'VULNERABILITY' TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING:
A STUDY OF VIET NAM, ALBANIA, NIGERIA AND THE UK

University of Bedfordshire

IOM UN MIGRATION

IASR | INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

ACRONYMS

APOV	Abuse of a Position of Vulnerability
CP	Child Protection
DV	Domestic Violence
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPR	Institute of Public Policy and Research
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NACTAL	Network of Civil Society organisations against Child Trafficking, Abuse and Labour
NAPTIP	National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Referral Mechanism (UK)
PoCs	Points of Contact (IOM staff in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria)
PSG	Particular Social Group
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SLEs	Shared Learning Events
SOPs	Standard Operating Procedures
VAC	Violence Against Children
VAW	Violence Against Women
WOTCLEF	Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

This report describes the first stages of an ethically-led, two-year research study into understanding the causes, dynamics and 'vulnerabilities' to and resilience against human trafficking in three source countries– Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria – plus the support needs of people from these countries who have experienced trafficking when identified as potential 'victims' of trafficking in the UK. These three source countries have consistently been the top three countries of referrals of potentially trafficked persons into a National Referral Mechanism (NRM) within the UK.

This study has been conducted in partnership between the University of Bedfordshire and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The research study uses an IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model in its examination and analysis of vulnerabilities to and resilience against human trafficking. This model identifies risk and protective factors for vulnerable migrants across five different levels – individual, household and family, community, structural and situational levels.

The focus of this report is on Nigeria, detailing emerging themes following a two-day Shared Learning Event (SLE) held in Lagos, Nigeria, between 17-18 January 2018. These preliminary themes will help shape the subsequent research.

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

1. Explore socio-economic and political conditions plus other contextual factors that create 'vulnerability' and resilience to human trafficking in Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania
2. Utilise and refine the IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model
3. Outline routes taken from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania to the UK
4. Review existing academic and 'grey' literature on trafficking within and from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania
5. Explore the support needs of people who have experienced trafficking from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania and have arrived into the UK

STUDY APPROACH

This study is mainly qualitative in its approach with the intention of drawing out the complexities and nuances of human trafficking from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania. In each of these countries, and the UK, a minimum of 40 semi-structured interviews will be conducted with key informants and adults who have experienced human trafficking. These will be supplemented by available quantitative data from IOM's centrally and locally held database on trafficking and data held by partners working alongside IOM. Ethical considerations remain paramount throughout this study, from the design stage through to dissemination. An Ethical Protocol has been drawn up and continues to evolve alongside the research.

SHARED LEARNING EVENTS

Prior to commencing the qualitative and quantitative aspects of this study, Shared Learning Events (SLEs) were held in each country as the first step in ascertaining what is already known about trafficking and contextually-based considerations for conducting research on this topic.

At the Nigerian SLE held in Lagos, twenty-nine stakeholders from civil society organisations and government agencies, such as law-enforcement, children services, and health services participated in the first day[1]. These stakeholders were invited to provide presentations addressing the key research aims and questions, helping to ensure that local knowledge was incorporated into the research study at an early stage. These presentations considered the picture of human trafficking within Nigeria, patterns of human trafficking from Nigeria to the UK and factors that shape vulnerability to trafficking. During the second day, a smaller group of stakeholders were invited to discuss research design, methodologies, ethical protocols for conducting the research and the design of interview schedules to be used for data collection with the UK and Nigerian research teams.

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[1] See Appendix 2 for a list of organisations involved in the SLE.

NIGERIAN CONTEXT

Nigeria is Africa's most populated country with an estimated current population of approximately 182.2 million (Human Development Report, 2016). Although considerable wealth is generated from oil reserves there are also high levels of poverty experienced by a considerable proportion of Nigerian nationals. Nigeria is divided into 36 States and the federal capital is located in Abuja. The states are further disaggregated into six geo-political zones: South-South, South-East, South- West, North-Central, North-West, and North-East. Nigeria has over 500 ethnic groups with the largest being Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. While Nigeria is a religiously diverse country, Christianity and Islam are the most predominantly practiced religions in the South and North of the country respectively.

This report details these historical, structural and situational factors relating to Nigeria's post-independence transition and how these relate to migration and, more specifically, human trafficking. To do this a timeline of key political events plus events relating to human trafficking has been compiled, with input from the 29 participants attending the SLE. This historical and contextual knowledge will now inform remaining fieldwork and analysis.

INDICATIVE KEY THEMES AND LEARNING
ARISING OUT OF NIGERIA SHARED LEARNING EVENT

A range of key themes and learning points emerged out of the Nigerian SLE and these preliminary themes will now help shape the subsequent research. This intentionally descriptive report provides an interim report for the study, relating solely to Nigeria, which will be followed up with a final report addressing research aims across all three source countries in early 2019.

Issues arose around five key areas – root causes, risks and vulnerabilities; forms of exploitation; support services; the extent, nature and impact of stigma and discrimination against victims of trafficking; and, issues related to data protection plus the collection and recording of data on human trafficking.

The first of these – root causes, risks and vulnerabilities – included:

A key aspect of discussions during the SLE related to media reports exposing auctions of 'slaves' in Libya and the return of Nigerian nationals from Libyan detention centres. These discussions, plus emerging details of deaths at sea, often and understandably surpassed the purpose of the SLE to explore the link between Nigeria and UK in terms of human trafficking. Edo State had received its first returnees from Libya in November 2017 and this SLE took place in January 2018. As such, the focus of this research study was not a key priority at this point in time.

There was less knowledge about trafficking from Nigeria to the UK and less experience of working with people who had been trafficked to the UK than there was of other forms and geographies of exploitation and trafficking. However, some links are emerging between the Nigerian and UK governments. These links included the Nigerian government signing a Memorandum of Understanding with the UK government on trafficking in persons in 2004 and the British Secretary of State for International Development visiting NAPTIP in 2017.

A clear contextual vulnerability surrounds identification of people as victims of trafficking, both within Nigeria and for those returning from other countries. From discussions during both Days 1 and 2 of the SLE it became apparent that not all people who have indicators of trafficking are being identified or profiled as a victim of trafficking by NAPTIP. There are agencies who work with people who have strong indicators of trafficking who would like a further role is assisting with this non-identification. This relates to resources and capacity and is a clear area in which improvements could be made.

The causes or drivers of human trafficking appeared to be multiple, intertwining and overlapping. Stakeholders highlighted multiple vulnerabilities to trafficking across the different levels of the Determinants of Vulnerability model. These included poverty, unemployment, lower levels of education and literacy, corruption, conflict, the lack of social safety nets, abuse of traditional fostering practices, cultural or religious norms that support exploitation, the erosion of values and limited options for safe and legal migration. Increasing demand for sex and cheap labour were considered an integral part of this.

There is a need to invoke a debate about the 'root causes'[2] of human trafficking utilising a development paradigm to alleviate extreme poverty, inequalities, gender-based violence and associated reasons. Not confronting these root causes will ultimately fail to resolve the human insecurity and hopelessness experienced by those who are deceived into human trafficking. Leadership on this is required.

There is a need to create a comprehensive approach towards human trafficking that is both human rights based, victim- and child-centred. The nature of this comprehensive approach should relate directly to causes and vulnerability factors, with inbuilt measures to ensure effective practice.

An extensive range of places of origin were discussed. Participants at the SLE discussed known cases from across Nigeria, not solely focussed on Edo and Delta States. Other States mentioned included Benue, Bauchi, Enugu, Yobe, Anambra, Oyo, Imo, Awka Ibom, Abia, Jigawa and more than another 20 States. Further work to establish the actual locations that have cases of trafficking who reach the UK is necessary.

Gender, gender inequalities, sex discrimination and a lack of good governance were each suggested to be exacerbating factors. Gender imbalances within the society were outlined as key factors for understanding trafficking within and from Nigeria. Further research to understand these imbalances is recommended.

Recruitment methods were varied, ever changing and often related to close personal and family ties. It was suggested that traffickers are rarely strangers and often work within communities with people they are very familiar with. Further research is necessary to understand this aspect.

Migration and human trafficking are linked to post-Independence governance structures within Nigeria. At times participants at the SLE directly related accounts of human trafficking to key historical events, with the reported 'brain drain' a result of underdevelopment of the Nigerian economy which has led to economies of shortage, high unemployment rates among Nigerian youths, lack of opportunities and a volatile political climate that can be traced back to the first military coup d'état of 1966. Participants outlined how hope, and being willing to take risks, are factors relating to migration and human trafficking within Nigeria.

There is a need to clarify terminology used within trafficking discussions in Nigeria. A number of categories such as 'child labour' and 'child trafficking' require further conceptual clarification. There is also a need for awareness around the use of terms such as 'illegal' to describe people as well as the key differences around smuggling and trafficking. Some terminology used to describe victims of trafficking is highly value-laden.

There is an implementation gap between the legislative and policy framework in Nigeria with practice in reality. Stakeholders at the SLE highlighted a lack of political will to implement trafficking legislation.

The second of these – forms of exploitation – included:

Forms of exploitation are multiple. Alongside sexual exploitation (sometimes referred to as sex trafficking) as a key purpose of trafficking for adults, other forms included domestic servitude (also referred to as domestic labour); forced labour (also referred to as labour trafficking); organ trafficking; trafficking for ritual purposes and multiple forms of exploitation. For Nigerian children the forms included: Sexual exploitation; domestic servitude; forced labour; illegal inter-country or domestic adoption; 'baby factories'; 'orphanage trafficking'; recruitment of child soldiers in conflict areas; and multiple forms of exploitation.

The third key area – support services – included:

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[2] The term 'root causes' was utilised during the SLE by a number of participants, including the former Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.

There is a gap between the number of Nigerian nationals referred into the UK NRM and the numbers of people accessing support service for trafficked persons in Nigeria. The difference between the numbers referred into the UK NRM and the numbers of Nigerian nationals identified and supported who had experienced trafficking to the UK was stark. Only 6 people over a 5-year period (2013-2017) who had experienced trafficking in the UK were known to NAPTIP. This means that those returning to Nigeria may not be accessing any support upon return. There is a need for further research into the reasons for such differences and potential challenges for reintegration and identification of people returning from the UK to Nigeria.

There has been a traditional focus on the human trafficking of women and girls and, as such, there is little understanding or support for men and boys who have experienced trafficking. The focus of support for women and girls was very apparent with support services within Nigeria focusing almost solely on female victims. There is almost a complete gap in understanding about the causes of trafficking of males or their support needs.

Fourthly – the extent, nature and impact of the stigma and discrimination against victims of trafficking – related to:

The issue of social stigma and discrimination as a result of trafficking were considered key to reintegration efforts. The issue of social stigma and discrimination were outlined as being key issues faced by those who had experienced human trafficking. Adults who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation were routinely referred to in media reports and official accounts as 'prostitutes' and other discriminatory labels. There was also reported stigma around adoption and the inability to conceive a child, sometimes linked to trafficking or the reported phenomenon described as 'baby trafficking'.

Fifthly – issues around data – included:

Data protection, confidentiality and anonymity were under-regarded in practice. It appears that there is little emphasis given to data protection, confidentiality and anonymity for people who have experienced trafficking across a broad range of sectors within Nigeria, including within media reports. It was not unusual to see media reports with the full names, places of origin and even photographs of people who had experienced trafficking. This is an important consideration given the stigma associated with trafficking and/or return.

Statistics on trafficking could be improved in Nigeria and the UK. Although statistics were available from different agencies, further work to centralize and improve these would be beneficial. The available data on trafficking within Nigeria does not provide a whole picture of the nature and trends of trafficking, nor does it assist in understanding what makes people vulnerable to trafficking. The underlying data in Nigeria requires further work to incorporate individuals identified by organisations outside of NAPTIP's work, potentially through a profiling mechanism. The available NRM data on trafficking of Nigerian nationals to the UK only focuses on referrals, with no disaggregated data provided for people officially identified as trafficked in the UK in terms of their gender, exploitation type or place of origin.

Finally, it was clear that considerable further research is necessary to explore gaps and key themes raised but not elaborated upon during the SLE. These include 'baby factories', 'orphanage trafficking' and the issue of victims' agency and the relationship of this to vulnerability or capacities amongst many other topics raised by participants at the SLE.

KEY MESSAGES

This intentionally descriptive report details the first stages of an ethically-led, two-year research study into understanding the causes, dynamics and vulnerabilities to human trafficking in three source countries – Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria – conducted in partnership between the University of Bedfordshire and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The study also seeks to improve understanding of the support needs of people from these three countries who arrive into the UK having experienced trafficking.

The focus of this report is on Nigeria, including contextual information about Nigeria, presentations given during a Shared Learning Event (SLE) held in Lagos, Nigeria, between 17-18 January 2018 and emerging themes from these presentations and workshops held during this event. These preliminary themes will help shape subsequent qualitative research with people who have experienced trafficking and key informants who work closely with them. This qualitative research will ultimately be supplemented by quantitative data extraction from IOM's centrally and locally held databases on trafficking and/or data held by partners working alongside IOM.

The key themes emerging from the Nigeria SLE related to risks and vulnerabilities; forms of exploitation; support services; the impact of trafficking; and issues related to data collection.

The SLE was designed to enable discussion about trafficking from Nigeria to the UK. However, it became clear at the SLE that there was an understandable focus on the return of Nigerian nationals from Libyan detention centres and that there was limited knowledge about trafficking from Nigeria to the UK and very limited support for victims of trafficking in Nigeria who had previously experienced trafficking to the UK. This report begins to fill these gaps and the subsequent research will continue this endeavour.

People are trafficked[3] for a range of reasons, including for the purposes of sexual and labour exploitation, domestic servitude and a range of other exploitative practices. Since 2010, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has been mandated to produce reports on trafficking of people. Their 2016 global report outlined how sexual exploitation and forced labour had been found to be the most common forms of exploitation among identified victims with other forms such as begging, forced marriages, organ removal and the production of pornography becoming increasingly apparent[4].

Global concerns about human trafficking during the 1990s led to the UN General Assembly adopting the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime in November 2000, supplemented by an additional protocol – the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children – widely referred to as the Palermo Protocol 2000. This protocol provided the first internationally agreed and most used definition of trafficking which states that:

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[3] The use of inverted commas around terms in this report have been minimised to enable ease of reading. However, it should be noted that many terms used herein are contested and continue to be debated, including the term 'trafficking' itself, the recent use of the term 'modern slavery', 'vulnerability', 'capacity' and the use of the terms 'victim' and 'survivor' to describe a person who has experienced 'trafficking'.

[4] The 2016 UNODC report provides a figure of 63,251 victims detected in 106 countries between 2012 and 2014. Of these, figures for 2014 – 17,752 victims detected in 85 countries – have been utilised to consider the profile of victims and trends in the forms of exploitation, profile of traffickers and trafficking flows.

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

This definition contains three interrelated yet distinct elements, the 'act' (recruitment, transportation and transfer), the 'means' (use of violence, threats or other use of force or coercion) and the 'purposes' (a range of forms of exploitation).

Since the late 1990s, the estimated global prevalence of trafficking based on this definition has been fervently debated, particularly in relation to the lack of empirical evidence for statistics cited (Laczko and Gramegna, 2003; Salt, 2000; Tyldum, 2010). Global estimates of 'modern slavery' for forced labour and forced marriage have been produced by the International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation in partnership with IOM, providing an estimate of 40.3 million 'victims' of modern slavery worldwide in 2016 (Alliance 8.7, 2017). These estimates help inform steps towards the achievement of Target 8.7 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of eradicating modern slavery, forced labour and trafficking around the world. The lack of reliable global statistics or the uncritical use of estimates are key limitations to understanding human trafficking (Mugge, 2017). Furthermore, most knowledge about trafficking is based on people who receive assistance rather than those who decline or avoid support (Brunovskis and Surtees, 2007; Tyldum, 2010).

The Palermo Protocol was signed by the UK in December 2000, coming into force in February 2006. The UK also ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking which became operational from April 2009. The UK government created a National Referral Mechanism (NRM) to comply with Article 10 of the Council of Europe Convention. The NRM is the framework by which people are formally identified as victims of human trafficking and referred to specialist support.

In 2015 a Modern Slavery Act gained Royal Assent in the United Kingdom. This Act made provisions to address slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour as well as human trafficking. It further put in place mechanisms for the protection of those identified as victims of trafficking and established the role of an Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner. Under this Act, human trafficking is considered an offence if somebody arranges or facilitates the travel of another person for the purposes of exploitation; travel meaning arriving into, travelling within and departing from any country. There are distinctions between the Palermo Protocol and the UKs Modern Slavery Act. For example, Section 2 of the Modern Slavery Act adds detail around the exchange or control of individuals who have experienced trafficking. It is more explicit about trafficking within a country, something which is commonly referred to as 'internal trafficking'. The Modern Slavery Act[5] also provides for the prosecution of those who have enslaved or exploited individuals in the UK even if it is difficult to prove any form of travel.

In March 2017 Amber Rudd, former Home Secretary of the UK government, announced the first Modern Slavery Innovation Fund investment in 10 projects to tackle modern slavery around the world. This was in line with the UK government commitment to achieving the SDGs Target 8.7 outlined above. The 10 awards involved work in source countries to reduce vulnerability to exploitation, support victims and improve the evidence-base[6]. On 19 September 2017 the UK Prime Minister made a Call to Action to End Forced Labour, Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking at the 72nd Meeting of the UN General Assembly, reflecting the political commitments of 37 Member and Observer States to achieve this same Target 8.7.

[5] The Modern Slavery Act is current under review.

[6] This research study is one of the ten projects awarded funding through the Modern Slavery Innovation Fund.

This research explicitly seeks to understand what causes and creates vulnerability to trafficking. Spaces for vulnerability to trafficking and the vulnerabilities of people who have been trafficked have been the subject of previous studies but much less is known of the capacities[7] of people who have experienced trafficking or examples of good practice in human trafficking work. This study seeks to address this gap, looking at contextually-based vulnerabilities/risk factors and capacities/protective factors across Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. The study also seeks to improve understanding of the support needs of people from these three countries who arrive into the UK having experienced trafficking, focusing on 'good practice' where found.

The term trafficking is used throughout as 'modern slavery' was not a recognized term within Nigeria at this point in time.

This research study focuses on Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania as during both 2015 and 2016, these three countries were the top three referral countries of origin (excluding the UK) into the NRM. Total numbers of people referred into the NRM from these three countries and the UK as potential trafficked persons during 2015 and 2016 are presented below:

Table 1: Top Country of Origin NRM Referrals for 2015 and 2016

Country	Number of adults referred to the NRM in 2015	Number of children referred to the NRM in 2015	Total 2015	Number of adults referred to the NRM in 2016	Number of children referred to the NRM in 2016	Total 2016	Change 2015 to 2016 (Total)
Albania	394	206	600	472	227	699	+99
Viet Nam	230	248	478	292	227	519	+41
Nigeria	214	43	257	200	43	243	-14
UK	64	127	191	71	255	326	+135

Source: NCA Statistics

This study seeks to provide rich and nuanced accounts of human trafficking from these countries to help understand the complexities of root causes of human trafficking and the support needs of victims from these top three countries in the UK. It seeks to provide contextually-based understandings of vulnerabilities in each of the three source countries.

Human trafficking is a sensitive topic to research, not only because of the moral implications of the topic, but also because of the often polarized and highly charged debates around who constitutes a 'victim' or 'survivor' of trafficking.

'Vulnerability' is a broad and often contested term and has to be understood within the context used, particularly in contexts of exploitation, human trafficking or migration more broadly (IOM, 2017). As outlined in a UNODC Issue Paper (2013), specifically on the topic of Abuse of a Position of Vulnerability (APOV), vulnerability is accepted as an integral part of the definition of trafficking. The same Issue Paper outlines how international law does not define APOV, with official guidance on the concept being ambiguous and unofficial guidance of limited usefulness. The Issue Paper notes the lack of an agreed definition of

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[7] IOM's Determinant Model looks at 'vulnerabilities' and 'capacities'. Within the literature on migration there has been some work on micro-level migrant 'capabilities' as well as 'aspirations' of migrants.

the term vulnerability but goes on to suggest its use to refer to inherent, environment or contextual factors that increase susceptibility of an individual or group to being trafficked such as human rights violations, inequality or poverty that are contextually defined:

> 'A multitude of factors operate to shape the context within which trafficking takes place and the capacity of the individual to respond. A genuine understanding of vulnerability will thereby almost always require situation-specific analysis.' (UNODC, 2013:14)

Within studies of human rights, Bryan Turner has suggested that the concept of human vulnerability is universal to all. He suggested that this vulnerability 'defines our humanity and is the common basis of human rights' (Turner, 2006:1), that rights are enjoyed by individuals 'by virtue of being human – and as a consequence of their shared vulnerability' and human frailty (Ibid., 2006:3). Turner's ideas of universal and embodied vulnerability have been challenged by some who consider that vulnerability is more about power relations and is specific to cultural and historical contexts rather than having universal application (Ibid., 2006).

In the context of migration, IOM defines vulnerability as:

> 'The diminished capacity of an individual or group to have their rights respected, or to cope with, resist or recover from exploitation, or abuse… [and] … the presence or absence of factors or circumstances that increase the risk or exposure to, or protect against, exploitation, or abuse.' (IOM, 2016)

Within trafficking debates and discourses, vulnerability is linked to socio-economic constraints more than civil and political rights. There is considerable critique of the way in which those who have experienced trafficking are viewed through lenses of victimhood and vulnerability. Critiques are also often centred around the focus on the organized crime aspects of trafficking resulting in part from the Palermo Protocol on trafficking supplementing the Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime. The Protocol's focus on women and children has been criticized for leaving the trafficking of men poorly understood and overlooked resulting in a lack of support and assistance for trafficked men.

AIMS OF RESEARCH

1. Explore socio-economic and political conditions plus other contextual factors that create 'vulnerability' and resilience to human trafficking in Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania
2. Utilise and refine the IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model
3. Outline routes taken from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania to the UK
4. Review existing academic and 'grey' literature on trafficking within and from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania
5. Explore the support needs of people who have experienced trafficking from Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania and have arrived into the UK

RESEARCH APPROACH

This research is mainly qualitative in its approach to understanding vulnerabilities and capacities of people pre, during and after trafficking. This qualitative approach places emphasis on the complexities and 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) of this global phenomenon. It is not the intention to generalize from interviews with those who have experienced trafficking and those who work with them. Rather, it is the intention that qualitative accounts will illuminate and help explain contextual factors that create vulnerability to trafficking and capture a range and diversity of experiences.

These qualitative accounts will then be supplemented by analysis of available quantitative data within IOM's centrally and locally held databases on trafficking and/or data held by partners working alongside IOM. Whilst there are methodological limitations involved in the use of these databases (Surtees and Craggs, 2010), examination of country-specific quantitative data data may in some instances help to show trends around the known causes and consequences of trafficking from the countries included in this study.

Aims 1 and 3 of the study relate to understanding why people in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria may be vulnerable to human trafficking and how they are trafficked to the UK. Aim 2 focuses on the IOMs Determinants of Vulnerability model and how its risk and protective factors across the five different levels work in the context of cases of human trafficking. Aim 4 is a review of existing literature, both academic and 'grey' literature. A team of researchers from the University of Bedfordshire are carrying out this literature review, with Expert Researchers employed in Tirana, Hanoi and Lagos contributing. It is anticipated that the Literature Review will therefore be supplemented by an Annotated Bibliography of country-specific literature on human trafficking and good practice for Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. Aim 5 explores the support needs of people from these countries who have arrived into the UK.

The sampling of areas and then participants is a common strategy in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012; Mason, 2002; May, 2001; Silverman, 2000). This research has been designed to ensure that sampling of participants within the four countries is purposive – in other words, participants will be interviewed strategically based on the particular context within each country. Additionally, given the clandestine nature of human trafficking, reaching people who have experienced trafficking is both sensitive and difficult, requiring a focus on building trust (Hynes, 2003; van Liempt and Bilger, 2012).

In each of the four countries a minimum of 40 face-to-face, semi-structured interviews will be carried out across a geographical, gender and sectoral range discussed during SLEs in each country:

- Minimum of 20 semi-structured interviews with people who have experienced trafficking in each country
- Minimum of 20 semi-structured interviews with key informants in each country

This will mean that a minimum of 160 semi-structured interviews will take place in total across all four countries. The interviews will be audio recorded where appropriate and fully-informed consent has been given by participants. The interviews will be fully transcribed, coded using specialist social science NVivo11 software and analysed thematically.

ETHICS

Ethical principles remain paramount within this research and ethical issues will be addressed throughout the life of this study. This includes the development of a 'living' Ethical Protocol which has and will continue to evolve and be developed in close consultation with IOM country offices in Nigeria, Viet Nam and Albania. This 'living' Ethical Protocol will document key ethical issues at each stage of the research process, including minimizing harm or potential distress to participants and maximizing benefits of participation; ensuring the informed consent of participants; plus ensuring data protection, confidentiality and anonymity. It is anticipated that contextually-based ethical issues and dilemmas raised throughout the life the of study will be discussed and documented within this 'living' Ethical Protocol which will then be published as an output of this research. This has been developed in conjunction with ethical guidelines available in this field (Refugee Studies Centre, 2007; Zimmerman and Watts, 2003).

Formal applications were made to the University of Bedfordshire two-stage ethics approval process for research, firstly to the Institute of Applied Social Research Ethics Committee and then the University of Bedfordshire Research Ethics Committee. Ethical approval was granted at both stages, enabling this research to be undertaken. Endorsement and oversight by national bodies was also sought, with the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) in Nigeria and the Data Protection Commissioner in Albania approving and endorsing the study. A number of suggestions following these submissions have been embedded into the study and shared with participants at each SLE.

IOM'S DETERMINANTS OF VULNERABILITY MODEL

An innovative aspect of this study is the application of IOM's recently introduced Determinants of Vulnerability model[8]. This is a model to address the protection and assistance needs of people who have experienced or are vulnerable to violence, abuse, exploitation or rights violations before, during and after migration. It is important to recognize that this model has not been specifically designed for the purpose of understanding the vulnerabilities of trafficked persons. It does however give equal consideration to understanding both what can create migrant vulnerability and resilience.

This model provides a key conceptual tool for this project to enable exploration of contextual factors at these different levels plus incorporating both the vulnerabilities and capacities of those who have experienced or are vulnerable to violence, abuse, exploitation or rights violations.

The IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model is shown below:

Figure 1: IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model
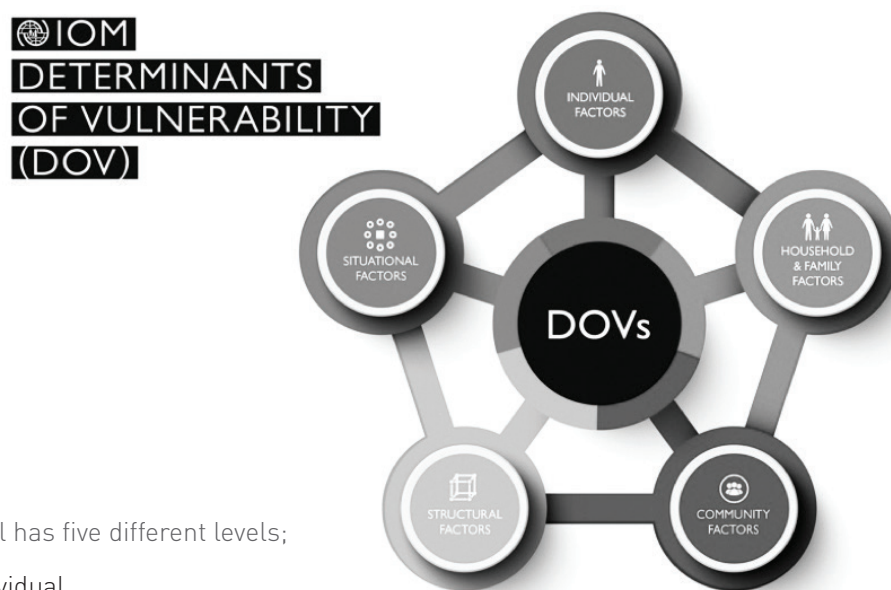
This model has five different levels;

- Individual
- Household and Family
- Community
- Structural
- Situational

Within each of these five levels there are different risk and protective factors. There is no hierarchy between the levels and different risk and protective factors. The risks factors are those that increase vulnerability – or create space for vulnerabilities to emerge. The protective factors are those which build resilience against vulnerability. IOM recognizes resilience as the capacity to avoid, resist, cope with, or recover from violence, exploitation, abuse, and/or rights violations.

Others have described 'resilience' at an individual level as meaning individuals' abilities in being able to deal with past traumatic or stressful circumstances, being able to withstand present difficult circumstances and having the capacity to recover and develop coping skills for their future (Luthar, 2003; Rutter, 2007). Newman (2004) argues that it is never too late to build resilience. How people cope in adversity (Colson, 1991) and the non-linear process of building resilience will be explored throughout the research. Resilience at community or more structural levels relates to systems or mechanisms put in place to reduce risk.

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[8] The IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model is still being developed and refined by IOM. The model presented at the SLE and in this report remains subject to change.

The first level of the Determinants of Vulnerability model relates to individual and demographic characteristics, including ascribed characteristics such as gender, age or ethnicity over which the individual concerned has no control. There may also be disability, physical, sexual or mental health factors at this level.

Some individual factors can be risk factors or protective factors depending on the context. For example, being in a particular ethnic group may be a protective factor when that ethnic group is the majority but may be a risk factor when that group is a minority. However other individual factors may largely be recognized as either always being a risk or a protective factor. For example, literacy is almost always a protective factor, while illiteracy could be considered almost always as a risk factor.

The second level is the household and family level. Household and family factors can include family size, household structure, socio-economic status, migration histories, employment, livelihoods, education levels, gender norms, and family dynamics. Households and families can cause both risk and protective factors. Risk factors can include inter-personal violence between family members, households headed by a child or a single parent, and a history of unsafe migration. Protective factors may include having a supportive home environment, equitable distribution of resources and opportunities between male and female children.

The third level is the community level. In this study the relationships between people will be included, particularly those of friends, peers, acquaintances, community leaders, close and extended family members to view how these influence vulnerabilities to trafficking. The community level includes settings in which individuals interact, the local climate or acceptance levels of violence or abuse. Community factors include educational opportunities, quality of available health care and social services, livelihood and income generation opportunities, the natural environment, and social norms and behaviours. Community risk factors include practices such as early marriage or gender-based violence. Examples of protective factors include a good education system that is accessible to all, and access to good health and social welfare systems.

The fourth level is the structural level. Structural factors might enable an economic or political climate that renders – or creates space – for vulnerability to trafficking. For example, there may be social norms that support patriarchy or condone high levels of sexual, gender-based or other forms of violence and discrimination. Structural factors include those at a transnational level that will inform choices made by individuals migrating via safe or unsafe routes and mechanisms. Risk factors include conflict, marginalization and discrimination, poor governance, and weak rule of law. Protective factors include good governance and respect for human rights.

The final level is the situational. The model includes situational factors to ensure that change and deviation from 'normal circumstances' is factored into the model (IOM, 2017). This includes situations or statuses at the individual, household, community, and/or structural levels, that can change quickly, and/or in an unforeseen way, and that increase or decrease the exposure of individuals, families, and communities to violence, exploitation, abuse, and/or rights violations. This could include armed conflict, humanitarian crisis or other contexts that enable human trafficking as a result of organisational structures. These situational factors are different from factors at the individual, household, community, or structural levels because they are shorter-term, sudden, and/or unforeseen.

Within this study, concepts of vulnerability, capacity and resilience will be examined around these five levels and the complex interplay between them. However, this conceptual model may prove to be not exhaustive and therefore the study is not limited to use of the model in identifying and analyzing risk and protective factors that can create vulnerability to trafficking or build resilience against it.

The IOM model is similar to the ecological systems theory originally developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) to explain the way in which the immediate and surrounding environment affects child development. Bronfenbrenner identified five different environmental systems were the microsystem (the immediate environment), the mesosystem (connections), the exosystem (the indirect environment), the macrosystem (social and cultural values) and the chronosystem (changes over time). These five systems each affect a child's development and if there is a change in any one of these areas, it

is accepted within this theory that this affects and influences the other systems. The chronosystem adds a useful dimension to this theory – time – which captures change and continuities in the environment. In this report key political events within Nigeria are incorporated to illustrate this aspect of the model. Bronfenbrenner's theory was further developed by Belsky (1993) who applied this to child maltreatment, particularly physical abuse and neglect. Belsky also outlined a variety of contexts within which maltreatment could occur including the immediate environment and broader context of the community.

This ecological model which outlines different nested spheres of influence is most often represented as concentric circles showing the different levels - the individual, family and relationship, community and societal levels. Each of these levels are interrelated, with the interaction between them and influence of each level analysed. The model has also been applied to youth violence (Krug et al., 2002), violence against women (Moreno et al., 2015), violence against children (UNICEF, n.d.) and sexual violence (Heise, 1998). This body of work has shifted thinking around differing forms of abuse and violence from single-cause models to more multifaceted models that emphasize interacting factors and such nested-ecological models. These models also recognize that risk and protective factors may change over the life course. Applying this to human trafficking, Zimmerman et al. (2016) suggest this ecological framework allows for larger contextual forces to be considered alongside attributes and behaviours of people who have experienced migration and labour exploitation. They suggest that this framework:

> '… is often the starting point from which a researcher or program planner will delve deeper to identify more specific multi-level risk and protective factors.' (Zimmerman et al., 2016:17)

They also point out that at the individual, family and community levels there is a potential role for 'community migration norms' to be considered, wherein common practices around migration that influence and 'lend confidence' to individuals considering their migration options (Zimmerman et al., 2016:17). Beyond these levels, the authors suggest that structural and contextual factors such as government policies, global inequalities, conflict and crisis situations underlie issues faced by migrants and, as such, remain central and essential areas for action for change over time (Zimmerman et al., 2016:7). The requirement for an integrated approach which incorporates these structural and community strategies is advocated.

SHARED LEARNING EVENTS

A key part of this study has been the design and delivery of SLEs across the three countries of origin. The structure of these events emerged out of an iterative process between the UK research team, IOM UK and Points of Contact (PoC) in IOM Nigeria, IOM Viet Nam and IOM Albania, plus Expert Researchers employed for the purposes of this study. The aims of these SLEs were multiple. Day 1 of these events (see Appendix 1) focused on bringing together relevant stakeholders from civil society organisations, government agencies, law-enforcement, children's services, health services and academia involved in working with people identified as trafficked to:

- Share what is already known about trafficking from the source countries (observed trends, patterns, origin communities, destination locations, numbers, profiles) with an additional focus on the UK as a destination country

- Explore contextually-based vulnerabilities and resilience relating to human trafficking

- Explore what good practice exists to address these vulnerabilities and strengthen resilience against trafficking

- Ensure this knowledge from each country is incorporated into the research from the outset

- Hear presentations from a range of stakeholders on topics relating to the aims of this study

- Develop a timeline of key political events and key events relating to human trafficking and/or migration

- Hold workshops on vulnerability, resilience and good practice in relation to the IOM Determinants of Vulnerability factors

Day 1 of the Nigeria SLE was structured to provide space to discuss these points within three sessions of presentations and then workshops on vulnerability, resilience and good practice. The three presentation sessions were entitled:

1. The picture of human trafficking in Nigeria
2. Patterns of human trafficking from Nigeria to the UK
3. What factors shape vulnerability to and capacities against human trafficking in Nigeria?

The aim of the SLE was to focus on knowledge around human trafficking from Nigeria to the UK. However, at the SLE it became clear that there are distinct narratives around trafficking within and from Nigeria to other EU countries such as Italy and a considerably smaller, less well-informed narrative around human trafficking to the UK. Overall, it appeared that the experience of those being trafficked from Nigeria to the UK was less well known or understood within Nigeria. While Nigeria has been one of the most significant source countries for potential victims of trafficking in the UK for a number of years it appears that within Nigeria there is limited knowledge and understanding about the UK as a destination country for trafficked persons.

Day 2 of the SLE in Lagos focused on the research project and how the country-specific presentations from Day 1 related to the study. The co-design and refinement of research tools for the study took place on Day 2 and contextually-, age- and language-appropriate tools were designed and refined as a result.

There was also a strong focus on ensuring the study was led at all times by ethical considerations. Existing ethical guidelines were explored (Refugee Studies Centre, 2007; Zimmerman, 2003). Key aspects of an Ethical Protocol were discussed and agreements made about ongoing feedback into this 'living' protocol for the duration of the study. This Ethical Protocol will ultimately form one output of this research study, providing country-specific ethical considerations for conducting research on human trafficking within each source country.

Considerations of the quantitative aspects of this study were also considered during Day 2 with discussions centring on the availability of quantitative data and case management processes. Day 2 also enabled discussions around translation and interpretation questions. The establishment of systems to securely record, translate, password-protect and store data enabled broader discussions around Data Protection in each context to be explored. As will be discussed in the Ethical Protocol, data protection is either not legislated for or implemented within Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. It was, however, a topic considered by many participants of the SLEs to be key to accessing victims of trafficking within each country. Safeguarding concerns, and the limits of confidentiality, were subject to wide-reaching discussions during these events and, again, will be detailed within the Ethical Protocol at country-specific levels. Given all of the above considerations and following discussions during Day 1, purposive sampling strategies were devised for key informants and adults who have experienced trafficking for each country.

Overall, the SLEs were an investment in building trust about the research project across a broad range of stakeholders within each country. From this foundation, relationships will be developed further throughout the life of this research project.

Nigeria has the largest population in Africa. The current estimated population of Nigeria is approximately 182.2 million (Human Development Report, 2016) and is, according to the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), ranked 152nd out of 188 countries[9]. Although considerable wealth is generated from oil reserves, this relatively low ranking indicates high levels of poverty experienced by a considerable proportion of Nigerian nationals. Nigeria is located in West Africa and shares borders with Cameroon, Benin, Chad and Niger. It is divided into 36 States and the federal capital is located in Abuja. The states are further disaggregated into six geo-political zones: South-South, South- East, South- West, North-Central, North-West, and North East. Nigeria has over 500 ethnic groups with the largest being Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. While Nigeria is a religiously diverse country, Christianity and Islam are the most predominantly practiced religions.

A Nigerian national has a life expectancy of 53.1 years, can expect 10 years of schooling and has a $5,443 per capita Gross National Income (GNI) (Human Development Report, 2016). Inflows of remittances as a percentage of GDP were 4.8% in 2016 (World Bank, 2016)[10, 11]. Gender (in)equality for Nigeria, measured by the Gender Development Index (GDI) was 0.847 in 2015 which puts Nigeria in group 5[12], suggesting low levels of equality within the country (Human Development Report, 2016).

According to the 2014 Global Status Report on Violence Prevention, Nigeria has National Action Plans across a range of forms of potential violence – interpersonal violence, youth violence, sexual violence, child maltreatment and intimate partner violence but not elder abuse. There are also laws around the legal age for marriage, laws against child marriage and FGM, with laws reported as having limited implementation against statutory rape. Laws are also in place against rape in marriage and the removal of violent spouses from the home. There is law against rape, reported as having limited enforcement, but not laws against contact and non-contact sexual violence without rape. A lack of data availability on laws and prevention programmes suggests further work on reporting and recording such aspects of violence. In terms of prevention there are programmes implemented around child maltreatment, particularly training to recognise and/or avoid sexually abusive situations as well as sexual violence prevention programmes that look at changes of social and cultural norms (Global Status Report on Violence Prevention, 2014).

EXISTING LITERATURE ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND NIGERIA

The existing literature on human trafficking and Nigeria provides minimal evidence on the individual characteristics of the victims of trafficking. Sources acknowledge that the focus has primarily been on women and girls, with little or no attention given to boys and men (Ellis and Akpala, 2011). Differences within Nigeria are noted as being important, specifically the association between trafficking and certain regions – notably Benin City in Edo state, located in the South-South region – and the significance of the interplay between regional cultures and the options available to individuals, specifically females.

The nature of the evidence of vulnerability factors at the community level is strongly influenced by geographical patterns of trafficking within Nigeria, and in particular the focus on Edo State and its capital, Benin City, as sites where there is a strong culture of trafficking (see, for example Braimah, 2013; Osezua, 2013; 2016). Ethnographic and other qualitative research in these areas emphasizes an acceptance of trafficking as an acceptable means of generating income, and a significant source of social and economic capital for families (Osezua (2013; see also Ogonor and Osunde, 2007). This is strongly

[9] The index runs between 1 and 188 with Norway ranking first (ranked 1) and the Central African Republic last (ranked 188). The HDI is a composite index of life expectancy, education and per capita income indicators, informed by Amartya Sen's pioneering work on poverty as 'the deprivation of basic capabilities' (Sen, 1999:87) or 'capability approach' to examining human development (Burchardt and Hick, 2016:25). Sen's central argument is that the expansion of freedom is the primary end and principal means of development, rather than a focus on economic growth or GDP. This approach compares levels of education, health and standard of living across countries, emphasizing that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country.

[10] Viewed on 6 February 2018 at: data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?locations=NG

[11] The global average for remittances as a percentage of GDP in 2016 was 4.6%.

[12] The GDI runs from 1 to 5, with 1 denoting high and 5 denoting low levels of gender equality.

linked to gender, a structural factor that plays out through household, community and situational factors. Several sources discuss how women continue to occupy an unequal position, often with limited access to education and employment opportunities (Ogonor and Osunde, 2007; Osezua, 2013; 2016) but also viewed unequal within the family structure, with little decision-making power. Religion also plays an important social role and – in the form of voodoo and juju - may be utilized for purposes of coercion or threat (Barda, 2016; Ikeora, 2016) but may also be utilized to support victims of trafficking (Nwogu, 2014).

Education and employment tend to be described in general terms, and it is not always easy to attach them analytically to the vulnerabilities framework. There is consensus across the literature that poverty is a significant factor in trafficking, linked to national and global economic factors. Ingwe (2014) links an increase in poverty amongst Nigerians to corruption amongst political elites, resulting in fewer resources to support welfare programmes or economic development. In the oil-rich Delta region, for example, it is noted that environmental degradation and local conflicts combine with economic insecurity (Caretta, 2015; Ingwe, 2014; Olanyi, 2014) and, in turn, with international demand for domestic workers and as sex workers (Ellis and Akpala, 2011; Ingwe, 2014).

There are a number of factors identified in the literature at the structural level that are considered significant in creating or exacerbating vulnerability to trafficking in Nigeria. Ironically, the measures taken by government to reduce or limit trafficking are identified as one element in the chain, in that they have encouraged individuals to take more complex, often less safe, routes (Ellis and Akpala, 2011). The role of anti-trafficking organisations within Nigeria is also contested within the literature: while the government anti-trafficking organisation is viewed as having tried to resist corruption, it is suggested that anti-trafficking programmes and initiatives are under-resourced, or fail to address social and economic factors. These discussions may best be viewed in the context of a wider, contested discourse about the extent to which trafficking represents a social problem, or alternatively how far trafficking is viewed as an expression of a social 'evil' that demonstrates moral degradation within Nigerian society, including the breakdown of the family and the loss of religion (Olujuwan, 2008; Okojie, 2009).

Trafficking is also frequently linked to the phenomenon of 'baby factories' (Huntley, 2013; Makunde, Olaleye and Makunde, 2015a; Makunde et al, 2015b). This phenomenon is linked to the stigma associated with infertility in parts of sub-Saharan Africa, including parts of Nigeria, the lack of regulation of surrogacy, as well as poverty and a lack of access to contraception or sexual health services (Makunde, Olaleye and Makunde, 2015a; Makunde et al, 2015b). Young women who are pregnant are offered shelter in orphanages and hospitals – described as 'baby factories' and the babies are then sold or trafficked. In turn, the young women themselves may also be subject to trafficking. This issue both illustrates the complexity of structural dimensions to human trafficking, and the interplay with cultural discourse within Nigeria.

As has been the case for both Albania and Vietnam, there is acknowledgement in the literature that situational factors are part of the interplay, but little to no evidence of how they interact in the lives of individuals.

TIMELINE FOR NIGERIA

Research on migration is often ahistoric (Malkki, 1995) and to ensure this research captures the structural and situational factors involved in creating vulnerability to trafficking or helping people become resilient against trafficking, a timeline of key political events plus key events relating to human trafficking and migration was partially drawn up by the research team prior to the SLE taking place. Participants were then invited to add additional key dates onto this timeline during Day 1 of the SLE. Suggestions were made relating to what should be added as key political events, migration patterns more broadly and dates/events relating directly to human trafficking. These suggestions included the dates of prevention campaigns, dates shelters were opened in the country, dates of key associated legislation, key prosecutions, publication of reports, examples of good practice, details of remittances and any other associated migration, labour migration or internal migration known to participants.

It was important to try and learn about potential structural risk and protective factors through this process because it was expected that the interviews with key informants[13] and people who have experienced human trafficking would be focused on case work, individual experiences plus household, family and community factors and would not provide as much data regarding structural and situational factors.

As can be seen on the fold-out page of this report, this timeline outlines key events relating to both migration more broadly and the introduction of actions against human trafficking (blue line) and key political events occurring in Nigeria since the early 1900s with greater detail post-Independence in 1960 (grey line). Other key political events are recounted, including the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) introduced in 1986 by the World Bank and details of Presidents elected. Key events relating to migration included the increased number of Nigerians leaving (referred to in the literature as a 'brain drain') for the US, Saudi Arabia and Europe from the 1980s during a period of strong demand for unskilled labour in southern Europe. Contributions from participants are shown in the centre (pink line) and illustrate important considerations when understanding human trafficking within and from Nigeria. For example, one participant outlined how the Child Rights Act was brought into domestic legislation from 2003. Another highlighted the Child Protection Network (CPN) inaugurated in Edo State in 2011. A key aspect of discussions during the SLE related to the CNN report exposing auctions of 'slaves' in Libya and the return of Nigerian nationals from Libyan detention centres. Edo State received its first returnees from Libya in November 2017.

These discussions, plus emerging details of deaths at sea, often and understandably overtook the focus of the purpose of the SLE to explore the link between Nigeria and UK in terms of human trafficking. There was less knowledge about trafficking from Nigeria to the UK and less experience of working with people who had been trafficked to the UK than there was of other forms and geographies of exploitation and trafficking. Emerging links suggested by participants included the Nigerian government signing a Memorandum of Understanding with the UK government on trafficking in persons in 2004 and the British Secretary of State for International Development visiting NAPTIP in 2017.

In terms of human trafficking, Nigeria became a signatory to the Palermo Protocol on 13 December 2000, with Edo State enacting a specific law in the same year – the Edo State Criminal Code (Amendment Law) 2000. The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) was created on 14 July 2003 by the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act 2003, a bill that was led by the Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF), one of the foremost Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) in Nigeria fighting against child trafficking and established in 1999. WOTCLEF also mobilised other NGOs across the country and this advocacy led to the establishment of the Network of Civil Society organisations against Child Trafficking, Abuse and Labour (NACTAL) in 2005 for effective coordination in the fight against child trafficking, labour and abuse in Nigeria.

BROADER MIGRATION CONTEXT

There is an intersection between human trafficking and other forms of migration and a range of other policy fields (Carling 2017; Mai 2010). Within the literature on forced migration this is sometimes termed the migration-trafficking nexus (Carling, 2017; Kaye, 2003). There is also a suggested link between asylum and migration, referred to as the asylum-migration nexus (Carling 2017). In both cases, the term nexus refers to sets of complex interdependencies between processes that run in parallel such as human trafficking and asylum or two phenomena such as migration and development. It has long been argued that the anti-trafficking efforts run in parallel to broader global immigration and asylum agendas which can themselves generate structural "harms" that exacerbate vulnerability and enable exploitation (Anderson, 2012; O'Connell Davidson, 2013).

[13] See page 36 for details.

In June 2018 IOM assessed that there were 1,918,508 internally displaced persons (IDPs) within Nigeria. The methodology for reaching such a number includes interviews with 5% of the IDP population and site assessments of 282 camps and camp like environments and more than two thousand locations where IDPs were living within host communities. (IOM, 2018:2)

Evidence on migrant vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation of those crossing the Mediterranean by IOM (2017) illustrates how Nigerian nationals tended to take what has become known as the 'Central Mediterranean route' by sea to Italy rather than by sea to Greece. Nigerian arrivals were the highest nationality (18%) in a June to November 2016 sample (IOM, 2017:14). Nigerian nationals are predicted to be amongst the most vulnerable groups to human trafficking and exploitation on this journey. (IOM, 2017: 28)

UNHCRs 2017 Global Trends report details how, at the end of 2017, there is a total Population of Concern to UNHCR of 2.3 million Nigerian nationals, of whom 1.7 million are Internally Displaced (UNHCR, 2018). Of the 43 countries refugees returned to in 2017, the majority (282,800) were from Nigeria (UNHCR, 2018)[14]. There are 8,652 pending applications for asylum, with new asylum applications from Nigerian nationals during 2017 made in a variety of countries including Germany (7,800) and Canada (5,500).

Education is also a key reason for migration by Nigerian nationals who are keen to pursue their studies in the UK, US, Germany or other countries. The UK care system is a major employer of Nigerian nationals. There are 5,405 Nigerians working as doctors, nurses and other care professionals in the UK Heath service in September 2017 (Baker, 2018: 3).

In relation to the UK, applications for asylum from Nigerian nationals are shown below and, as can be seen, numbers of referrals through the NRM are considerably lower than the number of asylum applications. For example, during the fourth quarter of 2016 there were 273 people seeking asylum and 59 referrals of Nigerian nationals to the UK NRM. However, it should be noted that of these NRM referrals, not all lead to positive identification. The National Audit Office have highlighted that since 2009 only 32% of Nigerian nationals referred into the NRM received a positive conclusive ground decision. (National Audit Office, 2017: p32)

Graph 1: Nigerian NRM Referrals and Asylum Applications (by Quarter)
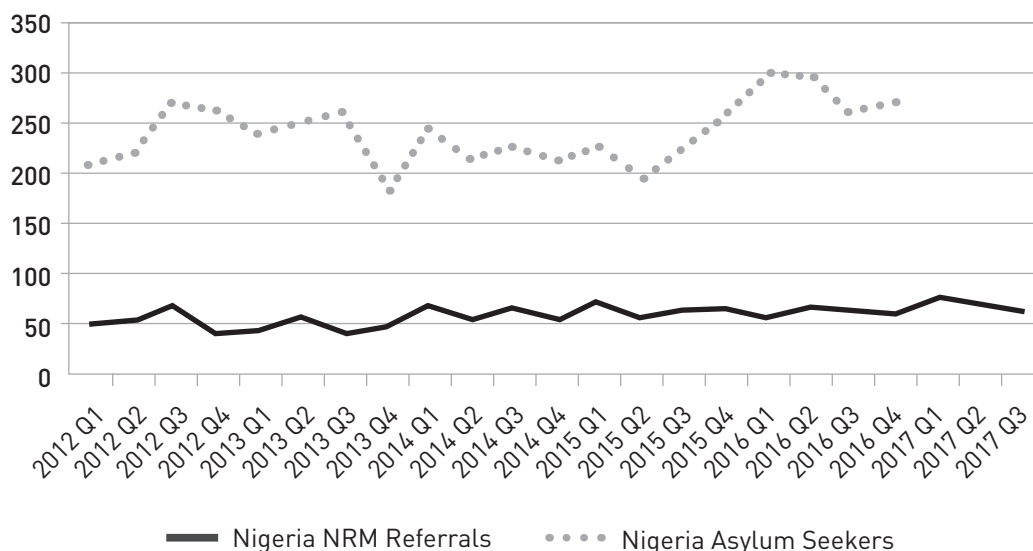
Source: Gov.UK National Statistics, National Crime Agency adult and minor NRM referral statistics.

Within the UK, the Home Office country of origin information on human trafficking notes that women from Nigeria may be trafficked for sexual exploitation and/or domestic

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servitude (Home Office, 2016:5). It also notes that Nigerian women who are victims of trafficking form a 'particular social group' (PSG) within the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees because they share a common characteristic – their experience as a victim of trafficking – that cannot be changed and they have a distinct identity within Nigerian society (Home Office, 2016:6). However, establishing such PSG does not give sufficient means to be recognised as a refugee and is based on proof of serious harm or persecution upon return due to membership of this PSG.

This and a range of other issues were explored by stakeholders at the SLE, including through a number of presentations, shedding new light on this particular form of forced migration.

> 'I encourage you to freely share your knowledge and experiences for the benefit of all those present.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

Twenty-nine participants attended the SLE in Lagos. This included stakeholders from civil society organisations, law-enforcement, children services, health services and government officials. The presentations were delivered by people from those sectors.

Opening remarks about the research study were outlined followed by opening remarks from the Head of IOM in Lagos. His key message was centred around IOMs interest in the study and the purpose of the event to identify gaps, issues, challenges, strengths and opportunities in the anti-trafficking field. Another message was around collaboration between stakeholders to strengthen ongoing interventions.

A representative of IOM London then gave an outline of the study, including details of the Determinants of Vulnerability model outlined above, outlining how:

> 'This Shared Learning Event is our first step towards understanding the nature of trafficking from Nigeria to the UK. We hope to contextualise what makes people both vulnerable to trafficking and what capacities there are against trafficking. We will be looking at both risk and protective factors and hope to explore examples of good practice.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

The commitment to ethical practice during the lifetime of the research study was then outlined with details of the 'living' ethical protocol designed for the study as well as an emphasis on co-design and broad consultation on research tools during Day 2 of the SLE.

As outlined above, Day 1 of the SLEs was structured to provide an overview of the picture of human trafficking, patterns of trafficking from Nigeria to the UK and consideration of what factors shape vulnerability to trafficking. These are now addressed in turn.

Nigeria: The Picture of Human Trafficking

> 'Human trafficking was unknown in Nigeria until the late 1990s. Victims were seen as prostitutes … that were justifiably deported home.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

The first set of presentations focused on Nigeria as a source country for human trafficking and covered the nature, trends, statistics, destination countries and changing patterns of human trafficking.

The first presentation provided an overview of human trafficking in Nigeria, the Palermo Protocol definition of trafficking, trends and responses from the country's mandated agency, NAPTIP. As illustrated in the quote above, it was suggested that the country was in denial about human trafficking until the late 1990s when it became apparent through awareness raising activities of NGOs such as WOTCLEF. It was outlined how, at an international level, Nigeria became active in multilateral negotiations and the adoption of the Palermo Protocol.

Key causes of trafficking were considered to include poverty, the burden of large family sizes, unemployment, the absence or inadequacy of social security and welfare systems, the abuse of traditional fostering by family members, widespread illiteracy that facilitates deception by traffickers, the breakdown and erosion of cultural and moral values as well

as increasing global demand for sex and labour. The lucrative nature of the crime was also considered a key element. Free movement within the ECOWAS sub-region was outlined as important in that it encouraged cross-border movement.

> 'Many victims start their journey believing they are economic migrants … but end up being forced to work in exploitative conditions, under huge debt bondage.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

This type of change of conditions when moving either internally within Nigeria or externally across borders was outlined throughout a number of presentations. It was suggested that human traffickers 'establish formidable networks' at entry and exit points in almost all African countries resulting in victims suffering near-death experiences whilst trying to get to the destination countries, be this by land or by sea. Air travel was considered to be used sparingly due to cost and airport security implications.

In this presentation, some destinations specifically for the purposes of sexual exploitation were outlined – to Europe, the Middle East, Morocco and Mali. The reaches of domestic work, urban work in the informal sector and begging were less far reaching, appearing to be mainly to the Middle East and towards neighbouring countries. Benin and Niger were considered to be major passages before people proceeded to Togo, Burkina-Faso, Libya and other destinations.

NAPTIP's human trafficking statistics of 'rescued' victims were then presented (see Table 2 below). It was reported that between January and November 2017 the total number of victims 'rescued' from beyond the borders of Nigeria were cited as 713. Victims of internal trafficking across the same time period totalled 712. Based on these statistics, 1,425 people were trafficked within and from Nigeria in an 11-month period in 2017. Of this 1,425 figures, around two-thirds were female (f=987/m=438), with 657 children and 768 adults at the time of 'rescue'.

In terms of people 'rescued'[15] and in the care of NAPTIP since 2013, the UK is low on the list at number 20 below with 6 known cases over this 5 year period of 'rescues' between 2013 and November 2017. Compared to Libya (24.1%), Burkino-Faso (12.8%) and the United Arab Emirates (9.9%), the 6 UK cases make up a mere 0.5% of total cases of 'rescues' beyond the borders of Nigeria between these dates. Since 2010 NAPTIP has 'rescued' only 8 victims of trafficking with a UK footprint, all females having experienced sexual exploitation and all from Edo or Delta States.

Table 2: Destination Country 'Rescues': 2013 – November 2017

Order	Place of rescue	2013	2014	2015	2016	Nov 2017	Total
1	Libya	0	0	2	48	253	303
2	Burkina-Faso	49	3	58	1	38	161
3	United Arab Emirates	24	34	16	37	13	124
4	Ghana	49	14	1	5	40	109
5	Mali	1	0	0	10	90	101
6	Benin Republic	1	19	3	14	26	63
7	Italy	2	1	6	0	48	57
8	Niger	50	0	2	0	0	52
9	Togo	20	5	8	4	10	47
10	Russia	1	22	10	5	6	44
11	Tunisia	2	0	35	0	0	37
12	Niger Republic	0	0	0	0	35	35
13	Egypt	0	3	16	2	0	21
14	Ivory Coast	6	9	0	0	0	15

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[15] The term 'Rescue' was not defined during the SLE.

Order	Place of rescue	2013	2014	2015	2016	Nov 2017	Total
15	France	0	6	4	3	0	13
16	Saudi Arabia	0	2	0	0	10	12
16	Cote d'Ivoire	0	0	0	4	8	12
17	Malaysia	0	1	8	1	1	11
18	Yemen	10	0	0	0	0	10
19	Morocco	2	3	2	0	0	7
20	United Kingdom	4	1	0	0	1	6
21	Netherlands	0	0	5	0	0	5
22	Cameroon	0	2	0	1	0	3
23	Turkey	0	0	2	0	0	2
24	Denmark	1	0	0	0	0	1
25	Swaziland	1	0	0	0	0	1
26	Spain	0	0	1	0	0	1
27	Kuwait	0	0	1	0	0	1
28	Malta	0	0	1	0	0	1
29	Moscow (Russia?)	0	0	1	0	0	1
30	Norway	0	0	1	0	0	1
31	Senegal	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total							1 258

Source: NAPTIP statistics, January 2018

Represented visually these 'rescues' were:
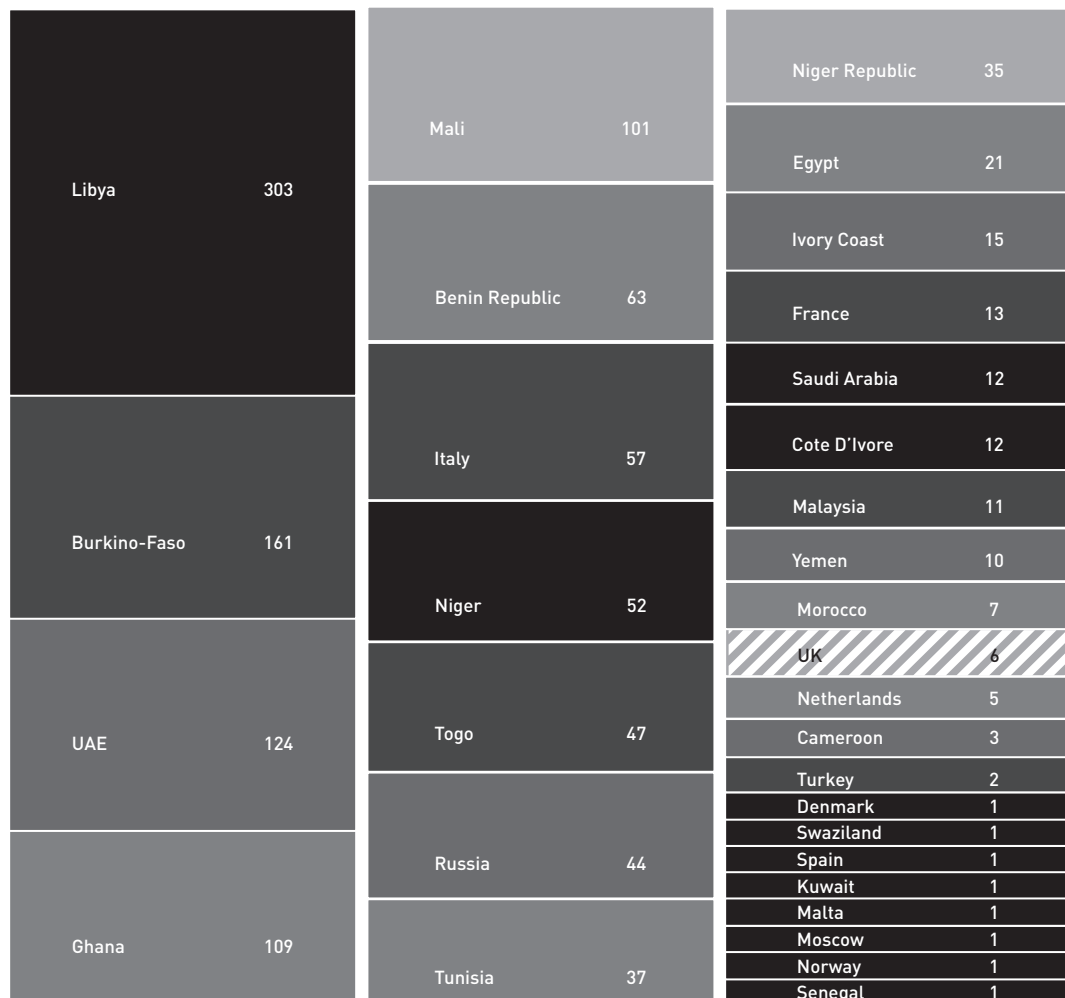
The next presentation was by the former Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children – Professor Joy Ezeilo. Professor Ezeilo covered a range of topics, including the scale of trafficking within Africa and Nigeria, factors that cause trafficking, the 'human tragedy' involved, details of the Libya auctions of Nigerian nationals and interventions within Nigeria.

She began by situating the issue of trafficking as it affects the African continent and thereafter focused on Nigeria.

> 'Trafficking in persons or human trafficking … is unfortunately growing in scale and repercussions. Although very difficult to quantify it is hugely underestimated because of its insidious, complex and dynamic nature. … Almost every country in the world is affected either as a source, transit and/or destination.' (Professor Ezeilo, SLE Day 1)

She highlighted how trafficking is a dynamic phenomenon that is constantly evolving, with trends and patterns determined by a wide range of factors, which include prevailing social, economic and policy environments in both source and destination countries.

Quoting 2016 IOM data, she revealed that Nigeria nationals made up 20% of the people who reached Italy by boat from Libya in 2016, with more than 3,000 not surviving the journey or going missing during the crossing. She outlined estimates that 9 out of 10 Nigerian women trafficked to Europe come from Edo State but that there are also victims from Lagos, Ekiti, Ondo, Oyo, Delta and many other states. Citing UNICEF and UNODC data she outlined evidence revealing that both male and females are affected by human trafficking within Africa and the Middle East. Drawing on a 2012 ILO survey she outlined how there are over 20 million people who are victims of forced labour, out of which Africa is the second highest continent with some 3.7 million people affected:

> 'Although forced labour is closely linked to human trafficking, it is not every case of forced labour that is a case of trafficking. … a person may be in forced labour as a result of bonded labour without being trafficked and while remaining in their place of origin.' (Professor Ezeilo, SLE Day 1)

Professor Ezeilo outlined how no African country made the US Trafficking in Persons Tier 1 list of countries as fully compliant with US minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. Nigeria maintained a Tier 2 ranking, meaning it does not fully comply but is making significant efforts to do so. Professor Ezeilo suggested that the pervasive nature of trafficking cannot be fully quantified but that for every four people who have been trafficked, at least one would be African.

In terms of causes of trafficking, Professor Ezeilo outlined a range of intertwining factors: poverty, unemployment, corruption, conflict, globalisation of the economy, the ease of travel, demand for cheap labour in developed countries and cultural or religious norms including fetish practices of oath-swearing at shrines. Gender, gender inequalities, sex discrimination, good governance and education were each suggested to be exacerbating factors. Also:

> 'The feeling of hopelessness pushes victims … to take the risks believing that they are worse off already.' (Professor Ezeilo, SLE Day 1)

> '… stereotypes about women as sex objects and chattels to be bought and sold exacerbate the trafficking of women and girls. Trafficking … is intertwined with violence chiefly directed at the female gender and shared underlying causes with violence against women.' (Professor Ezeilo, SLE Day 1)

Another key factor identified was cultural and religious practices of fostering children within Africa and this sending of children to other relatives for the purpose of education or apprenticeships. She outlined that traffickers were adept at using traditional forms of oaths and rituals to scare the population from reporting instances of trafficking. Invoking a debate about the 'root causes' of trafficking, Professor Ezeilo advised:

> '... root causes are escalating in the face of socio-economic crisis, extreme poverty, insurgency, inequalities, discrimination and gender based violence. Ignoring these root causes and failure to squarely confront them through international cooperation and development paradigms would amount to paying lip service to efforts to fight human trafficking.' (Professor Ezeilo, SLE Day 1)

Within Nigeria, the actions of Boko Haram in the North East and the realities faced by Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) were directly related to vulnerabilities, insecurity, sexual and gender-based violence. Professor Ezeilo outlined how in every country she had visited in her role as a Special Rapporteur she encouters Nigerians who had been trafficked or held in detention centres.

Professor Ezeilo's presentation concluded with an emphasis on the need for a comprehensive approach to trafficking. This approach, based on 11 pillars of intervention is based around 5 P's, 3 C's and 3 victim-centred R's:

- 5 P's: (protection, prosecution, prevention, punishment, promotion of international cooperation)
- 3 C's: (capacity, coordination and cooperation)
- 3 R's: (redress, rehabilitation and reintegration)

It was outlined how this approach, one that adopts a human-rights-based and a child-centred approach, should pay direct attention to causes and vulnerability factors.

Lastly she stressed the need to support the work of IOM, CSOs, NGOs and NAPTIP to enable the agency to effectively discharge its mandate as re-articulated and expanded under the 2015 Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act.

Throughout Day 1 of the SLE different speakers highlighted a variety of forms of trafficking experienced by Nigerian adults – these included:

- Sexual exploitation – also referred to as sex trafficking
- Domestic servitude – also referred to as domestic labour
- Forced labour – also referred to as labour trafficking
- Organ trafficking
- Trafficking for ritual purposes
- Multiple forms of exploitation

Of these it was considered that sexual exploitation and domestic servitude were the most prevalent forms of exploitation, but not exclusively, with other forms of exploitation mentioned throughout both Days 1 and 2.

For Nigerian children the forms included:

- Sexual exploitation – also referred to as sex trafficking
- Domestic servitude – also referred to as domestic labour
- Forced labour – also referred to as labour trafficking
- Illegal inter-country or domestic adoption
- 'Baby factories'
- 'Orphanage trafficking'
- Recruitment of child soldiers in conflict areas
- Multiple forms of exploitation

It was suggested by several participants that trafficking routes from Nigeria are fluid dependent upon both the relative difficulties and complications of travel within Nigeria and conditions at destination, along the following routes, sometimes with ultimate destinations unknown[16]:

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[16] **Where destinations were unknown this is indicated by a question mark.**

- Nigeria → UK (direct flight)
- Nigeria → Sahel Sahara desert → Libya
- Nigeria → Sahel Sahara desert → Libya → Italy
- Nigeria → Sahel Sahara desert → Libya → Greece
- Nigeria → Sahel Sahara desert → Morocco → Spain
- Benin, Nigeria → Kano → Agadez, Libya → Europe
- Benin, Nigeria → Lagos → Burkina-Faso → Ivory Coast → ?
- Benin, Nigeria → Lagos → Burkina-Faso → Ivory Coast → ?
- Akwa Ibom → Lagos → Benin → Burkina-Faso → Mali → Ivory Coast → ?
- Nigeria → Niger → Libya → Europe → Russia
- Nigeria → Niger → Libya → Middle East
- Nigeria → Niger → Libya → Europe → North America
- Nigeria → other parts of Africa

Questions from participants were raised around:

- the existing need to collect data from different States and a range of organisations, not only for cross-border trafficking but also in cases of internal trafficking for exploitative purposes such as domestic servitude

- the suggestion that clear definitions around child labour and child trafficking are necessary to conceptually clarify these issues in a Nigerian context

- the use of the term 'illegal migrants' and other issues around terminology. It was suggested that any terminology should not criminalise people and the term 'illegal' does not apply to any human

- availability of data on prosecutions – details of 324 prosecutions to date are available on NAPTIP's website

- changing patterns of human trafficking, and how to capture these

- changing methods of control used by traffickers such as oath-taking within countries of destination and use of 'threat videos' via social media in which trafficked persons are recorded, particularly in situations of sexual exploitation, and are warned that these will be sent to their family and friends if they try and leave the traffickers

- suggestions that routes undertaken relate to forms of exploitation, requiring further understanding and research

- whether cases of 'baby factories' are being prosecuted sufficiently. The dynamics of these factories was discussed with girls disappearing for up to six months at a time and being paid more if a male-child is ultimately delivered

- in cases of adoptions, a range of barriers to understanding were raised. These included the social stigma of 'unwanted pregnancies', adoption itself and access to abortion. It was suggested that adoption, in some instances, could be classed as a form of trafficking

- in cases of 'baby sales', further understanding on how these interact with societal expectations around fertility of women. There was some discussion about 'miracle babies' and the process involved in presenting a pregnancy

- the historical focus on Edo State as a source of trafficking for sexual exploitation to Italy. It was suggested that traffickers themselves are rarely strangers but are found within communities and are often familiar to the individual who is trafficked. The combination of hopes and dreams to live a more financially secure life alongside the gendered nature of trafficking and expectations of women in

Nigerian society were outlined. Although the first state law on human trafficking was made in Edo State, the complexities of reaching out to people, changing attitudes and focusing on the realities that traffickers are not strangers was considered to be a much longer term process

It was made very clear that poverty alone does not cause human trafficking – rather poverty plus other intersecting issues such as livelihoods, stigma, discrimination, issues around gender, social norms, social values and a range of other factors.

NIGERIA: PATTERNS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING TO THE UK

This session pulled together different news and reports about trafficking patterns of Nigerians to the UK, highlighting the known forms and types of trafficking. The first presentation was by a representative from DFID in Nigeria. The fast moving agenda of human trafficking was outlined and the need for good quality evidence to counteract the current domination of anecdotal or 'grey' literature available. This session focused on three main points:

1. The need to maximize ongoing global drive to end human trafficking and modern slavery;
2. The development of an effective monitoring and evaluation process to measure the success, failures and lessons learnt from counter-trafficking initiatives; and
3. Rethinking rehabilitation packages for victims to ensure that the skills acquisition training provided is based on skills that are in demand

This presentation focused on the imperative to seize the opportunity presented by international interest to develop interventions in this area. The presentation urged participants to act in a timely way to this interest and associated opportunities within Nigeria. The need for an effective evaluation process was related directly to challenges for stakeholders to fully understand the dynamics of human trafficking. There was a feeling mooted that everyone is playing 'catch-up' in response to changing methods of recruitments by traffickers and how traffickers operate and there are difficulties understanding the effectiveness of previous funding. Some form of evidence-based results in relation to the third point on rehabilitation packages was considered necessary. These initiatives would range from prevention, awareness raising around the dangers of trafficking, public awareness about trafficking, public awareness of rehabilitation of victims as well as increased levels of prosecutions of traffickers. Alternative livelihoods and aspirational alternatives such as the creative and hospitality industries were discussed.

The second presentation, from IOM London discussed what is known about trafficking from Nigeria to the UK based on official statistics from the UK government and details of the Modern Slavery Act 2015. IOM UK presented statistics collected from the National Crime Agency reports on Nigerian nationals referred into the UK NRM. IOM UK illustrated how during 2016, the fourth most common nationality of people referred to the NRM came from Nigeria and emphasised how Nigeria has been one of the largest source countries in recent years. It was noted that these statistics do not help to understand the individual circumstances of people who have experienced trafficking and do not provide any information to help understand what makes people vulnerable to trafficking or the capacities that can provide resilience against it.

The presentation also highlighted the process for a referral into the UK NRM and the different stages of decision making, those responsible for decision making and the support and assistance that is provided to people who are referred into the NRM. It was outlined how people are not quickly or easily identified as victims of trafficking or slavery in the UK. The presentation discussed significant waiting times for decisions, the way in which people are unable to self-refer into the NRM and that ultimately many of the Nigerian nationals referred into the NRM will not be conclusively identified as victims of trafficking. The presentation also highlighted that of the 257 Nigerian nationals referred into the NRM in 2015 only 26 had received a positive conclusive grounds decision by May 2016. There were 45 negative conclusive grounds decisions and 145 conclusive decisions were still pending.

Graph 2: Gender Breakdown of Nigerian Adults and Minors Referred into the UK National Referral Mechanism between 2014 and 2016

- ■ **Female Adults**
- ■ **Male Adults**
- ■ **Male Minors**
- ▨ **Femal Minors**
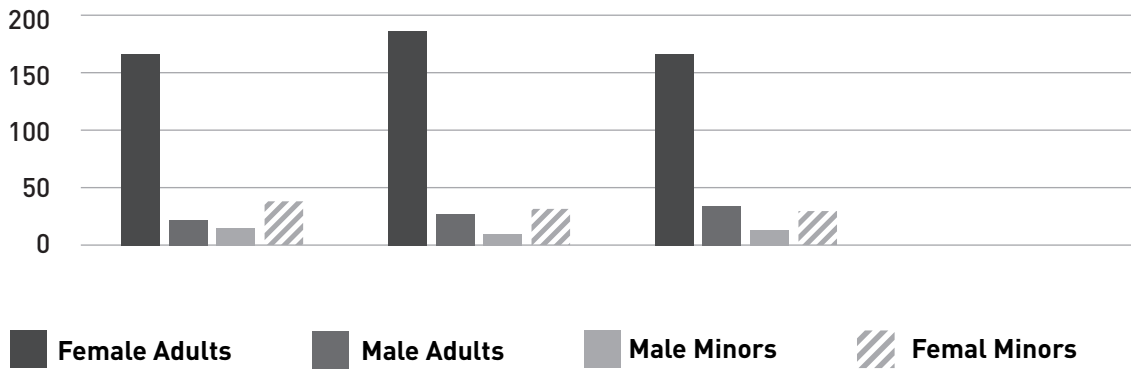
Graph 3 and 4: Reported Exploitation Types of Nigerian Adults (left) and Minors (right) Referred into the NRM in 2016

- ■ **Unknown Exploitation Type**
- ▨ **Labour Exploitation**
- ■ **Domestic Servitude**
- ■ **Sexual Exploitation**
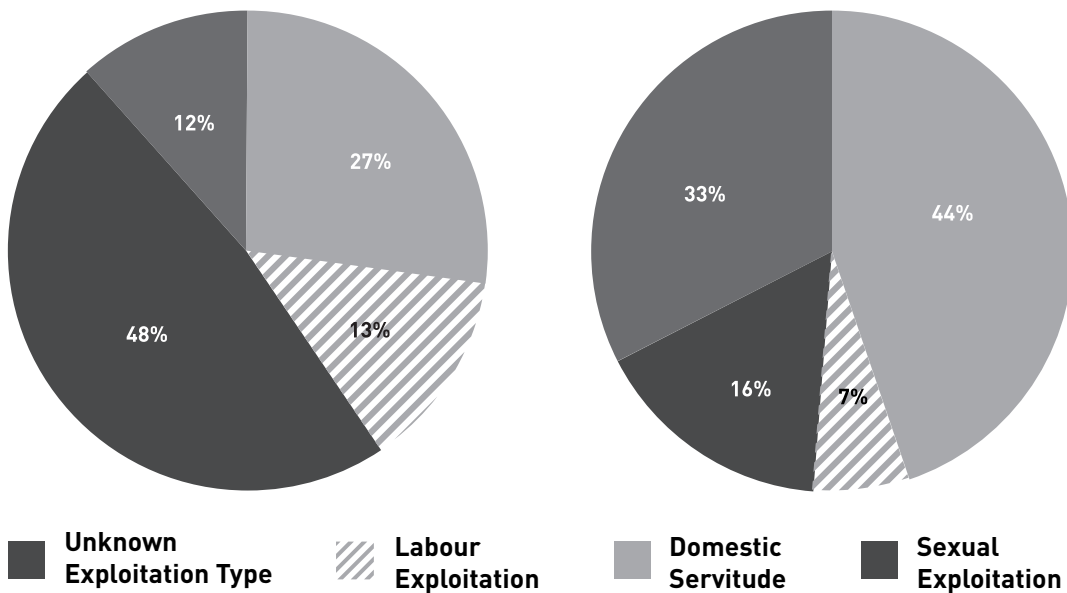
The third speaker in this session focussed on a 2013 Institute of Public Policy and Research (IPPR) report – Beyond Borders: Human Trafficking from Nigeria to the UK – highlighting the lack of data on the link between Nigeria and the UK.

A range of fluid routes of trafficking cases were outlined (see above), with a focus on how people are forced to walk through the harsh deserts of North Africa en-route to Europe. It was suggested that recruitment was often from rural communities, with people promised benefits sufficient enough to then be taken through rigorous terrain. As can be seen in Table 3, in descending order, and again for the 11 month period between January and November 2017, states of origin included Edo (251), Delta (120), Benue (94), Bauchi (84), Enugu (69), Yobe (55), Anambra (50), Oyo (49), Imo (49), Awka Ibom (46), Abia (46), Jigawa (40) and another 22 States with less than 40 cases per State. Beyond Nigerian borders, Togo and Benin Republic were the two main countries of origin for cases held by NAPTIP. States of origin of victims of trafficking were outlined, with total numbers of cases between 2013-June 2017 plus January-November 2017 provided:

Table 3: Distribution of Victims of Trafficking by State of Origin: 2013 to June 2017 and January-November 2017

State of Origin	Number of cases: 2013 – Jun 2017	Number of cases: Jan - Nov 2017
Edo	923	251
Delta	395	120
Kano	328	0
Kaduna	244	6
Sokoto	239	29
Benue	228	94
Ogun	168	37
Imo	162	49
Anambra	158	50
Akwa Ibom	144	46
Enugu	124	69
Kebbi	115	1
Abia	103	46
Oyo	98	49
Cross River	89	18
Zamfara	82	2
Bauchi	79	84
Ebonyi	71	29
Katsina	70	0
Ondo	57	33
Kwara	55	13
Jigawa	52	40
Plateau	51	9
Borno	49	20
Kogi	48	14
Osun	48	19
Lagos	39	6
Rivers	25	6
Nasarawa	23	10
Taraba	23	2
Ekiti	19	8
Niger	19	5
Bayelsa	16	11
Adamawa	8	6
Yobe	6	55
Gombe	5	0
FCT	4	0

Source: NAPTIP statistics

There was a total 4,367 cases between 2013 and June 2017. For the 11 month period of January to November 2017 there were 1,237 cases across a range of States, illustrating how Yobe State – with 49 new cases from June to November 2017 – illustrates how focus on historical areas such as Edo and Delta State denies the complexities of human trafficking with Nigeria.

A further data summary of cases received and conviction rates between 2004 and November 2017 threw light on 11,831 victims, 5,350 cases of human trafficking and 334 convictions since NAPTIP's inception:

Table 4: Cases, Convictions and 'Rescues' by Year: 2004 – November 2017

Year	Cases Received	Convictions	Victims Rescued
2004	5	1	73
2005	68	4	334
2006	193	3	368
2007	197	6	906
2008	327	27	1,182
2009	372	26	962
2010	407	31	1,015
2011	350	51	976
2012	400	25	749
2013	407	44	964
2014	603	39	1,030
2015	570	23	894
2016	721	31	1,017
2017 (up to Nov)	730	23	1,361
Total	**5,350**	**334**	**11,831**

Source: NAPTIP statistics

As can be seen from Graph 5 below, conviction rates remain low in comparison to the growing number of cases and 'rescues'.

Graph 5 Cases, Convictions and 'Rescues' by Year: 2004 – November 2017
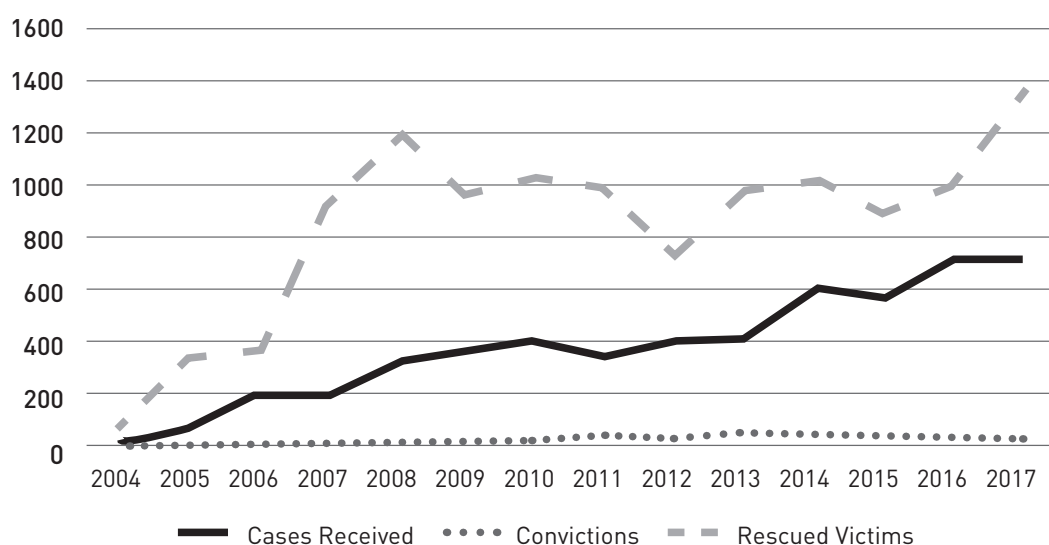
Source: NAPTIP statistics.

Speakers discussed these statistics, then went on
to discuss the particular dynamics involved:

> 'We are not managing to keep up with the traffickers. They are smarter than us, organised and calculated. We need to go beyond having a workshop. We need practical approached, beyond documentation. There is a gap between the security agencies.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

> 'Resources are not adequate and funding is inconsistent.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

Participants also drew out the need for different approaches, incorporating learning from those who had experienced trafficking and developing better coordination:

> 'We have to involve survivors themselves if we want this to be sustainable.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

> 'We are concerned about returns but we are not as concerned about those who are leaving. We have been talking about this for 15 years but it is increasing. … Today it is Libya, who will it be tomorrow? We need to be more active, we are still waiting for coalitions, we need to be more coordinated.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

It was suggested the way human trafficking and migration were understood required further conceptual clarity:

> 'There is a need to change the narrative and look at the positives migration including safe and legal ways to do this.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

> 'We need to document internal trafficking too.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

Several questions and comments were made by participants at this state, indicating the extent of actions considered necessary to tackle trafficking, which included:

- the need to involve survivors of trafficking in any work towards durable solutions
- the profile of victims deported back from the UK and, if NAPTIP have only handled 8 cases from the UK between 2010 and 2017, how have others been supported
- half of Nigerian children in the UK's NRM are classified as having 'unknown exploitation' – this was of concern and discussion centred around possibilities of poor interactions with children by those supporting them
- a level of frustration around 15 years of discussions around trafficking from and within Nigeria with considerable gaps in knowledge, coordination and lack of coalitions to tackle this
- concerns around young Muslim women and girls being trafficked to Saudi Arabia
- concerns around what people return to, particularly for males within the ages of 17-18 years where shelters are for women and children only
- the overall lack of services for men and boys
- further discussions around children between the ages of 8 and 14 years being adopted from orphanages with reportedly large payments involved
- there being less stigma for those returning from the UK than those returning from Italy as less assumption that sexual exploitation involved
- the role of 'connection houses' where 'orders' can be placed for boys and girls who are then brought from Libya
- taking actions beyond documentation of the issues involved
- the need for a short, medium and long term approaches to prevention
- the need to document internal trafficking

> 'It is more powerful for victims to tell these accounts. We can help victims by giving them a platform to speak if they wish to.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

> 'Often, our assumptions are presented as fact. We need to challenge these. We need awareness of gender imbalances. Just because women and girls are identified in higher numbers, does not mean males are not being exploited. ... Gender is at the top of the list of vulnerabilities.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

> 'What facts do we actually have? There is a sense of assumption in these presentations today. ... We have been in denial about the causes of this. This needs to get better, it has been going on for years. (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

> 'A lot of girls are returning from Libya, Italy and Morocco and are on the streets. ... When they come back they are abandoned and neglected.' (speaker comment, SLE Day 1)

In the final session of presentations, speakers addressed factors that shape vulnerability to human trafficking. The first presentation focused on the definition of human trafficking under Nigerian law as well as the 'act', 'means' and 'purpose' of the Palermo Protocol. A range of so-called 'push', 'pull' and 'facilitating' factors were outlined.

'Push' factors were suggested to be socio-economic and political factors that drive people to leave Nigeria and included: unemployment, poverty, greed for material acquisition, complicity between parents and victims and their traffickers, the perception that life is better in a different city or country.

'Pull' factors were recounted to be those economic conditions that make Europe and/or the UK attractive for both traffickers and victims, including: demand for sex workers, demand for cheap labour in urban areas and, interestingly, the perception that women and children are 'commodities' to be exploited.

'Facilitating' factors that created enabling environments for trafficking to occur and thrive and included: lack of public awareness of human trafficking, customary practices of fostering and apprentices, ineffective law enforcement and poor collaboration among stakeholders.

The effects of trafficking were disaggregated, with a focus on sexual, physical and emotional abuses and exploitation affecting not only victims, but their families and the society more broadly. The economic cost of loss of wages was also outlined, as was the social cost of 'shame' and resultant loss opportunities.

In line with the National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria, it was reported that victims are received and identified by NAPTIP through profiling after which they are able to access shelter[18] (only women), health care, counselling, family tracing, repatriation, empowerment projects, follow-up care/aftercare services, legal services and ultimately disengagement from NAPTIP services after successful re-integration into society. There was also discussion around the humanitarian and legal duty to provide protection to victims, plus the safety of their family and loved ones. It was also suggested that reference to their trafficking status should not affect future prospects, be these around marriage or employment, and that personal histories should be confidential and private.

'Good practice' in trafficking work was outlined as identifying, rescuing, rehabilitating and reintegrating victims; identifying traffickers and agents; understanding the modus operandi of traffickers and agents; and gathering evidence to prosecute traffickers.

The final presentation for the day related directly to additional factors that make people vulnerable to trafficking, focusing on Edo State. The presenter suggested that Edo State became a focus for trafficking after the 1980s when women went to Italy to buy clothes and

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[17] Although this session was entitled vulnerability to human trafficking, discussion at the SLE also focused on available protection systems

[18] NAPTIP Shelters are available in Abuja, Lagos, Benin, Kano, Uyo, Portharcourt, Oshogbo, Makurdi Enugu, Maiduguri and Sokoto.

then sell them in Nigeria. Upon arrival in Italy, they found that Italian men were keen to have sex with them and give them money to do so. The emergence of this link was initially through these women returning to Nigeria and recruiting other women to do the same. However, traffickers brought in a new trend from around 2001, the recruitment of younger girls. There was a perception that up to this point there has been a lack of political will by the regional authorities of Edo State to confront trafficking. Also, despite being aware of the number of Nigerian women being trafficked to Italy, there was also a perception that there had been no political or aid-based response by the Italian government.

Structural vulnerabilities added to previous presentations included: poor infrastructure; the lack of basic social welfare needs; the lack of power, access roads and clean water in rural areas; and the high exchange rate between Nigerian Naira and the Euro or Pound which made conditions favourable.

The organisation this presenter represented had carried out a mapping assessment (2013) to ascertain what kind of services victims could access upon return to their communities. They had found that there were only four local government areas with skill acquisition centres, all of which were focussed on skills for females. They also found a lack of access to education at both primary and secondary levels. The presenter also outlined how they had established networks and committees in rural areas to respond appropriately to and create awareness around human trafficking.

In terms of good practice, this organisation reported on how they had strengthened traditional mediation systems in 18 local government areas. These mediation systems are based on traditional court systems where both sides are listened to and the traditional leader makes a judgement. Their organization had trained these traditional leaders to identify cases of human trafficking, had set up systems to receive information about trafficking and had provided rural communities with skills to prevent and report cases within their own communities, empowerment of adult victims being a key aim. They had also set up a community project aimed at supporting children to remain in school; had provided an ICT centre for the community; had supported literacy efforts; had initiated networks at local government level; and, were continuing to build the capacities of networks to respond and create awareness within their own communities through the use of posters, flyers, CDs and other awareness raising materials. These were supplemented by efforts to strengthen state level systems.

The final speaker considered Nigeria's education system as a major challenge, failing children and consequently increasing vulnerabilities to trafficking. A range of vulnerabilities factors were recounted, as outlined in the previous presentation. This speaker also shared concerns about young people having little desire to learn because of the belief that opportunities elsewhere are more bountiful once outside Nigeria.

This speaker also expressed concerns over the duration of rehabilitation programmes for returnees. It was suggested that the duration of such programmes are too short and do not therefore guarantee successful reintegration.

WORKSHOPS

As outlined above, the workshops focussed on:

(a)   key vulnerabilities to human trafficking

(b)   protective factors

(c)   good practice

Participants discussed these areas in groups and fed back the following points:

Table 5: Workshop Feedback

	Key Vulnerabilities to Human Trafficking	Protective Factors that Can Provide Resilience to Human Trafficking	Good Practices in Nigeria in the Area of Trafficking
1	Poor governance	Legal protections	Community based awareness models
2	Ineffective social system	Multi agency approach to responding to push factors	Community dialogues
3	Poor child protection system	Build stronger communities where businesses and employment opportunities can develop	Community participation and ownership of anti-trafficking programmes
4	Knowledge, Attitude and Practices (KAP) of people	Implementation and upholding of law and policies	Traditional leaders as mediation agents in the community
5	Poor referral system	Scholarship and employment opportunities	Education and empowerment programmes (ILO case study)
6	Lack of budget implementation	Knowledge and the fear of irregular migration	The newly enacted Anti - Trafficking Law
7	Corruption	String family structures and stable households with policies to support families	The Salvation Army and NAPTIP have good case studies on prevention interventions that have worked
8	Degrading of the value system	Local opportunities	Building Institutional and Structural systems e.g. NAPTIP, 2015 Act
9	Communal and religious clashes	Value of the people and the population	
10	Toxic trio - mental health, substance abuse and domestic violence	Capacity to make good decision about migration	
11		Resilience against re-trafficking by having a trusted system that supports victims	

A call to replication actions that have yielded results and can be replicated was made towards the end of these workshops, focussing on prevention, awareness, and empowerment whilst not ignoring the structural and institutional issues framing the potential success of these.

SHARED LEARNING EVENT – DISCUSSIONS ON RESEARCH APPROACH

A call to replicate actions that have yielded results was made towards the end of these workshops, focussing on prevention, awareness and empowerment without ignoring the structural and institutional issues framing any potential success.

SAMPLING STRATEGY IN NIGERIA

During Day 1 of the SLE in Nigeria, dominant forms of exploitation were identified and a purposive sample of people who have experienced trafficking was discussed, plus decisions on the geography and key characteristics of interviewees made. The geographical spread of potential interviewees also related to information discussed at this event. The original intention was for the sample of interviews to only include people who had been trafficked to the UK. However, through presentations and conversations with participants at the SLE it became clear that there are only a very small number of people who were trafficked from Nigeria to the UK who have returned and engaged in support services or been formally identified or profiled as people who were trafficked. Therefore, we recognized that we may

not be able to identify a sufficient number of people who were trafficked from Nigeria to the UK for research interviews. This meant that we had to discuss an adaptation to the sample originally envisaged.

Based on information provided, guiding principles for this sample aimed to satisfy the aims of the research, reflect the picture of human trafficking in Nigeria and provide a logic of comparison for interviews to be conducted within the UK. These are at present aims and may not reflect the ultimate sample, given that segmenting a small sample is not always desirable or feasible:

- Minimum of 20 semi-structured interviews with people who have experienced trafficking across 6 geo-political zones:
  - South South – Edo and Delta States
  - South East – Ebonyi State
  - North West – Kano State
  - North East – Gombe State
  - North Central – Benue State and Abuja
  - South West – Oyo State and Lagos
- Interviews to be conducted in Lagos and Abuja (n=11) and geographically spread across the six geo-political zones where feasible and/or secure
- Nigerian nationals who are aged 18 or over – in the knowledge that their experience of trafficking may have been as a child or young person
- A gender split of approximately 50% female and 50% male interviewees
- Interviews across a range of exploitation types: sexual exploitation (n=7); labour exploitation (n=4); domestic servitude (n=3); begging (n=2); enforced criminality (n=2); and other (n=1)
- A minimum of 15 interviews with majority group and a minimum of 5 interviews with minority groups
- If feasible, interviews with a selected number of people who have experienced trafficking to the UK and been returned to Nigeria
- If feasible, interviews with people who have experienced trafficking en-route to the UK and have been returned to Nigeria
- Where possible, interviewees to have been formally identified or profiled as a trafficked person through the official identification process
- Where necessary, interviewees without formal trafficking identification, profile or status who are believed to have strong indicators of having been trafficked but remain outside formal identification mechanisms – may include those who have been identified by a support organization working closely with them who receive disclosures of exploitation or trafficking post-return
- If necessary, interviews with people who have been trafficked to any other European country and have been returned to Nigeria
- It was also decided that the purposive sample of key informants within Nigeria would consist of a:
- Minimum of 20 semi-structured interviews with key informants in each country
  - A minimum of 13 interviews with professionals from the social care sector (includes service providers, social workers, shelter coordinators and civil society)
  - A minimum of 8 interviews with government officials working within national bodies
- Interviews to be mainly conducted in Lagos and Abuja and other locations where feasible

At this early stage of the research and prior to qualitative interviews or quantitative analysis taking place, a number of key themes emerged out of the SLE and this learning will guide the subsequent research. Issues arose around five key areas – root causes, risks and vulnerabilities; forms of exploitation; support services; the extent, nature and impact of stigma and discrimination against victims of trafficking; and, issues related to data protection plus the collection and recording of data on human trafficking.

The first of these – root causes, risks and vulnerabilities – included:

A key aspect of discussions during the SLE related to media reports exposing auctions of 'slaves' in Libya and the return of Nigerian nationals from Libyan detention centres. These discussions, plus emerging details of deaths at sea, often and understandably surpassed the purpose of the SLE to explore the link between Nigeria and UK in terms of human trafficking. Edo State had received its first returnees from Libya in November 2017 and this SLE took place in January 2018. As such, the focus of this research study was not a key priority at this point in time.

There was less knowledge about trafficking from Nigeria to the UK and less experience of working with people who had been trafficked to the UK than there was of other forms and geographies of exploitation and trafficking. However, some links are emerging between the Nigerian and UK governments. These links included the Nigerian government signing a Memorandum of Understanding with the UK government on trafficking in persons in 2004 and the British Secretary of State for International Development visiting NAPTIP in 2017.

A clear contextual vulnerability surrounds identification of people as victims of trafficking, both within Nigeria and for those returning from other countries. From discussions during both Days 1 and 2 of the SLE it became apparent that not all people who have indicators of trafficking are being identified or profiled as a victim of trafficking by NAPTIP. There are agencies who work with people who have strong indicators of trafficking who would like a further role is assisting with this non-identification. This relates to resources and capacity and is a clear area in which improvements could be made.

The causes or drivers of human trafficking appeared to be multiple, intertwining and overlapping. Stakeholders highlighted multiple vulnerabilities to trafficking across the different levels of the Determinants of Vulnerability model. These included poverty, unemployment, lower levels of education and literacy, corruption, conflict, the lack of social safety nets, abuse of traditional fostering practices, cultural or religious norms that support exploitation, the erosion of values and limited options for safe and legal migration. Increasing demand for sex and cheap labour were considered an integral part of this.

There is a need to invoke a debate about the 'root causes'[2] of human trafficking utilising a development paradigm to alleviate extreme poverty, inequalities, gender-based violence and associated reasons. Not confronting these root causes will ultimately fail to resolve the human insecurity and hopelessness experienced by those who are deceived into human trafficking. Leadership on this is required.

There is a need to create a comprehensive approach towards human trafficking that is both human rights based, victim- and child-centred. The nature of this comprehensive approach should relate directly to causes and vulnerability factors, with inbuilt measures to ensure effective practice.

An extensive range of places of origin were discussed. Participants in the SLE discussed known cases from across Nigeria, not solely focussed on Edo and Delta States. Other States mentioned included Benue, Bauchi, Enugu, Yobe, Anambra, Oyo, Imo, Awka Ibom, Abia, Jigawa and more than another 20 States. Further work to establish the actual locations that have cases of trafficking who reach the UK is necessary.

Gender, gender inequalities, sex discrimination and a lack of good governance were each suggested to be exacerbating factors. Gender imbalances within the society were outlined as key factors for understanding trafficking within and from Nigeria. Further research to understand these imbalances is recommended.

Recruitment methods were varied, ever changing and often related to close personal and family ties. It was suggested that traffickers are rarely strangers and often work within communities with people they are very familiar with. Further research is necessary to understand this aspect.

Migration and human trafficking are linked to post-Independence governance structures within Nigeria. At times participants at the SLE directly related accounts of human trafficking to key historical events, with the reported 'brain drain' a result of underdevelopment of the Nigerian economy which has led to economies of shortage, high unemployment rates among Nigerian youths, lack of opportunities and a volatile political climate that can be traced back to the first military coup d'état of 1966. Participants outlined how hope, and being willing to take risks, are factors relating to migration and human trafficking within Nigeria.

There is a need to clarify terminology used within trafficking discussions in Nigeria. A number of categories such as 'child labour' and 'child trafficking' require further conceptual clarification. There is also a need for awareness around the use of terms such as 'illegal' to describe people as well as the key differences around smuggling and trafficking. Some terminology used to describe victims of trafficking is highly value-laden.

There is an implementation gap between the legislative and policy framework in Nigeria with practice in reality. Stakeholders at the SLE highlighted a lack of political will to implement trafficking legislation.

The second of these – forms of exploitation – included:

Forms of exploitation are multiple. Alongside sexual exploitation (sometimes referred to as sex trafficking) as a key purpose of trafficking for adults, other forms included domestic servitude (also referred to as domestic labour); forced labour (also referred to as labour trafficking); organ trafficking; trafficking for ritual purposes and multiple forms of exploitation. For Nigerian children the forms included: Sexual exploitation; domestic servitude; forced labour; illegal inter-country or domestic adoption; 'baby factories'; 'orphanage trafficking'; recruitment of child soldiers in conflict areas; and multiple forms of exploitation.

The third key area – support services – included:

There is a gap between the number of Nigerian nationals referred into the UK NRM and the numbers of people accessing support service for trafficked persons in Nigeria. The difference between the numbers referred into the UK NRM and the numbers of Nigerian nationals identified and supported who had experienced trafficking to the UK was stark. Only 6 people over a 5-year period (2013-2017) who had experienced trafficking in the UK were known to NAPTIP. This means that those returning to Nigeria may not be accessing any support upon return. There is a need for further research into the reasons for such differences and potential challenges for reintegration and identification of people returning from the UK to Nigeria.

There has been a traditional focus on the human trafficking of women and girls and, as such, there is little understanding or support for men and boys who have experienced trafficking. The focus of support for women and girls was very apparent with support services within Nigeria focusing almost solely on female victims. There is almost a complete gap in understanding about the causes of trafficking of males or their support needs.

Fourthly – the extent, nature and impact of the stigma and discrimination against victims of trafficking – related to:

The issue of social stigma and discrimination as a result of trafficking were considered key to reintegration efforts. The issue of social stigma and discrimination were outlined as being key issues faced by those who had experienced human trafficking. Adults who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation were routinely referred to in media reports and official accounts as 'prostitutes' and other discriminatory labels. There was also reported stigma around adoption and the inability to conceive a child, sometimes linked to trafficking or the reported phenomenon described as 'baby trafficking'.

Fifthly – issues around data – included:

Data protection, confidentiality and anonymity were under-regarded in practice.
It appears that there is little emphasis given to data protection, confidentiality
and anonymity for people who have experienced trafficking across a broad range of
sectors within Nigeria, including within media reports. It was not unusual to see media
reports with the full names, places of origin and even photographs of people who had
experienced trafficking. This is important consideration given the stigma associated
with trafficking and/or return.

Statistics on trafficking could be improved in Nigeria and the UK. Although statistics
were available from different agencies, further work to centralize and improve these
would be beneficial. The available data on trafficking within Nigeria does not provide a
whole picture of the nature and trends of trafficking, nor does it assist in understanding
what makes people vulnerable to trafficking. The underlying data in Nigeria requires
further work to incorporate individuals identified by organisations outside of NAPTIP's
work, potentially through a profiling mechanism. The available NRM data on trafficking of
Nigerian nationals to the UK only focuses on referrals, with no disaggregated data provided
for people officially identified as trafficked in the UK in terms of their gender, exploitation
type or place of origin.

**Finally, it was clear that considerable further research is necessary to explore gaps
and key themes raised but not elaborated upon during the SLE.** These include 'baby
factories', 'orphanage trafficking' and the issue of victims' agency and the relationship
of this to vulnerability or capacities amongst many other topics raised by participants
at the SLE.

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APPENDIX 1: SHARED LEARNING EVENT DAY 1 AGENDA

TIME	SESSION
8.30	**Registration**
9.00	**Opening Remarks** • University of Bedfordshire
10.00	**Project Presentation and Overview of Day** • IOM UK
10.30	**Session 1: The picture of human trafficking in Nigeria** Focusing on Nigeria as a source country, covering nature/ trends, statistics, destinations, changing patterns Presenters may also want to highlight what has been done by Nigeria or their organizations • NAPTIP (10 mins) • Former UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking (10 mins) • UNODC (10 mins) • Discussion (30 mins)
11.30	**Coffee**
12.00	**Session 2: Patterns of human trafficking from Nigeria to the UK** What do we know from news and reports about trafficking of Nigerians to the UK. Presenters may wish to highlight the prevalent types of trafficking from Nigeria to the UK as well as distribution of trafficked persons by their State of Origin • British High Commission (10 mins) • NAPTIP (10 mins) • IOM UK (10 mins) • Discussion (30 mins)
13.00	**Lunch**
14.00	**Timeline Activity** Activity on structural and situational factors (timeline with major political and social events in Nigeria that have shaped the structural and situational factors that could contribute to trafficking)
14.15	**Session 3: What factors shape 'vulnerabilities' to trafficking and what are the available protection systems to address the vulnerabilities of those who have experienced trafficking? (Case studies)** Presenters may also want to highlight good practice interventions as well as gaps relating to vulnerabilities and available protection services for trafficked men • NAPTIP (10 mins) • Society for the Empowerment of Young Persons SEYP (10 mins) • Committee for the Support of the Dignity of Women COSUDOW (10 mins) • Discussion (30 mins)

TIME	SESSION
15.15	**Workshops (participants split into 3 groups to discuss):**
	1. What are some of the key vulnerabilities to human trafficking for people from Nigeria?
	2. What protective factors are there that can provide resilience to human trafficking?
	3. What good practice is there in anti-trafficking work in Nigeria?
16.15	**Coffee**
17.30	**Feedback from workshops**
	1. Vulnerabilities Workshop - Reporter from Group
	2. Resilience Workshop - Reporter from Group
	3. Good practice - Reporter from Group
17.35	**Close**

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF ORGANISATIONS PARTICIPATING IN NIGERIA SHARED LEARNING EVENT

British High Commission

Catholic Caritas Foundation of Nigeria (CCFN)

Committee for the Support of the Dignity of Women (COSUDOW)

Department for International Development (DFID)

Edo State Task Force

Freedom Foundation

Former UN Special Rapporteur ON Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Professor Joy Ngozi Ezeilo)

International Labour Organization (ILO)

IOM Lagos

IOM Lagos Research Consultant

IOM UK

Ministry of Women Affairs

National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) (Benin Zonal Command)

NAPTIP (Lagos Zonal command)

Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS)

Pathfinders Justice Initiative

Patriotic Citizen Initiatives (PCI)

Salvation Army

Society for the Empowerment Of Young Persons (SEYP)

University of Bedfordshire

Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF)

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