigeria especially in Italy because they are paid in hard currency which when they bring to Nigeria is a lot of money, and they also emphasized on the risks involved in prostitution.

The Youths appealed to government to put in place training programmes for out-of-school youths especially those who cannot continue their education due to financial constraints. They advocated for some form of social security for out-of-school-youths, with free education at all levels and improvement in the Agriculture sector to provide jobs for out-of-school-youths. In Kano State, the youths called for income generating schemes that would help impoverished families look after their children and remove the temptation of giving them away to work outside their homes. Finally, the youths felt that the provision of Vocational Centres to help train young persons acquire skills would enable them to be self-sufficient and prevent them from falling into the traps provided by the human traffickers and compromising their human dignity.

8.5 Hotel Workers

In a FGD with hotel owners in Kwara State and Lagos State it emerged that hotel workers felt that they were not personally affected by human trafficking. The hoteliers were not in the habit of questioning their paying guests as to the status of their accompanied guests. In some cases they may have in ignorance harboured human traffickers without realizing it. In their hotels, a lady hanging around the premises is not encouraged. Looking at it from the perspective of the HIV pandemic, it is not encouraged for ladies to hang around the hotel for the safety of their guests. However they have no control of that either.

The hotels are not in a habit of encouraging prostitutes hanging around. A single lady coming to the bar, is not allowed. It is either they are invited by a guest otherwise they cannot just walk in and order a drink themselves from the bar. This is because the person might interact negatively with their guests. For example if the lady goes to the hotel room of a guest to steal his money, it would have a negative effect on the hotel. But hotels have been known to harbour young ladies who utilize it for attending to their male customers. What is needed they all agreed was massive mobilization to make hoteliers aware of the dangers of human trafficking and forced labour so that they can remain on their guard to help stem the tide.

8.6 Road Transport Workers

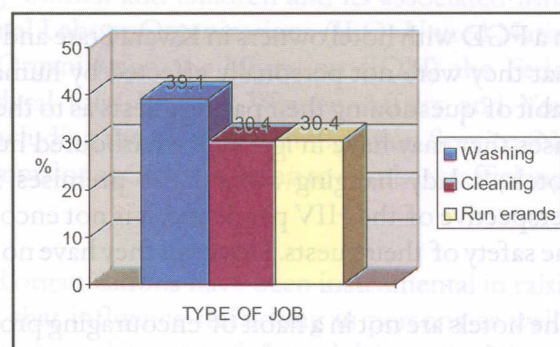
A focus group discussion was held with the members of the road transport workers union that were represented at the consultative meeting in Lagos State. They held the opinion that human trafficking/forced labour is a very lucrative business in Lagos. The provider brings young people to be employed as domestic help, and at the end of the year the provider receives the salaries for the young people. Most times the young people are underage which makes a case for exploitation and child labour. They believed in general, human trafficking has to do with the economic state of the country, because some parents are aware of it and they still force their children to be trafficked so the government should spell out some measures to curb the menace. The road transport workers in Kwara State being unaware of human trafficking and forced labour have unwittingly transported traffickers from the border towns to the capital without asking questions. The same would apply for the other states under investigation, pointing to a need for massive awareness programmes for these groups of people.

8.7 Students and Domestic Helpers: The Lagos Experience

Report from the Lagos group focused partly on students and it was reported that students in tertiary institutions created demand for forced labour and that most of the under-aged children employed might have been trafficked to Lagos from where they found their way to different halls of residence on the campus where they became vulnerable. Twenty-five students (12 females and 13 males) were interviewed and 76% of them indicated that they needed and indeed secured help from under-aged children while 24% of the students indicated that they needed no help (domestic).

Fig. 8.1. Type Of Jobs Done For Students By Helps

The types of domestic jobs engaged in by the under-aged included washing 39.1%, cleaning and running errands (30.4 percent each). These jobs were rewarded through payment by cash (92%) and kind (4%) i.e. clothes, shoes and food items. All the halls of the campuses visited were involved in this type of 'any jobs' the students made no attempt to understand or help these victims out of their multiple predicaments and their vulnerabilities.



The results from the Lagos study suggest the need to target the tertiary institutions for special awareness, raising sensitization and advocacy. The nation's tertiary institutions have not yet attracted the type of urgent attention that they deserve. While it is true that some notable NGOs such as WOTCLEF, Project Alert, WOCON, and Idia Renaissance have long been concerned with the problems of domestics and child labour, attention had not really focused on forced labour and its multiple and negative manifestations on the victims. The results of this study have indicated clear necessity for action.

8.8 Conclusion

The focus group discussions have reinforced the qualitative analysis of the problems surrounding human trafficking and forced labour in the states under review. Most participants in the FGD were aware of the evils of human trafficking and forced labour. Reasons proffered for human trafficking and forced labour included joblessness, lack of parental care and support, peer pressure, and the need to earn foreign exchange to support family members back home. Other reasons included greed on the part of traffickers and gullibility and ignorance of the consequences of being trafficked or forced into labour on the part of the victims. Evidently most discussants had witnessed cases of human trafficking without knowing it was against the law to do so. This is the case of road transport workers and hoteliers who were unwitting accomplices. The FGD revealed that human trafficking can be discouraged through massive awareness campaigns and through the provision of alternate means of labour for these people such as income-generating enterprises. Returnees and out-of-school youths would be the chief beneficiaries of these income-generating schemes. Government on its part can, through the NAPTIP, actualize these poverty reduction schemes and help ameliorate the problems of human trafficking and child labour.

9. RESPONDENTS' JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR PERCEPTIONS

Some of the respondents, during the FGD invoked a portion in the Holy Bible, which stated that human beings should work for seven days of the week and to rest only on the Sabbath day. They questioned the authority of the field officers to want to alter the belief of the people. For example the custodian of the Almajiri system in the north regarded begging for alms as a built-in system of beliefs within Islamic cosmology. Hence those trafficked for begging perceived such an activity as normal and culturally accepted. Individuals' cultural perceptions and attitudes are rooted and defined by a multiplicity of factors including the level of education, the calibre and number of significant other individuals interacted with, their world view (cosmology) and the prevailing ethos in the community. When taken together the cultural perceptions and attitudes of the vulnerable groups towards forced labour and trafficking are determined or moulded by the prevailing tradition which regards all forms of works as normal and which does not place age limit as to what forms of work an individual could engage in. The vulnerable groups in our study perceived 'trafficking' as movement in search of greener pasture. Traffickers are perceived as individuals who were sensitive and who wanted to voluntarily assist to terminate poverty in the community.

The third and fourth objectives are related. The third objective of the study sought to determine the relationships between cultural perceptions and attitudes and trafficking in persons. The fourth objective was to assess how the cultural perceptions and attitudes of the people were related to traditional values of fostering. While the fifth objective sought to examine the relationships among migration, trafficking in persons and forced labour. We had established some of these complex relationships when we analyzed the cultural perceptions and attitudes of vulnerable groups above. A deeper understanding of such complex relationships as demanded by the third, fourth and fifth objectives, requires a theoretical analysis of social values within a multi-cultural setting.

10. SOCIAL VALUES, CULTURAL PERCEPTION AND TRAFFICKING

Social values are personalized interpretations of experiences, which are mediated but not totally determined by an individual's own particular experience and which provide criteria for personal action. Personal values are a distillation of societal values relating to that human behaviour, which involves thought processes and which is not simply reflective or instructive behaviours. Values are the fundamental building blocks of perception, attitudes and behaviour. Values are socio-cultural construct, which serve to secure the growth and sustenance of the culture. Hence the relationships between culture perceptions and attitudes of the vulnerable groups towards forced labour and trafficking depends on the values held by the people about children, about work (labour) and about migration. In other words the complex roles of culture, tradition and values were the bases of the perceptions and attitudes people in the community held about forced labour and human trafficking.

The results of the focus group discussions in the four states indicated that the communities were going through a process of confusion between new and old values involving the perception of community members, the value of work, declining interest in education, and the role of money and material goods as symbols of social status. From the analyses of the different focus group discussions and individual interviews held with members of the communities (rural and urban) in the four states, their attitudes and predispositions to forced labour and trafficking were rooted in and sustained by the following perceptions and cultural beliefs:

- That women and children especially are household properties on whom investments have been made and from who 'yield' from such initial investments must be expected preferably in the form of work (labour).
- Girls are temporary members of their initial families, as the girls would sooner or later be given out for marriage. Hence investment on girls development e.g. education, should, if necessary at all, be minimal (socio-cultural gender discrimination);
- That even in preparing for marriage girls themselves must make their own individual material contributions. The girls were to work out the mechanism for this even if it requires that they migrated or were trafficked out of their communities for forced labour;
- That work is a form of physical fitness required to guide against potential threats to the health of the individual;
- That children are traditionally regarded as members of the family whose duties and responsibilities were seen as central to their development. Such cultural requirement took precedence over their individual rights.
- Work was perceived to take precedence over school, as the opportunity cost of schooling was high and out of reach of an average community member especially as parents had lost interest and confidence in education.
- Work was perceived as a means of integrating the individual into a family and kinship network. Work in whatever form was perceived as serving the family interests as well

as those of the community members. As a result the idea of forced labour did not exist within the traditional setting.

- The inability of school leavers to secure employment had eroded the confidence in education as a social leveller and an antidote for poverty. Any alternative to education capable of bringing quick money was perceived as good for the family.
- Regardless of the prevailing conditions in the urban areas, life and opportunities in the urban areas were still perceived to be better than the rural areas.

The essence of the above was to contextualise forced labour and trafficking in persons especially of women and children within broader and more inclusive cultural beliefs and traditional practices. Changing values in lifestyles and perceptions are preying on these traditions to transform traditional concepts about migration into exploitative labour through the mechanisms of trafficking. Migration has become the key instrument through which forced labour and trafficking are introduced into the communities and within which new commercial economic empowerment initiatives take root even with its forced labour and trafficking manifestations.

11. POLICY MATTERS AND TECHNICAL INTERVENTION STRATEGIES TO COMBAT FORCED LABOUR AND TRAFFICKING IN THE FOUR STATES

In general policies and interventions are aimed at preventing trafficking and forced labour through employment creation, education and vocational training building on existing activities and good practices. Interventions include capacity building to create an enabling environment, and inclusive awareness-raising to change perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. At the community level, policies and intervention should be channelled to integrated direct assistance to target groups (including targeted awareness-raising especially for religious leaders and traditional rulers), and localized capacity building (including coordination and networking with specialized service providers). The fundamental assumption throughout is that reformed and new labour migration channels coupled with localized employment opportunities can substitute for the trafficking of persons into exploitative situations.

Findings from the study in the four states have shown that the root causes of migration and the vulnerability of the communities to forced labour and trafficking were attributable to acute poverty, socio-economic disparities, discrimination (against girls and women), unemployment, ignorance, limited migration channels and stringent conditions for legal migration, prevailing values and their associated culturally-induced perceptions and attitudes towards work, children, trafficking and employment. The growing and biting effects of economic globalization and its impacts in preventing nations from implementing people-oriented development policies compound these situations. The combined effects of all the above is the feminization of poverty, forced labour and migration processes.

In Nigeria there are no barriers to migration between and within the states. Barriers to migration, if they existed, would be between or among ethnic communities and would have resulted in communal conflicts. In other words, no official policy restricts the migration of individuals in the four states. It is important to make this position clear because the bulk of the trafficking encountered in the four states, except in Kano, were internal trafficking motivated by migration. Emphasis on policies, which are relevant to such, would be about labour migration. In this case the revised labour laws under consideration should provide alternatives or substitutes to trafficking. The proposed licensing and certification of agencies, which employ persons in the informal sectors, may inadvertently drive the trafficking criminal gangs further and deeper into more clandestine mechanisms and thus complicate an already serious problem. Viable policies of migration for external trafficking and successful intervention strategies of combating forced labour and trafficking in persons should be based on broader socio-economic, demographic characteristics of families and their children and developmental models vis-à-vis rural/urban integration.

It is also important to situate successful policies against forced labour and trafficking within broader migration and immigration policies predicated on the perceptions, cultural beliefs, attitudes traditional practices and values of local communities. For example, the traditional practice of fostering which has concurrent and cultural convergence among communities in the four states should form the core of both technical intervention and the reassessment of current labour laws. Interventions should target the search for alternatives to the perceived roles, relevance and values of the foster system. Policies should also view migration as a human rights issue that should involve the protection and promotion of migrants and go a long way in reducing the vulnerability of the migrants to human trafficking and forced labour.

Such policies should also acknowledge the realities that given the existing and wide ranging economic disparities among the communities in the four states, legal, labour and economic policies on migration will benefit both source and destination states. Experiences in the four states showed that in general, migrants contributed somehow economically to families and their children as they stimulate economic local development in their source states/communities which in turn helped to reduce cases of forced labour and trafficking. The cases of migration/trafficking paradox occur within poverty-stricken traditional settings. The policies should also target forced labour trafficking and undocumented migration within the contexts of fertility and economic transitions that currently characterize the communities in the four states.

12. ECONOMIC POLICIES AND FORCED LABOUR

In 2004, the federal government of Nigeria introduced its agenda of economic growth and national development capturing them with the acronym NEEDS National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy. NEEDS is a home-grown strategy for economic empowerment and development. It is Nigeria's plan for prosperity and reflects the aspiration of Nigeria's government and people. It identifies the vision for Nigeria and the obstacles that currently prevent the nation from realizing the vision. The economic growth component of the strategy places greater emphasis on agriculture, agriculture-based activities and other labour intensive industries. Exports from these industries are to be market-driven and calculated to reduce Nigeria's vulnerability to periodic economic shocks.

However, from the experience gained in other labour intensive agriculture-based activities such as cocoa and oil palm production and export in Nigeria, it is possible that such agriculture-based labour intensive policies will lead to unintended consequences such as compounding the problem of forced labour, trafficking and migration. We have observed from the pattern of migration in the four states that rural to urban migration characterized the trend in the states and the pattern has been motivated and reinforced by the search for employment. The magnitude of forced labour observed in the cocoa plantation in Ondo State is typical of how large and mass-cultivated cash crops can attract trafficking of families to forced labour through seasonal migration.

The new policy on cassava exports and the different mechanism to mass-produce cassava and other labour-intensive crops for export has a great built-in potential to attract children and families for use in farms. In other words, the situation of forced labour and trafficking may be compounded in Nigeria as we embark on policies that can attract cheap and slave-like labour. The case of the cassava cultivation will be more serious than envisaged primarily because cassava, unlike cocoa, covers a very wide range of agricultural zones in Nigeria, which are suitable for its mass cultivation. In addition, its processing will expose more Nigerians to more health and environmentally hazardous situations. In similar dimension, enthusiasm and policy on tourism may have similar and negative effects on trafficking and prostitution. Experiences have shown elsewhere e.g. (East and South Africa) that the growth of tourist industries provides fertile grounds and opportunities for the simultaneous development of sex industries into which persons; especially girls and women could be trafficked for prostitution and forced labour-related activities. Government should always assess the possible impacts on forced labour and trafficking in persons when developing its economic and industrial policies. In fact, it is necessary that before any labour intensive project are embarked upon and implemented, it should be required that a forced labour impact assessment study (FLIAS) be undertaken. Such a study would provide information on the nature of labour and the category of persons (children, women, boys or men) that would be required to provide such a labour.

13. KEY FINDINGS

Records of the volume of inflow and outflow of trafficked persons were available for Lagos and Kano states, which have relatively sophisticated, and efficient anti-trafficking units. Official records from the two states showed that:

- *Both Lagos and Kano states were destinations for internally trafficked victims of forced labour.*
- *Cross River and Kwara states are two of the sources of victims of forced labour trafficked to both Kano and Lagos states.*
- *More females, whether children or adults, were trafficked into and outside the states for forced labour, than their male counterparts.*
- *The nature and range of socio-economic activities and services, population size and its demographic composition (e.g. place of residence and sex composition) the topography, level of education are major determinants of both the pattern and magnitude of migration trafficking and forced labour.*
- *There was a strong and sustainable relationship among migration for employment, pattern and magnitude of trafficking and forced labour (inflow and outflow) in the four states.*
- *According to records from the Nigeria Immigration Service, Kano State, which is densely populated with substantial socio-economic activities, and a major international airport, recorded (17,648 males and 31,126 females) trafficked out of the state between 2003 and 2004, while within the same period a total for 744 females and 219 males were trafficked for different forms of forced labour into the same State.*
- *There were 76 males and 126 females in recorded cases of forced labour victims for Lagos State in 2003 and 2004. This figure was observed to be substantially lower than the realities of forced labour experienced and reported by rapid assessment surveys concluded by Lagos-based NGOs over the years.*
- *Persons were trafficked for different forms of forced labour among which were domestic, farm work, and street begging in the four states. There were emerging cases of trafficking physically challenged children for forced labour in Cross River State.*
- *Friends and parents of trafficked victims were suspected and indeed reported to aid the trafficking of persons as they were the main sources of information for trafficking and they made arrangements for the migration of forced labour victims.*
- *Traffickers used a wide range of means to travel out of the four states with their victims. Among the means were land (bus, car, lorry and motorcycle) air (plane) and water (boat).*
- *Victims were lured into trafficking by progress of employment opportunities, better life outside their immediate environment, holy pilgrimage and better education in the destination states.*
- *Parents released their children presumably willingly to unsuspecting traffickers because of lack of money, to augment the family income, and inability to cater for too many children.*

- *Half of children released by their parents to traffickers never returned home.*
- *Sixty-eight (68) percent of children that were released to friends and relatives personally for better life, were yet to complete their educational programmes. Most of the children released were in the primary schools (47.5 percent) and junior secondary schools (36.7 percent).*
- *Persons were given away to traffickers because the parents did not have money to pay the school fees (72.2 percent), and parents lack of interest in education (13 percent).*
- *Successful migration was shown to depend in part on social capital or the density of human contacts available to a potential migrant to manipulate in order to facilitate the mechanism of movements and to arrange employment. The denser the volume of social contacts as in Lagos and Kano states the greater the probability of attracting movement.*
- *The true stories and experiences of victims of forced labour and trafficking were often not told to members of the communities and as such the distorted facts contained in the stories served to motivate other potential victims of forced labour and trafficking. The large number of illiterates in the different communities prevented a critical and rational assessment of reported experiences with the results that appropriate lessons; facts and consequences of forced labour do not emerge to serve as deterrence to potential victims.*
- *Images of the lifestyles of trafficked persons who visit the rural communities intermittently (and who distorted the realities of their experience) served to encourage other persons and their parents who as a result willingly gave out their children to trafficking.*
- *Cultural perceptions and traditional practices especially of fostering are strong and form a sort of convergence in the four states. Such perceptual and culturally-induced traditional convergences about child fostering not only militate against combating forced labour and trafficking, they are also being exploited by traffickers to recruit children for forced labour.*
- *In a multi-cultural society such as Nigeria, perceptions and culture-based traditional practices of fostering diffuse fast and deep among members of the communities.*
- *Migration in the four states was in response to existing imbalances and inequality of opportunities, structurally induced poverty and a thriving culture of socio-economic deprivation. These propelled families to search for better job opportunities, higher wages and better living standards.*
- *Work (in the form of labour) and trafficking (buried in the cultural tradition of fostering) has been factored into the enculturation/ development of children in the four states. These processes are now perceived as vital time-tested part of every day living.*

The interplay (or nexus) of values, culture and perception on forced labour and human trafficking should be analyzed and interpreted in the broader context of the demographic characteristics and educational levels of the rural communities including their traditions and other benefits about children, values of work and role of money and material goods as symbols of social status.

14. RECOMMENDATION

Since forced labour and illegal migration like trafficking have been found to be associated with the search for employment and better conditions of living, government should embark on developing policies and implement programmes of integrated rural/urban nature. These programmes would be aimed at discouraging internal (domestic) migration that is the bane and a root cause of exploitative forced labour. Such rural/urban integrated development policies would include the establishment of small but viable cottage industries to provide employment opportunities in the rural communities. Emphasis should also be redirected at practical implementation of the philosophy and objectives of the universal basic education (UBE) in a way that the opportunity cost of schooling to parents would be such that would discourage them from '*willingly*' giving their children out to unsuspecting traffickers.

The many multi-sectoral and integrated poverty alleviation programmes contained in the NEEDS reform package should be implemented transparently so as to achieve their objectives especially with the rural communities.

There is need to enforce existing policies on population especially those which relate to population control. The fact that some parents gave out their children to unsuspecting traffickers because the 'children were too many' suggests the need to control the number of children per family. Data collection from institutions like the police and immigration were either not available or these institutions operated a bureaucracy which made securing data extremely difficult. The institutions should be re-oriented to providing relevant data as and when requested for.

The rate at which students in tertiary institutions indirectly attract and use under-aged children is very high in contrast to efforts to combat forced labour. Tertiary institutions should be especially targeted for enlightenment and sensitization.

Policies on agriculture should be evolved and implemented only after an in-depth Forced Labour Impact Assessment Study (FLIAS) might have been carried out. FLIAS should be adopted as a policy instrument like the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) mandated for any industrial establishment to curb environmental pollution. An implementation of adult and non-education programmes should be intensified especially in rural communities to strengthen the enlightenment campaign against forced labour and human trafficking especially among parents and traditional rulers.

15. CONCLUSION

Trafficking in persons and forced labour are two growing social problems where cultural beliefs and traditional practices conflict with contemporary national socio-economic policies and global movements. Global movements e.g. globalization, directly and indirectly impact positively or negatively on the implementation of national policies and programmes. Among such policies and programmes are those on poverty alleviation, agricultural development, tourism, Universal Basic Education (UBE) and the establishment of different Export Processing Zones (EPZ). These are areas among others which require re-assessments as they have the potentials not only to impact positively on human development but also negatively in increasing/intensifying rural/urban migration, promoting labour intensive activities, and creating opportunities of the simultaneous development of sex-industries and pornography. Experiences in the four focused states of the study showed that government policies and programmes were yet to impact positively as expected on the daily lives of the people in a way that would raise awareness and promote attitudes and behaviour that would modify their perception, cultural beliefs and traditional practices, which render individuals especially women and children vulnerable to trafficking and forced labour.

In other words government at all levels should promote integrated rural development programmes capable of impacting on people's lives and discouraging or minimizing tendencies towards rural or urban migration. Such programmes could promote employments in rural areas and encourage communities to actively and willingly participate in eradicating the growing scourge of trafficking in persons and forced labour and mitigating their other negative impacts.

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