

NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSPROGRAM

THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUG AND CRIME (UNODC) ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA

SHALLANGWA HUSAINI JEREMIAH

MASTER'S THESIS

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THESISSUPERVISOR DOCTOR ZEHRA AZIZBEYLI

ACCEPTANCE/APPROVAL

We as the jury members certify the 'THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUG AND CRIME (UNODC) ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA' prepared by JERRY SHALLANGWA defended on...../.... has been found satisfactory for the award of degree of Master

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DECLARATION

I, Shallangwa Husaini Jeremiah, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled 'The Impact of the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) on Human Trafficking in Nigeria' has been prepared myself under the guidance and supervision of 'Doctor Zehra Azizbeyli' in partial fulfilment of the Near East University, Graduate School of Social Sciences regulations and does not to the best of my knowledge breach and Law of Copyrights and has been tested for plagiarism and a copy of the result can be found in the Thesis.

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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME (UNODC) ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA

Human trafficking has been denounced as modern day-slavery. Nigeria has been identified as one of the hotspots of human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa and the world in general. Scholars have concentrated on the human trafficking in Nigeria studies, on sex exploitation from hotspots such as Edo state, organised crime networks, corruption of government and border officials and the journey from Nigeria to Europe. This study fills this gap by examining the impact of the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) on human trafficking in Nigeria. The study employed a qualitative methodology with descriptive case study based on the office in Nigeria. The study finds that the UNODC has carried out 3 major projects on human trafficking from 2010 to 2018 which have promoted better migration, capacity building for the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and support for human trafficking victims that was funded respectively by the European Union, governments of Switzerland and Japan. The impact of the UNODC includes sensitisation campaigns through the use of celebrities for human trafficking campaigns, publicity about Nigerian antitrafficking laws and advocacy in Edo state resulting in the Oba of Benin's curse on traffickers. Capacity building is also a major impact of the office as it focuses on empowering NAPTIP with standard equipment and trainings along with rescue shelters for victims as well as training border security agencies such as the Immigration, police and customs on advanced border security techniques.

Keywords: Human Trafficking, Transnational Organised Crime, Nigeria, UNODC, and NAPTIP.

BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER UYUŞTURUCU VE SUÇ OFİSİNİN NİJERYA'DAKİ İNSAN TİCARETİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ

İnsan ticareti, günümüz köleliği olarak kınanmaktadır. Nijerya, aşağı Sahra Afrika'sında ve genel olarak dünyadaki insan ticaretinin sıcak noktalarından biri olarak tanımlanmantadır. Bilim insanları, Nijerya araştırmalarında insan kaçakçılığına, Edo devleti gibi sıcak noktalardaki seks sömürüsüne, organize suç şebekelerine, hükümetin ve sınır yetkililerinin yolsuzluklarına ve Nijerya'dan Avrupa'ya yolculuklara odaklanmaktadırlar. Bu çalışma, Birleşmiş Milletler Uyuşturucu ve Suç Ofisinin (UNODC) Nijerya'daki insan ticareti üzerindeki etkisini inceleyerek bu açığı doldurmaktadır. Bu çalışmada niteliksel metodoloji kullanılarak Nijerya'daki insan kaçakçılığını betimsel bir alan çalışması olarak kullanmaktadır. Çalışma, UNODC'nin 2010'dan 2018'e kadar insan kaçakçılığına ilişkin 3 büyük proje yürüttüğünü ve bu durumun daha iyi göçmenlik şartları konusunda, Ulusal İnsan Ticareti Yasağı Ajansı'nın (NAPTIP) kapasite artırımını desteklediğini ve sırasıyla Avrupa Birliği, İsviçre ve Japonya hükümetleri tarafından finanse edilerek insan ticareti mağdurlarına destek verdiğini ortaya koymuştur. UNODC'nin etkileri, insan kaçakçılığı kampanyaları için ünlülerin kullanımı, Nijeryalı insan kaçakçılığına karşı yasalar hakkında tanıtım ve Edo eyaletinde Benin Obası'nın insan tacirlerini lanetlemesiyle ilgili savunuculuk yoluyla oluşturulan duyarlılık kampanyalarını içermektedir. Kapasite geliştirme de bu ofisin yine önemli bir etkisidir, çünkü NAPTIP, mağdurlar için kurtarma barınaklarının yanı sıra Göçmenlik, polis ve gümrük gibi sınır güvenliği kurumlarına gelişmiş sınır güvenliği teknikleri konusunda eğitim veren sınır güvenlik kuruluşlarının eğitimi ile güçlendirmeye de odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnsan ticareti, ulus ötesi organize suç, UNODC ve NAPTIP.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACCEPTANCE/ APPROVAL	i
DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	V
CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF IMAGES/FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABBREVATIONS	X
INTRODUCTION	1
I. Statement of Research Problem	3
II. Literature Review	3
III. Theoretical Framework	16
IV. Research Questions	19
V. Objective of Study	19
VI. Methodological Design	20
VII. Scope and Limitation	21
VIII. Structure of Thesis	22
CHAPTER 1:	
HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA	23
1.1 Origins of Human Trafficking in Nigeria	23
1.2 Causes of Human Trafficking in Nigeria	26
1.3 Nature of Human Trafficking in Nigeria	33
1.4 Hotspots of Human Trafficking in Nigeria	36
1.4.1 Edo State	37
1.4.2 Akwalbom	39
1.5 Initiative to Counter Human Trafficking in Nigeria	41
1.5.1 National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons	
(NAPTIP)	42
1.5.2 Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation	44

118

CHAPTER 2:		
UNODC AND ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA	46	
2.1 Establishment of the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime	46	
2.2 Global UNODC Activities	47	
2.3 Programs of UNODC on Human Trafficking in Nigeria	53	
2.4 Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria (2011-2018)		
	55	
2.4.1 Kelechi (Short Film)	58	
2.4.2 Lost Children (Short Film)	62	
2.4.3 Home Coming (Short Film)	65	
2.5 Support and Capacity-Building to NAPTIP on Strengthening Access		
to Justice and Victim Support (2015-2017)	69	
2.6 Support to the Fight against Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria (2015-		
2017)	70	
2.7 Strengthen the Capacities of State and Non-State Institutions to		
Assist, Support and Protect Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria	l	
(2018-2020)	71	
CHAPTER 3:		
IMPACT OF UNODC ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA	73	
3.1 Awareness	73	
3.2 Capacity-Building	78	
3.3 Research	83	
3.4 Social Media Campaigns	88	
3.4.1 YouTube	88	
3.4.2 Twitter	94	
3.4.3 Instagram	96	
3.5 Partnerships with the Nigerian Government	98	
CONCLUSION	104	
REFERENCES	111	
PLAGIARISM REPORT	117	

ETHICSCOMMITEE APPROVAL

LIST OF IMAGES/FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing its Neighbours	21
Figure 2: Map of Benin City in Edo State, Nigeria	39

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Nigeria's HDI Trends Based on Consistent Time Series Data and New Goalpost 28

ABBREVIATIONS

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

ETAHT: Edo Task Force on Human Trafficking

EU: European Union

HIV/AIDS: Human Immuno Deficiency Virus/ Acquired Immuno Deficiency

Syndrome

ICAT: Inter-Coordinating Agency on Trafficking

INL: Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs

of the United States Department of State

GLOTIP: Global Trafficking in Persons Report

MIDAS: Migration Information and Data Analysis System

NACTAL: Network of Civil Society Offices Against Child Trafficking, Abuse

and Labour

NAPTIP: National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons

NIS: Nigeria Immigration Service

NCS: Nigeria Customs Service

NLC: Nigeria Labour Congress

NPF: Nigeria Police Force

NRM: National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to

Trafficked Persons in Nigeria

IOM: International Organisation for Migration

ILO: International LabourOrganisation

IS: Islamic State

SFP: Strengthening Families Programme

SOM: Smuggling of Migrants

TIP: Trafficking in Persons

TIPR: Trafficking in Persons Report

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drug and Crime

WHO: World Health Organisation

WOCON: Women Consortium of Nigeria

WOTCLEF: Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation

INTRODUCTION

This thesis carries out an in-depth discussion of human trafficking in Nigeria by focusing on the role of international actors in combating this trend. There has been a gap within the literature to address this issue; therefore this work provides valuable insights to bridge this gap. Moreover, this thesis serves as a feedback mechanism to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) on their work on human trafficking in Nigeria¹. By identifying the particular activities of the UNODC against human trafficking and assessing them critically to determine their benefits and limitations, this work provides a feedback to the UNODC on ways they could improve to maximise impact in the fight against human trafficking in Nigeria.

Human trafficking is denounced as modern-day slavery. In fact, the United Nations considers it to be the 3rd most profitable criminal activity in the world right after drugs and arms respectively (Olujuwon, 2008). Nigeria has been identified as one of the hotspots of human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa and the world in general (Essien, 2013). In recent times, the global media has been awash with irregular migrants perishing in the Mediterranean Sea in their quest to get into Southern Europe. Most of these migrants are victims of human trafficking who have been smuggled from several parts of sub-Saharan Africa. At the core of human trafficking is the desire for exploitation of the victim. This is what differentiates human trafficking from migrant smuggling as the latter may not involve exploitation. Nigeria has attained an infamous reputation for human trafficking. Global organisations such as the United Nations Organisation for Drug and Crime consistently list Nigeria as one of the highest source countries for human trafficking in Europe (UNODC, 2016).

¹UNODC provides the global response to drug abuse and organised crime through research, capacity building and development of national frameworks against crime.

Record numbers of Nigerian victims are found in destination countries such as Italy with a large number of them from Edo state (Hassan, 2015)². The predominant form of human trafficking in Nigeria is sexual exploitation. Although also prevalent internally, much of Nigerian human trafficking is international in Europe and North America. This can be attributed to the ease of navigating Nigeria's porous borders with its West African neighbours. Trafficking gangs from the hinterland of the country easily move girls through the borders to neighbouring countries like Niger and then Libya before crossing them illegally into Europe through the Mediterranean Sea. Globalisation has also led to the increase in human trafficking cases in Nigeria in the last two decades due to the advent of the social media and Internet as well as the fact that there is easier transportation (Akinyemi, 2013). The high rate of human trafficking in the 21st century in West Africa led the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the local body in charge of the region to provide a regional response. The ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration of 2008 was created to provide safe and legitimate means for migration of West African citizens. It most importantly singled out combatting human trafficking as a "moral imperative" for the region (ECOWAS Commission, 2008). In spite of the measures proposed, human trafficking has persisted in the region in general and Nigeria in particular.

This thesis is significant in a number of ways. First, it sheds light on an overlooked section of studies on human trafficking in Nigeria- the role of international actors in combatting this trend. This work thus provides valuable insights to bridge this gap. Secondly, this thesis serves as a feedback mechanism to the UNODC on their work on human trafficking in Nigeria. The findings from this thesis should be used by the UNODC to improve the impact of their activities on human trafficking going forward.

Furthermore, this thesis is crucial to Nigerian policy makers as it reveals the prevalence of human trafficking in the country. It also highlights important

²Trafficking in Edo state is enabled by materialistic culture, active trafficking networks and complicity

of government and traditional institutions

ways in which the country can collaborate with international stakeholders such as the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) to combat this transnational organised crime. Moreover, this study contributes to existing literature on human trafficking in Nigeria especially in the era of globalisation. It focuses on the impact of intervention mechanisms against human trafficking, which makes it unique.

I. Statement of Research Problem

Human trafficking has resurfaced as a serious crime in the 21st century. Several studies have been undertaken on human trafficking with a focus on the sex trafficking from Nigeria to southern Europe, routes used by the traffickers, corruption of government officials and the pull and push factors for trafficking victims (De Haas,2006; Hassan, 2015; Oringanje, 2014; Agbu,2003). Little attention has been paid to the role that international actors have played in fighting human trafficking in Nigeria. This thesis focuses on the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) and examines its impact on human trafficking in Nigeria. This focus is important in order to evaluate the benefits and shortcomings of the various measures employed by the UNODC in fighting the scourge of human trafficking in Nigeria. This is the gap this study intends to fill.

II. Literature Review

Winterdyk and Reichel (2010) carried out an intensive study on global human trafficking issues and perspectives. They underscore the fact that human trafficking is a notorious crime with very high profit margins (Winterdyk & Reichel, 2010). They stated that human trafficking involves a lot of countries thus making it difficult to be eliminated (Winterdyk & Reichel, 2010). The presence of human trafficking networks across the world means countries are source, transit or destinations for human trafficking victims. They further noted that human trafficking is often international, which means, "no country is immune" (Winterdyk & Reichel, 2010: p.7). The only way to address the issue is to put in place measures to consider it on various levels including local, national and international. Winterdyk and Reichel's (2010) study is very instructive and helpful. They portray just how internationalised human

trafficking is especially when they highlighted the various roles countries could play. By focusing on the global perspective, they however faced a limitation. They did not consider specific contexts, which are peculiar to a country; In this case, the study focuses on human trafficking in Nigeria.

The Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons (ICAT) (2003) contributes to the fight against human trafficking in their toolkit for evaluating counter-trafficking programs. They maintain that countries have only identified and prosecuted a small number of traffickers (ICAT,2003). The study laments that only few victims of human trafficking receive the necessary assistance for reintegration. They also challenge popular assumptions that lead to creation of counter-trafficking programs such as concentration of counter-trafficking efforts in hotspots source countries, focus on knowledge in TIP trainings rather than skills, and increased awareness of TIP measuring up to reduction in risky behavior. ICAT (2003) contends that such assumptions are not proven by field research. In addition, they denounced the tendency of countries to develop programs in line with the "Three Ps of Prevention, Prosecution and Protection" and focusing on them separately without seeing any link between the three (ICAT, 2003: p.15). ICAT's (2003) study provides guidelines for developing counter-trafficking programs but does not consider any program in particular. Thus, the resolutions are not intensive enough which is unlike what this study does by researching the projects of the UNODC against human trafficking in Nigeria and determining their impact.

Loring et al. (2007) see the link between globalisation and human trafficking. They claim that human trafficking is a negative by-product of globalisation (Loring et al., 2007). The crime involves intimidating the victims into being distrustful of security agencies and social workers that could be of help. The authors differentiate between smuggling and trafficking with the former being illegal entry into a country and the latter involving exploitation of the victims. They identified that the Palermo Protocol that outlaws human trafficking does not consider the consent of the victim to be relevant in determining whether trafficking occurred or not. According to them, the only way to counter human

trafficking is to determine the push and pull factors that motivate both traffickers and their victims (Loring et al., 2007). Victims are swayed by promises of a better life in a bid to evade crushing poverty. Corruption was also singled out in the study as crucial to the perpetrators evading prosecution. The authors confirm that human trafficking could be self-perpetuating as women who are sex trafficked often become recruiters of other women and girls for the same purpose. Loring et al. (2007) showcase the reality of increase in human trafficking as a result of globalisation. Their work is guilty of placing the entire blame for the rise in human trafficking on globalization whereas other factors contribute such as poverty and materialism. The study also fails to provide specific ways in which globalisation could be used to counter human trafficking.

Huntley (2013) covers a growing trend in human trafficking- that of "baby harvesting" in her study. According to Huntley (2013), baby harvesting occurs when women and girls are held in baby factories against their will and their babies sold to third parties by the traffickers. Such factories could be disguised as orphanages and maternity homes with men hired to impregnate the girls (Huntley, 2013). The criminal gangs that operate such factories have transnational links thus globalising the crime of baby harvesting. She notes that Nigeria is a major hub of human trafficking in Africa with the most popular forms including prostitution, begging and forced labour (Huntley, 2013). The author explains that three basic elements constitute human trafficking- the acts, means and the purpose. These elements were derived from the Palermo Protocol, which also states that the trafficked victim's consent to exploitation does not amount to a defense to a trafficker.

The criminal gangs that operate such factories have transnational links thus globalising the crime of baby harvesting. Huntley (2013) further notes that although Nigeria has subscribed to international instruments including the Palermo Protocol of 2000 and domesticated it through the Trafficking in Persons Law Enforcement and Administrative Act of 2003, human trafficking still persists in the country. In fact, Huntley (2013) sees the Nigerian Human Trafficking Act of 2003 as narrowing down the scope of human trafficking by

not including the means, removal of organs as a form of human trafficking and not differentiating between child and adult trafficking. Likewise, corruption was identified as a bane of human trafficking especially in the judiciary and law enforcement, which could be taken advantage of by traffickers to evade prosecution. Huntley's (2013) analysis is helpful but concentrates solely on baby harvesting thereby neglecting other forms of human trafficking. It also dwells too much on the legal perspective to human trafficking without discussing the actual realities on the ground.

Neha et al. (2013) consider the sex trafficking of women and girls in their study. They view sex trafficking as a form of exploitation beyond prostitution that also involves pornography, exotic dancing, mail-order brides and sex tourism (Nehaet al., 2013). According to the authors, the popular means of coercion into sex trafficking is through "debt bondage" which occurs when a trafficked victim is compelled to pay the cost of transportation into the destination country (Neha et al., 2013). Such a method keeps the victim subjected to all forms of sexual exploitation in order to pay off the debt. Neha et al. see the bigger picture when determining the costs of sexual exploitation to the society They include "the degradation of human and women's rights, public health, disrupted communities and diminished poor development" (Neha et al., 2013: p.22). The implications on the victims include physical ones such as the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and psychological including trauma and distrust of law enforcement agencies. Health wise, the victims are exposed to rape, unwanted pregnancies and sterility issues. Neha et al. (2013) further suggest that health workers could help in identifying these victims and providing them access to legal and social services. The study is detailed but only discusses the sexual exploitation form of human trafficking. It also bases its discourse on sex trafficking within the context of the United States unlike this study that covers all forms of human trafficking including sexual exploitation in Nigeria.

Akhigbe (2018) contributes to the discourse on human trafficking in his study on the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement and its implications for border security of Nigeria and the Republic of Benin. The author considers human

trafficking and other forms of transnational organised crimes (TOCs) to be the result of lack of appropriate border security. Akhigbe (2018) argues that this insecurity at the borders has been worsened by the ability of West Africans to move across West Africa freely without visas. This free movement of people without visas is a direct consequence of the ECOWAS Protocol of Free Movement of Persons, Goods and Services of 1979. According to him, although good intentioned to foster economic integration in West Africa, the Protocol has made it easy for human traffickers to avoid checks at the borders and smuggle the victims of human trafficking from Nigeria through other West African countries including Niger en route Europe (UNODC, 2016). Akhigbe (2018) explains that human trafficking gangs are able to bribe the border security officials and infiltrate them due to their wealth and influence. This secures them the collusion of the security agencies and helps them get away with their nefarious activities. In fact, the author acknowledges that human trafficking is so rampant in West Africa that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) had to call for a region wide response to the menace in 2008 with the enactment of the Common Approach to Migration that outlaws human trafficking as a moral and humanitarian imperative (Akhigbe, 2018). While very helpful to this subject matter, Akhigbe (2018) only considers human trafficking in passing as a byproduct of instruments of border security. The author also fails to provide any sustainable means through which human trafficking could be countered.

Akhigbe (2017) makes yet another contribution to the literature review with his work centred on the inter-agency collaboration in the fight against human trafficking. The author identifies human trafficking as one of the most prominent global crimes of this century. Akhigbe (2017) emphasises six forms of human trafficking as indicated in the UNODC Trafficking in Persons report to be sexual exploitation, forced labour, begging and criminal activities, organ removal, exploitation of armed forces and forced marriage. The author argues that as human trafficking is a transnational issue, it is important that the border agencies charged with fighting the scourge work seamlessly to maximise their impact. By considering the Nigeria Immigration Service, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and

the Nigeria Customs Service, Akhigbe (2017) determines their challenges to include inter-agency rivalry, insufficient funding and inadequate information gathering and sharing. He recommends the following measures: joint capacity building trainings, joint border patrols, improved border security infrastructure and elimination of bureaucracy in the organizational structures. Akhigbe (2017) does well in showing the structures of relevant border security agencies and how they work together to counter human trafficking. However, he fails to examine the role that could be played by an international actor and its effectiveness, which is what this study sets out to achieve.

Wheaton et al. (2010) try to make economic sense of the crime in their innovative study titled *Economics of Human Trafficking*. The core of their research is to determine what fuels the demand and supply of human trafficking as without tackling the issue from the economic angle, no meaningful result can be achieved in counter-trafficking efforts. The authors justify their approach as important to outline the choices made by all the stakeholders involved. They contend that human trafficking retards national and international growth (Wheaton et al., 2010). The market for human trafficking is booming because businesses in destination countries look out for the lowest labour costs provided by trafficked victims, which bring huge profits for the traffickers. The authors describe human trafficking as a

Monopolistically competitive industry in which traffickers act as intermediaries between vulnerable individuals and employers by supplying differentiated products to employees. In the human trafficking market, the consumers are employers of trafficked labour and the products are human beings. (Wheaton et al., 2010:114)

The authors contend that the trafficked victim have very little amount of agency as the trafficker wields immense influence over the individual. They argue that the human trafficking market involves labour supply decisions by the victims, labour demand ones by the employers and the intermediary decisions by the human traffickers (Wheaton et al., 2010). The authors note that fixating government interventions on the human traffickers who are

simply the intermediaries is an inadequate strategy as the labour supply and demand continues unabated. Wheaton et al. (2010) offer an economic model where human trafficking is an industry with several sellers or traffickers offering numerous buyers or employers various products or trafficked victims based on price or preference of the employers. Corruption is also fingered just as in the studies of Akhigbe (2017), Loringet al. (2007) and Huntley (2013) as a factor in the upsurge in human trafficking worldwide. The research conducted by Wheaton et al. (2010) provides a fresh perspective to human trafficking but is guilty of looking at the issue solely in numbers and economic terms. While helpful, it depersonalises the issues and the victims making it hard to empathise with them and determine the appropriate solutions for the victims. In contrast, this study recognises the economic angle and considers all sides to the crime while interrogating the solutions proffered so far by the UNODC to human trafficking in Nigeria.

Carling's (2006) study on human trafficking and migrant smuggling from Nigeria to Europe is highly instructive to the subject matter. He clarifies that Nigerian migrants are often castigated in Europe as involved in several forms of crime including trafficking and prostitution whereas only few of them engage in it (Carling, 2006). He also makes the distinction between smuggling and human trafficking noting that the former may not involve exploitation as it is usually the most preferred means for migrants to get to Europe and present their cases for asylum. Smuggling is based on the agreement between the migrant and the smuggler to get the individual into the desired country illegally in exchange for financial payment. He however insists that organised crime may involve both smuggling and trafficking. The author also singles out corruption as a tool used by the trafficking networks to facilitate their activities. This could take the form of securing false documents to get the migrant to Europe and bribing border officials to look the other way at entry and exit posts. According to Carling (2006), international trafficking is predominant in Edo state of Nigeria. He credits human trafficking with having improved the financial status of several families of the victims (Carling, 2006). Carling's (2006) study is helpful as it details the Nigeria trafficking networks based in Europe and their operations. His work however, falls short of providing concrete solutions to how the menace could be controlled particularly within Nigeria.

The UNODC's report on Trafficking in Persons in the Context of Armed Conflict (2018) is also important to this thesis. The report identifies that underlying the various forms of human trafficking is the issue of exploitation. Forced labour trafficked victims are made to work in various sectors such as agriculture and mining (UNODC, 2018). Human trafficking is particularly critical in areas of conflict where there is breakdown of law and order. According to the UNODC (2018), this may be as a result of the conducive environment for recruitment of victims. The profile of such victims includes limited access to education and financial resources. Flowing from such a background, the trafficker could then make rosy promises to the victims on better prospects abroad. Such an environment ensures that the trafficker can easily get away with his activities unlike in the absence of armed conflict. The UNODC Study underscores that the Palermo Protocol considers human trafficking in three ways: the act, the means and the purpose (UNODC,2018). "Trafficking for sexual exploitation, sexual slavery, forced marriages, recruitment of children into armed groups and trafficking for forced labour" are popular forms of human trafficking observable in armed conflict settings (UNODC, 2018). Women and girls are most susceptible for sexual exploitation in such environments. Forced marriages although not clearly listed in the Palermo Protocol of 2000 features exploitation of usually women in a union in which they have not fully endorsed. Such a victim could be placed in a stereotypical role where the woman experiences various forms of violence such as rape and battery while being a housewife. In the case of forced labour, armed groups for the sustenance of the conflicts exploit victims to create more income. The UNODC study (2018) widens the conversation by emphasising other forms of human trafficking such as forced labour within countries experiencing armed conflict. Unfortunately, the focus on armed conflict areas effectively excludes Nigeria, which is relatively peaceful.

Olujuwon (2008) focuses his study on combatting human trafficking in Nigeria. He emphasises that human trafficking is not the same as prostitution

nor human migration. According to him, considering human trafficking as equal to prostitution would wrongly label all forms of prostitution as human trafficking. By criminalising it, willing prostitutes would be alienated and eventually fall into the hands of traffickers (Olujuwon, 2008). Olujuwon (2008) argues that only the presence of exploitation justifies prostitution as human trafficking. Olujuwon (2008) highlights the fact that domestic trafficking is pervasive in the country as children are moved from rural areas to be exploited in the cities by their own relatives. These victims are then trafficked as "maids, cleaners, beggars, street vendors, farm workers and prostitutes" (Olujuwon, 2008: 26). The author also fingers guranic schools as a source of domestic trafficking of children in Nigeria as beggars. Although Olujuwon's work (2008) sets out to determine ways of combatting human trafficking in Nigeria, it does not achieve that objective as it simply lists the legal frameworks guiding anti-trafficking in Nigeria and the duties of NAPTIP, the agency assigned to lead the government effort against trafficking. It fails to examine any specific intervention strategy or project unlike what this study sets out to achieve.

Baarda (2016) adopts a unique perspective in his study on the role of voodoo rituals in the human trafficking to Europe. Baarda (2016) affirms that Nigerians constitute the highest victims of sexual exploitation in all of Western Europe. The author further puts this down to tough economic times in Nigeria and the mind-set of greener pastures in Europe. However, Baarda (2016) notes the powerful role that voodoo plays in ensuring that the victims intercepted by the law enforcement in Europe do not expose their traffickers. The author sees similarities between human trafficking and drug trafficking networks as both are resilient and can easily remobilise when one section is intercepted by law enforcement. Baarda (2016) breaks down the trafficking process into three: "a recruitment, a trafficking and an exploitation stage". He notes that the Nigerian trafficking rings are actually run by women who recruit fellow women for exploitation. This is the phenomenon of the "Madam" who pays for the recruitment and transportation of the victim to Europe and subsequently owns the woman until she has repaid the debt. When the victim is freed, she becomes enticed by the possibility of earning good income as a "Madam" and thus goes to recruit other girls to exploit the way she has been exploited.

Baarda (2016) considers voodoo to be traditional religious rites that involve a powerful priest able to influence people's future. Tracing the growth of the voodoo priests for human trafficking to the 1980s, Baarda (2016) explains that the traffickers force the women to undertake several rituals including "eating of chicken hearts, superficial cutting of the body with razors and beheading of goats" to pledge their allegiance to the Madam while abroad (p.4).

As a result, the women are bound mostly out of fear to their captors and made to fulfil their own end of the bargain. Baarda (2016) singles out voodoo rituals as the distinguishing factor between Nigerian human trafficking and the trafficking from Eastern Europe. In that of trafficking from Eastern Europe, direct monitoring is necessary, as the trafficking networks have to monitor the victims carefully to ensure they fulfil their end of the bargain. Meanwhile, in the Nigerian case, the victims are bound by the fear from the voodoo rituals and the realisation that their loved ones could be targeted for reprisal attacks if they should abscond. Therefore, the Nigerian traffickers are able to exercise some form of "remote control" over their victims which in the opinion of Baarda (2016) is far more deadly. Baarda's (2016) work sheds light on the importance attached to voodoo by the Nigerian human trafficking rings. However, his study fails to consider any roles that stakeholders in Nigeria especially in Benin City have taken to counter the use of voodoo for perpetuating human trafficking.

Adeleye (2017) places importance on human trafficking and prostitution at the Nigeria- Republic of Benin border communities. Using the prominent borders of Seme and Saki³, Adeleye (2017) interrogates how human trafficking relates to other economic activities in border communities. She identifies the increase in human trafficking in border regions as a result of

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³Seme and Saki are major land borders of Nigeria situated at the border with Benin Republic.

stark underdevelopment compared to urban centres. This has led several women and girls in the border communities to pick up prostitution under the guise of human traffickers. A lot of prostitutes at the border communities, according to Adeleye (2017), are also stranded victims of human trafficking whose dream of getting to Europe has been cut short. Adeleye (2017) also notes that border areas are strategic to human traffickers both as sources of victims and exit and entry points. The profiles of the victims are often women and who are isolated and vulnerable from physical and domestic violence.

In her study, Adeleye (2017) discovered the nexus between human and drug trafficking. Although Baarda (2016), discussion in the previous section had noted the resilience of both human and drug trafficking rings, Adeleye (2017) states that they are mutually enforcing. Her study explains that the victims of human trafficking were also drug addicts who were forced to pick up prostitution in order to maintain their addiction. Adeleye's (2017) study helps to explain the concentration of human trafficking and the actors involved at the border communities. However, it fails in sufficiently distinguishing between prostitution and human trafficking and does not consider human trafficking in the rest of the country due to her focus on Seme and Saki border areas.

Hassan (2015) goes straight to the point in his work, *Why is Human Trafficking a Challenging Issue in Nigeria*. The author notes that Nigeria is infamous as a source, transit and destination country for trafficking of women and children in West Africa. Nigeria's major legal instrument against human trafficking is the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administrative Act of Nigeria of 2003, which criminalises it. Hassan (2015) denounces human trafficking as "modern-day slavery, a criminal offence which spans across the globe supplying cruel employers with limitless humans to exploit for monetary profit" (Hassan, 2015: p.14). The author noted that human trafficking was a global issue with 152 nationalities of victims identified in 124 countries between just 2010 and 2012 (Hassan, 2015). He claims that most human trafficking is intra-regional with most victims moving from a poor country to a relatively richer one. Hassan (2015)

noted the push factors for human trafficking victims in Nigeria included limited education and unemployment while the push factors were perceived huge profit margins and increased demand for foreign workers. Hassan (2015) traced the concentration of human trafficking in Edo state to the 1980s when there was an influx of Edo women to Italy for trade after which a sex industry slowly boomed. The author notes that advocacy of individuals such as Titi Abubakar⁴ led to the creation of Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) in 1999. Intense outcry against human trafficking finally moved the government to act with the creation of NAPTIP in 2003 to fight against human trafficking. NAPTIP has however been held back by inadequate funding and lack of political will to enforce the laws. Hassan (2015) urges a reappraisal of the laws and improved financing to stem the tide of human trafficking in the country. Hassan's (2015) study fails to provide cogent reasons as to why human trafficking has persisted besides a restatement of the findings on the case in Edo state. More importantly, there is no observation of any project NAPTIP has undertaken to counter human trafficking.

Essien (2013) in her study, pointed out that relatives of the victims of human trafficking were often the traffickers or recruiters for the traffickers. This was because it was easier to secure the complete trust of the victims that way. She pointed out that there was a conscious effort to make the relative appear successful and genuinely interested in a better social status for the victim (Essien, 2013). The strategy especially for domestic trafficking was often promising the child an education or opportunity to learn a trade. The author argued that human trafficking stood against the cultural values of gainfully developing the youth instead of exploiting them but blamed the rise in human trafficking on increasing poverty and unemployment (Essien, 2013). She also traced human trafficking to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and denounced it as "modern-day slavery" (Essien, 2013:12).

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⁴TitiAbubakar is the wife of the Deputy President of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007- AtikuAbubakar. She is the founder of WOTCLEF, an NGO that carries out anti-trafficking efforts.

De Haas (2006) in his study on international migration and development with a focus on Nigeria insists that Nigeria was a key player for migration to Europe, the Middle East and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa due to its large population size. He decries the fact that most of the research on Nigerian migration abroad was only on the illegal ones which usually ended up as incidents of human trafficking. He pinpoints Edo state as a source state for human trafficking for sexual exploitation to Italy, Spain, and Netherlands amongst others. De Haas' (2006: p.5) study traces human trafficking to the late 1980s when migration to Italy began as a "response to high demand for low-labour in agriculture and services" which later changed to sexual exploitation. The author notes that the possibility of the victims becoming Madams after payment of their debt led to the never-ending cycle of human trafficking. De Haas (2006) also explains that domestic trafficking did not receive the same attention as the international one and involved recruiting children from rural areas under false pretexts and bringing them to the cities for exploitation in forced labour. He also blames the practice of "fostering" which seeks to offer better opportunities for work and education by sending them to family members in the cities who often exploit them.

Scarpa (2008) equates human trafficking with slavery in her book, *Trafficking in Human Beings: Modern Slavery*. She points out that the focus of human trafficking research was overwhelmingly on sexual exploitation with a few considerations on forced labour while very little has been done on new forms such as removal of human organs and baby adoption (Scarpa, 2008). In fact, the author finds that human trafficking is a better refined form of slavery as it features "a very low purchase cost of slaves, very high profits for the exploiters, short-term relationships between the slaves and exploiters, surplus potential slaves and irrelevance of ethnic differences." (Scarpa, 2008: p.4) Scarpa (2008) also identifies globalisation and tough migration policies as factors that could drive victims into traffickers. She also draws out the West African culture of fostering which sent poor children to stay with wealthier relatives as making it relatively easy to traffic children.

III. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used for this study is the Regional Security Complex Theory. The Regional Security Complex theory has received a lot of attention from scholars in recent times. The major proponent is Barry Buzan (2003) who especially details the Regional Security Complex theory in his 2003 work with Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security.* They argue that security threats should be defined in terms of the global interest rather than national interest (Buzan and Waever, 2003). Buzan notes that, both the security of the separate units and the process of global power intervention can be grasped only through understanding the regional security dynamics. (Buzan and Waever, 2003: p. 43)

Buzan and Waever (2003) explain that there is interdependence between the member states, which defines their outlook on common threats. This implies that security challenges are best handled collectively through the regional organisation instead of by a single country. Such an approach was critical to ensure success against the threat identified. The thesis of Buzan and Waever (2003) argument is that countries face challenges of various forms. Such challenges are usually tackled with national responses such as increased security funding and strategies as well as capacity building. However, these measures typically are inadequate as the threats are often international in scope. This means that the entire process of carrying out the crime usually starts from one country and ends in another. Moreover, the criminals that perpetrate these crimes in the country usually have transnational links beyond the country. This could be through funding or other forms of logistics. They therefore advocate for security measures to take place within the context of regional organisations (Buzan and Waever, 2003). Regional organisations are best equipped to formulate appropriate security response measures due to a number of reasons. One of which is the fact that such organisations have access to more resources at their disposal. Such resources include funding, equipment and manpower. These resources are bettered utilised by the international organisation on behalf of its member states.

Another very important reason why regional security complex theory is an appropriate response to security challenges is the aspect of cooperation. The regional organisation provides the context for member states to work together to resolve their challenges. Member-states across the world are faced with similar security issues. This is as a result of globalisation that was accelerated in the beginning of the 21st century. Global threats now include terrorism, irregular migration and transnational organised crimes particularly human trafficking. These are issues that all states from the global north and south grapple with. Buzan and Waever's (2003) argument that such similar security issues should be tackled from a global perspective thus is very realistic. Without such a measure, countries may end up going around in circles unable to actually make sustainable progress. Moreover, by defining the most pressing security challenges at any given time, the regional organisation helps to place each country's fight against a particular crime within the appropriate global context. This enables each country learn from global best practices and measure up to the appropriate standards.

Regional Security Complex theory is the most appropriate theory for this study that seeks to uncover the impact of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. The United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) is the arm of the United Nations that is concerned with combatting drugs and crime worldwide. The United Nations is the premier organisation dedicated to ensuring global peace and security. The international organisation has defined human trafficking as a very potent security threat. According to Article 3(a) of the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organised Crimes otherwise known as the Palermo Protocol

'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 (UNODC, 2004)

This action can be seen as the major role undertaken by the international organisation as stated by Regional Security Complex theorists. Despite having a global reach beyond all regional organisations, the United Nations has set the global agenda for member states to follow. This agenda maintains that human trafficking is a security threat to the world. This is more so as every continent of the world is implicated in the human trafficking rings either as a source, transit or destination for the victims.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) serves to coordinate the activities against human trafficking and other crimes worldwide. The office in Nigeria has been active for over 25 years. It is the regional perspective on human trafficking within the Nigerian context. The UNODC through its activities in the country brings international perspectives to the fight thus emphasizing global best practices. The constant communication between the country office in Abuja, Nigeria and the headquarters of the UNODC in Vienna also indicates direct involvement of the international actor in the national security of a member state. This fits into the Regional Security Complex argument, as it is able to influence the framing of human trafficking as a global threat and simultaneously drive active participation in countering that threat.

This theory provides a global perspective to the local problem of human trafficking in Nigeria. This is important, as it is the most realistic chance of success in the contemporary transnational world of crime. Without working in concert with each other thereby adopting best practices, countries would simply keep going around in circles without any meaningful achievement against human trafficking. However, by ensuring global interdependence, countries like Nigeria can improve on their political will and acquire the capacity to adequately respond to the problem of human trafficking.

This work contributes to the development of the Regional Security Complex theory by providing evidence of the important role played by the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in fighting human trafficking in Nigeria. By considering the projects undertaken by the UNODC and the subsequent impact, this thesis further strengthens the assertion of the theory that tackling security challenges within the wider international context is the most effective way of attaining success against the rapidly evolving world of transnational organised crime.

IV. Research Questions

This thesis is guided by the following research questions:

- What are the various forms of human trafficking that are prevalent in Nigeria?
- 2. What kind of projects have the UNODC implemented on human trafficking in Nigeria?
- 3. Do they have an impact on human trafficking in Nigeria?

It is pertinent in determining the forms of trafficking prevalent in Nigeria to consider recognised hotspots of human trafficking in the country. Thus, this thesis also discusses human trafficking in designated hotspots which are Edo state and Akwa-Ibom state. Although human trafficking in various forms is common across the length and breadth of the 36 states of the country, these states have produced a large share of human trafficking victims with their peculiarities. Edo state has a large number of victims that are trafficked for sexual exploitation both and within and outside the country especially to Europe. Akwa Ibom state meanwhile has majority of child victims trafficked for forced domestic labour within Nigeria and to parts of Central Africa including Gabon and Cameroon. While the victims in Edo state are bound by juju oaths proclaimed by native doctors, the child victims in Akwa Ibom state are people ostracised by their community as a result of witchcraft accusations.

V. Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the thesis is to determine the impact of UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

- 1. Identify the nature of human trafficking prevalent in Nigeria.
- 2. Examine the projects implemented by the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria.
- Consider the impact of the UNODC projects on human trafficking in Nigeria.

VI. Methodological Design

The thesis adopts a qualitative approach. Such an approach helps to produce results that are easily verifiable and can be generalized within the context of the thesis (Olutayo, 2014). A qualitative methodology is so important as it identifies patterns and themes that may have escaped a quantitative researcher. The researcher would get access to the relevant secondary materials from online websites and archival materials including that of the UNODC, Google Scholar, JStor and ResearchGate. YouTube videos as well as other social media accounts are also used. Archival materials on human trafficking in Nigeria, international instruments such as the UN Palermo Protocol of 2000 as well as the Global Trafficking in Persons reports of the UNODC all provide valuable data. Project details, newspaper publications, journals, conference papers, books, thesis and paper presentations are used by the researcher to determine the impact on human trafficking. The case study research design is utilised in this thesis. The case study is used as a result of the researcher's determination to undertake an indepth study of the United Nations Organization for Drugs and Crime's work on human trafficking and draw out valuable lessons from it. Purposive sampling technique is used to choose three intervention projects on human trafficking that have been carried out by the UNODC in Nigeria within the last decade.



Figure 1: Map of Nigerian showing its Neighbours

Source: Cartography Section, University of Ibadan, Nigeria (2019)

The method of data analysis is content analysis. This involves a deep interpretation of the materials available to derive valuable content. The deductive coding is also used to draw out relevant themes, categories them and discuss them in details directly from the data discovered thereby making adequate interpretation. The method used to analyze the data is content analysis.

VII. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The time scope of the study is from 2010 to 2018. This is due to the intention of the researcher to focus on the most recent developments in human trafficking and the response to them through projects of the UNODC. The geographical scope is Nigeria, a country located in West Africa. The content scope is the activities of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria only.

The limitations of the study include inadequate primary materials on the UNODC Nigeria website on the projects details and insufficient time to carry out a more comprehensive study of the UNODC's work on other crimes in Nigeria such as drug trafficking and abuse. The researcher was however able to make the best of the resources available to carry out this thesis effectively. The prospects of this thesis include providing in-depth analysis on

ways in which the UNODC could improve on counter-trafficking efforts in Nigeria as well as a resource for the Nigerian stakeholders to use in combatting human trafficking going forward.

VIII. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into three chapters.

The first chapter corresponds to the first objective of the thesis which is to identity the nature of human trafficking in Nigeria. It discusses the origins of human trafficking and its forms, human trafficking hotspots in Nigeria and initiatives to counter human trafficking in the country.

The second chapter answers the second objective of the thesis, which is to examine the projects implemented by the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. It first considers the global mandate of the UNODC and then discusses four projects of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria implemented from 2010-2018.

The third chapter focuses on the final research objective of the thesis, which considers the impact these projects have had on human trafficking in Nigeria. It discussed the impacts that are drawn from the projects carried out by the UNODC in the country.

CHAPTER 1

HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA

This chapter focuses on how human trafficking occurs in the country. It begins with the origins of human trafficking by considering its root causes and its subsequent rise as a societal issue. Next, it determines the nature of human trafficking by considering the forms, victims, manifestation and hotspots of human trafficking as well as the complicity of security forces. Finally, it discusses the several initiatives to fight trafficking in Nigeria such as National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF).

1.1 Origins of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

Over the years, Nigeria has been considered to be a major hub of human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa both as a source, transit and destination country (Hassan, 2017; Albert, 2018; UNODC, 2006). As a source, the country produces a large number of trafficking victims. Several of whom are exploited across the world. As a transit country, trafficked victims pass through Nigeria on their way to other destinations in sub-Saharan Africa and Europe. Nigeria is also a destination for human trafficking such as that of West African migrants who are trafficked within the sub-region. Most of these victims come from other West African countries including the Republic of Benin, Togo, Niger, Guinea and Ghana. They are often swayed by false hopes of working in big Nigerian cities like Lagos, Abuja and Ibadan as farm hands or low-skilled workers (Adeleye, 2017). This however turns out to be a mirage as they become victims of sexual exploitation and forced labour at border communities or within the hinterland of the country (Adeleye, 2017). The fact that there is no open conflict in Nigeria as seen in war-torn areas such as Sudan, Somalia and Syria makes it important to determine the

reasons why Nigerian human trafficking victims are the majority attempting to get into Europe through the Mediterranean Sea.

The scale of the crime can be traced back to the 1980s although it has always existed particularly in pre-colonial Nigeria. The core of human trafficking is exploitation of the victims by human beings perceived to be more powerful. In pre-colonial times, it existed as slavery. This accounts for why human trafficking is considered to be "modern-day slavery" (Essien, 2013). Several empires and kingdoms emerged such as the Oyo Empire, Benin Kingdom and the Sokoto Caliphate in the area now considered as Nigeria. The rise of these kingdoms in the 18th and 19th centuries was from keenly contested wars and clashes by various ethnic groups (BBC, 2005). A result was the taking of losers of these wars as slaves of conquest. These slaves were used for various forms of exploitation as noticeable today in human trafficking including prostitution and forced labour. These practices were considered normal and the people treated as spoils of war. By the 15th century, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade surfaced on the African continent (Adepoju, 2005). This witnessed the selling of slaves to Europeans for the purposes of hard labour often on plantations. The slave trade persisted from the 15th to 19th centuries and witnessed all forms of derogatory treatment of Africans including torture and other forms of physical abuse, rape of women slaves and even death. Slaves were not accorded any form of human rights and were treated as sub-human beings. With the advent of colonialism and the ban on Trans-Atlantic Slavery, such activities were nipped in the bud. They soon resurfaced however in the newly independent Nigeria.

Nigeria experienced an upsurge in human trafficking incidences since the late 1980s. Several factors accounted for that. The country experienced the oil boom immediately after independence with the discovery of crude oil in the Niger-Delta. The oil-boom was a period of prosperity for the country and witnessed a lot of corruption and wastage of the revenue accrued from oil. Some studies associate the increase with the downfall in Nigeria's economy with the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and other economic instruments from 1985 (Hassan, 2017; Essien, 2013).

Respite was not forthcoming from anywhere as the Nigerian government under the General Babangida regime cut back on funding and the standard of living took a turn for the worse. The practice of Nigerians going abroad for work became very fashionable. It appeared to be an enticing solution out of the economic condition by the late 1980s. Several Nigerians went to Europe to engage in trade in the form of imports and exports as well as provision of services. Such migrants frequently shuttled between the country and Southern Europe to facilitate their businesses. From the 1990s, they began to settle in Europe and encourage their family members and friends to come over. Major destinations included Italy, Spain and Portugal. Dwindling economic fortunes in those climes meant the Nigerian migrants had to supplement their businesses with other forms of earning money (Hassan, 2015). Thus, the sexual exploitation industry in Southern Europe was born.

Several Nigerian women engaged in prostitution to make ends meet. As business boomed, the Nigerian migrants began to look home to recruit women and girls for the sex trade. Nigerian trafficking rings quickly emerged to facilitate the transport of the victims to Europe where they were exploited for sex, forced labour and harvesting of organs. There were also testimonials from trafficked victims that had gone to work in Europe and came back very wealthy in the midst of the poverty in the country. The recklessness with which they displayed their wealth through lavish houses and expensive cars reinforced the belief that migration to Europe was the quickest way to wealth. Research carried out by the Italian government showed that record numbers of Nigerians began to arrive in Italy as from the beginning of the 20th century as a result (UNICRI, 2010). Most of these victims were sexually exploited and made to push drugs. Thus, Nigeria was considered as one of the major hotspots of the crime worldwide (Huntley, 2013).

1.2 Causes of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

Human trafficking in the country is caused by a myriad of factors. One prominent one is the grinding poverty in the country. Some victims of human trafficking willingly go into it despite having full knowledge of what it entails (De Haas, 2006). This is because of the high rate of poverty and unemployment in the country. Nigeria is currently considered to be the poverty capital of the world with over 87 million people living on less than \$1 daily amounting to almost half of the population with 6 people falling into extreme poverty every minute (Brookings, 2018). Such a socio-economic reality means a large number of the country's youth are liable to being manipulated into thinking the grass is greener on the other side. Human traffickers are aware of this reality and take full advantage of it to exploit their victims. They paint rosy pictures of working abroad in better working conditions as well as better remuneration. (Loring et al., 2007) Such imageries provoke irrational decisions on the part of the human trafficking victims and lead them to become prey in the hands of their handlers or traffickers.

Wheaton et al. (2013) consider this to play out in what they term the "economics of human trafficking". In such an economic model, the human trafficking victims are referred to as the supply; the trafficker is the middleman while the businesses and customers act as the demand. The quality of standard of living in Nigeria is comparatively lower than that of a lot of countries in Europe. Several people are thus captivated by the prospects of a much better life abroad as painted by the traffickers (Ezeilo, 2018). Poverty means the victims are unable to cater for themselves. With lack of basic amenities and even employment opportunities for able-bodied citizens willing to work, any idea of a paid employment abroad appears God-sent to the victims. Usually, the victims are told that they would work as hair stylists, artisans or domestic servants in countries abroad and be paid in foreign currencies. This prospect is sufficient to entice the victim into undertaking the perilous journey usually carried out by land across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. The victims eventually find out this is not the case as they are

subjected to exploitation and often do not find the financial freedom they seek.

The stark socio-economic indices of Nigeria contribute to the susceptibility of victims to human trafficking. The Brookings Institution (2018) announced in 2018 that Nigeria had overtaken India as the "poverty capital of the world." According to Brookings (2018), Nigeria had "about 87 million people in extreme poverty" compared to India's 73 million people. This much was confirmed by British Prime Minister, Theresa May on her visit to Nigeria also in 2018 (Vanguard News, 2018). Putting this into perspective means that the Nigeria with its 200 million people has much poorer people than India with over 1.2 billion people. This does not argue well for Nigerian citizens and helps explain the desperation with which victims may want to flee the country to greener pastures.

Poverty provides a push factor for high rates of human trafficking in Nigeria. Desperate measures are taken by the victims so as to escape the crushing poverty that is prevalent in their lives and that of the families. The vulnerability of poverty is what the traffickers exploit. It is often the case that even university graduates who are unable to find decent employment are more than willing to pick up the menial jobs promised them by traffickers simply to make ends meet (Adeniyi, 2019). In fact, nowadays, some trafficked victims are aware of what the actual job of exploitation would be abroad but still choose to go in a bid to escape the harsh realities at home. The families of the victims may also put pressure on them to cave into pressure of the trafficker so as to climb up the ladder economically. This is often the case incident of human trafficking particularly in hotspots where the families are fully aware of the dangers awaiting the victim and yet they give consent to exploitation of the victim as a sacrifice needed to be rich (Essien, 2013).

Poverty also comes into play in internal trafficking that is common in Nigeria and other parts of West Africa. This form of trafficking does not involve crossing of internationally designated borders but is no less exploitative.

Often times, the victims are relatives of the trafficker that are sent from villages to reside with the wealthier trafficker in cities. The understanding is that the relative would take care of their education, accommodation and wellbeing. This cultural practice is known as "Fostering" across the West African region (UNODC, 2006). This arrangement does not go well as the trafficker exploits the victim in several ways including little or no education as well as abusive living conditions designed to leave the victim perpetually at the mercy of the trafficker (Essien, 2013). The reason why the victims, usually young children would be separated from their parents and families and sent to live with distant relatives or total strangers who may be traffickers is because of the widespread poverty in rural areas and the belief that such drastic moves may be necessary in order to give the trafficked victims a better life.

The 2017 Human Development Index for Nigeria created by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) provides a sense of the deplorable conditions in the country. Below is the table:

Table 1: Nigeria's HDI Trends Based on Consistent Time Series Data and New Goalposts

	Life	Expected	Mean	GNI per	HDI
	Expectancy	Years of	Years of	Capital	Value
	at birth	Schooling	Schooling		
1990	45.9	6.7		2,.792	
1995	45.9	7.2		2,569	
2000	46.3	8.0		2,451	
2005	48.2	9.0	5.2	3,669	0.465
2010	50.8	8.4	5.2	4,862	0.484
2015	53.0	10.0	6.0	5,527	0.527
2016	53.4	10.0	6.2	5,326	0.530
2017	53.9	10.0	6.2	5,231	0.532

Source: UNDP 2018

Nigeria's ranking of 157th out of 189 countries on the index is a huge cause for concern (Punch news, 2018). This is as the report measures development in health, education and standard of living.

The cultural values of most parts of the country also contribute to the spread of human trafficking in the country. In several cultures in Africa such as the Bini and Efik, there are traditional views that aid and abet this practice. One of such is held towards the girl-child. Despite the modern efforts, the girl-child is still less likely to be more educated than the boy. Whenever a family falls upon hard times especially in the rural areas, the girl's education is immediately truncated in favour of the boy. Then, the girl is expected to be withdrawn from school to cater for her family (Essien, 2013). There is also the unspoken norm that the girl is the most fitting person to sacrifice for the good of her loved ones. Therefore, girls are more liable to be trafficked particularly for sexual exploitation just to be able to help her struggling family back home. With such pressure placed on the girl-child with little or no education, they become a vulnerable prey to the traffickers who arrive with rosy pictures of prosperity in far-off lands and subsequently exploit the girls in sexual forms especially in Europe.

Another cultural value in the country, which is gaining ground, is in the form of materialism. This is the need or quest to amass great wealth in order to show off to one's peers or family. Often times, this wealth is unaccounted for and could be the result of illegal activities such as human trafficking. This is particularly the case in areas such as Benin City where human trafficking to Europe is rampant and popular among the people. The display of wealth in forms of houses and cars by the family of a girl in "Italo" as Italy is fondly referred to as enough to spark off greed in several others and the desire to amass similar wealth. Thus, despite the widespread understanding in Benin City of the lucrative job is most certainly prostitution in Italy, going abroad is still lucrative to people of the area (Akhigbe, 2017; Adeniyi, 2019). Materialism holds long-term dangers for counter-trafficking efforts. The fact that the number of people from Nigeria that are either stranded in Libya or die in the Mediterranean Sea is on the increase annually means that human

trafficking is still considered quite lucrative by the youth population of the country. The quest to attain wealth quickly and cut corners ensures that Nigeria continues to be a source country for the victims of human trafficking in Europe. Thus, instead of simply raising awareness of the dangers of the journey, relevant stakeholders need to focus on changing the values of the people who end up as victims voluntarily. Without such an approach, human trafficking would continue to be self-perpetuating giving the Nigerian government a run for their money.

The underdevelopment of villages in Nigeria is also a cause of the rise in human trafficking. Most of these areas lack basic amenities such as schools, potable water, adequate health care and jobs. Rural areas provide a large pool of potential trafficking victims. There is that uncertainty for the youth in rural areas that are often jobless without any secure means of engagement. The victims may also show signs of low self-esteem and a willingness to settle for literally any opportunity just to be able to rise above the status quo. Such areas are also the sites of extravagant displays of wealth by the traffickers deliberately intended to lure unsuspecting victims (Adeleye, 2017). Against this backdrop, the victim as well as the relatives may be so overwhelmed by the wealth that they are desperate to do literally anything to amass it too. As a result, it is easy to deceive the people with tales of greener pastures elsewhere.

The thought of working as domestic servants is also very enticing compared to the unemployment and gaping poverty prevalent in these areas. Therefore, human trafficking victims have been determined to have originated from less-privileged and rural areas of several parts of the country (Hassan, 2015). The fact that most of them have low level of education also means that they can easily be gullible to the well-coordinated gimmicks of the trafficking gangs. The economic backgrounds of the human trafficking victims make them very vulnerable to the traffickers who have been trained to spot these vulnerabilities and take advantage of them. It therefore means that the more underdeveloped a place is, the higher the likelihood that it could provide a

large number of victims to be exploited by human trafficking gangs (Adeniyi, 2019).

Corruption is yet another cause of human trafficking (Agbu, 2003). The inability of the government to rein in corruption in their agencies has helped to perpetuate it. Corruption has been a major issue for Nigeria with Transparency International scoring the country 148th in the 2018 Corruption Index out of 172 countries. Nigeria had just 27 points out of 100 in the index that measures perception of corruption in the public sector of countries (Punch News, 2018). Corruption alongside instant gratification provides an avenue for traffickers to continue their lucrative business. The border security agencies with the duties of securing the borders have been known to subtly permit trafficking gangs to carry out their activities with little or no apprehension. Thus, corrupt border officials particularly the Nigeria Immigration Service who are in charge of entry and exit of persons simply look the other way as trafficking gangs move across the borders with their victims either in the western borders with Benin Republic or the northern borders of Niger (Huntley, 2013). Having "settled" or bribed the officials, the trafficking gangs are permitted to pass unhindered and are not arrested (Agbu, 2003). The ease with which these borders can be navigated illegally helps to promote the growth of human trafficking. Other national agencies such as the NAPTIP have also been accused of corruption due to the slow nature of prosecution of apprehended traffickers and the impunity with which the traffickers have continued to operate particularly in hotspots such as Benin City (Kucheli, 2010). Corruption is also visible at the top levels of the government, which could be sponsors, and patrons of traffickers. In that case, the efforts of the government are directly sabotaged to ensure that no progress is made. This accounts for some cases in which traffickers apprehended may be set free due to loopholes in the system. Therefore, corruption flows in every facet of the trafficking business, from the local government officials who know the traffickers and provide cover for them to the priests who carry out the rituals on the victims. The security agencies that do not make concerted efforts to apprehend them and the community leaders directly benefitting from the largesse of the traffickers are also implicated.

In addition, the clout of organised criminal networks also help to perpetuate the crime of human trafficking in Nigeria. The groups that carry out human trafficking are well organized. There are people in charge of recruitment of victims from rural areas who deliver them to the specialists on transportation of these victims from the recruitment point to just across the borders in the neighbouring country such as Niger (Loring et al., 2007). From then on, different structures within the network are responsible for moving them to Libya, across the Mediterranean and into southern Europe. Once in Europe, they are received by another section of the network and made to serve in various forms of exploitation. The fact that different parts of the network have particular functions makes them very hard to track down and apprehend. In so doing, they depict features of a transnational organised crime networkone of which is permanence. These criminal gangs are not petty criminals but well-coordinated ones. It is a network with parts that are quickly replaced if apprehended (Loring et al., 2007). Therefore, they are permanent and cannot be easily dislodged.

The trafficking gangs that facilitate the exploitation of the victims are also very wealthy. Most of the time, they are involved in other transnational organised crimes (TOCs) including drug trafficking, arms smuggling and money laundering (Wheaton et al., 2013). The United Nations reports that trafficking gangs amassed over 31.5 billion USD in profits in 2018 (UN News, 2018). And the head of Nigerian trafficking gangs is often a woman known simply as "Madam". This Madam is the coordinator of the trafficking operations and is usually based somewhere in southern Europe. The entire network reports to her as she directs their operations right up to the recruitment centers in Nigeria. The wealth at their disposal makes them very hard to stamp out in Nigeria considering the underlying poverty in the country. Backed by such huge amounts of capital, it is easy to sway the victims into consenting to being trafficked, procure fake travel documents, bribe security agencies and secure the release of traffickers that are apprehended. Thus, it appears like human trafficking gangs have a free rein in carrying out their nefarious activities in the country.

1.3 Nature of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

The nature of the crime is very peculiar. Human trafficking is a worldwide scourge but it's also peculiar in every country. A prominent form of human trafficking is sexual exploitation. Sexual exploitation involves prostitution, sexual slavery, mail-order brides and forced marriages. This form is the face of human trafficking in Nigeria as considered abroad. Girls and women are recruited from across Nigeria to work as prostitutes in the streets of European countries including Italy, Spain and Netherlands. When contacted by traffickers in Nigeria, they are often made to believe that the work abroad is in the beauty industry as stylists and hairdressers. This form of trafficking is usually sealed through the help of a voodoo or traditional religion priest who binds the women and girls to their traffickers through rituals. The voodoo rituals claim to hurt the girls spiritually if they ever falter in their service to the Madam who has secured their travel abroad (Baarda, 2016).

Apart from voodoo, debt bondage also comes to play in this form of human trafficking. The victims are informed that they would need to pay the entire cost of transportation to the European destinations. Huge sums of money could be given as the total cost of the migration to Europe as high as \$40,000. Once the victim has been transported to the destination country, the traffickers create "debt bondage" where the victim is made to refund the costs of transportation to the destination (Neha et al., 2013). The victim is billed to pay huge sums that could be as high as \$40,000 or more and told to work for a certain number of years to pay it off. The documentation and identity of the victim including the passport is often confiscated so the victim is terrified of seeking help from law enforcement agencies. After the victim has paid off the debt within a couple of years, she could then attain the status of a "Madam" or trafficking gang leader who then goes back to Nigeria to recruit new women or girls for the same purpose.

This method is particularly effective as the new Madam is seen as a symbol of the success that going abroad to work can bring and this is used as a bait to recruit other women for exploitation. The traffickers use voodoo rituals and

debt bondage to maintain their power over their victims. By playing the psychology of the women, the victims feel bound to display their gratitude to their traffickers and are also moved by the fear of the spiritual implications should they fail to prove their loyalty? After being exploited sexually for up to 5 years to pay off the debt, the women are then offered the opportunity to become Madams themselves and build up an empire for themselves (Baarda, 2016). They often take it and become the recruiters of other young girls setting them up to be exploited and creating a vicious cycle (Loring et al., 2007).

Forced labour is also another form of human trafficking in the country. This is often the case with men that are trafficked. Once they get to the shores of Europe, they are forced to join criminal gangs in Italy and Spain that are involved in drug trafficking and also become part of the trafficking gangs that bring women into Europe. Women are also trafficked for forced labour into Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, Oman and United Arab Emirates (UAE). They work as domestic servants under very abusive conditions including rape, physical abuse with little or no salaries at all. Forced labour seeks to ensure that people are used for hard work in appalling conditions with a high percentage of exploitation. The problem of forced labour is also present in internal human trafficking in Nigeria. Children, who are sent to live with relatives and strangers are routinely exploited for forced labour. Such trafficking occurs when people mostly minors are taken from their families in villages or the country side and made to live with strangers in urban cities supposedly to get an education and make a living. Instead, their traffickers in major cities exploit as beggars or for sexual purposes the people. This form of trafficking is widespread across all parts of the country and is very difficult to curtail or stamp out. This is due to the consideration of such a situation as a normal way of life. The scenarios are in houses and shops. Many of these children and victims receive no payment for their work and are exploited under very extreme conditions. In several cases, children who were promised an education at the point of recruitment are sent to work as street hawkers in major cities in Nigeria thereby exposed to several hazards including crime and further molestation (Essien, 2013).

There is also a lot of internal human trafficking in the country. As a destination for human trafficking in West Africa, Nigeria receives a lot of migrants from within the sub-region. Nigeria has the largest population in West Africa with the biggest economy. Migrants from several less-endowed countries in the sub-region thus troop into it in search of greener pastures. These innocent victims are then trafficked for forced labour often as beggars or as prostitutes in Nigeria. Several of them do not even get to the large cities where they have been promised employment by their traffickers as their journey ends at the border communities on the side of Nigeria. Such communities such as Seme and Saki have a booming sex and prostitution market made up of trafficked migrants. The legal instruments of ECOWAS also aid the influx of West African migrants into Nigeria, which is the subregional body for West Africa. The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Goods and Services was enacted in 1979 to aid the ease of mobility and integration within the community (Opanike et al., 2015). This Protocol has abolished the need for visa to move across any of the 16 countries that are included in the Protocol of the traveler carries a valid passport (Okunade and Ogunnubi, 2018). The problem is that human trafficking gangs manipulate the provision for free movement to move their victims easily across West Africa with little or no detection (Akhigbe, 2018). This has made West Africa to be a hub of human trafficking. ECOWAS determined that it was important to provide a joint response to this crime which is seen in the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration that states "Combatting human trafficking is a moral and humanitarian imperative" (ECOWAS Commission, 2008). The ECOWAS Common Approach went on to outline various strategies to counter human trafficking through cooperation between border agencies and implementation of joint migration policies. These strategies include awareness campaigns on the dangers of smuggling, cooperation between member states to defeat trafficking networks in West Africa and provision of logistics for the repatriation of stranded migrants and victims of human trafficking (ECOWAS Commission, 2008). These measures have not been sufficient, as human trafficking has continued to grow in the region.

Human trafficking is a self-perpetuating act that is very difficult to eradicate. Trafficked victims are groomed and eventually become traffickers to exploit more people. Such a scenario typically plays out in the form of sexual trafficking. Having worked for years just to satisfy the "Madam" that facilitated the transportation to Europe, the recently freed victim may want to get her own pound of flesh by exploiting other young women and girls (Baarda, 2016; Ezeilo, 2018). Therefore, human trafficking becomes a never-ending circle that poses a challenge to Nigeria and international policymakers.

Human trafficking in Nigeria has clear gender lines or values surrounding it. Some specific forms are observable with particular gender as well as the trafficking patterns. Girls and women are often trafficked for sexual exploitation both within and outside the country. This is response to the vibrant sex industry particularly in Europe that needs women. Interestingly, women make up majority of the recruiters for these girls that are exploited sexually. This is because the girls can easily trust a woman and warm up to her as opposed to a male recruiter. Men however are often used for forced labour and drug violence in part of Europe and Asia. This form of human trafficking requires sustained strength, which is traditionally considered to be preserved by men. Men also serve in trafficking gangs as the people are saddled with the job of transporting the girls from their recruitment points to Europe.

1.4 Hotspots of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

Human trafficking is widespread across all of Nigeria. There are occurrences of human trafficking that abound all over the country. However, there are a number of hotspots of human trafficking in the country that deserve to be identified. It is important for this thesis to identify these hotspots of human trafficking in Nigeria.

1.4.1 Edo State

One of such is Benin City. The capital of Edo state is Benin City. It is located in southern Nigeria. It is a major commercial hub and part of the oil -rich Niger-Delta with a unique cultural heritage. The city is however infamous as being a major center of human trafficking (Carling, 2005). Sexual exploitation particularly prostitution is the most common form of trafficking observed there. Adeniyi (2019) traced the roots of human trafficking in Edo state to the migration of women to Italy in the 1980s to work in its booming agricultural sector especially picking of tomatoes. They soon switched over to selling their bodies in prostitution, which was deemed more profitable. Trafficking gangs have been able to establish strong networks between southern Europe with countries such as Italy and Spain. Benin city then ensures a constant supply of women and girls for trafficking purposes. There are also enabling factors for the crime in Benin City such as the presence of voodoo or traditional priests who specialise in rituals to bind the girls to their captors (Baarda, 2016).

There is also the infiltration of the Edo state political elites and government by the wealthy and influential traffickers. For instance, a frontrunner for a 2019 legislative election in Edo state was arrested in London Heathrow Airport and exposed to be a trafficking Madam just few weeks before the election, which she could have won (BBC News, 2018). Josephine lyamu was found to traffic 5 women to Germany for sexual exploitation (BBC News, 2018) Such a person in governance would have found ways to sabotage the success of counter-trafficking efforts. Edo state also suffers from the trend of materialistic culture. "Successful" trafficked victims have set up monumental structures such as houses, hotels and businesses in the state from their proceeds. Such display of ill-gotten wealth hardens the conviction of the youth in the state to be resolute in their quest to make it in Europe despite the odds of the perilous journey. Although, there is growing awareness of the nature of the "work" done by trafficked victims in Europe, it has done little to stem the tide of the youth risking their lives to go there believing that the gains are worth more than the pains. This is because trafficking is a status symbol in Edo state with having a relative trafficked to Italy a form of bragging rights for the families back home (Adeniyi, 2019).

A number of initiatives have been undertaken to tackle the prevalence of human trafficking in Edo state. One of such was the Idia Renaissance. Set up by Ekilgbinedion, wife of then governor of Edo state, Lucky Igbinedion in 1999, it sought to checkmate trafficking of Edo women for sexual exploitation by improving their self-worth (Kucheli, 2010; Adeniyi, 2019). The Renaissance sought help for reintegration of victims of human trafficking as well as intensive awareness campaigns (Kucheli, 2010). The campaign was sabotaged however by the legislative arm of the state government that refused to pass a law criminalising human traffickers and willing parents of trafficked victims. Despite this opposition, Idia Renaissance has been credited with raising the most awareness about the high rate of human trafficking incidences in Edo state. The most recent is the creation of the Edo State Task Force on Human Trafficking (ETAHT) by the state government in 2018. Under the leadership of the state Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice, Professor Yinka Omorogbe, it has set about making concerted efforts to eliminate the human trafficking scourge in the state through aggressive sensitization campaigns and rehabilitation of trafficked victims stranded in Libya on their way to Europe (Adeniyi, 2019). The curse of the Oba of Benin on human trafficking gangs was done in order to break the efficacy of the juju oaths that bound the victims to the trafficker.

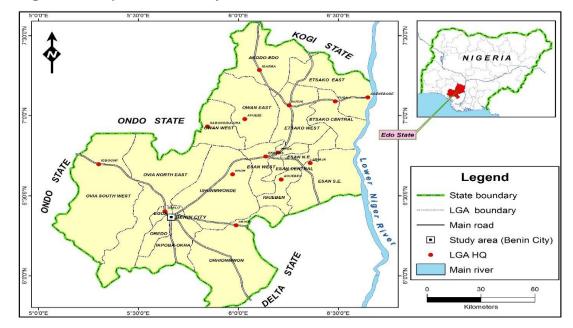


Figure 2: Map of Benin City in Edo State

Source: Cartography Unit, University of Ibadan (2019)

1.4.2 Akwal bom State

Akwa Ibom is a state located in the South-South part of Nigeria. The capital is Uyo. It shares borders with Cross-Rivers state in east, Rivers in the west, Abia state in the north and Bight of Bonny to the south (Essien, 2013). The state is a riverine state, which accounts for 10% of the entire fish production of Nigeria (Essien, 2013). However, these rivers have also been modes of transportation of human trafficking victims especially from trafficking hotspots such as Oron and Mbo local government areas. Human trafficking is also a prevalent challenge there. Victims are often trafficked for the purpose of forced domestic labour and also sex trafficking. The victims are notably children who are exploited as domestic servants or "house-helps", prostitution as well as street beggars. The cultural practices in the state help to increase the rate of trafficking of people particularly children (Essien, 2013). One of such is the issue of witchcraft. This is a form of spiritual activity in which the victim is alleged to be responsible for the misfortune of other people. Therefore, that child is expelled from the community and despised by all and sundry. This provides the perfect cover for exploitation of the victim due to lack of support networks to fall back on. International trafficking of children is prevalent in Akwa Ibom especially to Gabon in Central Africa

(Kucheli, 2010). The situation is worsened when considered against the backdrop that such ostracization is carried out by the victim's own family. Duru (2012) noted that abandonment of children accused of witchcraft contributed in no small measure to the trafficking of those children. In fact, Duru (2012) acknowledges that there is intense stigma associated with not just the trafficked victim but also his/her family. Essien's (2013) study on human trafficking patterns in Akwa Ibom state revealed that factors influencing human trafficking included glamorous lifestyles of Nigerian returnees from abroad, inadequate job opportunities and large family sizes. According to the study (Essien, 2013), free education for children, provision of adequate employment opportunities and awareness rising could help bring down incidences of human trafficking in the state.

The complicity of security forces is an essential feature of human trafficking in the country. The security forces strive to ensure safety of the citizens at all times. However, they fail to do this in several respects regarding human trafficking. First, the security agencies have been unable to put forward clearcut strategies in countering human trafficking (Adeleye, 2017). Human trafficking is often considered to be of least importance when compared to other more "serious" crimes. Such crimes that usually get the attention of security agencies include armed robbery, petty theft, kidnapping and smuggling. This gap in the security architecture allows the traffickers to get away unhindered. There is also confusion over whose jurisdiction it is to tackle human trafficking (Akhigbe, 2017). As most of human trafficking is generally understood to involve crossing international boundaries, the job is often left to the Nigeria Immigration Service, which processes the entry and exit of people at the border. Thus, the police, as is the primary security agency in the country does very little to stop the activities of the traffickers and apprehend them in spite of the fact that most of the trafficking activities happen within the country and not at the borders. By not nipping the issue at the bud, Nigeria fights a hopeless war that is lost to the traffickers.

Also, the security agencies are beset with corruption (Neha et al., 2013). They are unable to withstand the influence of the trafficking gangs who have

a lot of financial backing from abroad. As a result, they are easily manipulated into cooperating with the trafficking networks rather than exposing them. This is observable when the victims are recruited to securement of their documents as well as transport across the borders to other countries. The security agencies also lack effective inter-agency collaboration against human trafficking. For instance, although the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) all have anti-trafficking units, they have been unable to work smoothly alongside the NAPTIP to counter human trafficking (Akhigbe, 2017).

1.5 Initiatives to Counter Human Trafficking in Nigeria

The government has put in place several initiatives to counter human trafficking in the country. Several of such measures have been developed by successive administrations. One of such is the creation of the Nigeria Anti-Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act in 2003 (Essien, 2013). This Act is a domestication of the United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol of 2000 otherwise known as the Palermo Protocol required to make it enforceable in the country (Huntley, 2013). The Nigerian Anti-Trafficking Act specifically mentions sexual exploitation and forced labour as forms of human trafficking but does not condemn other forms seen in the Palermo Protocol such as organ harvesting. The Anti-Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement Administration Act also is seen alongside the Child Rights Act of Nigeria that was enacted in 2003. The Child Rights Act defines the rights that accrue to every child in the country and sets out the modalities for keeping children safe from any form of exploitation. The rationale behind this Act is the reality that children fall victim to a lot of exploitative practices including child labour, sexual exploitation and street begging. By going a step further to criminalise the practice, the government of Nigeria ensured that it could bring about a turnaround in the status quo and deter people from engaging in the trafficking of children (Huntley, 2013).

Both the Anti-Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement Administration Act and the Child Rights Act were the product of sustained local and international pressure on the government to intervene in the rising incidents of trafficking in the country. They are helpful as they create a legal framework through which human trafficking can be outlawed. The Nigerian government began to consider human trafficking seriously as a crime from the late 1990s. That period witnessed the clamor by civil society and nongovernmental offices in the country on the need to tackle human trafficking in the country. This awareness was by no means limited to Nigeria as the international community had also began to identify human trafficking as a modern-day. The intense spotlight on the issue culminated in the enactment of the Palermo Protocol in year 2000 that clearly defined human trafficking, its nature and criminalised it. Titi Amina Abubakar, wife of the Deputy President of Nigeria as at 2000, Atiku Abubakar led the clamour for a coordinated national response to the issue of human trafficking in the country. Her personal agitation for the rights of Nigerian victims against women trafficking led to the emergence of her non-governmental organisation, Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) in 1999 that was instrumental in bringing the issue of human trafficking to the awareness of the Nigerian public. Mrs Abubakar was the one who signed the assent to the Palermo Protocol at the United Nations conference in 2000 on behalf of Nigeria. The Nigerian Anti-Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement Administration Act, which was an attempt to domesticate the international instrument in the country, gave rise to other initiatives to counter human trafficking in Nigeria. A major one was NAPTIP (Huntley, 2013). Nigeria was however set back by its lack of a coherent human trafficking strategy and concerted government efforts towards eradicating it (De Haas, 2006).

1.5.1 The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)

The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) is the agency of the government that coordinates the counter-trafficking activities in the country (De Haas, 2006). It was created on August 8th 2003

as the response of the national government to the Palermo Protocol of 2000. NAPTIP's mandate from the Act was two-fold: to enforce all laws against traffickers including investigation and prosecution while coordinating the rehabilitation and counseling of victims. (NAPTIP Law Enforcement and Administrative Act, 2003). Other functions included creating witness protection measures, increasing capacity of law enforcement agencies to deal with human trafficking as well as inter-agency collaboration with other relevant stakeholders (NAPTIP Law Enforcement and Administrative Act, 2003).

NAPTIP has attained modest gains in its fight against human trafficking. It has carried out consistent awareness campaigns through sports, entertainment and the media (Kucheli, 2010). It has also played a major role in the rehabilitation and repatriation of victims of trafficking from several parts of the world especially those stranded in Libya. Moreover, it has made considerable progress in staging intervention programs in places considered to be trafficking hotspots particularly Benin City and Uyo in Nigeria. However, NAPTIP has also faced existential challenges in the conduct of their activities. One challenge is the low level of cooperation between the agency and the border security agencies. The agency has to rely primarily on the border security agencies such as the NIS and the NCS when it comes to interception of traffickers and the victims. This is because NAPTIP is neither a military nor paramilitary agency to be licensed to carry arms. Such a relationship is usually fraught with conflict as there is inter-agency rivalry and lack of adequate cooperation.

There is also the issue of corruption as the corrupt traffickers have been known to infiltrate both NAPTIP and the security agencies in order to forestall their prosecution (Akhigbe, 2017). This is in spite of the fact that security agencies such as the immigration and customs officers have anti-trafficking units that were set up specifically to work with NAPTIP to facilitate better synergy. It has also been confronted with the hesitation of victims to testify against suspected traffickers in courts of law (Kucheli, 2010). This is obviously due to the threat of retribution against the testifiers and their

families by the dreaded trafficking networks. As a result, NAPTIP has only recorded modest achievements in the successful conviction of arrested traffickers. A recent example is that of Josephine lyamulmagholor, a politician from Edo state that was convicted of human trafficking in London and jailed there with the active cooperation of NAPTIP (BBC News, 2018).

NAPTIP coordinates the efforts of the Nigerian government in prevention and protection of the victims as well as prosecution of the traffickers (De Haas, 2006). NAPTIP also partners with relevant CSOs to guard against occurrences of human trafficking especially in hotspots such as Benin city. The office also collaborates with the human trafficking units of security agencies including the NIS and NCS to curtail trafficking (Akhigbe, 2017). However, NAPTIP has been bogged down by bureaucracy, funding and even corruption. This is evident in the fact that despite how pervasive human trafficking is in the country, NAPTIP was only able to prosecute 3 traffickers in their first 3 years of operation (Hassan, 2015). As national initiatives to combat human trafficking such as NAPTIP have not been sufficient, this thesis aims at examining the impact the UNODC has had on fighting human trafficking in Nigeria.

1.5.2 Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF)

Women trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) is a foremost non-governmental office working against the proliferation of human trafficking in the country. WOTCLEF was founded in 1999 by the then Deputy President of Nigeria's wife- Amina Titi Abubakar to fight against the rise of trafficking of women and children. This was against the backdrop of increase in human trafficking of women and girls to Europe for prostitution. The founder, Titi Abubakar had noticed the large number of Nigerian women prostituting in Europe during a study visit to Rome and decided to do something about it (Kucheli, 2010). It is credited with a raised awareness of the Nigerian public through print and electric media on the evils of the crime (Olujuwon, 2008) WOTCLEF has carried out massive awareness campaigns at its inception on electronic and print media thereby bringing the abuse of

women and children to national consciousness. WOTCLEF has been successful largely in terms of policy advocacy (Kucheli, 2010). The success of WOTCLEF's advocacy is epitomised in very important events that have shaped the nation's fight against trafficking in persons to this day. creation of the Nigeria Anti-Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement Administration Act in 2003 and Child Rights Act in the same year were gains of WOTCLEF. Later that year, the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) was created in response to WOTCLEF's agitation for the need for a national body to coordinate the country's anti-trafficking efforts. Other strategies used by WOTCLEF included musical concerts, state by state campaign tours and seminars as well as workshops (Kucheli, 2010). Indeed, WOTCLEF was instrumental to leading the resistance against human trafficking by non-governmental organisations in the country at the beginning of the 20th century. However, with the end of the administration in 2007 which Deputy President Atiku Abubakar served from government, WOTCLEF, the NGO set up by his wife, Titi Abubakar has since declined in its vigour and prominence as a voice against human trafficking in Nigeria

This chapter has discussed human trafficking in Nigeria. It considered the origins of human trafficking in the country and examined the causes of the crime. Next, the nature of human trafficking was considered after which hotspots of human trafficking such as Edo and Akwa Ibom were pinpointed. This chapter is in line with the first research objective of identifying the forms in which human trafficking is manifested in Nigeria. The next chapter focuses on the UNODC and projects against human trafficking in Nigeria.

CHAPTER 2

UNODC AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA

This chapter examines activities of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) on human trafficking in Nigeria. This is in line with the second research objective of this thesis which seeks to determine the activities that the UNODC has carried out on human trafficking in the country. The chapter first identifies what the UNODC is all about and its global mandate on organised crime and trafficking, corruption, crime prevention and criminal justice reforms, drug abuse and terrorism. Next, it discusses the projects undertaken by the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria from 2011 to 2018. The Regional Security Complex theory reveals that the UNODC helps to coordinate the counter-trafficking efforts in Nigeria so as to make it more successful and is seen throughout all the projects discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Establishment of the United Nations Organization on Drugs and Crimes

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) is the premier United Nations agency that coordinates the resistance against all forms of drug abuse and global transnational organised crimes. The UNODC was created in 1997 with a fusion of the United Nations Drugs Control Programme and the Centre for International Crimes Prevention (UNODC, n.d.). The office came into being as a response to the need for the world to determine a united front to the increase of these forms of crimes at the beginning of the 21st century. According to the UNODC 2010 Annual Report, with over 54 field offices in over 150 countries, it relies on voluntary government contributions to fund over 90% of its annual budget (UNODC,

2010). It is headquartered in Vienna. The UNODC helps member states in the fight against illicit drugs, crimes and terrorism.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) has 3 pillars, which it works with:

- Assisting the field-based technical cooperation projects to enhance the capacity of member states to counteract illicit drugs, crimes and terrorism.
- 2. Provide research and analytical work to increase knowledge and understanding of drugs and crimes issues and expand the evidence base for policy and operational decisions.
- 3. Offer normative work to assist states in the ratification and implementation of the relevant international treaties, the development of domestic legislation on drugs, crimes and terrorism, and the provision of secretariat and substantive services to the treaty-based and governing bodies (UNODC, n.d.).

2.2 Global UNODC Activities

The global activities of the UNODC help to put the focus of this thesis in perspective. The activities carried out by the UNODC in Nigeria are not unique to the country as they are part of the wider global campaigns adopted by the UNODC in several other countries to eradicate drugs and crimes. Understanding the global activities of the UNODC in this section provides a sufficient background to comprehend the anti-trafficking initiatives carried out in Nigeria.

The UNODC has a wide scope of activities globally. They complement each other and are all geared towards ridding the world of illicit drugs and organised crimes, Activities of the UNODC are carried out within the following five thematic areas. The first one is Organised Crimes and Trafficking. UNODC provides the relevant support to member states to fight organised crimes and trafficking. The globalisation era has ensured that no country is strong enough to tackle its security threats. Organised crimes are carried out all over the world and poses common challenges to all countries. The need to

tackle this is seen in the Regional Security theory, which insists that these security challenges must be combatted using a common global approach. This is the best chance of success against crime that beats every country's individual efforts. The work of the UNODC thus shows the potency of the Regional Security Complex theory used in this thesis, which provides the best approach to dealing with transnational crimes such as human trafficking.

Advancement in communication, transportation and internet services means that the world is now more interconnected than ever providing loopholes for criminals that are organised across borders in several countries to carry out their nefarious activities (UNODC, 2010). Such transnational organised crimes include human trafficking, trafficking of arms and drugs as well as contraband smuggling. Drug abuse is the most profitable transnational organised crime with wide spread roots across every region of the world (UNODC, 2010). The drug trade is way beyond the scope of any country's ability to handle. This is because virtually every country is implicated in the drug trade as source, transit and destination.

The UNODC helps to provide the international approach needed to be successful in the fight against these 21st century security challenges (UNODC, 2010). Therefore, it harmonises legal frameworks and introduces global best practices in a bid to bolster the ability of the countries to respond appropriately. Likewise, the UNODC also tackles new crime forms such as cybercrime, trafficking in artefacts and environmental crime providing the technical support and expertise required.

The UNODC released its milestone publication *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons* in 2009. This report documents how the world combatted human trafficking using the criminal justice and victim assistance in over 150 countries (UNODC, 2010). The Blue Heart Campaign of 2009 was launched to promote collective action against human trafficking. Mexico was the first country in 2010 to domesticate it and implement a national blue heart campaign (UNODC, 2010). UNODC galvanised action by encouraging individuals to replace their Facebook profile pictures with that of the Blue

Heart, spread the word through Twitter and share the YouTube videos (UNODC, 2010). This form of activity helps to spread awareness of the evil nature of human trafficking thereby preventing more victims from falling prey to it. It thus forms a larger part of the global agenda against human trafficking which can be seen through the lens of the Regional Security Complex theory used in this thesis.

Prevention is the first of the 4 P's of Counter-Trafficking principles (US TIPR, 2018). The success of the initial engagement led the UNODC and Mexico to work on a bigger project. In 2017, a new campaign called #AQUIESTOY was carried out with funding from INL's Merida Initiative. It was focused on an in-depth prevention campaign targeting the most vulnerable including disabled people, indigenous people and internet-savvy youths and children (UNODC, 2017). The rationale behind #AQUIESTOY was that human trafficking occurs right under everyone's nose and is prevalent everywhere, cities, neighbourhood, tourist spots and work places (UNODC, 2017). With the symbol of a balloon, which portrays happiness, youth and freedom, the project called on Mexicans to take action against human trafficking spreading awareness among others (UNODC, 2017).

The office also raised awareness of the sophistication of transnational organised crime in West Africa with its landmark report in 2009-Transnational Trafficking and the Rule of Law in West Africa: A Threat Assessment (UNODC, 2010). UNODC went on to note that West Africa was a transit for 1 Billion USD worth of cocaine between Latin America and Europe, a source of human trafficking and stolen natural resources such as oil and a destination for fake medicines and toxic wastes (UNODC, 2010). In 2009, to tackle this, the UNODC partnered with the ECOWAS regional action plan to address drug trafficking alongside INTERPOL and the United Nations Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNODC, 2010). The UNODC provides technical assistance to member states particularly in fighting transnational organised crimes. In 2016, the office trained over 800 law enforcement officials in 70 countries on effectively investigating humans and arms trafficking and migrant smuggling

(UNODC, 2016). The second one is corruption. Corruption is an impediment to national development. All over the world, corruption is widespread albeit in varying degrees from the developed countries in the global north of western Europe and north America to the developing south of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The UNODC seeks to eliminate this developmental obstacle by working with the public and private actors across the world to expose and prosecute corrupt persons and institutions. The UNODC declares that corruption is a prominent setback to global growth. According to the UNODC (2017), USD 1 Trillion is paid every year in the form of bribes while over USD 2.6 Trillion are stolen through corruption. created #UnitedAgainstCorruption campaign to spread awareness on the need for action against corrupt practices on the International Anti-Corruption Day every year on the 9th of December. The third one is crime prevention and criminal justice reform. A strong unbiased criminal justice system is a necessity for the peace and stability of a country. This is often not the case in several countries where politicians, business tycoons and other influential societal stakeholders to miscarry justice and bend the law to favour them for selfish reasons, heavily influence the actors in the criminal justice system such as prosecutors and investigators. The UNODC believes that inasmuch as it is important to apprehend and prosecute criminals, it should be done in a free and fair manner with respect for the human rights of accused without intimidation or bias. Thus, the office invests in capacity building of criminal justice actors and an insistence on adherence to global standards based on the Fundamental Human Rights. In 2009, the UNODC introduced a programme funded by the European Commission to promote the prosecution of piracy suspects in Kenya (UNODC, 2010). The programme was an intervention mechanism as a response to the rising spate of piracy attacks off the Somalian coast in 2009. The programme aimed at improving the capacity of Somalia's neighbours in criminal justice to make sure piracy trials were fair, humane and efficient as well as taking place within the rule-of-law (UNODC, 2010). It also worked with Somalian authorities to improve prison reforms. In Cape Verde, the UNODC introduced an initiative to improve the capacity of the judicial officers, which led to the training of 156 magistrates, police, and justice officers who use the Justice Information System (UNODC,

2017). Similar trainings were carried out in Panama for legal practitioners. In a bid to facilitate prison reforms, the UN agency introduced the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners otherwise known as the Nelson Mandela Rules. This served to meet the goals of humanely treating prisoners so they could be reintegrated into the society after serving their terms. The Nelson Mandela Rules also provide a uniform benchmark for the criminal justice actors to work with. Moreover, five of the prisons were refurbished in Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (UNODC, 2017). In Nigeria, the UNODC supported prison reforms geared towards reducing overcrowding, improved administration and provision of training manuals on human rights. This initiative by the UNODC has helped improve the conditions at Nigerian prisons. The fourth one is drug abuse prevention and health. For this point, UNODC makes efforts to reach the youths that may be liable to using drugs and convince drug-dependent people to seek help. The office prevails on governments of countries to see drug abuse as a health challenge instead of a crime. The UNODC signed its largest project in its history in 2016 with Colombia to counter the illicit coca cultivation and to promote peace through rural development (UNODC, 2017). The historic agreement with Colombia was worth USD 315 Million. Having determined that the youth is at risk of drug abuse, the UNODC came up with an innovative way to keep them engaged and away from drugs. One of such ways is using sport to keep young people away from crime. The Line Up Live Up project was inaugurated in 2016 several countries such as Brazil, Kyrgyzstan and South Africa with the emphasis on at-risk youth who could be lured into a life of crime due to the conflict situations in which they live in(UNODC, 2017). The Strengthening Families Programme (SFP) of the UNODC has been implemented in several countries including Iran, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania. The programme seeks to positively affect the behaviour of youths and their parents thus provide a platform for talking about drug abuse. Over 500 families have benefitted from it (UNODC, 2017).

The issue of drug abuse has been prominent in Nigeria recently. A huge public outcry has arisen on the spate of drug abuse particularly tramadol in

the country. This has been due to the increase in smuggling of drugs; rising unemployment and corruption in pharmaceutical companies (Kazeem, 2018) The UNODC conducted the country's first ever National Survey on Drug Use in Nigeria in January, 2019 (UNODC, 2019). The data showed that 14.3 million Nigerians or approximately 14.4 percent of Nigeria's population between ages 15 and 64 had abused drugs in 2018 (UNODC, 2019). This was way higher than the average 2016 rate of 5.6 % among youths globally (Quartz Africa, 2018). The UNODC has partnered with Nigerian agencies to raise awareness about the increase in drug abuse and find solutions for it. Globally, the UNODC worked with the World Health Organisation (WHO) to train over 1,000 professionals that reached over 16,100 people with treatment on drug dependence and the relevant care in countries including Afghanistan, Cambodia, Senegal and Serbia (UNODC, 2017). The UNODC has also invested heavily in promoting alternative development to farmers. This is the process of encouraging cultivation of licit crops such as spices, coffee and cacao instead of illicit ones such as opium, cannabis and heroin. The emphasis has been placed on the countries with high production of addictive drugs such as Afghanistan and Colombia as well as Bolivia. The result is that more of the farmers are encouraged and empowered to focus on growing licit crops rather than the ones that cause addiction and drug abuse. Listen first is another campaign that is undertaken by the UNODC to fight drug abuse (UNODC, 2016). The initiative seeks to raise support for prevention of drug use while providing scientific evidence. The campaign was developed in 2016 with the support of France and Sweden and was carried out in over 40 countries. UNODC went on to train over 12,000 students in Bolivia on the risks of drug abuse while developing their life skills (UNODC, 2016). The office also developed the training module "Strategy on Rehabilitation for People with Drug Dependence and Victims of Drug Abuse who undergo a Legal Process" in Indonesia and conducted a training of trainers for 15 participants from the National Narcotics Board and the Police.

The final one is terrorism prevention (UNODC, n.d.). Terrorism is one of the most challenging security threats of the 21st century. Radical extremist groups have sprouted such as Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah and most recently

Islamic State (IS) with splinter cells all over the world. They have carried out attacks in several places targeting civilians at churches and mosques, city centres and even at the UN office complex at Abuja in 2010. The UNODC works alongside the state and non-state actors to provide the necessary assistance in investigation and development of local solutions to counter terrorism. In 2010, the UNODC helped in the ratification of 16 global legal anti-terrorism instruments and provided 65 countries with legal assistance while training 1,500 criminal justice officials. Over 140 countries were covered by the UNODC through several counter-terrorism activities in 2010 (UNODC, 2010). The UNODC Terrorism Prevention Branch also created customised assistance for legal officers who dealt with terrorist cases (UNODC, 2010).

This section reveals the importance of the Regional Security Complex theory to the work of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) around the world. The work of the UNODC in Nigeria is not done in isolation but is part of a global agenda to rid the world of crimes and drugs. Across the globe, the UNODC works along with member countries for the success of its mandate on fighting organised crimes and trafficking, corruption, drug abuse and terrorism while promoting criminal justice reforms. The UNODC is actively involved in shaping the decisions that the member countries take in ensuring success against the crime within their local domain. As in the Regional Security Complex theory, the UNODC keeps the focus on the global outlook of the crime and strives for collaboration among the member countries to successfully combat it. The next section shifts the focus to the work of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria.

2.3. Programs of UNODC on Human Trafficking in Nigeria

UNODC Nigeria office has intensified its counter-human trafficking programs since the beginning of the century. The UNODC has worked to ameliorate the critical situation of human trafficking in the country and within the wider West African region. It played a crucial role in the advocacy for the domestication of the Palermo Protocol of 2000 that Nigeria acceded to. This finally yielded fruit with the creation of the Anti-Trafficking in Persons

(Prohibition) Law Enforcement Administration Act of Nigeria of 2003 that outlawed human trafficking and made it a punishable offence under national laws. The UNODC was also instrumental in establishment of global initiatives that the Nigerian government benefitted from its local fight against the crime. One such initiative was the UNG.I.F.T also known as the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking in 2006. This initiative was created to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the end of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Kucheli, 2010). It set out to galvanise resources of all stakeholders including governments, civil society, academia and the youth to defeat the human trafficking scourge.

Another global campaign known as the Blue Heart Campaign was inaugurated by the United Nations in 2009. The objective was to denounce human trafficking in its entire entirety as modern-day slavery and promotes its eradication through various innovative means. The Blue Heart symbol has come to be recognised as the anti-human trafficking symbol representing the "sadness of those who are trafficked while reminding us of the cold-heartedness of those who buy and sell fellow human beings." (UNODC, 2017). It receives global donations that are used to provide assistance to human trafficking victims through the United Nations Voluntary Trust Fund for Victims of Trafficking in Persons.

In Nigeria, the government alongside the UNODC and European Union launched the "I am Priceless Campaign" in October 2012. This campaign was targeted to inform the public of the dangers of being smuggled or trafficked. The "I am Priceless" Campaign was carried out as part of the global Blue Heart Campaign against Human Trafficking. The campaign was coordinated alongside stakeholders in Nigeria including the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS). "I am Priceless" Campaign sought to lobby government stakeholders as well as other leaders to advocate for the enactment of better laws to counter the human trafficking in the country (UNODC, 2012). Besides, it was created to engage in community sensitisation on the deceit of traffickers who claim to offer a better life within

and outside Nigeria whereas the reverse is always the case. Intense grassroots campaigns were carried out in 6 states of Lagos, Benue, Edo, Niger, Cross River, Anambra and Abuja. There was also serious use of print and electronic media to air jingles and promote counter-trafficking efforts (UNODC, 2012). The campaign was successful as it helped to raise major awareness in the target cities on avoiding human trafficking gangs and rehabilitation of the victims.

In order to tap into the youths held spellbound by popular culture, two goodwill ambassadors from Nigeria's celebrities were appointed to promote the cause. Joke Silva was appointed as the Goodwill Ambassador against Human Trafficking as one of Nigeria's most famous actresses while M.I, became the Goodwill Ambassador against Smuggling of Migrants as a foremost rap artiste in the country (The Nation, 2013). M.I. undertook tours to visit the 6 states in Nigeria for performances aimed at raising awareness of the dangers of irregular immigration and meetings with stakeholders in the states on how to reverse such dangerous trends (The Nation, 2013). Other artistes also identified with it such as Nollywood star, Oge Okoye in a bid to raise awareness. The "I am Priceless" campaign sought to improve the selfworth of individuals thus making it easier to reject enticing offers by traffickers (UNODC, 2013).

2.4 Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria (2011-2018)

The Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria project was supported by the European Union under the 10th European Development Fund and implemented by several partners including the UNODC from July 2011 to January 2018. The overall goal of the project was to support the Nigerian government to curb irregular migration by combatting and reducing trafficking in persons (TIP) and Smuggling of Migrants (SOM).

UNODC's approach to the implementation of the project cut across the 4Ps of Prevention, Protection, Prosecution and Partnership (UNODC, 2018). The Project was implemented alongside the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) and the

Network of Civil Society Offices Against Child Trafficking, Abuse and Labour (NACTAL). UNODC's role attracted a number of achievements included presidential assent to the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administrative Act 2015, which replaced that of 2003 and the Immigration Amendment Act which replaced that of 1963 (UNODC, 2018). Besides the legislative strides, awareness through short films and capacity building of personnel were important contributions of the UNODC to the success of the project.

The achievements recorded by the project included the adoption of the National Policy on Migration and Development and Action Plan in May 2015 as well as the National Labour Migration Policy. The National Migration Policy was particularly noteworthy as it provided a framework for monitoring local and global migration as well as better ways of collection and use of data (Relief Web, 2016). It also led to the establishment of a national intelligence unit at Nigeria Immigration Service along with the development of the NIS Training strategy in 2015. Besides, there was the establishment of Migration Information and Data Analysis System (MIDAS) and the redevelopment of 5 border posts as well as the 2009 National Migration Profile. In addition, there was the commissioning of the Abuja shelter of NAPTIP for the total recovery of traumatised victims of human trafficking particularly the youngest ones (UNODC, 2015). It was also stocked with information and communication technology tools including Internet servers, 50 desktop computers and network printers. The project lasted for 72 months by the UNODC from July 2011 to January 2018 (European Commission, n.d.). The project was carried out particularly in 7 states in Nigeria: Lagos, Abuja, Niger, Abia, Cross-River, Edo and Benue.

The project was implemented alongside several other partners including the International Office for Migration (IOM). The first phase of the program was concerned with an improved border management with the Nigeria Immigration Service as the project partner (IOM, 2019). The achievement recorded by the IOM included the establishment of the NIS intelligence unit after an intensive 2-week training for 20 officers of the NIS. Moreover, a

training of trainers in travel document examination, impostor detection and passenger risk analysis was conducted for 5 officers each from the 36 state commands of the NIS. In addition, the scoping of 7 land border posts was carried out in preparation of the installation of Border Management Information Systems (IOM, 2019).

The main activities of the Project included training of the trainers on migration policy development and management, provision of equipment to stakeholders, support for the civil society offices, expansion of the border management system, creation of a system of registration, mapping and mobilization of the diaspora for national development (Europa, 2019). The project featured collaborations between UNODC and local partner offices. One local partner was the Women Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON) that implemented a Grassroots Awareness Campaign in target communities of Badagry and Oyingbo in Lagos (WOCON, 2015). WOCON conducted the training with a number of 50 at-risk youth and women who could fall to the recruitment strategies of the traffickers. The UNODC made several media engagements as a major part of the project. This was in order to reach out to a wider and more youthful audience that was more inclined to digest information through social media especially through short videos on YouTube. A number of these short videos are discussed in line with relevant themes in the section below. The Regional Security Complex theory is evident in the projects of the UNODC particularly the Promoting Better Management of Migration project. It is the longest running project on human trafficking in Nigeria covered in this thesis having run for 72 months. The project also had various components in order to tackle the crime. The UNODC, as is the case in the Regional Security Complex theory defined the problem to be beyond just human trafficking. The cause of the crime was determined to be irregular migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe. The project thus sought to improve the ability of Nigerian stakeholders to promote safe migration practices in the country, which would then lead to a drop in human trafficking. This brought about the training of border security agencies on latest border management techniques, capacity building including establishment of the intelligence unit within the Nigeria Immigration Service

and provision of state-of the-art facilities. To win the hearts and minds of the Nigerian public, the UNODC adopted the story-telling approach in the short films discussed below.

2.4.1 Kelechi (Short Film)

Kelechi is a 2015 short film made with funding from the European Union (EU) under the framework of the project "Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria" implemented by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC).

The film is opened with the recruitment of a young girl called Kelechi. A trafficker from her family in the village recruits Kelechi. This is to give her a better life. She is taken to an urban city and made to live with her trafficker. On her arrival, the neighbours had known that the trafficker was notorious for human trafficking. The trafficker showers Kelechi with new clothes in a bid to earn her confidence and demands to be called Mummy instead of Aunty that is used to refer to a stranger. A neighbour's daughter makes her acquaintance. The trafficker had come to meet Kelechi's father and request to take her to Lagos. She persuades the father by offering to sponsor her education in Lagos, which he agrees to so as not to allow the brain of his bright daughter waste away in the village. The trafficker who claimed that the nature of her husband's work would not permit such rebuffs the father's plea for his daughter to visit home once a year. The girl asks Kelechi if she would be starting school next week to which she responds in the affirmative. Later on, the landlady of the house who asked her to mind her business confronts the trafficker. The trafficker then warns Kelechi not to associate with the girl in the compound.

The trafficker is notorious for exploiting young girls in the neighbourhood. Despite persistent physical abuses, the neighbours are reluctant to intervene believing it is not in their place. Finally, the neighbours involve the authorities that later rescued the victim. The trafficker insists that the victim is to blame after everything she has done for the victim. The victim is rescued by NAPTIP and reunited with her family. She later undergoes therapy and

rehabilitation in the hospital. The father is distraught as the trafficker has deceived him into thinking she was a genuine helper. He is advised by NAPTIP to be more careful and conduct background checks so as not to fall prey to human traffickers who pose as Good Samaritans. The film ends with a stern warning to traffickers as well as negligent parents who consent to their children being trafficked, as the law would catch. Imprisonment is pegged at 7 years without the option of a fine.

Throughout the film, UNODC has an on-screen message that notes that: "Human trafficking is a crime in Nigeria punishable under the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act of 2015 of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)" (UNODC, 2015). The film by the UNODC is a commendable effort and explores relevant themes in human trafficking particularly in Nigeria. First, the fact that the entire setting was done within the country counters the popular belief that human trafficking is not internal and only occurs when people cross the borders to go to Europe. Domestic human trafficking is widely popular in Nigeria and is seen to be a normal way of life. This reality was highlighted by the UNODC as far back as 2003 in its comparative study on human trafficking in Nigeria, Benin Republic and Togo (UNODC, 2003). This practice that is also known as "fostering" is seen to be commonly practised across West Africa and involves young victims moving from the rural to the urban cities for a better life only to end up being exploited in various ways such as sex and physical labour.

Kelechi is exploited by a close relative from the same village as is typically the case which corresponds to previous studies that shows that a family member or close relative is often directly involved in exploiting the victim (Nehaet al., 2013; Hassan, 2015; Kucheli, 2010). This is more so as Kelechi puts her trust in the trafficker due to this affinity with her family, which is still exploited to the detriment of the victim. The typical ruse used by traffickers to recruit girls from the villages and rural areas is the prospect of better education. Kelechi's father is seen to be enthusiastic and full of praises for the trafficker whom he believes would provide a brighter future for his

daughter and his family by extension. This exposes the vulnerable position that poverty puts the family of the victims who often have to part with their loved ones in order to have better economic prospects. Such would ordinarily not be the case if the family could cater for the victim usually a young child and not mired in poverty.

Yet another strategy of traffickers that is portrayed in the short film is that of isolation. This is seen immediately when Kelechi arrives Lagos from the village and is told to not to associate with the girl in her compound who appears to be her only friend. Indeed, traffickers quickly move to cut off every form of friendship or network of the victim so as to compound the misery of the victim and control them effectively. Coupled with that, the trafficker tells Kelechi's father that she would be unable to come back home just once in a year for the Christmas holidays citing the excuse of the nature of her work. This was all in a bid to cut off the connection of Kelechi from home. In fact, the traffickers try to take up the roles of the family to the victim in order to further gain their trust. The trafficker insisted that Kelechi refer to her as "Mummy" even though she was not her mother and became furious whenever Kelechi called her "Aunty" which is a less affectionate term for a stranger.

The apathy of the general public in Nigeria is also shown in the film. When the neighbour notices that the trafficker through physical abuse and lack of education is maltreating Kelechi, she at first retorts, "It is none of my business" (UNODC YouTube, 2017). This is the tendency portrayed by most parts of the society to mean that the plight of someone within a home is off-limits to outsiders. Such mindset implies that no form of intervention would be made despite the gravity of the exploitation as it is deemed to be an internal matter that should be sorted out privately without the input of the public. Unfortunately, this aids the perpetration of human trafficking as the traffickers are emboldened knowing that they only have the law enforcement agencies to worry about as the communities in which they live in and carry out the exploitation would not speak up against them and give them up. Although the

neighbours finally pick up courage to report Kelechi's trafficking to the relevant authorities, much harm has already been done by then.

Moreover, the trafficker employs the debt bondage strategy to keep Kelechi bound to her wishes. Nehaet al. (2013), Baarda (2016) and Loringet al. (2007) have all explored different perspectives on the use of debt bondage in the human trafficking process. Kelechi's trafficker feels the victim owes her a lot of gratitude for bringing her to Lagos to get a better life. She believes that without her going out of her way to help Kelechi, she may never have been exposed to modernisation, which is absent in most of the villages in Nigeria. It is also her belief that the fact that she has provided a roof over Kelechi's head, and clothing as well as better city prospects means she is entitled to exploit the victim. This perception of the trafficker fits in with the established literature on the entitlement mentality of Madams in the debt bondage obtainable in Europe as was explained in Chapter One.

The Madams believe they have improved the status of their victims by bringing them over to Europe to earn a living. They also consider that the chances of making more money albeit illegally alongside the social mobility for the victim's family back in Nigeria entitles them to having control over the girls for as long as they want to. Therefore, they are not remorseful when exploiting the girls which they claim to have full control over. In Kelechi's case in the short film, the trafficker is seen lamenting when being arrested by NAPTIP and Nigerian Police officers that "Kelechi! How can you do this to me after everything I have done for you?" The danger of this mindset is that it can easily be transferred from the traffickers to the victims. The belief that the trafficker has provided an opportunity to improve their lives could cause the victims to remain in an exploitative situation as seen when Nigerian girls are rescued in Europe and when Kelechi felt unhappy as the authorities in chains took her trafficker.

2.4.2 Lost Children (Short Film)

"Lost Children" is another film made by the UNODC under the European Union funded project- Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria.

The film opens with a trafficker being interrogated by the security agencies after which he begins to narrate a story. A child is seen hawking oranges in the street. A passenger stops to patronise the child-vendor and began to eat the orange before paying the vendor. The vendor explains that she does not have change to complete the transaction. The vendor is then asked why she wasn't in school to which she does not reply. He then invites her to come sell to his colleagues at work instead of roaming the streets looking for customers. Then, she is kidnapped and taken to a warehouse where several children are bound and exploited. The children are held hostage and cry repeatedly due to the horrible situation. On his arrival, one of the guards laments to the trafficker that some of the children have escaped due to the lapses in keeping a locked door. The trafficker then orders the guards to undertake an extensive search around the forest to retrieve the escaped children. Guard dogs are used to carry out the search to find an exhausted sleeping boy. The trafficker in the narration names Madam Kofo as the person he works for. Madam Kofo objects to the girls being made up arguing that her customers want "innocent little virgins" to act out sexual fantasies. To her contention that the girls are malnourished, the trafficker says hunger is needed to manipulate them into submission.

The Madam accepts to take all the girls and asks for a discount noting that one of the previous girls the trafficker had sold to her committed suicide while another died after falling ill. Obinna, the trafficker claims that was due to her negligence to take care of her own "goods" admitting that he, the trafficker, had lost several children too. The Madam finally agrees to pay the next day when she comes to pick up the girls. Several children are seen scrambling for a handful of rice to feed as their ration from a small plate. Obinna the trafficker is then accosted by another criminal in the ring who said a girl has refused cooperate to shoot a ransom video. Obi then threatens her that she would never see her family members again if she fails to cooperate. He promises that she would not be harmed and asks the filmmaker to give her a

5-minute break. A chief then comes to the trafficker to ask if a child can be used for rituals. While sniffing cocaine, he asks for the money to be transferred to him in US dollars. At that juncture, the security agencies arrive and arrest the trafficker and his gang. When interrogated at the office, Obinnais reluctant to provide information to the whereabouts of Madam Kofo. He finally gives in and reveals that she smuggles the girls in cargo ships every Thursday. The security agencies are told to alert the NAPTIP officials at the dock to apprehend the Madam. The trafficker then asks to be released but is reminded by the security official that he had committed a terrible crime and would face the long arm of the law.

"Lost Children" focuses on the trafficking of children for various forms of exploitation in the Nigerian society. The first scene of a girl hawking in the street proves that out-of-school children that are roaming the streets have a high risk of being trafficked. First, children should be enrolled in school and should not be roaming the streets. This keeps them engaged and safely out of the risk of traffickers who are always on the prowl. The film proves that most of the street vendors that are children are already being trafficked for child labour, which is against the law. Moreover, children that have been trafficked for child labour are further liable to sexual trafficking. Children street vendors who sell virtually anything along highways and motor parks are an easy recruitment target for the traffickers who sense their vulnerability. The girl followed the well-dressed Obinna, the trafficker because she believed she would earn more profits if she sold at his workplace.

In addition, the film shows that human trafficking gangs are well organised in Nigeria. Obinna is seen as running a highly profitable trafficking operation complete with a warehouse, guards and business links with his counterparts in the business. He also has clients who he regularly furnishes with children for various exploitative purposes. His business is so lucrative that he tells Alhaji, the rich politician to make the payments only in USD or in another foreign currency rather than the local naira. This proves the reality of human trafficking in the country. It is a moneymaking venture that attracts all.

"Lost Children" also showcases the complicity of several actors in the human trafficking ring. The politician- Alhaji who comes to buy a child for ritual purposes epitomises the fact that the rich and powerful alongside the government officials are involved in human trafficking in varying degrees. These are actors that the society has placed their trust in to protect them and yet they brazenly participate in human trafficking or at least aid and abet it. The politician in the film corresponds with the actual arrest of an Edo politician in 2018 who was a trafficker herself of young girls across Europe and still running for elective positions (BBC, 2018). Corruption is also explored as a theme that has helped human trafficking to flourish in the country. The revelation by Obinna the trafficker when arrested that Madam Kofo, his prominent client transported the girls she bought only on Thursdays through the ports, means that the security agencies have been bought over through corruption to facilitate her transport of the victims of human trafficking at a set time. This film reveals the reasons why human trafficking is entrenched into the fabric of the nation and thus becomes extremely difficult to root out.

Likewise, the movie indicates that traffickers can use a combination of different means to recruit and subjugate their victims. Obinna gained the trust of the young girl hawking oranges by sympathising with her inability to be in school and appealing to her desire to make more money. Meanwhile, the trafficker kept the children bound in overcrowded cells with little or Madam Kofo who questioned why the girls were malnourished revealed no food as. He also used deceit and threat of violence on another girl to force her to do a ransom video. The children were also exploited in various ways- sex trafficking, rituals and physical abuse with forced labour. The sad consequences of the exploitation on children were visible throughout the movie. First, it was revealed that some of the girls Madam Kofo had bought from Obinna committed suicide due to the psychological and mental horrors they had to face during the sexual exploitation. Another child was seen trying to escape but was captured and beaten mercilessly. The short film produced by UNODC shows that children are the most vulnerable of the victims of human trafficking and provide a target market for traffickers if the society is not on guard and does not flush out both traffickers and their sympathisers.

2.4.3 Home Coming (Short Film)

In "Home Coming", the UNODC dives deep into the issue of human trafficking from the perspective of the victim and the family. A family setting is shown with a family waiting for the arrival of a guest. There is a lot of fanfare and all celebrate as she comes in. However, she appears very distraught as she arrives. She has a single luggage to the chagrin of her family. She replies with an answer that her school is good while the family proposes a toast for her being the first member of the family to acquire a degree abroad. They fail to take notice of her sadness and rather continue to celebrate. Chika instead excuses herself to go to her room. She wakes up in the middle of the night to sleep in her younger sister's bedroom as she is obviously traumatised. The sister later confesses to the mum of her sister's behaviour of sleeping in her room for the last 2 days. She observed that Chika is no longer the cheerful person she was before travelling and must have encountered something else besides schooling in Europe. The mother has her reservations about what happened to her daughter and decides to confront her. She then discovers that her daughter is a drug addict.

The parents call her out after 4 days to inquire about her schooling experience noting that Sister Rose her trafficker, provides excuses as to why she cannot communicate with the family. They ask for her certificate and begin proclaiming blessings on Sister Rose. She goes into her bedroom and begins her daily prostitution routine of soliciting for customers. When her mother remarks that she looks like a prostitute, she agrees that it is her identity and accuses her parents of sending her abroad for prostitution. She reveals that she went to the "Paris School of Prostitution" where the trafficker introduced her to other trafficked girls and confiscated her passport. The night she arrived Paris, she was introduced to prostitution and violated by men. The men did not use condoms or birth control. She frequently endured physical abuse. As a result, she had countless abortions and took out her

anger on her parents whom she accused of simply wanting her to come back with a certificate at the expense of her well being.

The film "Home Coming" focuses on the psychological and emotional trauma that human trafficking victims encounter on a daily basis. The experiences they have endured deform them making them prone to violence. Victims easily can become anti-social as they vent their anger and frustration at the society that permits their exploitation. Neha et al. (2013) capture this phenomenon in their work on the impact of sex trafficking as the female victims become withdrawn, suffer from stigma and shame and doubtful of any form of relationship with others. Chika, in the movie is confused and depressed. She has been sexually exploited daily for about 4 years that she has lost her sense of self-esteem and worth. Victims of human trafficking in Nigeria tend to resend their relatives and family when they return back to the country. This is because often times, their families are the ones that facilitate their travel to Europe believing that it is in the best interest of the family. Most times, a family member could even be aware of the exploitation awaiting the victim abroad and seek to profit from it to the detriment of the victim who may be ignorant.

This impression is covered in the short film. Chika, the victim, is angry at her parents and accuses them of conniving with Sister Rose, the trafficker to send her to Europe for sexual exploitation. She assumes that her parents consent to sacrifice her interests just to further their own selfish objectives. This was however not the case as the parents were actually ignorant of the intention of Sister Rose, the trafficker who they believed was helping Chika acquire a superior education abroad.

The fanfare with which Rose was welcomed back to the home despite her gloomy mood shows the typical Nigerian perception of travelling abroad. Travelling abroad is a status symbol. It denotes the wealth and power of a family. It can serve as bragging rights for people to announce that some of their relatives are based abroad. The general Nigerian society gives little thought to what the people travelling abroad are doing as far as they can

remit some money back home for their relatives. This drive to go abroad no matter the cost is what traffickers take advantage of to lure potential victims. In Benin city, for instance, religious institutions abound everywhere such as new generation churches and traditional institutions that proclaim that they are able to perform miracles to travel abroad with programmes tagged as "Oh Lord, Release my Visa" (Adeniyi, 2019). The result is that there are very few families in some areas of Benin City in Edo state, Nigeria without a member of their family abroad (Adeniyi, 2019). Human traffickers seize this initiative to deceive mostly young girls that they would work as hair stylists and shop attendants in Europe where they can earn money comfortably and provide for their loved ones back home. By shedding light on this negative importance placed on travelling abroad at any cost by the Nigerian public, UNODC emphasises that all that glitters are not gold. Therefore, such a notion can set up the conditions for people to be exploited, as was the case with Chika in the short film. The family was only concerned with Chika being the first member of their family to study abroad without clearly examining the offer to be sure it was valid.

The film also reveals the methods through which victims are kept subjugated and controlled when trafficked outside the country. One of which was the confiscation of Chika's passport. Sister Rose, the trafficker said Chika should hand over the passport to her for "safe-keeping". In reality, she wanted to seize it to ensure Chika could not run away from the exploitative conditions in which she was kept. The passport is the most important travel document to a foreigner. Such a person must have it at all times and produce it on request especially to the law enforcement agencies. Without such a document, the victims are restricted from relating with other people and agencies as any apprehension by the security agencies would lead to deportation of the victim. As a result of the high priority placed on travelling abroad, the victims would rather cling to the exploitation of the trafficker than be revealed to law enforcement and face deportation.

Another form of exploitation is cutting off all communication between the victims and their family back home as mentioned in Chapter One on the

historical information of human trafficking in Nigeria. Chika was prevented from contacting her family in Nigeria throughout the four years of her exploitation in Europe. Her family was thus left in the dark until she returned to relate her story to them. Whenever the family contacted Sister Rose, she always gave them several excuses as to why Chika was unavailable including that she was studying really hard at school. By preventing any form of contact with the victim's family back home, the trafficker gradually establishes legitimacy with the victim as the new family that must be obeyed without question. All the trafficked girls lived together in one house making them bond over the same experiences. The result was when Chika returned to her family in Nigeria, she felt alienated and could not relate with them. In fact, she blamed her predicament entirely on her mother and father due to the horrible experiences she had endured.

The film also exposes the problem of rehabilitation and reintegration of human trafficking victims into the society. Human trafficking victims often return to their societies totally destabilised. The harrowing experiences of all forms of abuse make sure they are scarred for the most part of their lives. Some may have endured several unsafe abortions such as Chika to the extent of damaging their wombs. Others may return with sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) including the deadly HIV/AIDS, which does not have any cure. Still, repatriated victims arrive with dashed hopes, dreams and futures.

As they have usually sold all they have such as properties and businesses to fund their journeys, they have nothing to fall back on and have to start afresh from the bottom. The burden of rehabilitation falls squarely on the shoulders of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and state agencies such as the Edo Task Force Against Human Trafficking (ETAHT). Unfortunately, these agencies usually lack the necessary training and materials to carry out world-class rehabilitation and reintegration programmes (UNODC, 2015; UNDP, 2016). UNODC made efforts to fill this gap with the Support to Victims of Human Trafficking Project from 2015 to 2017 supported by the Japanese government.

2.5 Supports and Capacity-Building to NAPTIP on Strengthening Access to Justice and Victim Support (2015-2017)

The project was funded by the Government of Switzerland and lasted from June 2015 to December 2017. It set out to build the capacities of law enforcement officers, counsellors and social workers to deal with trafficking cases especially as it concerns access to justice and victim support. Other objectives included "provision of direct rehabilitation, psycho-social and economic empowerment services to 36 trafficked victims as well as reintegration services for the families of victims and their communities" (UNDP, 2016). In addition, the project sought to ensure the services provided were victim-centred, culturally and traditionally acceptable and fully cognizant of the family, social context and gender of the victim (UNDP, 2016).

The project identified that the current forms of rehabilitation and reintegration programmes had setbacks including inadequate shelter facilities with holistic services for the victims and lack of professional victim care and support (UNDP, 2016). There was also the problem of weak referral coordination among stakeholders and insufficient public-private partnership coupled with lack of sustainable funding (UNDP, 2016). It had been well -documented that the stigma and humiliation led the rehabilitated victims to relapse into being trafficking victims. Besides, the low quality of most rehabilitation programmes such as hairdressing, dressmaking and arts and craft, which were not economically viable frequently, led to re-victimization (UNDP, 2016).

Notable achievements of this project were the enhanced support for the rehabilitation, empowerment and support for 60 victims of human trafficking. This surpassed the initial 36 victims envisaged at the beginning of the project. In addition, the project increased the capacity of 90 counsellors and social workers from the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and the Network of Civil Society Organizations Against Child Trafficking, Abuse and Labour (NACTAL) that beat the original estimate of 65 persons. The project also introduced a new training curriculum, "Basic Social Work Counselling Skills for the Management of Trafficked Persons in

Nigeria". Moreover, the National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NRM) was created comprising of 35 government and non-governmental agencies from Lagos and Edo states (UNODC, n.d.).

The Regional Security Complex theory comes into play in this project as the global body intervenes directly to provide the necessary support and rehabilitation for the victims of human trafficking. This helps to complement the effort of the Nigerian government in catering for the survivors of human trafficking. By providing comprehensive support for 60 victims of human trafficking and in-depth training for 90 counsellors of NAPTIP, the international community was thus able to take immediate action to help the victims and empower the Nigerian counter-trafficking agency to provide for potential victims. The UNODC demonstrates the capacity of the Regional Security Complex to make long-term plans to eradicate security threats.

2.6 Supports to the Fight against Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria 2015-2017

This project was sponsored by the Government of Japan and implemented by the UNODC from 2015 to 2017. The project focused on improving the capacity of the criminal justice sector in Nigeria to respond to human trafficking issues (UNODC, 2015). In doing this, it sought to provide capacity building for investigators from NAPTIP and other law enforcement agencies. This was against the backdrop of the poor quality of trainings carried out for victims of human trafficking and the lack of uniform curriculum for trainers. The UNODC project was supported by the government of Japan thus it sought to make a revision to the training program and create specialised tools for the trainers of law enforcement agencies (UNODC, 2015). Although, other concurrent projects such as the Support for the Training of NAPTIP sponsored by the Swiss government were on going at the time, this project provided a better avenue for the UNODC to reach more law enforcement officers such as the 257 investigators and 41 prosecutors of NAPTIP (UNODC, n.d.). Therefore, through the project, the UNODC was able to produce better skilled officers (UNODC, 2017).

The trainings were carried out in 2 sets. The first set of training was designed to improve the content knowledge of human trafficking while the second set was concerned with the training of trainers so as to create a pool of highly skilled trainers. By so doing, the UNODC was able to adopt a sustainable approach to the project as the officers who had been equipped in other trainings could easily replicate it. This form of empowerment helps to ensure that the skills needed to combat human trafficking successfully in the country is readily available.

Notable achievements included the completion of the training of NAPTIP investigators and prosecutors on improved techniques and skills in investigation of human trafficking cases. Also, the law enforcement officers were all trained using one uniform curriculum. This curriculum was based on the international framework of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crimes and its Relevant Protocols. Best practices were also incorporated in the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking. Furthermore, the project complemented concurrent projects especially the European Union supported Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria by Combating and Reducing Irregular Migration (UNODC, 2019).

2.7 Strengthen the Capacities of State and Non-State Institutions to Assist, Support and Protect Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria 2018-2020

The UNODC has undertaken a project with support from the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) of the United States Department of State (UNODC, n.d.). The goal of the project, which began in October 2018, is to enhance the capacity of governmental and non-governmental actors to combat human trafficking. Within the time frame of 18 months, it seeks to improve the legal and social services to victims through the development of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and other ministries and agencies that work with it such as the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Women and

Social Development, National Judicial Institute, Nigeria Police Force and the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency. This project builds on all the previous ones within the last decade undertaken by the UNODC. This is to ensure continuity.

This chapter discussed the second research objective of the thesis, which is to identify the activities of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. It identified the mandate of the UNODC across five thematic areas- organised crimes and trafficking, drug abuse and prevention, corruption, terrorism prevention and criminal justice reform. It then moved on to examine four projects of the UNODC on human trafficking that were carried out from 2011 to 2018. These were the Promoting Better Management of Migration project of 2011-2018, Support for the Capacity Building of NAPTIP of 2015 to 2017, Support to the Fight against Trafficking in Persons of 2015-2017 and Strengthen Capacities of State and Non-State Actors to Protect Victims of Trafficking from 2018-2020. These projects discussed in this chapter reflect the Regional Security Complex theory, which is the theoretical framework for the thesis. This theory posits that the global community would play an active role in countering any security threat in a member country that is determined to be harmful to the global interests. Human trafficking has been securitised by the UNODC as one of such threats that requires a coordinated response to tackle it (UNODC, 2010). The projects undertaken by the UNODC in Nigeria exemplify the global coalition against human trafficking. This is even visible in the diversity of funding for the four projects on human trafficking coming from the European Union, Government of Japan, Government of Switzerland and the United States Department of State respectively. The next chapter focuses on the third research objective for the thesis, which seeks to determine the impact that these projects undertaken have had on human trafficking.

CHAPTER 3

IMPACT OF UNODC ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA

The chapter deals with the impact of UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. This chapter focuses on the third objective of the study, which is to determine the impact of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. The UNODC has carried out a number of projects discussed in the previous chapter including the Promoting Better Management of Migration of 2011-2018, Support for the Capacity Building of Agencies of 2015-2017 and Support for the Victims of Human Trafficking of 2015-2017. However, this chapter builds on the previous one by determining the impact that the UNODC has had on human trafficking through these projects. They include sensitisation capacity building, research, social media campaigns and partnerships with the Nigerian government. The Regional Security Complex theory is also displayed throughout this chapter as the global body is directly involved in the national fight in the country. In fact, this chapter indicates that the UNODC actively shapes the nature of the anti-trafficking drive in Nigeria.

3.1 Sensitisation

The issue of human trafficking is one that continues to plague Nigeria despite the efforts of government and non-governmental organisations in the last two decades. The UNODC does a lot of work in raising awareness of the human trafficking issues in the country. The UNODC has undertaken these through several measures. The "I am Priceless Campaign" is a fitting example. Ignorance still persists in some aspects of the human trafficking process. Some victims are unaware of the real nature of work they would have to do when they go along with the trafficker either to find work abroad or within the country (Kucheli, 2010). They are often lied to that they would end up working as stylists or shop attendants in European shops or as sales boys

and girls in supermarkets in big cities such as Lagos. In reality, when they arrive at their destination, the traffickers cut them off from the rest of the society, place them in exploitative situations and keep them in perpetual slavery (Baarda, 2016).

The Regional Security Complex theory is showcased in the sensitisation campaigns of the UNODC. Several victims of human trafficking in Nigeria fall prey to the antics of trafficking rings, as they are not well aware of them beforehand. Such tactics could include promises of lucrative low skilled jobs abroad, enticement to live with wealthier relatives in the urban cities of Nigeria amongst others (Essien, 2013; Adeniyi, 2019; Hassan, 2015). As such notions are widely popular in Nigeria, the work of the UNODC to dispel such myths reflects the determination of the security complex to tackle the human trafficking problem in Nigeria from the roots-which is recruitment of victims (Baarda, 2016). Such sensitisation is carried out through media orientation such as the "I am Priceless" campaign as well as long running initiatives on social media such as the short videos made under the Promoting Better Management of Migration project. The Regional Security Complex is very effective in defining the common threats to be tackled by the community (Buzan and Waever, 2003). This time, the threat is misinformation that fuels the recruitment of more victims for human trafficking in Nigeria (Carling, 2006). By directly getting involved in raising awareness of the problem and the solutions to the menace in the country, the UNODC plays a crucial role in helping Nigeria ameliorate its trafficking problem.

The victims also see ignorance in the perception of traffickers. Victims often consider their traffickers to be God-sent people who are acting in their best interests. In fact, the victims trust the traffickers completely. Traffickers usually maintain the trust of their victims, which prevents them from being wary of their captors. The traffickers are often relatives of the victims that are considered accomplished and looked up to (Adeniyi, 2019). Therefore, even though the promises of a better life may appear false, the victims ignorantly agree to it. Ignorance is also expressed in the way the youths of the country consider going abroad to be a bed of roses. It is commonplace for young

people to believe that all their woes would be resolved once they can go abroad to work and earn a living (Adeniyi, 2019). The awareness campaigns are thus important to prove that going abroad is not the only way to be successful and such trips end up detrimental to the well being of the victims. UNODC has consistently used their campaigns to raise the necessary awareness.

The "I am Priceless Campaign" was kick started in 2012 by the UNODC Nigeria. It involved a lot of stakeholders including government, nongovernmental organisations as well as public figures. The intention was to carry out a campaign targeted towards the potential victims of human trafficking. The campaign emphasised the dignity of victims who were mostly children and young adults. The self-esteem of the victims was built to show that a price tag could not be placed on their wellbeing and productivity. Human traffickers always target the most vulnerable of the population who are disenchanted with the status quo and seek a drastic change in their life. Although some of the mature victims may be doing comparatively well in their businesses and means of livelihood, they often drop it all for an uncertain future overseas. The Campaign therefore made the general public aware of the deceit behind the promises of greener pastures by pointing out the fact that the fantastic promises were not real. Most importantly, they urged the youths of the country to desist from putting a price tag on them. By determining that they were priceless, they could better stand against the tricks of the fraudsters.

Regional Security Complex theory comes to play in the awareness strategies of the UNODC human trafficking in the country. The office in Nigeria domesticated the awareness campaigns that have worked in other climes. For instance, the I am Priceless Campaign was carried out as an extension of the global Blue Heart Campaign (UNODC, 2010). This campaign sought to galvanise support among the UN member states and agencies against human trafficking by raising awareness and encouraging concerted action. It involved massive mobilisation on social media with individuals and corporate bodies showing solidarity through the use of the blue heart as a conversation

starter as display pictures. The campaign also saw the use of entertainment celebrities to further popularise the cause among youth. A similar strategy was adopted with the I am Priceless campaign in Nigeria which witnessed the incorporation of celebrities. The Regional Security Complex that Nigeria belongs to, in this case, the UNODC, helped to define the agenda regarding sensitisation campaigns on human trafficking.

The use of celebrities for the "I am Priceless" campaign also helped to enhance the impact of the project. Pop stars have a sway or hold on their audience. They are held in high esteem and can wield considerable influence over the people. This is particularly the case with children and youths who make up the bulk of the followers and fans of these celebrities. The UNODC decided to tap into this prospect in the "I am Priceless" campaign. Mr Incredible also known as M.I. was appointed the Ambassador against Smuggling of Persons. M.I. is hugely popular as a hip-hop artiste and rapper in Nigeria's prominent music scene. The choice of M.I. itself was strategic by the UNODC. His music had always highlighted social issues including poverty, unemployment and drives to survive in a harsh economic climate. Incorporating M.I. thus ensured that the anti-trafficking message was well received by youths who looked up to MI and were influenced by pop culture (The Nation, 2012).

Musical concerts were organised especially across the 6 states that the campaign focused on with MI meeting with key stakeholders in the states to create support for the fight against smuggling of migrants. Joke Silva's role as the Ambassador of the campaign against Human Trafficking was crucial in disseminating the message of the campaign. First, the use of one of Nigeria's film industry's most popular female actresses as the face of the campaign was in line with the fact that most of the victims of human trafficking are women and girls. Next, Joke Silva helped to put a humane face to the campaign as she was respected as a top-notch actress known for playing motherly roles in movie. The sensitisation campaigns of the UNODC have helped to make a difference in combatting human trafficking. By spreading the word through print and electronic media channels, the office has been

able to reach out to the public to guard against incidences of human trafficking. The sensitisation has also involved the laws prohibiting human trafficking in the country. The office was involved in the formulation of important laws against human trafficking in Nigeria. One of such was the Anti Trafficking Act of 2003 and the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015. The office has promoted the understanding of these laws as well as its full implementation.

Various measures have been deployed to raise awareness including the outreaches to educational institutions, organising of essay competitions, partnership with Nigerian stakeholders such as NAPTIP as well as use of jingles and promotions on radio and television stations (UNODC,n.d.). A large section of Nigerians are unaware of measures to take when in a trafficking situation. There is also a lack of information about the remedies made available by the Nigerian government. The awareness campaigns geared towards the general public bring such vital information to the doorstep of the people that can then be used to avoid human trafficking incidents.

Raising awareness is a critical part of the Prevention, which is one of the 4 P's of countering human trafficking. This much was emphasised by foremost Nollywood producer Lancelot Imasuen, a native of Edo state, a hotspot of human trafficking in Nigeria who noted that information was the most important requirement needed to reduce human trafficking in the state (Adeniyi, 2019). The rationale is that when the society is provided with every available information about human trafficking particularly about the dangers, they would make informed decisions, which would negate the spread of the scourge. Although recent research by the Inter-Coordinating Agency on Human Trafficking (ICAT, 2016) argues that this might not always be the case, it appears to hold true in the case of Nigeria. The UNODC engaged in intense deliberations with stakeholders in Edo state on ways to eradicate human trafficking in the state. One of such thorny issues is the role of juju or voodoo in promoting human trafficking in the state. The women that are trafficked are made to swear juju oaths that bund them to their captors until they pay up the conditions for the debt (Adeniyi, 2019). These juju oaths prevent the victims from cooperating with the law enforcement agencies when intercepted and keep them in perpetual fear of the traffickers.

To resolve this, the UNODC liaised with the Oba of Benin, who is the paramount ruler of the Benin Kingdom for help. The Oba along with all of his Enogie or chiefs proceeded to release the victims from the curse of breaking the oath of human trafficking and subsequently placed a curse on all traffickers in Benin city as well as the juju priests who helped to perpetuate the crime (United States Trafficking in Persons Report, 2018). This singular act raised a lot of awareness about the negative nature of the crime in Edo state and has begun to reap fruits gradually. Trafficking rings from Benin City to West African countries such as Mali and Cote d'ivoire and up to European capitals have reported a decrease in human trafficking from the area (Adeniyi, 2019). The UNODC has also intervened in places with high rates of crimes across the world such as drug trafficking in Colombia and Afghanistan (UNODC, 2017). The Regional Security Complex theory plays out by the gathering of a global coalition to bring stakeholders of Edo state especially the Oba to help break the juju oaths binding the victims.

3.2 Capacity Building

Capacity building is a crucial component in combatting human trafficking. It is important that the stakeholders saddled with responsibilities throughout the anti-trafficking process are properly equipped to be able to carry out their functions. Criminal justice actors require constant training to be able to stand up to the rigours of human trafficking. First, they have to operate with basic guidelines within the rule of law. One of the mandates of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes is ensuring due process is followed in criminal justice procedures (UNODC, n.d.). This means that the rights of people accused to be traffickers must be adequately respected. To be prosecuted, they must have access to a free and fair trial within the ambits of the law. There are also laws that guide the prosecution of people considered to be guilty of human trafficking.

The Regional Security Complex theory provides a framework within which to understand the activities of the UNODC in Nigeria. The UNODC itself has rightly determined that no one country can tackle global security threats such as human trafficking alone and succeed (UNODC, 2010). It therefore calls for a multilateral approach to the problem, which is at the heart of the Regional Security Complex theory proposed by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003). Capacity building of the agencies of the member countries in the security complex, which in this case is the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime helps to improve the global ability to confront human trafficking effectively. One way of doing this is to ensure the local agencies of the country act in consonance with the rules and regulations governing counter-trafficking measures.

The major global anti-trafficking legal framework is the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crimes of 2000 also known as the Palermo Protocol (UNODC, 2004). The local legal frameworks guiding the prosecution of traffickers in Nigeria include the Anti-Trafficking Law of 2003 and the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Prohibition Act of 2015. Criminal justice actors are lawyers, judges, prosecutors and investigators. The capacity building for this group of actors include adequate knowledge of local and international conventions as well as implementation of these laws in line with global standards to prosecute alleged human traffickers. This form of capacity building was undertaken in the UNODC project funded by the Japanese government on Support to the Fight against Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria (UNODC,n.d.). The project lasted from 2015 to 2017. It was discovered that the criminal justice actors were ill-equipped in carrying out their activities effectively. The project focused on improving their abilities to function. One way this was done by the introduction of a common training manual for all investigators in line with global standards. By providing with a standard training manual, lawyers, judges and investigators were able to receive standard training as received by their counterparts elsewhere thereby making more impact. This can be seen within the framework of the Regional Security Complex theory used for this thesis. The international body creates the global standard that is used to

harmonise the practices of countries in their counter-trafficking efforts. By ensuring that the training standards are the same in the over 150 countries that the UNODC is active across the world, the office can better dictate the approach towards combatting the crimes and make it a uniform one that respects the human rights of the accused as well as the victims. This approach is also in line with the advocacy of Prof Joy Ezeilo (2018) the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons particularly women and children from 2008-2011, who argued that the human rights of both the victims and the traffickers had to be respected when combatting human trafficking in Africa.

Security agencies such as the NIS, NCS and NPF also require constant trainings to improve their capacity to counter human trafficking. Human trafficking networks are very dynamic in their planning and strategies of operation. Previously, the Western Mediterranean route of crossing through Morocco into Spain and Southern Europe was the most preferred route for irregular migration. However, enhance border security measures between the governments of Spain and Mexico diverted the traffic to the Eastern Mediterranean route of Libya, which is the norm today (UNODC, 2016). The fall of Gaddafi coupled with the total breakdown of law and order in parts of Libya has increased the rate at which the route is now used for trafficking in persons. The UNODC has worked on equipping these security agencies with the latest techniques and tools to withstand the resourcefulness of human traffickers. This is seen in several of the projects undertaken in the last decade such as the European Union-funded Promotion of Better Management of Migration in Nigeria. The Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) received special attention during the capacity building, as it is a prominent border security agency that is saddled with screening the entry and exit of persons across the borders. The project ensured the establishment of an Intelligence Unit within the Nigeria Immigration Service. This unit serves as the fulcrum of intelligence on all activities of human trafficking in and around the border areas. It also works alongside the border management enforcement units of the Nigeria Immigration Service.

The UNODC also trained over 20 officers of the NIS in travel document examination and impostor detection. Moreover, the project installed border management systems in a number of land border posts (European Commission, n.d.). This is really important as human trafficking gangs have taken advantage of the porosity of Nigerian borders (Akhigbe, 2017). The borders are poorly demarcated and so extensive that they cannot be easily manned by the under-equipped and under-staffed immigration and customs officers (Opanike et al., 2015). The provision of state-of-the-art border management systems by the UNODC would therefore go a long way in providing the necessary aid to improve Nigeria's border security management which in turn would help curb human trafficking at the borders. This showcases the Regional Security Complex theory as the global body, which is the UNODC, plays an active role in training and equipping the Nigerian security agencies in fighting human trafficking in the country.

There was also a focus on the capacity building of agencies involved in the prevention of human trafficking as well as the rehabilitation of victims. One of such agencies is the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP). NAPTIP is the premier government agency that regulates the counter-trafficking efforts of the government in terms of the 4 Ps of Prevention, Prosecution, Protection and Partnership. Since its creation in 2003, NAPTIP has been the recipient of several trainings and capacity building workshops by the UNODC. Under the Promotion of Better Management of Migration project, the UNODC totally renovated the Abuja shelter, which is managed by NAPTIP for the rehabilitation of victims of human trafficking. It went on to equip it with Internet servers, 50 desktop computers and network printers. NAPTIP was also featured in all the short films made by the UNODC during the period of the project as the agency to provide support for victims of human trafficking (UNODC,n.d.).

NAPTIP has even been the sole beneficiary of a particular project sponsored by the UNODC. The Support and Capacity-Building to NAPTIP on Strengthening Access to Justice and Victim Support was sponsored by the Government of Switzerland and lasted from 2015 to 2017. With a focus on

victim support, it provided the rehabilitation and economic empowerment services to the trafficked victims across the country. The project also improved the capacity of counsellors of NAPTIP to better provide specialized care for the human trafficking victims. Besides, it contributed in establishing the National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NRM). NAPTIP through this project was able to reach out to more victims of human trafficking especially those that had been repatriated back to the country with severe trauma (UNODC, n.d). By empowering NAPTIP, the UNODC goes a step further from just setting the international legal benchmark to investing massively in the national agency combatting human trafficking. This is a pillar of the Regional Security Complex theory that sets out to ensure that national initiatives to counter crime receive all the global help needed to succeed.

The trauma healing work of NAPTIP is portrayed in the short film titled Home Coming made by the UNODC. The trafficked girl Chika is shown as severely traumatised on her return back to Nigeria from Europe due to the sexual exploitation suffered there. Her family is distraught, as they do not know what to do in her situation and how to provide the specialized care her needs. Therefore, Chika is ostracized from her own family and the society at large. This places a priority on the role NAPTIP plays in rehabilitation of the victims of human trafficking. Chika finally found the help she needed when officials of NAPTIP tracked her down to her house and offered her the opportunity to come heal at a NAPTIP care shelter. Despite the reluctance of her family, Chika, the victim finally agreed to go and undergo a rehabilitation programme at the NAPTIP shelter (UNODC YouTube, 2017).

The UNODC also invested in building the capacity of the NAPTIP officials under the aegis of another project – Support to the Fight against Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria from 2015 to 2017. In this training, the NAPTIP investigators were trained on the latest techniques in investigation of human trafficking cases as well as international conventions to follow. The importance of capacity building of NAPTIP and other stakeholders has been emphasised by the United States Department of State in its 2018 Trafficking

in Persons Report (US, TIPR, 2018). An investment in the development of agencies involved with the victim support and prevention of trafficking networks from hotspots would surely lead to a reduction of trafficking incidents in Nigeria. This rationale is what has made capacity-building a regular feature of counter-trafficking efforts particularly carried out by the UNODC. Therefore, the current project of the UNODC which is to last from 2018 to 2020 is called Strengthen the Capacities of State and Non-State Institutions to Assist, Support and Protect Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria. In collaboration with the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) of the United States Department of State, the project seeks to improve legal and social services to victims of human trafficking through the development of NAPTIP and other agencies (UNODC, n.d.).

The Regional Security Complex theory is glaring in the spirited efforts the UNODC in Nigeria has taken to improve the capacity of Nigerian actors against human trafficking. It shows the commitment of the international community to the success of the counter-trafficking initiative in the country. By intervening directly to build the capacity of NAPTIP, NIS and other agencies, the chances of success are increased greatly.

3.3 Research

The UNODC has consistently carried out research to determine the true nature of human trafficking in Nigeria. This is important to be able to design the programmes that can effectively make a difference in counter-trafficking efforts. Human trafficking has been synonymous with the country that it has been wrongly placed and reported at various times. The picture of human trafficking especially painted by local media is one evil that continues to grow stronger every day defying all initiatives adopted by stakeholders. In reality, this is not the case. Human trafficking incidents and efforts at countering it especially through the 4Ps of Prevention, Prosecution and Policy have begun to bear fruits. Within the last decade, governmental efforts by agencies such as NAPTIP and NIS have been intensified, more NGOs and other stakeholders have been trained and victims are now bettering rehabilitated

and integrated. Specialised state initiatives have also emerged such as the Edo State Task Force against Human Trafficking to complement national efforts to combat the issue (Adeniyi, 2019).

The Regional Security Complex theory insists that the security efforts of the countries within the security complex have to be unified. This improves their chances of success. The research undertaken by the UNODC on human trafficking has the benefit of being comparative. This is seen in the 2006 study carried out by the UNODC that compares human trafficking control measures in 4 countries in West Africa (UNODC, 2006). Such research serves as a source of valuable data for the countries to work with particularly as regards improving their counter-trafficking efforts. Countries that take advantage of this characteristic of the research conducted by the UNODC are able to directly compare strategies and techniques that have been successful against human trafficking in other climes and adapt them to suit their local situations.

Research provides factual data with which to work with. UNODC has carried out field surveys and case studies in Nigeria and across West Africa to ascertain the true scale of the human trafficking problem and appropriate measures to be adopted against it. These research works have helped to provide the background for policy formulation and implementation on human trafficking in the country. One of such studies is the Measures of Control of Trafficking in Persons carried out in 2006. The study was undertaken by the UNODC in 4 West African countries of Nigeria, Benin Republic, Togo and Ghana (UNODC, 2006). This study has been hailed by other studies as one of the most foundational and comprehensive ones on human trafficking in Nigeria (Adeniyi, 2019). This work revealed the trends of human trafficking in Nigeria, which were often overlooked. The UNODC report identified "Fostering" to be a human trafficking form across countries in West Africa. This practice involved children leaving rural areas with their families behind to live with wealthier relatives in urban centres who often trafficked them for sex, forced labour and forced begging. The study also noted that 94% of women trafficked to Europe for the purpose of sexual exploitation were from Edo state while 83% of child victims of trafficking for forced labour were from Akwa Ibom state. (UNODC, 2006) To tackle human trafficking, the report suggested a coordinated response including the government and non-governmental actors. It also identified the coordination of human trafficking networks particularly in the international trafficking and called for enhancement of border security as well as the more funding and government provision of vital services to break the hold of the traffickers on the victims.

Undertaking research by the UNODC also exemplifies the Regional Security Complex theory. As the research is undertaken to guide the national counter-trafficking initiatives, it is a potent means through which the global body contributes significantly towards eradicating the crime. The Regional Security Complex theory posits that the global body identifies the major security threats facing the international community and determines the best ways to tackle it. Concise research is provided on the general condition of human trafficking across the world while suggesting adequate means to tackle it. The benefit of this approach is that the Nigerian policymakers can understand the linkage between the human trafficking in the country and in other parts of the world and secure the international cooperation required to severe those links thereby leading to the gradual decline of the situation in Nigeria

Another important publication of the office that has impacted human trafficking is the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons or GLOTIP. These series of reports consider human trafficking from the holistic perspective and consider it to be linked to the global criminal networks. They trace the interconnections between trafficking across the globe and draw out relevant models for the governments and stakeholders to take advantage of. The first edition of the GLOTIP was released in 2009 (UNODC, 2010). It was the first time the world had a uniform report on human trafficking across all the regions. The GLOTIP also identified roles for both government and non-governmental actors to play in order to reduce the menace. It set out partnerships with the other member states and proceeded to concretise plans for intervention mechanisms in field offices where the trafficking was most

prevalent including source, transit and destination countries. The 2016 GLOTIP was a consolidation on the warm reception to the impact made by the first report of 2009. The 2016 GLOTIP zeroed in more closely on particular case studies of countries with their peculiar human trafficking scenarios. The study contained a special section for sub-Saharan Africa in which countries with prevalent trafficking issues were discussed (UNODC, The section on Nigeria was very detailed with information of trafficking cases from 2012 to 2015 including trafficking incidents recorded within the period, traffickers and prosecuted with gender variation as well as the victims detected. The UNODC GLOTIP report also provided vital information on actual number of traffickers convicted and the most prominent forms of exploitation. The study showed that the most prominent forms of human trafficking in the country were sexual exploitation followed by child labour and then forced labour (UNODC, 2016). This corresponds with the finding of the United States 2018 Trafficking in Persons report that outlines these forms of trafficking as the major ones obtainable in Nigeria (US TIPR, 2018). It was also revealed that Nigerians made up the bulk of the victims of domestic trafficking but were followed closely by citizens of Benin Republic and then Togo. Meanwhile contrary to popular notion, the study showed that West African countries provided the top destination for repatriation of Nigerian victims of human trafficking before North Africa and then Europe. The Regional Security Complex theory comes into play, as research is an important tool that the international community provides to boost the countertrafficking efforts in the country. The threats are jointly determined in the regional security complex and the international community decides on

important tool that the international community provides to boost the counter-trafficking efforts in the country. The threats are jointly determined in the regional security complex and the international community decides on common means of tackling these threats (Buzan and Waever, 2003). Research seeks to understand the particular dynamics at play in human trafficking within a country and provides innovative means to deal with it while drawing from global best practices (UNODC, 2012). Another benefit of research within the context of the global community is there is no hindrance to qualified human and material resources to conduct it. This means that the UNODC draws on global experts in the field of organised crime to conduct research into the best ways to tackle the issue of human trafficking. This is helpful in that a country may lack specialists in the particular crime, which are

needed to provide expert advice for policy makers. Within the regional security complex such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), this possibility is avoided as the very best hands may be employed to do the job (UNODC, n.d.). Nigeria has also benefitted greatly from the research initiatives of the UNODC including the 2006 study on human trafficking in West Africa and the 2012 study on knowledge and attitudes towards human trafficking (UNODC, 2006, 2012).

Furthermore, another key research undertaken by the UNODC was the baseline survey titled Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions on Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants in Nigeria in 2012. This research was carried out under the auspices of the Promotion of Better Migration Movement project funded by the European Union. The study was done at the outset of the project so as to provide a sound basis for its implementation in the 6 states of Anambra, Benue, Cross River, Edo, Kano, Lagos and Abuja (UNODC, 2012). It was able to accurately assess the level of knowledge and awareness on the realities of human trafficking and the smuggling of migrants in the target areas. With a methodology that involved 250 key informant interviews and 10 Focus Group Discussions, the study determined that although NAPTIP was familiar to the society, very little could be said about their role or mandate as regards human trafficking. Respondents also acknowledged that the sexual exploitation of trafficked victims could have terrible health consequences such as HIV/AIDS (UNODC, 2012). The study also found that ignorance of human trafficking was prevalent in rural areas rather than urban ones. Remarkably, the respondents suggested the radio as the most effective channel for sensitization on the ills of human trafficking. Moreover, print media were considered to be more likely to report human trafficking issues rather than the broadcast media who did not consider it to be a priority. The UNODC advocated that there should be concerted effort in promoting anti-trafficking messages in local languages so as to reach more people. In this study, the UNODC engages in a direct assessment of the perceptions of the Nigerian public on the country's anti-trafficking efforts. This brings to mind the Regional Security Complex theory as the office decided to sample the understanding of the general public to better carry out the most prominent project of the last decade – Promoting Better Management of Migration- in order to solve these misconceptions.

3.4 Social Media Campaigns

Social media has been instrumental in the counter-trafficking efforts in Nigeria. This popular form of media has the benefit of being interactive and easy to circulate and engage with. Social media campaigns can be used to make messages "trend" which helps to spread its reach beyond the immediate environment. The UNODC has been able to capitalise on this to carry out successful interventions in other climes. #ACQUIESTOY was used in Mexico to rally millions of Mexicans to share personal experiences of human trafficking and refer such incidents to the appropriate law enforcement authorities. Internet penetration has continued to gain inroads into Nigeria especially in the last decade. In 2018, the Nigeria Communication Commission noted that 103 million Nigerians now had access to the internet. Of this number, a lot of the Internet access is used for social media. The social media campaigns used by the UNODC to inform and educate the public on the evils of human trafficking thus need to be determined. This is important as traffickers use social media a lot to recruit and manage trafficked victims. Social media can therefore be used as a force for good when the anti-trafficking campaigns are brought to the fore by the UNODC.

3.4.1 YouTube

With over 1 billion video materials uploaded to YouTube every minute, it holds huge potentials for any organisation seeking to promote a worthy cause. The UNODC has embraced the YouTube platform to emphasise its campaign against human trafficking in Nigeria. UNODC Global is the YouTube account page for the world body. It has over 4,050 subscribers and regularly shares important updates of its work globally (UNODC YouTube, 2019). UNODC Global also shared a video on its YouTube platform which of the Nigerian perspective of the Education for Justice on the side-lines of the Doha Declaration. Prof Ngozi Ezeilo who was the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons from 2008- 2011 argued that what is needed in Nigeria is the human rights centred approach to the issue of

human trafficking besides the criminal justice approach. This would enable the country to have a well-balanced approach to combatting the crime. The challenges she identified were restrictive migration policies, human rights of trafficked persons and push and pull factors for irregular migration. Prof Ezeilo noted that source countries such as Nigeria had not taken enough responsibility to turn around the situation in their countries to prevent the drive for trafficking. Receiving countries also have to respect the human rights of the trafficked victims who are often at the receiving end while also reducing demand which fuels such illegal migration. She advocated stiffer penalties for smugglers and traffickers who exploit the victims relentlessly. The video was shared on April 3rd 2017 and had just about 152 views up until May 29th 2019.

The UNODC Global also posted a video of the #Hackathon4Justice campaign in Nigeria that was organised by the UNODC's #Education4Justice, Facebook and Africa Teen Geeks. It brought together 49 students from 10 universities to work on ways to address rule of law issues using technology in Lagos from March 22-23rd 2019. The Nigerian students sought to create technological solutions to crimes such as human trafficking and corruption, terrorism and violent extremism. The Hackathon was organised under the wider Education for Justice initiative, which seeks to promote education of young people to solve societal problems. The students partook in a 29-hour coding marathon to design the best app to mitigate these social ills. The winning team developed anti-human trafficking software called Let's Fight Trafficking. Its features included an e-learning platform on human trafficking, facial recognition system that matches feed from webcams to identify existing images in the database, a portal for friends of victims to report trafficking incidents and a heat map indicating hotspots of human trafficking to avoid. The video was uploaded on April 3rd 2019 and had gathered only 257 views (UNODC YouTube, 2019).

The Regional Security Complex theory provides a basis for understanding the activities of the UNODC in the country. The office in a bid to promote the counter-trafficking efforts in Nigeria carries out social media campaigns and activities on its international platforms. This is seen in the several posts on the UNODC Global YouTube account including the one on the #Hackathon4Justice of March 2019 that brought a team of developers together to create new technologies to fight human trafficking. This is a way to garner international support for the work of the office in Nigeria and reduce incidences of human trafficking to the barest minimum. Social media is one platform that is global and is a veritable tool to raise awareness and provide support and redress for victims of human trafficking in Nigeria (The Nation, 2012).

UNODC Nigeria also has a YouTube account used to disseminate information using video formats. UNODC Nigeria had only 8 subscribers and had uploaded only the videos of the Promoting Better Management of Migration Project. It particularly maximised the platform during the Promotion of Better Movement of Migration project that lasted from 2011 to 2018. One of such means of video promotion is through the use of short films. These are short videos that are designed to focus on just one societal issue at a time. Short films have the advantage of being direct and straight to be point. In this era of gradual loss of attention span due to the tendency of films having numerous plots and being very lengthy, short films are refreshing alternatives. They also portray the preference of the UNODC to develop several short videos on different aspects of human trafficking rather than introduce one long film with several themes not given opportunities to flourish. Another reason why the UNODC preferred YouTube as a medium of communication was to tap into the general country's love for Nollywood. Nollywood is the third largest film producer in the world. By making use of short films for the development of the country, the viewing public can be persuaded to view the message rather differently. Most of the short films that were completed and shared on YouTube were carried out during the Promotion of Better Management of Migration project.

Kelechi was one of the prominent short films made during the period and chronicled the domestic scenario in Nigeria. It revealed the clever ways in which the traffickers profile their victims and go after them in rural areas. The Madam selected Kelechi because she was vulnerable and was based in a

rural village with little prospects for her education. Thus, it was easy for her father to give her up to the trafficker supposedly to get a better life in the big city of Lagos. However, she was instead trafficked for domestic labour with the attendant physical abuses and emotional trauma. The fact that the neighbours reported the issue to the police, which led to the arrest of the trafficker, symbolises UNODC's appeal to the general public to expose human traffickers no matter how closely embedded into the society they are. The video maintains that the general public should be aware of the circumstances around them especially as it involves human trafficking. By so doing, the Nigerian society can become crime free. The short film also emphasises that the victims are not alone in the fight as the governmental agencies are available to help rescue them. This is seen in the NAPTIP officials that rescue Kelechi from the care of her trafficker and take her to the hospital for proper rehabilitation due to the tragic experience. Throughout the short film, a message is also displayed noting that human trafficking is outlawed in Nigeria and anyone who is either a victim or aware of trafficking incidents in the country should contact NAPTIP immediately. This helps to emphasise the message that although trafficking may be prevalent, the government is up to the task of dealing with any trafficker convicted and reintegrating the victims back into the society. Kelechi had been viewed only 328 times with a duration of 15:59 minutes. It was published on July 24th 2017 and focused on human trafficking for domestic servitude while informing the public of the dangers of child labour (UNODC YouTube, 2017).

Lost Children was the most viewed of the short films with 1,800 views. The duration of the video was 16:58 minutes. The film expressed the various forms of trafficking and violence against women and children through child abductions, child sales, child factories and child killings for ritualistic purposes (UNODC YouTube, 2017). It was published on July 25th 2017.In Lost Children, the message is clear towards the evils of child abuse as seen in various forms of human trafficking. Obinna the trafficker is able to run a tight criminal network that abducts children and exploits them in every conceivable way. He is also able to make a lot of profits from it until he is caught up by the law and made to pay for his crimes. The video sends the

message that irrespective of how long the evil of trafficking is carried out by the criminals, the long arm of the law would catch up with them. Therefore, the film restores hope in the Nigerian system as the investigators are seen rushing to the ports to apprehend a notorious human trafficker thereby preventing her from getting away. Although a Nigerian politician is portrayed seeking to get a child victim for the purposes of ritual killings, he is also apprehended by the police and other security agencies. This proves that the law is no respecter of persons as all members of the society would be brought to book if found culpable.

Home Coming had 485 views and had the duration of 21:23 minutes. Published on July 24th 2017, it is focused on human trafficking prevention and rehabilitation of victims. It depicts how victims are traumatised after the trafficking experience that ultimately ruins their lives. Chika, the trafficked victim was tricked into sexual exploitation abroad under the guise of education for 4 years before coming back home. The video proves that there are intense repercussions for human trafficking that go beyond the victim to affect the family and even the society. It is a warning to prospective victims of human trafficking who may want to embark on the dangerous voyage themselves or be deceived into it by false prospects. Beyond the exploitation faced in the trafficking scenario whether abroad or domestic, there is a major struggle to fit in when such a victim returns home. The victim may harbour anger against the family members if they facilitated the exploitation whether consciously or unconsciously. There is also severe lack of self-worth and esteem that makes for societal misfits and deviants. In fact, some scholars argue that trafficked victims relapse into the trafficking condition even when freed as it may be the only thing they feel they know best (Nehaet al., 2013). The video also identifies the NAPTIP as the most qualified government agency to handle reintegration and rehabilitation programmes. Intense reintegration and rehabilitation is carried out by NAPTIP to be able to make the victims fit into their families and societies again (UNODC, YouTube, 2017).

The Regional Security Complex theory is seen in the use of social media to communicate with the Nigerian public particularly YouTube. Through social media, the office is able to raise awareness on the latest techniques by traffickers, warn the public against falling victim to the crime and provide support for prosecution of traffickers and rehabilitation of victims (UNODC, n.d.). The use of short videos for YouTube taps into the popularity of movies in Nigerian entertainment scene known as Nollywood. The Regional Security Complex theory seeks to take advantage of the structures within a particular country to improve its security (Buzan and Waever, 2003). By using the movies approach, the office can easily get across to a wide range of the Nigerian public on germane issues on human trafficking and ways to handle it. The UNODC in line with the theory has been able to intervene in Nigeria's entertainment scene and carry out more sensitisation against human trafficking.

The YouTube handle of the UNODC is being underutilised. This fact is particularly saddening when considered against the background that the most popular online content that is consumed is in the form of videos. This reality by internet users is preferred to text and long passages on the internet. The YouTube page has however been unattended to since June 2017 when the last 3 videos on human trafficking were uploaded. Ironically, the UNODC Global page has remained active and sometimes features news on the activities of UNODC Nigeria such as the most recent Hackathon 4 Justice event organised in April 2019. This tendency has led to the loss of presence of the Nigeria country office on the platform thereby giving an impression that the last intervention strategies on human trafficking were the once captured in June 2017. By neglecting to develop creative content in the form of short videos, interactive pictures, cartoons and full-length movies and posting them on YouTube, the UNODC Nigeria is losing touch with the teenage and young adult generation of Nigerians who are the majority of YouTube users. Ironically, this age bracket is also the most vulnerable to human trafficking who end up as victims of child labour, abuse and sexual exploitation (UNODC YouTube, 2017). It is important to appeal to the interests of the potential victims who are more inclined towards absorbing complex information in the form of videos and pictures rather than bulky reports and essays. Having a vibrant YouTube presence should therefore be treated as a matter of urgency for UNODC Nigeria rather than a luxury.

3.4.2 Twitter

Twitter is a social media of choice for most international organisations. The short mode of 260 characters for messages on the platform makes it a place in which organisations and brands can promote their activities in simple language, cultivate a large following and influence public discourse. The UNODC maintains a much more consistent presence on Twitter than on any other social media. The Twitter handle @UNODC_Nigeria is used to share campaigns of the office across the wide spectrum of the areas involved in crimes such as human trafficking, drug use, terrorism and crimes. In May 2019, the UNODC Nigeria announced its involvement with Alliance 8.7, The @Alliance8.7 is a global partnership to end forced labour, modern slavery, human trafficking as seen in Target 8.7 of the SDGs. This new drive was announced using Twitter as a platform to provoke engagement with the stakeholders and general public as well as keep the public abreast with the developments of the alliance in Nigeria. The Alliance involves the UNODC Nigeria, International Labour Organisation Nigeria @ILOAbuja. International Organisation for Migration Nigeria @IOM_Nigeria, the Nigerian Labour @NLCHeadquarters and the Nigerian Ministry of Labour Congress @LabourMinNG (UNODC Twitter, 2019).

The UNODC Nigeria twitter is very active and provides regular updates on the activities across the country. The account has 1,084 tweets and is followed by 1,140 followers. Daily posts are made for the benefit of the general public and conversations are carried out on important issues such as the campaigns on human trafficking and other forms of crime. The account was opened in May 2013 and has been consistent in promoting content in line with its intent. The bio of UNODC Nigeria notes that it "assists the government of Nigeria and other partners to strengthen the rule of law and to roll back threats from drugs, organised crimes and terrorism." (UNODC Twitter, 2019) Interaction with the general public on Twitter is carried out

through retweets, likes and replies on the posts. Social media helps to put the burning issues within the consciousness of the Nigerian society and the rest of the world. With over 500 million users of Twitter worldwide, it provides a medium for the UNODC to promote its activities and spread awareness on the dangers of human trafficking. The Twitter handle also provides an avenue for the UNODC to galvanise support for their projects in Nigeria from international organisations and foreign governments. UNODC has been able to shape discussions around human trafficking in Nigeria in the last 6 years through their Twitter social media platform. There is however a lot more that can be done. The office can increase the extent of interactions with the public. The tweets are very regular and are sent out to the public every day. There is however a failure of the office to carry out conversations on those topics raised through the daily tweets. The comments on the tweets are not followed up and the UNODC Nigeria does little to spark intense conversations in the online sphere. The reverse is seen in the Twitter profiles of other UNODC country offices such as the one in Mexico that has been able to generate a lot of conversations on the drive to end trafficking in their country through the online campaign #AQUIESTOY.

Likewise, the Twitter handle should be used to pose insightful questions on human trafficking and the perceptions that the public has about them. One way to do this is the use of Twitter Polls where people can be asked to weigh in their opinion and vote on various attitudes they may have towards human trafficking and the right way forward. Such an approach would bring the public into the conversation as an important stakeholder instead of just a docile partner. By so doing, the UNODC may pick up insights that can help improve the quality of the projects.

The Twitter handle of the UNODC does not reveal the extent of its work on human trafficking in the last decade. The UNODC has implemented at least 3 high profile projects including the European Union (EU)-funded Promotion of Better Management of Migration, Japan-government funded Support for Capacity-Building of NAPTIP and the Switzerland-government funded Support for the Victims of human trafficking projects. In fact, the EU-funded

Promotion for Better Management of Migration in Nigeria project lasted from 2011 to 2018 with production of reports, awareness campaigns, advocacy and release of 3 short films. However, there is no trace of the project nor any of the noteworthy achievements on the Twitter handle of the office. This prevents the target audience from learning about the strides made in combatting human trafficking and even the ways in which they could help achieve more.

Another anomaly that is glaring with the way UNODC uses its social media is its inability to link all the social media platforms together to reach more of the public. It is commonplace knowledge that the information shared on one platform should be shared on other social media simultaneously. This first helps to create a uniform message on all the platform thereby preventing the disjointed messages seen on the current platforms in which the YouTube account only has 3 videos focused on human trafficking while the Instagram handle has all 12 pictures on only drug abuse. In addition, linking the social media together helps to highlight the importance of other platforms that may not be well known. For instance, the Twitter handle is well known as the UNODC has shown consistency over the course of 6 years on the platform. The YouTube handle on the other hand is unknown which can be attributed to the UNODC's abandonment of the platform. In order to increase awareness of the platform, videos shared on the platform could be shared on the Twitter handle as well. This would help gain publicity for the YouTube page and encourage other online users to take advantage of the video sharing platform to keep up to date with the UNODC.

3.4.3.Instagram

Instagram is a social media with a large global following. It is used primarily for communication through sharing of pictures. Instagram is popular as it is used to showcase the works and strides of an organisation for all to see. By getting a large number of followers, the office can work towards influencing their conduct and attitudes towards particular issues. This is the rationale behind the use of Instagram by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) Nigeria. The Instagram handle @UNODCNigeria promotes

the activities of the organisation as it relates to all forms of crime particularly human and drug trafficking. In its profile, it restates its desire to "support government and non-state actors to strengthen the rule of law and human security in line with international treaties against drugs, crime and terrorism." (UNODC Instagram, 2019)

The office profile has 12 posts since it was launched in June 2017and has just 278 followers. The posts have been informative about launches of campaigns carried out by the UNODC including the Response to Drugs and Related Crimes in Nigeria as well as media engagements with a number of radio and tv stations including Silverbird TV, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria and the Armed Forces Radio Nigeria. Such media engagements have however been disproportionally based on the drug abuse thereby ignoring other transnational organised crimes (TOCs) including human trafficking, corruption and terrorism. The result is that the Instagram handle of the UNODC says virtually nothing about the rate of human trafficking in Nigeria nor the efforts of the UNODC in handling it. Thus, implies that any cursory look at the Instagram platform of the UNODC gives the impression that the office is not doing anything noteworthy on human trafficking in the country. In order to change this perception, the UNODC would need to update the public with more recent activities on human trafficking as is visible on other platforms such as Twitter and YouTube. It is also important that the UNODC make Instagram posts that encourage people to comment and generate insightful conversations online. The 12 posts available online are neither engaging enough nor are they conversations starters. It was also noticed that for the few posts with comments by online users, the UNODC failed to respond to them over 2 years after those comments were made. Social media is a form of media that involves the giving and receiving of information, making it a two-way street. If the UNODC only focuses on giving out information on the Instagram handle, they are failing to communicate at all.

Social media campaigns by the UNODC justify the use of the Regional Security Complex theory for this thesis. Social media brings the global

organisation into the Nigerian society directly to carry out intensive conversations on human trafficking that the Nigerian policymakers have not taken advantage of. The particular use of short films by the UNODC during the Promotion for Better Management of Migration project of 2011- 2018 is laudable as the global body was able to touch on several issues that pertain to human trafficking in a medium through the entertaining means of movies. The UNODC was thus fully involved in crafting the narrative of human trafficking as a crime that should be resisted and punished in Nigeria as well as promoting the government initiatives to counter it. Therefore, the UNODC was careful to not usurp the role of the Nigerian government in combatting human trafficking but was still decisive in shaping it.

3.5 Partnerships with the Nigerian Government

The UNODC has worked alongside the Nigerian government to form a formidable partnership against human trafficking. This is in line with the belief of the UNODC that the transnational nature of the threats that face each country cannot be handled individually (UNODC, 2010). Thus, it is important for all countries to work together within a regional framework to learn from each other and implement the best practices to resolve the challenges of the 21st century. Such challenges include drug abuse, transnational organised crimes, terrorism and corruption. Nigeria has long been faced with the issue of human trafficking and how to respond appropriately. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the country has been blacklisted as one of the major hotspots of human trafficking in the world (Hassan, 2015). The government has carried out several initiatives to combat human trafficking and yet Nigeria dropped to Tier 2 Watch list in the United States Trafficking in Persons Report of 2012 and remained on that level in the report of 2018 (United States Trafficking in Persons Report, 2018). The Tier 2 watch list means "The Government of Nigeria does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so." (United States Trafficking in Persons Report, 2018). This means that in spite of Nigeria's best efforts, it still has to rely on vibrant partnerships as with that of UNODC to be able to win the war against transnational organised crimes particularly human trafficking.

The Regional Security Complex theory lays the emphasis on partnership for the attainment of security goals. Buzan and Waever (2003: 44) define a security complex as "a set of units whose major processes of securitization, DE securitization, or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another" (Buzan and Waever, 2003: 44).

This theory posits that the world of crime is dynamic and evolves faster than the security apparatus of a country to counter it. It is therefore more beneficial for the international community to step into the fray and provide the much-needed help required to counter these rapidly emerging security threats. This approach has inspired the interventions of the office in countries across the world grappling with organised crimes including Afghanistan, Colombia, and Mexico amongst others (UNODC, 2010; 2016; 2017). With the Regional Security Complex, countries are better equipped to face the security challenges. One-way, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes has partnered with the Government of Nigeria is in the development of counter-trafficking laws. This is in line with the Office goal of "providing for example, legislative assistance to encourage investigation and prosecution, and training, handbooks and other tools for law enforcement and criminal justice officials." (UNODC,n.d). Thus, in 2000, the United Nations passed the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crimes or the Palermo Protocol. This convention outlawed human trafficking as a crime and urged all signatory member states to domesticate it so as to have a framework within which to combat the scourge. The partnership of the UNODC with the Nigerian government started immediately with the advocacy and aid to develop its own rules concerning human trafficking. The result was the Anti-Trafficking Law that was produced in 2003.

This law was the basis on which the National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) was created to coordinate all aspects of the government activities against human trafficking in Nigeria. With time, the provisions of the law became out-dated especially a section that allowed payment of fines by a trafficker in place of imprisonment (US TIPR, 2018).

UNODC began to lobby and advocate for changes to the legal framework for Nigeria. This pressure and partnership with the Nigerian government paid off in 2015 with the introduction of the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administrative Act which prescribed a minimum penalty of five years imprisonment and 1 million naira for convictions of sex and labour trafficking. However, if the trafficking cases involved a child, the minimum penalty increased to 7 years (US TIPR, 2018). Besides, the UNODC has also participated in the development of other national policies concerned with human trafficking including the National Policy on Migration and Development in May 2015 as well as the 2009 National Migration Profile (UNODC, 2015). The National Referral Mechanism for Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (NRM) was also supported by the UNODC. The Regional Security Complex theory is seen most vividly in the partnerships the global body has made with the Nigerian government. These partnerships as discussed in this section and noticeable throughout the thesis have been in the form of development of legal frameworks, capacity building, research and sensitisation. This embodies the essence of the Regional Security Complex theory which argues that the international community would be active in not just defining the threats to member countries but also provide the necessary support for these countries to triumph in the fight against crime. By partnering directly with the Nigerian government, the UNODC shows itself to be an equal partner in combatting this global threat within Nigeria.

The partnership of the office with the Nigerian government is also seen in the projects that have been implemented in the last decade. UNODC has not unilaterally implemented any of these projects but has had to rely on governmental agencies particularly the Nigeria Immigration Service and the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP). Several projects from 2011 to 2018 with funding from the European Union, Switzerland and Japan saw several agencies particularly these two trained in enhanced border management, investigation methods, victim identification and support, rehabilitation and travel document fraud. The current UNODC project — Strengthen the Capacities of State and Non-State Institutions to

Assist, Support and Protect Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria, widens the scope of government agencies and parastatals such as Ministries of Women and Social Development, National Judicial Institute as well as the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) (UNODC,nd). Besides government agencies, UNODC has partnered with both print and electronic media to spread awareness of the counter-trafficking measures of the Nigerian government.

Moreover, the UNODC has reached out directly to parts of the country considered to be hotspots of human trafficking. One of such is Edo state in which a UNODC 2006 study found to be the source of up to 94% of the women trafficked from Nigeria to Europe. It was able to lobby alongside other stakeholders to get the Oba of Benin to proclaim a curse on the trafficking rings active in the state. Going a step further, the office engaged with the Edo state government to enact tougher Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants rules within the state and establish the Edo State Task Force against Human Trafficking (ETAHT) in 2017. This task force promotes anti-trafficking campaigns across the city, conducts rehabilitation and reintegration for returnees and trafficked victims and also pays the victims monthly stipends to enable them get back on their feet (Premium Times, 2018). The ETAHT is beginning to make headway into the sensitisation of the indigenes of Edo state on the evils of human trafficking in its campaigns that target traditional rulers, civil society, students and artisans (ETAHT Facebook, 2018).

The Regional Security Complex theory has important implications for the partnership of the UNODC with the Nigerian government. The international community recognises the importance of working together with local actors to make a favourable impact in the fight against human trafficking in Nigeria. Nigerian actors are handicapped as they lack the necessary techniques to tackle the human trafficking scourge, which is a global problem (Kucheli, 2010). The UNODC has directly intervened in hotspots of human trafficking in the country and worked hand-in-hand with local actors to provide a unified front against the crime. As the Regional Security Complex theory dictates, it

is important that the role of the national actors is not usurped in the bid to fight crime (Buzan and Waever, 2003). The international community can only complement and strengthen the local initiatives on ground.

The role of regions is also an important factor in the anti-trafficking fight. The human trafficking in Nigeria takes place within the context of the West African region. Trafficking gangs have built enduring networks that span across the entire region and demand cross-border cooperation to dismantle them. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the regional international organisation for West Africa has taken measures to improve coordination against human trafficking. One of the most vital is the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration of 2008, which denounces human trafficking and provides ways of improving collaboration against it including improving border security cooperation, rehabilitation of victims and sensitisation campaigns as well as inter-governmental relations. The African Union (AU) has not made any note-worthy efforts to manage the human trafficking menace in West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular and hence has not been mentioned in this thesis.

Furthermore, the UNODC has provided the country with up-to-date research to support its government policies. Such research has taken the form of handbooks, case studies, training modules and reference tools for policymakers and practitioners (UNODC, n.d.). These research works have enabled the government carry out their activities with pre-determined data that is reliable. The 2006 case studies of Nigeria, Togo, and Benin Republic helped to determine the true picture of human trafficking in the West Africa and enabled the countries to share ideas and borrow lessons from strategies that had worked in the past and could be productive. The Global Trafficking Reports in Persons of 2009, 2016 and 2018 show the interconnectedness of the trafficking rings across the world and the need for Nigeria to work in concert with new and updated tactics. The Knowledge, Attitude and Perception of Human Trafficking provided the basis upon which the Promotion of Better Migration Management in Nigeria project was implemented. The UNODC has continued to provide the Nigerian

government with cutting-edge research in other aspects beyond human trafficking. In January 2019, the office published the first National Drug Use Survey where it was discovered that 14.3 million youths are addicted to drugs (UNODC, 2019). This helps to provide a basis upon which sound policies to curtail the impending drug problem in Nigeria could be averted.

In addition, the UNODC has partnered with the Nigerian government and other stakeholders to stamp out human trafficking in the country. The 2012 I am Priceless Campaign brought together government officials, academics, traditional rulers and even entertainers to canvass against the use of human beings for all forms of exploitation. The May 2019 Alliance 8.7 campaign has also brought the Nigerian Ministry of Labour, Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the UNODC together to eliminate all forms of slavery and human trafficking (UNODC Twitter, 2018). These awareness campaigns witness the UNODC working alongside national actors to bring about the change that the country desires.

In conclusion, this chapter indicates the importance of the Regional Security Complex theory, which provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. The UNODC provided a global approach to Nigeria's peculiar national problem of human trafficking. By identifying human trafficking as a global security threat, the UNODC has created the regional security complex in which Nigeria plays its part to get rid of the crime within its vicinity. The Nigerian law against human trafficking, which guides the fight against human trafficking, is a domesticated form of the international one known as the Palermo Protocol. The UNODC has invested heavily in Nigeria's anti-human trafficking efforts through funding, capacity building of agencies, research, provision of highly skilled global personnel and enhancement of border security. Therefore, Nigeria has been able to benefit from the global agenda against human trafficking set by the UNODC. This exemplifies the Regional Security Complex theory, which states that countries stand the best chance of tackling security threats within a regional or global perspective.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the impact of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. It sets out to determine the nature of human trafficking in Nigeria, the activities of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes concerning human trafficking in Nigeria and the impact of these activities on human trafficking in the country.

This thesis deals with the three research questions it set out to tackle. A research question was considered in each chapter of the work. The first chapter focuses on the first research question, which is on the various forms of human trafficking prevalent in Nigeria. These forms are determined to be sexual exploitation and forced labour both existing as internal and international trafficking. The causes of human trafficking are identified as poverty, materialism, rural underdevelopment, corruption and clout of organised criminal networks. Meanwhile, the thesis traces the origin of modern-day human trafficking in Nigeria in the 1980s throughout the economic hardship of the General Babangida regime. This research question lays the backdrop against which the two research questions are considered. With a focus on the forms of human trafficking in Nigeria, the thesis is able to move on to consider the activities of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime on human trafficking and its subsequent impact.

The second research question that is undertaken in chapter two of the thesis.is on the kind of projects implemented by the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. Although the scope of the UNODC includes organised crime and trafficking, corruption, crime prevention and criminal justice reform, drug abuse and terrorism prevention, this chapter focuses on the UNODC's projects on human trafficking in Nigeria. There are 4 projects that are identified from 2010-2018 which are: Promoting Better Management of Migration (2011-2018), Support and Capacity-Building to NAPTIP on Strengthening Access to Justice and Victim Support (2015-2017), Support to the Fight against Human Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria (2015-2017) and Strengthening Capacities of State and Non-State Institutions to Protect

Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria (2018-2020). These projects are carried out through short videos and campaigns on social media, trainings for government agencies, as well as development of counter-trafficking legal frameworks.

The third research question that is tackled in chapter three seeks to determine the impact of the UNODC projects on human trafficking in Nigeria. These projects discussed in chapter two in line with the second research question are seen to have the following impact: sensitisation against human trafficking, capacity building of anti-trafficking actors, actionable research to aid government initiatives, vibrant social media campaigns and partnership with the Nigerian government to combat human trafficking. These impacts on human trafficking make the work of UNODC significant to be used by the Nigerian government in combatting human trafficking in the country.

The Introductory part of the work lays the foundation for the discourse by establishing Nigeria's infamous reputation as one of the hotspots of human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria is a source, destination and transit country for human trafficking. This is especially prominent in trafficking for sexual exploitation. This section clarifies the fact that human trafficking is different from smuggling of migrants as the former is always for the purpose of exploitation why the latter is only for profits. Both forms however includes illegal entry into a country without the required documents or purpose. It is also noted that the porosity of borders in West Africa aided human trafficking and had become so notorious that ECOWAS made efforts to combat it in the Common Approach on Migration of 2008.

The study is seen to be crucial as it revealed the critical role of international actors on the ground in Nigeria in the fight against human trafficking. It also serves as a form of impact assessment for the UNODC's activities against human trafficking in the country. Meanwhile, policy makers benefit from the study with the analysis of the true scale of the problem and ways in which they can benefit from the intervention mechanisms of international actors. The fact that most studies do not shed adequate light on how international

actors are involved in the fight instead focusing on roles of NAPTIP and NGOs, routes of human trafficking and factors influencing the spread of human trafficking is the gap that this study seeks to fill. This section of this thesis goes on to an in-depth literature review and uses the qualitative methodology applying the case study research design which is used content analysis to analyse the data. The Regional Security Complex Theory is the theoretical framework that is used for the study. This theory underscores that security issues are best tackled within an international context, which is often regional. By approaching issues from such a perspective, countries can take advantage of more human resources available, better tactics and strategies as well as accessibility to more funding. Besides, the Regional Security Complex theory provides a coordinated approach to fighting crimes which are beyond the scope of any country to handle as they have become transnational. The UNODC's role in fighting human trafficking in Nigeria is a fitting example of the Regional Security Complex theory as it provides international insights and assistance into Nigeria's peculiar human trafficking issue thereby making counter-trafficking efforts more effective.

Furthermore, the Chapter 1 of this thesis focuses on human trafficking in Nigeria. It traces the origins of human trafficking as modern-human trafficking to the early 1980s when dwindling oil revenues led to hardship in the country with increasing numbers of Nigerians becoming trafficked abroad to Europe looking for greener pastures. Meanwhile, it establishes the fact that human trafficking had taken the form of slavery in pre-colonial times. Poverty is determined to be a cause of human trafficking in Nigeria. The inability of people to have a good standard of living made them vulnerable to human trafficking. This is sought, as any opportunity to escape the terrible conditions around them was welcome. Poverty is also a significant factor in domestic trafficking as children with poor families in the village were sent to bigger cities such as Lagos, Ibadan, and Kano amongst others to earn an education and better opportunities with wealthier relatives. Unfortunately, large numbers of such children ended up exploited by their relatives for street begging, forced labour and even sexual exploitation. Closely linked to this is unemployment. Lack of gainful employment in Nigeria led to frustration of the youths, which made them open to the possibility of working menial jobs such as hair stylists, cleaners and sales attendants in Europe. Unemployment makes potential trafficking victims desperate and the thought of earning foreign currency such as Euros serves as a push factor to falling victim to the trafficking networks. Moreover, this chapter highlights materialism as a cultural value fuelling human trafficking in the country. The focus on acquiring wealth at any costs by youths, societal celebration of people who mysteriously get wealthy without any traceable source as well as lavish display of ill-gotten wealth create a culture of youths who would do anything in order to become wealthy and celebrated in the society. Traffickers tap into this desire and promise wealth to the victims immediately they get to Europe. In addition, the belief that women should sacrifice their careers and dreams to help their families rise up the societal ladder contributes to human trafficking across the country. In rural areas, girls are pressured to engage in sexual exploitation to bring money and power to their families. With less emphasis placed on education of the girl child, they are more likely to be trafficked within the country and across borders just to "provide for the family".

The Chapter 2 focuses on the UNODC and its activities in Nigeria. It establishes that the UNODC was formed in 1997 when the United Nations Drug Control Programme is merged to the Centre for International Crime Prevention. It funds 90% of its budget from government donations and is created to facilitate a global response to crimes and drugs. Activities of the UNODC are seen to be concerned with organised crimes and trafficking, corruption, crime prevention and criminal justice reforms, drug abuse prevention and health as well as terrorism prevention. In Nigeria, the UNODC launched the "I am Priceless" campaign as an extension of the Global Blue Heart Campaign in 2012. Within the last decade, the UNODC in Nigeria carries out three major projects – Promoting Better Management of Migration in Nigeria, Support and Capacity-Building to NAPTIP on Strengthening Access to Justice and Victim Support and the Support to the Fight against Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria. The activities of these projects includes production and dissemination of short films on websites and social media,

capacity building of government agencies, development of national policies including the National Migration Policy, establishment and renovation of victim support shelters and development of training modules for criminal justice practitioners.

The Chapter 3 determines the impact of the UNODC activities on human trafficking in Nigeria. The first is massive awareness on the scale of the human trafficking problem and efforts to tackle it. Getting popular Nigeria artistes to commit to anti-trafficking efforts creates awareness. By signing Nigerian hip-hop artiste, M.I and the movie actress Joke Silva to the I am Priceless Campaign, the UNODC is able to increase awareness among the youths who are followers of these celebrities and were potential; victims of human trafficking. The office also works with stakeholders in Benin City, a trafficking hotspot to get the paramount ruler, the Oba of Benin Kingdom to denounce human trafficking and lay a curse on traffickers and those that aided and abetted it in the state. It is also active in developing recent antitrafficking laws such as the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015 and spreading awareness of it among the Nigerian public. Capacity building is also another impact with the focus on NAPTIP- the primary government agency for handling human trafficking issues. Other government agencies such as the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) and the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) are also aided by the UNODC with the establishment of an intelligence unit within the NIS amongst others. Cutting-edge research is seen as another impact with the UNODC providing the Nigerian government and policy makers with global perspectives on human trafficking as well as national ones. The 2003 UNODC study compares human trafficking in Nigeria to that of Benin Republic and Togo while the 2012 UNODC study focused on the Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions on Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants in Nigeria. Nigeria also benefits from the flagship publication of the UNODC- the Global Trafficking in Persons Report (GLOTIP), which provides a specific profile of Nigeria's case in the 2016 edition. Social media campaigns were also seen to be another impact of the UNODC on human trafficking in Nigeria. It makes consistent use of social media to engage with the public on human trafficking issues and measures to

combat them. Twitter is the most active platform used by the UNODC as posts were made almost on a daily basis on new UNODC initiatives in the country, ways of preventing human trafficking, and collaboration with other stakeholders. YouTube is used for the posting of the short films on human trafficking but had not been active in almost two years. A similar issue is discovered with the Instagram account as it had not been active for the same period of time and only featured posts on drug abuse thereby relegating the work of the UNODC on human trafficking to the background. Partnerships with the Nigerian government are the final impact determined by the study. Partnerships are vital as the 2018 United States Trafficking in Persons Report noted that Nigeria has dropped to Tier 2 watch list meaning it is not doing enough to combat human trafficking. UNODC partners with Nigeria in the development of laws such as the Anti-Trafficking Law of 2003 and the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015. It is also seen in capacity building of Nigerian government agencies, establishment of Edo state Task Force on Human Trafficking (ETAHT) and provision of national researches on human trafficking.

This thesis has made several contributions to knowledge. First, it has provided valuable data on the importance of the work carried out by international actors in helping Nigeria combat human trafficking. The UNODC is known to have invested heavily in the counter-trafficking efforts especially in the last decade with 4 large-scale projects funded by various partners including the European Union, Switzerland, Japan and the United States. Second, this thesis has identified the impact that international actors have on human trafficking which is monumental especially in terms of capacity building and partnership with the Nigerian stakeholders. Third, this thesis contributes to the growing body of research on human trafficking particularly in the globalisation of the 21st century and ways in which the crime could be tackled.

This thesis makes the following recommendations for future research into human trafficking in Nigeria. First, the roles of other international actors such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) on human trafficking in

Nigeria should be looked into. Second, an in-depth study of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) should be carried out to determine how much impact is made by the agency. Third, a research should be undertaken on the relationship between corruption and human trafficking in Nigeria.

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PLAGIARISM REPORT

THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUG AND CRIME (UNODC) ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA

ORIGINALITY REPORT				
1 SIMILA	7% RITY INDEX	10% INTERNET SOURCES	6% PUBLICATIONS	14% STUDENT PAPERS
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118

ETHICS COMMITEE APPROVAL

14.05.2019

Dear Shallangwa Husaini Jeremiah

Your project "The Impact of the United Nations Organisation for Drug and Crime (UNODC) on Human" has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project it does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

Direnc Kanol

Note: If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.